Abstract

Beginning in the 1960s, techniques from operations research began to be used to generate political districting plans. A classical example is the integer programming model of Hess et al. (Operations Research 13(6):998–1006, 1965). Due to the model’s compactness-seeking objective, it tends to generate contiguous or nearly-contiguous districts, although none of the model’s constraints explicitly impose contiguity. Consequently, Hess et al. had to manually adjust their solutions to make them contiguous. Since then, there have been several attempts to adjust the Hess model and other models so that contiguity is explicitly ensured. In this paper, we review two existing models for imposing contiguity, propose two new ones, and analytically compare them in terms of their strength and size. We conduct an extensive set of numerical experiments to evaluate their performance. While many believe that contiguity constraints are particularly difficult to deal with, we find that the districting problem considered by Hess et al. does not become harder when contiguity is imposed. In fact, a branch-and-cut implementation of a cut-based model generates, for the first time, optimally compact districting plans for 21 different US states at the census tract level. To encourage future research in this area, and for purposes of transparency, we make our test instances and source code publicly available.

Keywords: political redistricting; contiguity; connectivity; integer programming; branch-and-cut; Lagrangian; moment-of-inertia;

1 Introduction

In the USA, congressional redistricting occurs every 10 years, soon after the census has been taken and the number of representatives for each state has been determined based on their populations (a process called reapportionment). A redistricting plan, which specifies how the district lines will be drawn within a US state, must satisfy certain constraints. Two typical constraints are that: (i) each district must be contiguous, and (ii) each district must have the “same” population. There are
other properties that redistricting plans must satisfy (e.g., the Voting Rights Act prohibits racial gerrymandering) but they are often not as clear-cut as contiguity and population-equality or may vary by state (e.g., some states require the preservation of political subdivisions like counties).

Many redistricting plans will satisfy the contiguity and population-equality constraints, allowing redistricters to optimize a particular objective or to satisfy a set of additional constraints. This opens the door for state legislatures (who often control redistricting) to leverage the process to their benefit, resulting in partisan or incumbent gerrymanders. Indeed, gerrymandering has become so contentious since the 2010 Census, that it has led to several cases before the Supreme Court of the United States. These cases included: Lamone v. Benisek regarding Democratic gerrymandering in Maryland, Rucho v. Common Cause regarding Republican gerrymandering in North Carolina, and Abbott v. Perez regarding racial gerrymandering in Texas. Preliminary evidence of a gerrymander often includes disproportionate electoral outcomes (e.g., in 2016, Republicans won 77% of North Carolina’s congressional seats despite winning only 53% of the votes) or unusually shaped, non-compact districts (e.g., Maryland’s 3rd congressional district, depicted in Figure 1, was drawn by the state’s Democrats and has been compared to a “broken-winged pterodactyl, lying prostrate across the center of the state” by a federal judge (Linskey, 2012)). However, neither a disproportionate outcome nor an unusually shaped district is a tell-tale sign of gerrymandering (Duchin et al., 2019).

In June 2019, the Supreme Court decided that partisan gerrymandering falls outside the purview of the federal courts, unleashing a new era of gerrymandering.

Figure 1: Maryland’s 3rd congressional district following the 2010 census. Operations researchers might be interested to know that the INFORMS offices sit just outside of this district.

In an effort to de-politicize the redistricting process, some have suggested that “redistricting should be a bureaucratic, boring process where you get the census data, you turn the crank, and you get new maps for the next decade” (Boehm, 2018). Others have commented unfavorably on automated redistricting because: (1) reasonable people can disagree about what properties the “best” redistricting plan should satisfy, and (2) even if there were universal agreement on the desiderata, the resulting problem would almost certainly be NP-hard (Altman and McDonald, 2010). Nevertheless, the show must go on. Some redistricting plan must be chosen, and computers will inevitably be used in its creation, whether to provide starting points for discussion, to refine preliminary plans, or to understand the limits of what is possible. In any case, imposing contiguity
will be important; 23 states require contiguity by law, and the others almost always practice it anyway (Altman 1998; Duchin et al. 2019).

Researchers have struggled to handle the contiguity constraints inherent in redistricting problems, despite a long history. Hess et al. (1965) proposed perhaps the first optimization model for redistricting. It sought an optimally compact redistricting plan, where compactness was measured in terms of a moment-of-inertia objective, subject to constraints on population equality. Due to the model’s compactness-seeking objective, it tends to generate contiguous or nearly-contiguous districts, although none of the model’s constraints explicitly impose contiguity. Consequently, Hess et al. manually adjusted their solutions to make them contiguous.

Since then, there have been several attempts to adjust the Hess model (or others similar to it) so that contiguity is explicitly ensured (Zoltners and Sinha 1983; Drexl and Haase 1999; Caro et al. 2004; Shirabe 2009; Duque et al. 2011; Oehrlein and Haunert 2017; Kim and Xiao 2017). Nevertheless, researchers have remained pessimistic.

- “[Contiguity] constraints make [districting] much more difficult than other partitioning problems in combinatorial optimization, such as coloring or frequency assignment.” (Ricca and Simeone 2008)
- “[Contiguity] is particularly difficult to deal with and, sometimes, it is even discarded from [political districting] models and considered only a posteriori.” (Ricca et al. 2013)
- “Ensuring contiguity efficiently seems to be an issue in exact methods [for political districting].” (Goderbauer and Winandy 2018)
- “For exact methods, contiguity enforcement has been a major challenge.” (Swamy et al. 2019b)

With this in mind, this paper studies how to best impose contiguity in the context of the Hess model. We consider the following models:

1. SHIR, a flow-based model credited to Shirabe (2005, 2009) and detailed by Oehrlein and Haunert (2017);
2. CUT, a cut-based model proposed by Oehrlein and Haunert (2017) that draws from Carvajal et al. (2013) and others;
3. MCF, a new flow-based model that we show is equivalent in strength to CUT and stronger than SHIR at the cost of having more variables;
4. LCUT, a new cut-based model that is shown to be stronger than the other models.

We also examine the separation problems associated with the CUT and LCUT models; the former is shown to be solvable in time $O(n^2 \log^3 n)$, whereas the procedure used by Oehrlein and Haunert (2017) takes time $O(n^4)$. Here, $n$ is the number of vertices in a graph associated with the instance.

To evaluate the performance of the four models, we conduct a thorough set of computational experiments, testing the four models on redistricting instances for every US state at the county and census tract levels. In a nod to Hess et al. (1965), we use the original moment-of-inertia objective function in our experiments. We find that the new LCUT model is the best-performing formulation on the county-level instances where the problem has more of a combinatorial flavor. On the tract-level instances, which have significantly more granularity, CUT and LCUT perform nearly the same and solve 21 instances to optimality.
The largest instance that CUT solves is for Indiana. This instance has 1,511 census tracts and uses \((1,511)^2 = 2,283,121\) binary variables. To our knowledge, this is significantly larger than any districting instance ever solved in the literature by an exact method—with or without contiguity constraints. For example, [Mehrotra et al., 1998] use branch-and-price for South Carolina, essentially at the county level, having approximately 50 vertices and 6 districts. Several of their steps were not automated, including the splitting and joining of several counties pre-solve, and manual adjustments post-solve for population-equality, and were ultimately unable to guarantee optimality. A more recent paper by [Swamy et al., 2019b] heuristically reduces the sizes of instances by a series of graph contractions until \(n \leq 200\) \((n^2 \leq 40,000)\) at which point they are able to deploy their exact method. They motivate this graph contraction procedure by noting that Wisconsin has 1,409 tracts and by pointing out the enormous size of the resulting MIP. This instance can also be solved with our techniques if Hess et al.’s original objective function is used.

To encourage future research in this area, and for purposes of transparency, we make our test instances, C++ source code, and redistricting plans (maps and block equivalency files) available at [https://github.com/zhelih/districting](https://github.com/zhelih/districting). The source code is released under a GNU General Public License, which gives users the ability to run, study, share, and modify it.

2 Background and Literature Review

In this section, we give a brief overview of redistricting, particularly congressional redistricting for the US, and approaches for constructing redistricting plans. The literature on these topics is vast, and we can only cover the highlights. Interested readers are encouraged to refer to [Di Cortona et al., 1999]; [Murphy et al., 2013]; [Ricca et al., 2013], and [Goderbauer and Winandy, 2018] for perspectives on redistricting from operations researchers, as well as [Grofman, 1985]; [Arrington, 2010], and [Bullock III, 2010] for perspectives from social scientists.

2.1 Redistricting principles and laws in the US

A redistricting plan must satisfy certain state and federal laws. These laws are often crafted to ensure that traditional redistricting principles are followed (e.g., population-equality, contiguity, compactness, preservation of political subdivisions and communities of interest) or that the districting process does not disadvantage a particular group (e.g., a racial minority or members of a political party). Below we mention some examples of redistricting laws in the US. Our intent is to provide some context for the stylized redistricting problem that we will consider in this paper, while also recognizing that the districting plans from our computational experiments will not consider all of these redistricting principles or laws (which also vary by state).

**Population balance.** Federal laws in the US require that congressional districts within a state all have the “same” population. This one-person, one-vote principle was formally interpreted by the Supreme Court to be a consequence of Article I, Section 2 of the US Constitution in the 1964 case Reynolds v. Sims. In the decades following Reynolds, the courts established tighter and tighter restrictions on how much population deviation is allowed. There is currently no threshold for population deviation beyond which a districting plan will necessarily be deemed legal (i.e., a “safe harbor”), and a population deviation of just 19 people (0.0029%) was ruled unconstitutional in 2002 by a federal district court in Pennsylvania ([Hebert et al., 2010]). Nevertheless, larger population deviations of up to 1% have been allowed if there is a compelling justification, such as the desire
to satisfy a traditional redistricting principle. For example, West Virginia kept all of its counties intact at the price of a 0.79% population deviation [NCSL 2019].

**Race.** Federal law also dictates what role race should (or should not) play in redistricting. For example, Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act (VRA) prohibits racial gerrymandering, disallowing any practice or procedure that inhibits a protected minority group from electing candidates of their choice. In the 1986 case *Thornburg v. Gingles*, the Supreme Court established when states must create “majority-minority” or minority-opportunity districts with the three-pronged *Gingles* test, the first prong of which requires that the minority group be sufficiently numerous and geographically compact. There are also *constitutional* limits on racial gerrymandering. For example, in the 1993 case *Shaw v. Reno*, the Supreme Court established that the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment prohibits states from the excessive or unjustified use of race when redistricting, especially if race predominates the map-making process to the exclusion of traditional redistricting principles [Hebert et al. 2010].

**State laws (e.g., contiguity).** States also enact laws regarding congressional redistricting. For example, contiguity is not federally required, so 23 states have imposed this requirement themselves; the other states almost always enact contiguous districts anyway [Duchin et al. 2019]. States such as Iowa have additional laws regarding compactness, the preservation of political subdivisions, and the non-use of partisan data [NCSL 2019].

### 2.2 Algorithms and models for redistricting


Recently, several researchers propose Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) methods for generating large collections of redistricting plans, where the aim is understand the *distribution* of redistricting plans, which can provide a baseline with which to compare proposed or implemented plans [Fifield et al. 2015; Cho and Liu 2018; Adler and Wang 2019; DeFord et al. 2019]. If a proposed redistricting plan is an outlier (say, with respect to seat share distribution), this might suggest an intent to gerrymander. MCMC sampling methods for redistricting are quite similar to local search in that they move from one feasible solution to a neighboring feasible solution.

The literature also contains many exact methods for redistricting, including numerous IP formulations [Ricca et al. 2013]. Perhaps the two most notable are what we will call the *Hess* model and the *set partition* model.

The Hess model, detailed in Section 2.4, is a constrained k-median model. Its essence can be found in numerous papers on redistricting in the OR literature [Hess et al. 1965; Hojati 1996; Gentry et al. 2015]. The most popular technique for imposing contiguity in the context of the Hess model is a flow-based formulation credited to Shirabe (2005, 2009), cf. [Oehrlein and Haunert 2017]. This formulation, which is detailed in Section 3.1, is easy to implement and has been used in one form or another in several papers [Duque et al. 2011; Gopalan et al. 2013; Haase and Müller 2014].
Oehrlein and Haunert [2017], Kong et al. [2019], Swamy et al. [2019b]. Another notable approach for imposing contiguity uses graph cuts. Specifically, Oehrlein and Haunert [2017] propose to use \( a, b \)-separator inequalities for redistricting (detailed in Section 3.3); others have proposed related inequalities that are weaker [Drexl and Haase, 1999] or not valid [Zoltners and Sinha, 1983].

In the set partition model, there is a binary variable for each possible district, and the task is to select \( k \) of them such that every part of the state is covered exactly once. The approaches of Garfinkel and Nemhauser [1970] and Mehrotra et al. [1998] are based on formulations of this type. It should be noted that, in general, the set of possible districts grows exponentially, meaning that formulations of this type are solved either using a select subset of district variables or the variables are introduced on-the-fly via column generation. Contiguity is handled during pricing.

2.3 Notation and problem definition

When trying to impose the contiguity constraints involved in political districting, it is helpful to use the so-called contiguity graph [Ricca et al., 2013], also known as the adjacency graph or dual graph. In this graph \( G = (V, E) \), each vertex \( v \in V \) represents a contiguous parcel of land (e.g., a county or census tract), and there is an edge \( \{u, v\} \in E \) connecting vertices \( u \) and \( v \) when the corresponding land parcels share a border of nonzero length (e.g., it is not enough to meet at a point). By this construction, \( G \) will be simple and planar, and thus sparse. Indeed, its number of edges \( m := |E| \) is linear with respect to the number of vertices \( n := |V| \); Euler’s polyhedral formula implies that \( m \leq 3n - 6 \) when \( n \geq 3 \). (Note: in our experiments, we will come across a handful of cases where a land parcel consists of multiple disconnected pieces, e.g., a few lakes that form a single census tract, which can result in a non-planar contiguity graph; however, all of the instances in our experiments will nevertheless be sparse and satisfy \( m \leq 3n - 6 \).) The (open) neighborhood of vertex \( i \) is denoted by \( N(i) := \{j \in V \mid \{i, j\} \in E\} \), and the closed neighborhood is denoted by \( N[i] := N(i) \cup \{i\} \). Other necessary data includes:

- the number \( k \) of districts to be created;
- the population \( p_v \) of each land parcel \( v \in V \);
- the minimum and maximum population (\( L \) and \( U \)) allowed in a district.

Another piece of data that might be used to construct a “compact” districting plan is the distance \( d_{ij} \) between (the centers of) land parcels \( i \) and \( j \). Indeed, these distances appear in the compactness-seeking objective function in the model of Hess et al. [1965].

For the purposes of this paper, the districting problem is defined as follows. If any exist, find a partition of the vertex set \( V \) into districts such that:

1. each vertex belongs to exactly one district;
2. there are \( k \) districts;
3. each district \( V' \) satisfies the population bounds, i.e., \( L \leq \sum_{i \in V'} p_i \leq U \);
4. each district \( V' \) is contiguous, i.e., \( G[V'] \) is connected.

We call these four constraints the bright-line rules, and any districting plan that satisfies them is said to be feasible. If there are multiple feasible solutions, the task is to find one that is most compact with respect to the penalties \( w \), which are discussed next.
2.4 The Hess model

Hess et al. (1965) introduced the classical integer program for political districting, which uses the following $n^2$ binary variables:

$$x_{ij} = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if vertex } i \text{ is assigned to (the district centered at) vertex } j \\ 0 & \text{otherwise.} \end{cases}$$

The Hess formulation is as follows, where $w_{ij}$ is a penalty charged for assigning $i$ to $j$.

$$\begin{align*}
\min & \sum_{i \in V} \sum_{j \in V} w_{ij} x_{ij} \\
\sum_{j \in V} x_{ij} &= 1 & \forall i \in V \\
\sum_{j \in V} x_{jj} &= k \\
L x_{jj} &\leq \sum_{i \in V} p_i x_{ij} \leq U x_{jj} & \forall j \in V \\
x_{ij} &\leq x_{jj} & \forall i, j \in V \\
x_{ij} &\in \{0, 1\} & \forall i, j \in V.
\end{align*}$$

Constraints (1b) ensure that each vertex is assigned to a district. Constraint (1c) ensures that $k$ districts are chosen. Constraints (1d) ensure that the population of each district lies between $L$ and $U$. Constraints (1e) were not originally included by Hess et al. (1965) but are usually added for strength (Ricca et al., 2013). In our code, we also introduce a new variable to replace the expression $\sum_{i \in V} p_i x_{ij}$ in constraints (1d), thus reducing the formulation’s size in computer memory by 20%.

Hess et al. (1965) considered a moment-of-inertia objective, defining the penalties $w_{ij}$ as follows.

$$w_{ij} := p_i d_{ij}^2.$$

Meanwhile, the traditional objective used in facility location would capture the total number of miles traveled if the state’s inhabitants were to drive to their district centers with the penalties $w_{ij} := p_i d_{ij}$, where $d$ is set using road distances (Daskin and Tucker, 2018). Duchin (2018) has humorously described this measure of compactness as an “appealing one, particularly if you imagine replacing distance with travel time” because you can think of it as answering the question: “How long does it take you to go yell at your representative?” Another objective that has been considered by Hojati (1996) and Gopalan et al. (2013) uses squared Euclidean distances $w_{ij} := d_{ij}^2$. Others such as Swamy et al. (2019a) and Mehrotra et al. (1998) use the simpler penalty $w_{ij} := d_{ij}$. In fact, Mehrotra et al. (1998) take $d_{ij}$ as the hop-based distance between $i$ and $j$ in the contiguity graph. In a nod to Hess et al. (1965), we use the original moment-of-inertia objective in our experiments; however, our analysis and techniques apply regardless of which penalties are used. For more information about the many measures of compactness in the literature, we refer the reader to the compactness critiques of Young (1988) and the classification by Niemi et al. (1990).

The Hess model is the foundation of our proposed formulations. The feasible region of its LP relaxation, which we denote by $P_{\text{Hess}}$, is defined as follows.

$$P_{\text{Hess}} := \{ x \in \mathbb{R}_+^{n \times n} \mid x \text{ satisfies constraints (1b), (1c), (1d), (1e)} \}.$$
3 Contiguity Models

Here, we consider four different models for imposing contiguity in the context of the Hess model: SHIR, CUT, MCF, and LCUT. Two of them have appeared in the previous literature (SHIR and CUT), while two others are new (MCF and LCUT). The flow-based models SHIR and MCF refer to the “bidirected” version of the contiguity graph which we denote by \( D = (V,E) \). This directed graph \( D \) is obtained from \( G = (V,A) \) by replacing each undirected edge \( \{i,j\} \in E \) by its directed counterparts \( (i,j) \) and \( (j,i) \). Thus, \(|A| = 2|E|\). The set of edges pointing away from vertex \( i \) is denoted by \( \delta^+(i) \), and the set of edges pointing towards vertex \( j \) is denoted by \( \delta^-(j) \).

3.1 SHIR

Oehrlein and Haunert (2017) propose a flow-based formulation, adapted from Shirabe (2009). We provide (essentially) the same formulation below and call it SHIR. This formulation uses the following flow variables.

\[ f_{ij}^v = \text{the amount of flow, originating at district center } v, \text{ that is sent across edge } (i,j). \]

The SHIR formulation is as follows, where \( f^j(S) \) for \( S \subseteq A \) is shorthand for \( \sum_{(u,v) \in S} f_{uv}^j \).

\[
\begin{align*}
x & \in \mathcal{P}_{\text{HESS}} \\
f^j(\delta^-(i)) - f^j(\delta^+(i)) = x_{ij} & \quad \forall i \in V \setminus \{j\}, \forall j \in V \tag{2a} \\
f^j(\delta^-(i)) & \leq (n-1)x_{ij} \quad \forall i \in V \setminus \{j\}, \forall j \in V \tag{2b} \\
f^j(\delta^-(j)) = 0 & \quad \forall j \in V \tag{2c} \\
x_{ij} & \geq 0 \quad \forall (i,j) \in A, \forall v \in V \tag{2d} \\
x_{ij} & \in \{0,1\} \quad \forall i, j \in V. \tag{2f}
\end{align*}
\]

Constraints (2b) ensure that if vertex \( i \) is assigned to center \( j \), then \( i \) consumes one unit of flow of type \( j \); otherwise, it consumes none. Constraints (2e) ensure that vertex \( i \) can receive flow of type \( j \) only if \( i \) is assigned to center \( j \). Constraints (2d) prevent flow circulations.

Now, we define the polytope \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{SHIR}} \) as follows.

\[
\mathcal{P}_{\text{SHIR}} := \{(x,f) \in \mathbb{R}^{n \times n} \times \mathbb{R}^{2mn} \mid (x,f) \text{ satisfies constraints (2a) - (2c)} \}.
\]

Remark 1. The following equations are implied in \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{SHIR}} \).

\[
f^j(\delta^+(j)) = \sum_{i \in V \setminus \{j\}} x_{ij} \quad \forall j \in V. \tag{3}
\]

Proof. Consider a point \((\hat{x}, \hat{f})\) that belongs to \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{SHIR}} \). Then, for every vertex \( j \in V \),

\[
\begin{align*}
\hat{f}^j(\delta^+(j)) &= \hat{f}^j(\delta^+(j)) - \hat{f}^j(\delta^-(j)) \\
&= \hat{f}^j(\delta^+(j)) - \hat{f}^j(\delta^-(j)) - \sum_{i \in V} \left( \hat{f}^j(\delta^+(i)) - \hat{f}^j(\delta^-(i)) \right) \\
&= - \sum_{i \in V \setminus \{j\}} \left( \hat{f}^j(\delta^+(i)) - \hat{f}^j(\delta^-(i)) \right) \\
&= \sum_{i \in V \setminus \{j\}} \left( \hat{f}^j(\delta^-(i)) - \hat{f}^j(\delta^+(i)) \right) = \sum_{i \in V \setminus \{j\}} \hat{x}_{ij}. \tag{4d}
\end{align*}
\]
Here, equation \((4a)\) holds by constraints \((2d)\), equation \((4b)\) holds because the flow variables in the summation cancel each other, and equation \((4d)\) holds by constraints \((2b)\).

3.2 MCF

The SHIR formulation uses “big-M” constraints \((2c)\), which can result in a weak linear programming relaxation. With this in mind, we propose a different flow-based formulation which avoids the big-M constraints via a different variable definition.

\[
f_{ij}^{ab} = \begin{cases} 
1 & \text{if edge } (i, j) \in A \text{ is on the path to vertex } a \text{ from its district’s center } b \\
0 & \text{otherwise.}
\end{cases}
\]

The resulting MCF formulation, which can be viewed as a disaggregation of SHIR, is as follows, where \(f_{ij}^{ab}(S)\) for \(S \subseteq A\) is shorthand for \(\sum_{(u,v) \in S} f_{uv}^{ab}\):

\[
x \in P_{\text{HESS}} \tag{5a}
\]

\[
f_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^+(b)) - f_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^-(b)) = x_{ab} \quad \forall a \in V \setminus \{b\}, \forall b \in V \tag{5b}
\]

\[
f_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^+(i)) - f_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^-(i)) = 0 \quad \forall i \in V \setminus \{a, b\}, \forall a \in V \setminus \{b\}, \forall b \in V \tag{5c}
\]

\[
f_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^-(b)) = 0 \quad \forall a \in V \setminus \{b\}, \forall b \in V \tag{5d}
\]

\[
f_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^-(j)) \leq x_{jb} \quad \forall j \in V \setminus \{b\}, \forall a \in V \setminus \{b\}, \forall b \in V \tag{5e}
\]

\[
f_{ij}^{ab} \geq 0 \quad \forall (i, j) \in A, \forall a \in V \setminus \{b\}, \forall b \in V \tag{5f}
\]

\[
x_{ij} \in \{0, 1\} \tag{5g}
\]

Constraints \((5b)\) ensure that if vertex \(a\) is assigned to center \(b\), then \(b\) sends out a unit of flow of type \(ab\), which ultimately must be consumed by \(a\) because of the flow conservation constraints \((5c)\) at other vertices. Constraints \((5d)\) prevent flow circulations. Constraints \((5e)\) ensure that vertex \(j\) can receive a flow of type \(ab\) only if \(j\) is assigned to center \(b\).

To our knowledge, this formulation is new in the context of districting. Now, we define the polytope \(P_{\text{MCF}}\) as follows.

\[
P_{\text{MCF}} := \left\{ (x, f) \in \mathbb{R}^{n \times n} \times \mathbb{R}^{2mn(n-1)} \mid (x, f) \text{ satisfies constraints } (5a) - (5d) \right\}.
\]

Note that the bounds \(f_{ij}^{ab} \leq 1\) are implied in \(P_{\text{MCF}}\) by nonnegativity and constraints \((5e)\).

Remark 2. The following equations are implied in \(P_{\text{MCF}}\).

\[
f_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^+(a)) - f_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^-(a)) = -x_{ab} \quad \forall a \in V \setminus \{b\}, \forall b \in V \tag{6a}
\]

\[
f_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^+(a)) = 0 \quad \forall a \in V \setminus \{b\}, \forall b \in V. \tag{6b}
\]

**Proof.** Consider a point \((\hat{x}, \hat{f})\) that belongs to \(P_{\text{MCF}}\). For distinct vertices \(a, b \in V\),

\[
\hat{f}_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^+(a)) - \hat{f}_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^-(a)) = \hat{f}_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^+(a)) - \hat{f}_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^-(a)) - \sum_{j \in V \setminus \{a\}} \left( \hat{f}_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^+(j)) - \hat{f}_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^-(j)) \right) \tag{7a}
\]

\[
= - \sum_{j \in V \setminus \{a\}} \left( \hat{f}_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^+(j)) - \hat{f}_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^-(j)) \right) \tag{7b}
\]

\[
= - \left( \hat{f}_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^+(b)) - \hat{f}_{ij}^{ab}(\delta^-(b)) \right) = -\hat{x}_{ab}. \tag{7c}
\]
Here, equation (7a) holds because the flow variables in the summation cancel each other. The first equation in line (7c) holds by constraints (5c) and the second holds by constraints (5b). So, the point \((\hat{x}, \hat{f})\) satisfies the equations (6a). Further, 
\[
0 \leq \hat{f}_{ab}(\delta^+(a)) = -\hat{x}_{ab} + \hat{f}_{ab}(\delta^-(a)) \leq -\hat{x}_{ab} + \hat{x}_{ab} = 0.
\]
Here, the first equation holds by the implied equations (6a), and the last inequality holds by constraints (5e). Thus, the equations (6b) are implied in \(P_{MCF}\).

3.3 CUT

The CUT formulation, which was first used for districting by Oehrlein and Haunert (2017), is based on the concept of \(a,b\)-separators, see also Carvajal et al. (2013); Buchanan et al. (2015); Ahn and Park (2015); Fischetti et al. (2017); Wang et al. (2017). An example is given in Figure 2.

Definition 1 (\(a,b\)-separator). A subset \(C \subseteq V \setminus \{a, b\}\) of vertices is called an \(a,b\)-separator for \(G = (V, E)\) if there is no path from \(a\) to \(b\) in \(G - C\).

![Figure 2: An example of an \(a,b\)-separator, where \(a = 6\) and \(b = 10\) and \(C = \{3, 8, 13, 18, 23\}\).](image)

The resulting \(a,b\)-separator inequalities (8b) are written for every ordered pair \((a, b)\) of nonadjacent vertices and every \(a,b\)-separator \(C\), which we denote by the shorthand \(\forall (a, b, C)\). As is usual, it is sufficient to consider minimal \(a,b\)-separators, where minimality is taken by inclusion.

\[
x \in P_{HESS} \quad \text{(8a)}
\]

\[
x_{ab} \leq \sum_{c \in C} x_{cb} \quad \forall (a, b, C) \quad \text{(8b)}
\]

\[
x_{ij} \in \{0, 1\} \quad \forall i, j \in V. \quad \text{(8c)}
\]

Constraints (8b) ensure that if vertex \(a\) is assigned to center \(b\) then at least one vertex from every \(a,b\)-separator \(C\) is assigned to \(b\). The inequality associated with the \(a,b\)-separator from Figure 2 is \(x_{6,10} \leq x_{3,10} + x_{8,10} + x_{13,10} + x_{18,10} + x_{23,10}\).

Now, we define the polytope \(P_{CUT}\) as follows.

\[
P_{CUT} := \{ x \in \mathbb{R}^{n \times n} \mid x \text{ satisfies constraints (8a) - (8b)} \}.
\]
3.4 LCUT

The $a,b$-separator inequalities (8b) use the fact that the vertices assigned to vertex $b$ are required to induce a connected subgraph. By exploiting additional information (e.g., that the population bound $U$ must also be satisfied), we can write stronger inequalities.

We formalize this using the concept of a length-$U$ $a,b$-separator. To do this, we need to refer to vertex-weighted distances, where the weight of a vertex $i$ is its population $p_i$. The distance $\text{dist}_{G,p}(a,b)$ from $a$ to $b$ is the length $\sum_{v \in V(P)} p_v$ of a shortest vertex-weighted path $P$ from $a$ to $b$, where $V(P)$ denotes the set of vertices on path $P$. An example is given in Figure 3.

**Definition 2** (length-$U a,b$-separator). A subset $C \subseteq V \setminus \{a,b\}$ of vertices is called a length-$U$ $a,b$-separator in $G = (V,E)$, with respect to vertex weights $p$, if $\text{dist}_{G-C,p}(a,b) > U$.

![Figure 3: An example of a length-$U a,b$-separator, when $p = 1$ and $U = 5$, where $a = 6$ and $b = 10$ and $C = \{8\}$.](image)

With this definition, we can write inequalities having the exact same form as the $a,b$-separator inequalities (8b), except that $C$ will now be a length-$U a,b$-separator. We write these inequalities for every ordered pair $(a,b)$ of distinct (possibly adjacent) vertices and every (minimal) length-$U a,b$-separator $C$, which we again denote by the shorthand $\forall (a,b,C)$.

\begin{align*}
  x &\in \mathcal{P}_{\text{Hess}} \quad (9a) \\
  x_{ab} &\leq \sum_{c \in C} x_{cb} \quad \forall (a,b,C) \quad (9b) \\
  x_{ij} &\in \{0, 1\} \quad \forall i, j \in V. \quad (9c)
\end{align*}

Constraints (9b) ensure that if vertex $a$ is assigned to center $b$ then at least one vertex from every length-$U a,b$-separator $C$ is assigned to $b$. The inequality associated with the length-$U a,b$-separator from Figure 3 is $x_{6,10} \leq x_{8,10}$.

Similar length-bounded cut models have been proposed recently for other problems [Salemi and Buchanan, 2019; Validi and Buchanan, 2019b; Arslan et al., 2019b,a].

**Remark 3.** If $\text{dist}_{G,p}(a,b) > U$, then $C = \emptyset$ is a length-$U a,b$-separator and $x_{ab} \leq 0$ is the associated length-$U a,b$-separator inequality.

Now, we define polytope $\mathcal{P}_{\text{LCUT}}$ as follows.

$$
\mathcal{P}_{\text{LCUT}} := \{ x \in \mathbb{R}^{n \times n} \mid x \text{ satisfies constraints (9a) - (9b)} \}.
$$
4 Analysis of the Formulations

We now compare the strength of the four formulations, prove their correctness, and analyze the separation problems associated with the exponentially-sized models CUT and LCUT.

4.1 Formulation strength

The main result of this subsection is the following theorem. A specific result is that the newly proposed LCUT formulation is the strongest formulation in this paper.

Theorem 1. For every instance of districting,

\[ \mathcal{P}_{\text{LCUT}} \subseteq \mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}} = \text{proj}_x \mathcal{P}_{\text{MCF}} \subseteq \text{proj}_x \mathcal{P}_{\text{SHIR}} \]

and there exist instances for which the inclusions are strict.

Proof. This follows by Lemmata 1, 2, and 3, which are proven below.

Lemma 1. For every instance of districting, \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{LCUT}} \subseteq \mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}} \), and this inclusion can be strict.

Proof. Since \( a,b \)-separator inequalities are length-\( U \) \( a,b \)-separator inequalities for every \( U \), the inclusion \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{LCUT}} \subseteq \mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}} \) holds. Figure 4 gives an example where \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{LCUT}} \neq \mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}} \). So, the inclusion can be strict.

\[
\begin{align*}
\hat{x}_{12} &= 0.5 \\
\hat{x}_{13} &= 0.5 \\
\hat{x}_{22} &= 0.6 \\
\hat{x}_{23} &= 0.4 \\
\hat{x}_{33} &= 0.6 \\
\hat{x}_{34} &= 0.4 \\
\hat{x}_{44} &= 0.4 \\
\hat{x}_{43} &= 0.2 \\
\hat{x}_{45} &= 0.4 \\
\end{align*}
\]

Figure 4: An example showing \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{LCUT}} \neq \mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}} \). Here, \( L = k = 2, U = 3 \) and \( p = 1 \). While the point \( \hat{x} \) belongs to \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}} \), it does not belong to \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{LCUT}} \) because it violates the length-3 1,3-separator inequality (9b) for \( a = 1, b = 3 \), and \( C = \{ 2 \} \).

Lemma 2. For every instance of districting, \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}} = \text{proj}_x \mathcal{P}_{\text{MCF}} \).

Proof. (\( \supseteq \)) Suppose that \( (\hat{x},\hat{f}) \) belongs to \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{MCF}} \). To show that \( \hat{x} \) belongs to \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}} \), it suffices to show that \( \hat{x} \) satisfies constraints (8b) for an arbitrary pair of nonadjacent vertices \( a,b \in V \) and
\[ a, b \text{-separator } C \subseteq V \setminus \{a, b\}. \] Let \( B \) the set of vertices reachable from \( b \) in the graph \( G - C \). Then,

\[
\hat{x}_{ab} = \hat{f}_{ab}(\delta^+(b)) - \hat{f}_{ab}(\delta^-(b)) \quad (10a)
\]

\[
= \hat{f}_{ab}(\delta^+(B)) - \hat{f}_{ab}(\delta^-(B)) \quad (10b)
\]

\[
\leq \hat{f}_{ab}(\delta^+(B)) \quad (10c)
\]

\[
\leq \hat{f}_{ab}(\delta^-(C)) \quad (10d)
\]

\[
\leq \sum_{j \in C} \hat{f}_{ab}(\delta^-(j)) \quad (10e)
\]

\[
\leq \sum_{j \in C} \hat{x}_{jb} \quad (10f)
\]

Here, equation \((10a)\) holds by constraints \((5b)\), equation \((10b)\) holds by constraints \((5c)\), and inequalities \((10c)–(10e)\) hold by nonnegativity of \(\hat{f}\). Finally, inequality \((10f)\) holds by constraints \((5e)\). (\(\subseteq\)) Suppose that \(\hat{x}\) belongs to \(\mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}}\). For every pair of distinct vertices \(a, b \in V\), we define \(f_{ab}^\text{max}\) as follows. If vertices \(a\) and \(b\) are adjacent, then define \(f_{ba}^\text{max} := \hat{x}_{ab}\) and \(f_{ij}^\text{max} := 0\) for all other arcs \((i, j) \in A \setminus \{(b, a)\}\). If \(a\) and \(b\) are nonadjacent, consider the following maximum \(b-a\) flow problem in which the fixed \(\hat{x}_{jb}\) values are used as vertex capacities.

\[
\max f_{ab}(\delta^+(b)) \quad (11a)
\]

\[
f_{ab}(\delta^+(i)) - f_{ab}(\delta^-(i)) = 0 \quad \forall i \in V \setminus \{a, b\} \quad (11b)
\]

\[
f_{ab}(\delta^-(b)) = 0 \quad (11c)
\]

\[
f_{ab}(\delta^-(j)) \leq \hat{x}_{jb} \quad \forall j \in V \setminus \{b\} \quad (11d)
\]

\[
f_{ij}^\text{max} \geq 0 \quad \forall (i, j) \in A. \quad (11e)
\]

This problem is feasible (by the zero flow), and its objective is at most one because the sink \(a\) has capacity \(\hat{x}_{ab}\) by \((11d)\). Let \(\hat{f}_{ij}^\text{max}\) for \((i, j) \in A\) be an optimal solution to this flow problem.

Now we are to show that \((\hat{x}, \hat{f})\) satisfies constraints \((5b)–(5f)\). They are easily satisfied when the constraint quantifiers \(a\) and \(b\) are adjacent, by the simple definition of \(f_{ab}^\text{max}\) in this case. When the constraint quantifiers \(a\) and \(b\) are nonadjacent, constraints \((5c)–(5f)\) hold by the constraints defining the flow problem. So it remains to show that \((\hat{x}, \hat{f})\) satisfies constraints \((5f)\) for nonadjacent vertices \(a\) and \(b\). By classical results of Ford Jr and Fulkerson (1962) (see section 1.11 on vertex capacities), the flow value \(\hat{f}_{ab}(\delta^+(b))\) is equal to the weight \(\sum_{j \in C} \hat{x}_{jb}\) of a minimum-weight \(b-a\)-separator \(C\), where vertex \(j\) has weight \(\hat{x}_{jb}\).

Then,

\[ \hat{x}_{ab} \leq \sum_{j \in C} \hat{x}_{jb} = \hat{f}_{ab}(\delta^+(b)) = \hat{f}_{ab}(\delta^-(a)) \leq \hat{x}_{ab}. \]

Here, the first inequality holds by assumption that \(\hat{x}\) satisfies constraints \((8b)\), and the last inequality holds by the capacity of vertex \(a\) in the flow problem \((11d)\). Then, because \(f_{ab}(\delta^-(b)) = 0\) by the flow problem \((11c)\), the constraint \(\hat{f}_{ab}(\delta^+(b)) - f_{ab}(\delta^-(b)) = \hat{x}_{ab}\) holds.

**Lemma 3.** For every instance of districting, \(\text{proj}_x \mathcal{P}_{\text{MCF}} \subseteq \text{proj}_x \mathcal{P}_{\text{SHIR}}, and this can be strict.
Proof. To prove \( \text{proj}_x \mathcal{P}_{\text{MCF}} \subseteq \text{proj}_x \mathcal{P}_{\text{SHIR}} \), consider a point \((\bar{x}, \bar{f})\) that belongs to \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{MCF}} \). We construct \( \bar{f} \) such that \((\bar{x}, \bar{f})\) belongs to \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{SHIR}} \). For every vertex \( b \in V \) and every edge \((i, j) \in A\), let
\[
\bar{f}_{ij}^b := \sum_{a \in V \setminus \{b\}} \hat{f}_{ij}^{ab}. \tag{12a}
\]
To show that \((\bar{x}, \bar{f})\) satisfies constraints (2b), consider distinct vertices \(i, b \in V\). Then,
\[
\bar{f}_{ib}^b(\delta^- (i)) - \bar{f}_{ib}^b(\delta^+ (i)) = \sum_{a \in V \setminus \{b\}} \left( \hat{f}_{ib}^{ab}(\delta^- (i)) - \hat{f}_{ib}^{ab}(\delta^+ (i)) \right) + \hat{f}_{ib}^b(\delta^- (i)) - \hat{f}_{ib}^b(\delta^+ (i)) = 0 + \hat{f}_{ib}^b(\delta^- (i)) - \hat{f}_{ib}^b(\delta^+ (i)) = \bar{x}_{ib}. \tag{12b}
\]
Here, the first equation holds by the definition of \( \bar{f} \), and the second holds by constraints (5c) and (6a).

To show that \((\bar{x}, \bar{f})\) satisfies constraints (2c), consider distinct vertices \(i, b \in V\). Then,
\[
\bar{f}_{ib}^b(\delta^- (i)) = \sum_{a \in V \setminus \{b\}} \hat{f}_{ib}^{ab}(\delta^- (i)) \leq \sum_{a \in V \setminus \{b\}} \bar{x}_{ib} = (n - 1)\bar{x}_{ib}. \tag{12c}
\]
Here, the first equation holds by the definition of \( \bar{f} \), and the inequality holds by constraints (5e).

To show that \((\bar{x}, \bar{f})\) satisfies constraints (2d), consider a vertex \(j \in V\). Then,
\[
\bar{f}_{ij}^j(\delta^- (j)) = \sum_{i \in V \setminus \{j\}} \hat{f}_{ij}^{ij}(\delta^- (j)) = 0. \tag{12d}
\]
Here, the first equation holds by the definition of \( \bar{f} \), and the second holds by constraints (5d).

Figure 5 gives an example where \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}} \neq \text{proj}_x \mathcal{P}_{\text{SHIR}} \). Since \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}} = \text{proj}_x \mathcal{P}_{\text{MCF}} \) by Lemma 2, this shows that the inclusion \( \text{proj}_x \mathcal{P}_{\text{MCF}} \subseteq \text{proj}_x \mathcal{P}_{\text{SHIR}} \) can be strict.

4.2 Formulation correctness

Here we consider the correctness of the formulations. By this, we mean that they allow precisely those plans that satisfy the four bright-line rules. To our knowledge, no previous work has explicitly proven the correctness of the SHIR and CUT formulations. While their correctness is not surprising, we feel that this step is critical to safeguard against seemingly innocuous formulations, see Validi and Buchanan (2019a). Appendix A provides a proof.

Theorem 2. Formulations SHIR, MCF, CUT, and LCUT are correct.

4.3 The separation problems

Since the models CUT and LCUT have exponentially many constraints, it is important to study the associated separation problems so that inequalities can be added to the model on-the-fly as needed, instead of all up front which would render the models useless. This problem asks: given \( x^* \), is there an inequality from the model that \( x^* \) violates? We show that this can be solved in time \( O(n^2 \log^3 n) \) for CUT, which is significantly faster than what was previously published: \( O(n^4) \) by Oehrlein and Haunert (2017). We then show that the separation problem for LCUT is NP-hard. However, we show that both separation problems can be solved in time \( O(n^2) \) when \( x^* \) is integer.
Figure 5: An example showing $\text{proj}_x P_{\text{SHIR}} \neq P_{\text{CUT}}$. Here, $L = U = k = 2$ and $p = 1$. While the point $(\hat{x}, \hat{f})$ belongs to $P_{\text{SHIR}}$, $\hat{x}$ does not belong to $P_{\text{CUT}}$ because it violates the $a,b$-separator inequality (8b) for $a = 1$, $b = 2$, and $C = \{3, 4\}$.

### 4.3.1 Fractional separation for CUT

Oehrlein and Haunert propose to solve the separation problem for inequalities (8b) as follows, when given a (fractional) point $\hat{x}$. For every pair $(a,b)$ of nonadjacent vertices, solve a minimum-weight $a,b$-separator problem in graph $G$, where vertex $i$ has weight $\hat{x}_{ib}$. If this weight is less than $\hat{x}_{ab}$, then an inequality (8b) is violated. The minimum-weight $a,b$-separator problem is solved in the usual way, by a node-splitting transformation to a minimum cut problem. This procedure runs in time $O(mn) = O(n^2)$ for a particular $(a,b)$ pair, and in time $O(n^4)$ overall.

**Proposition 1 (Oehrlein and Haunert (2017)).** The separation problem for constraints (8b) can be solved in time $O(n^4)$.  

We note that, if $D$ is planar, the separation problem can be solved significantly faster. Namely, when given a fractional point $\hat{x}$, do the following for each $b \in V$. Start with graph $D$ and let each vertex $v$ have capacity $\hat{x}_{vb}$. Apply the linear-time reduction of Kaplan and Nussbaum (2011) to convert vertex capacities to edge capacities (while preserving planarity). Then, apply the algorithm of Lacki et al. (2012) to find the max $b,v$-flow value (for all $v$) in time $O(n \log^3 n)$. This will tell us the value of a minimum-weight $v,b$-separator for all vertices $v$. Compare these flow values to $\hat{x}_{vb}$ to see if any inequalities (8b) are violated. Pick the most-violated one of them, say $v = a$, if any exist. Then apply the algorithm of Kaplan and Nussbaum (2011) to compute a max $b,a$-flow, and from it find the associated separator $C \subseteq V \setminus \{a,b\}$.

**Lemma 4.** The separation problem for constraints (8b) for fixed $b \in V$ can be solved in time $O(n \log^3 n)$ when the contiguity graph is simple and planar.
Applying Lemma 4 for each vertex \( b \in V \) gives the following proposition. We find this result quite striking given that there are \( n^2 \) variables.

**Proposition 2.** The separation problem for constraints \((8b)\) can be solved in time \( O(n^2 \log^3 n) \) when the contiguity graph is simple and planar.

Note that, in some rare cases, the contiguity graph may not be planar. This is possible if the land parcels that are represented by the contiguity graph’s vertices are themselves not contiguous (e.g., a census tract comprised of multiple lakes). In such situations, one may need to represent each part with its own vertex before applying the separation routines referenced here.

### 4.3.2 Fractional separation for LCUT

We show that the separation problem for LCUT is NP-hard. Hardness persists for outerplanar graphs, which are planar graphs in which all vertices touch the outer face. The proof is provided in Appendix B.

**Theorem 3.** The separation problem for LCUT is NP-hard, even when the graph is outerplanar and the given point \( x^* \) is known to belong to \( \mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}} \).

### 4.3.3 Integer separation for CUT and LCUT

Here we give a separation procedure for CUT and LCUT that applies when \( x^* \) is integer. The motivation is threefold. First, the fractional separation algorithm for CUT (Proposition 2) relies on complex algorithms for planar graphs that, to our knowledge, have never been implemented. Meanwhile, the straightforward procedure for CUT taken by [Oehrlein and Haunert (2017)] requires the solution of roughly \( n^2 \) minimum cut problems; this price is often too expensive to justify ([Fischetti et al. (2017)] [Validi and Buchanan (2019b)] [Salemi and Buchanan (2019)]). Finally, the separation problem for LCUT is NP-hard. This motivates the following procedure which builds upon one proposed by [Fischetti et al. (2017)].

**Algorithm 1** IntegerSeparation\((G, p, U, x^*)\)

1: for \( b \in V \) do
2: if \( x^*_b = 1 \) then
3: let \( V_b := \{ i \in V \mid x^*_i = 1 \} \)
4: for every component \( G' \) of \( G[V_b] \) that does not contain \( b \) do
5: let \( a \) be an arbitrary vertex of \( G' \) (e.g., one with the largest population)
6: let \( C \) be the minimal \( a, b \)-separator obtained by [Fischetti et al. (2017)]
7: if model = LCUT then
8: for \( c \in C \) do
9: if \( \text{dist}_{G-(C\setminus\{c\}),p}(a, b) > U \) then
10: \( C \leftarrow C \setminus \{c\} \)
11: add cut \( x_{ab} \leq \sum_{c \in C} x_{cb} \) to the model

When \( G \) is planar, Algorithm 1 runs in time \( O(n^2) \) and returns a collection of violated (minimal) separator inequalities. This time is quite modest given that the solution \( x^* \) has \( n^2 \) entries. When the solution is already contiguous, the separation procedure runs in time \( O(kn) \). Another nice property is that the cuts added on line 11 will have a combined \( O(n) \) nonzeros.
Key to our arguments is the observation that each vertex $i$ will belong to at most $\deg_G(i)$ many of the sets $C$ from line 6. This follows because each minimal $a,b$-separator obtained from the algorithm of Fischetti et al. (2017) is a subset of the shore of $V(G')$, and $i$ can belong to at most $\deg_G(i)$ such shores (once for each of its neighbors). This implies that the total number of nonzeros coming from the round of cuts on line 11 is at most $\sum_{i \in V} \deg_G(i) + n = 2m + n = O(n)$. Here, $m = O(n)$ holds for simple planar graphs by Euler’s formula.

To argue for a runtime of $O(n^2)$ when Algorithm 1 is applied to CUT, see that each vertex $i$ can take at most one turn as the vertex $a$ from line 5 and the fact that the algorithm of Fischetti et al. (2017) takes time $O(m)$, and $m = O(n)$ since $G$ is planar.

To argue for a runtime of $O(n^2)$ when Algorithm 1 is applied to LCUT, it now suffices to argue that the total time spent on lines 7 through 10 (over all iterations of $b$ and $G'$) is at most $O(n^2)$. To see this, observe that the distance found in line 9 can be computed in time $O(n)$ since $G$ is planar (Henzinger et al., 1997), also recalling that the number of distance computations will be at most $2m = O(n)$ because each vertex $i$ will make at most $\deg_G(i)$ appearances in the sets $C$. Note that the inequalities added for LCUT will be as strong or stronger than the inequalities added for CUT. For ease of implementation, we instead use Dijkstra’s shortest path algorithm, meaning that our code will take time $O(n^2 \log n)$ instead of time $O(n^2)$ when applied to LCUT.

5 Variable Fixing and a Heuristic

In initial experiments, the MIP solver had difficulties handling most tract-level instances, even when contiguity was not imposed. The large number of variables ($n^2$) and the numerical instability coming from the wide range of the objective coefficients ($w_{ij} := p_i d_{ij}^2$) lead to the following issues.

1. The root LP took a long time to solve with simplex; typically barrier was significantly faster.
2. If the root LP was solved with barrier, the crossover step took a very long time. The primal and dual push phases were not too costly, but the final simplex cleanup was slow—often taking ten times longer than barrier.
3. Even when an optimal basis for the root LP could be found, the MIP solver took a long time to find a good MIP-feasible solution.

To mitigate these issues, we sought to reduce the model’s size by safely fixing some of the variables. By safe, we mean that doing so preserves an optimal solution. Intuitively, opportunities for variable fixing should be quite common. For example, if a vertex $j$ is near the border of the state, it is likely not an optimal district center; instead, we expect the district centers to be in the state’s interior. If we can rigorously argue that this is the case, we can fix the $n$ variables $x_{ij}$, $i \in V$, to zero. Similarly, if vertices $i$ and $j$ are far from each other (say, at opposite corners of a state), then we expect that we can fix $x_{ij} = 0$. It is also possible to safely fix some variables to one, although this occurred so infrequently that we chose not to pursue it. This is perhaps not surprising: very few variables could safely be fixed to one in the experiments of Beasley (1993) for the $k$-median problem when $k$ was small.

To safely fix variables to zero, we use Lagrangian arguments. We run a heuristic to find an upper bound $UB$ on the optimal objective value. Then, we construct a Lagrangian relaxation model that provides a lower bound $LB_{ij}$ on the objective value when a variable $x_{ij}$ is tentatively fixed to one. The bounds $LB_{ij}$ can be computed almost for free while solving the Lagrangian. Now, if $LB_{ij} > UB$, then $x_{ij}$ cannot equal one in an optimal solution, meaning that we can safely fix
\[ x_{ij} = 0. \] The Lagrangian is solved using an implementation of Shor’s \( r \)-algorithm that was developed by one of the authors (Lykhovyd, 2019), see also Shor (1985) and Kappel and Kuntsevich (2000). We found that the Lagrangian terminated more quickly and with a larger objective if the Lagrangian multipliers were initialized using optimal dual variables from the LP relaxation, which we obtained with barrier (no crossover). These initial multipliers can be found in the `ralg_warm` directory.

Figure 6 illustrates the power of this variable fixing procedure for Oklahoma. The heuristic runs for 4 seconds and the Lagrangian runs for 3 seconds (when given optimal LP dual variables). The total number of \( x_{ij} \) variables reduces from 1,094,116 to 12,425, a savings of 99%.

![Figure 6: When contiguity is imposed, 96% of the center variables \( x_{jj} \) are safely fixed to zero for Oklahoma at the tract level; the non-fixed tracts are filled in black.](image)

5.1 Heuristic

After some ad hoc testing, we settled on the following heuristic. It draws upon the districting experience of Hess et al. (1965) and the \( k \)-median experience of Resende and Werneck (2004). Pseudocode for `RandomizedHeuristic()` and `LocalSearch()` is given in Algorithms 2 and 3, respectively.

1. call `RandomizedHeuristic` for 10 iterations to find an initial set \( S \) of centers;
2. call `LocalSearch(S)` to improve the set of centers, using a first-improvement strategy;
3. if contiguity is required, solve a particular instance of the SHIR model (detailed below).

The descent steps in the inner loop of `RandomizedHeuristic` originate with Hess et al. (1965), see their Figure 1. They propose to find a heuristic solution by solving a restricted problem. That is, a set \( S \) of \( k \) centers is fixed (i.e., fix \( x_{jj} = 1 \) for \( j \in S \)) and the task is to assign the other vertices to them. At the time, Hess et al. heuristically solved this restricted problem by transportation techniques, but we use a MIP solver and denote the objective of this restricted problem by \( \text{obj}(S) \). The solution to this restricted problem partitions the vertices into \( k \) districts. The best center of each district is calculated, and the restricted problem is resolved taking this new set of centers as
S. Repeat until convergence. This heuristic works surprisingly well even when the initial set of centers is chosen uniformly at random (as observed by Resende and Werneck). Following Resende and Werneck, we run this for 10 iterations and return the best set of centers that was found.

Algorithm 2 RandomizedHeuristic(maxit)

1: \[ S^* \leftarrow \emptyset \]
2: for \( i = 1, 2, \ldots, \text{maxit} \) do
3: \quad pick a set \( S \) of \( k \) centers uniformly at random from \( V \)
4: \quad repeat
5: \quad \quad find a solution \( x^* \) to the Hess model \( [1] \) restricted to the centers \( \{ v_1, v_2, \ldots, v_k \} \leftarrow S \)
6: \quad \quad for \( j = 1, 2, \ldots, k \) do
7: \quad \quad \quad let \( V_j \) be the vertices assigned to \( v_j \) in \( x^* \)
8: \quad \quad \quad let \( v_j^* \) be the best center of \( V_j \), i.e., a vertex \( b \in V_j \) that minimizes \( \sum_{i \in V_j} w_{ib} \)
9: \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad S \leftarrow \{ v_1^*, v_2^*, \ldots, v_k^* \}
10: \quad \quad until \ convergence
11: if \( \text{obj}(S) < \text{obj}(S^*) \) then
12: \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad S^* \leftarrow S
13: \quad \quad return \( S^* \)

However, the subsequent local search procedure used by Resende and Werneck would be too burdensome for us. In the traditional \( k \)-median problem, the problem of assigning customers to facilities is trivial once the facilities have been opened: assign each customer to its nearest open facility. This allows one to quickly evaluate whether it is beneficial to swap a center with a non-center. The same cannot be said for districting due to the population bounds and contiguity constraints. This makes the problem of assigning vertices to centers, i.e., the function evaluation \( \text{obj}(S) \), an NP-hard problem. Consequently, we find just one local minimum with LocalSearch, starting the search from the best set of centers found by RandomizedHeuristic. To further speed up local search, we only consider swapping a center \( s \in S \) with one of its neighbors \( s' \in V \setminus S \). This reduces the number of function evaluations from \( |S|(n - |S|) \) to roughly \( \sum_{i \in S} \text{deg}_G(i) \) in each call of LocalSearch. For California at the tract level, this reduction is from 425,000 to roughly 300.

Algorithm 3 LocalSearch(S)

1: for \( s \in S \) do
2: \quad for \( s' \in N_G(s) \cap \left( V \setminus S \right) \) do
3: \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad S' \leftarrow (S \setminus \{ s \}) \cup \{ s' \}
4: \quad \quad if \( \text{obj}(S') < \text{obj}(S) \) then
5: \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad \quad return LocalSearch(S')
6: \quad return \( S \)

Lastly, if required, we solve a final MIP to find a contiguous solution. Typically, the solution identified in local search is nearly contiguous and few changes are needed to achieve contiguity. To exploit this observation, we take the current set of district centers \( S \subseteq V \) and fix the associated variables \( x_{jj} \) to one in the SHIR model. For most states, this is sufficient for the MIP solver to identify a good contiguous solution within a few seconds. However, we observed that the MIP solver still struggled to solve this restricted problem on some of the largest instances. In response,
we take the following approach. For each center \( j \in S \), do the following:

(i) identify the vertices \( V_j \) that are assigned to \( j \) in the local search solution;
(ii) identify the component of \( G[V_j] \) that contains \( j \) and let \( J \) be its vertex set;
(iii) for each vertex \( i \in J \), provide \( x_{ij} = 1 \) as part of a warm start solution; and
(iv) if working with a tract-level instance: for each vertex \( i \) in the interior of \( J \), fix \( x_{ij} = 1 \).

Here, we define the interior of \( J \) to be the vertices in \( J \) whose neighbors in \( G \) also belong to \( J \).

In practice, we found that the last two steps guide the MIP solver to a contiguous solution without sacrificing much in terms of solution quality. This tweak allowed us to find (contiguous) feasible solutions for states like Illinois, New York, and Texas at the tract level.

5.2 Lagrangian-based variable fixing for Hess model

Lagrangian techniques are quite common and useful for variants of the \( k \)-median problem (Beasley, 1993) and have also been used for districting purposes (Hojati, 1996). Here, we propose to use Lagrangian reduced costs to safely fix many of the variables \( x_{ij} \) to zero before building the Hess model, thus reducing it to a more manageable size. A similar approach was taken by Briant and Naddef (2004) for the diversity management problem.

The Lagrangian relaxation model is obtained from the Hess model as follows. We relax the assignment constraints (1b), population lower bounds (1d), and population upper bounds (1d) and penalize their violation in the objective function with (vector) multipliers \( \alpha, \lambda, \) and \( \upsilon \), respectively.

Following Beasley (1993) and Hojati (1996), we scale the population constraints by dividing them by \( L \) and \( U \), respectively. The optimal objective of the following Lagrangian is denoted by \( L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) \).

\[
\begin{align*}
\min & \sum_{i \in V} \sum_{j \in V} w_{ij} x_{ij} + \sum_{i \in V} \alpha_i \left( 1 - \sum_{j \in V} x_{ij} \right) + \sum_{j \in V} |\lambda_j| \left( x_{jj} - \sum_{i \in V} \frac{p_i}{L} x_{ij} \right) \\
& \quad + \sum_{j \in V} |\upsilon_j| \left( \frac{p_j}{U} x_{ij} - x_{jj} \right) \\
\sum_{j \in V} x_{jj} &= k \\
x_{ij} &\leq x_{jj} \quad \forall i, j \in V \\
x_{ij} &\in \{0, 1\} \quad \forall i, j \in V.
\end{align*}
\]

There are two main differences with previous works (besides the definition of \( w \)). First, we have population lower and upper bounds \( (L \text{ and } U) \), while Beasley (1993) had no analogue of \( L \) and Hojati (1996) had an equality constraint (i.e., \( L = U \)). Second, we take the absolute values of \( \lambda_j \) and \( v_j \) in the Lagrangian’s objective function, while Beasley (1993) required \( v_j \) to be nonnegative. The absolute-value approach for handling inequality constraints is simpler and more effective for Shor’s \( r \)-algorithm (Shor, 1985, p. 134), cf. (Mikhalevich et al., 1977, p. 126).

To simplify the Lagrangian’s objective function, we can collect like terms. For this, define

\[
\tilde{w}_{ij} = \begin{cases} 
w_{ij} - \alpha_i - |\lambda_j| \left( \frac{p_i}{L} \right) + |v_j| \left( \frac{p_i}{U} \right) & \text{if } i \neq j \\
q_{ij} - \alpha_i - |\lambda_j| \left( \frac{p_i}{L} \right) + |v_j| \left( \frac{p_i}{U} \right) + |\lambda_j| - |v_j| & \text{if } i = j
\end{cases}
\]
for every \( i \in V \) and \( j \in V \). The Lagrangian’s objective function now reduces to
\[
\min \sum_{i \in V} \alpha_i + \sum_{i \in V} \sum_{j \in V} \hat{w}_{ij} x_{ij}.
\]

To find an optimal solution \( x^* \) to the Lagrangian, consider the case where vertex \( j \in V \) is selected as a center. In this case, it would be optimal to assign vertex \( i \) to center \( j \) if and only if \( \hat{w}_{ij} \leq 0 \). Thus, if \( j \in V \) were selected as a center, its contribution to the objective would be
\[
W_j := \hat{w}_{jj} + \sum_{i \in V \setminus \{j\}} \min \{0, \hat{w}_{ij}\},
\]
otherwise the contribution would be zero.

With these observations, the Lagrangian reduces to the following \( n \)-variable problem.
\[
\begin{align*}
\min \sum_{i \in V} \alpha_i + \sum_{j \in V} W_j x_{jj} \\
\sum_{j \in V} x_{jj} &= k \\
x_{jj} &\in \{0, 1\} \quad \forall j \in V.
\end{align*}
\]

This can be solved by identifying the \( k \) different vertices \( j \) with the smallest \( W_j \) values and setting their variables \( x_{jj} \) to one; set all others to zero. The objective value of this solution is equal to \( L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) \), which provides a lower bound on our original MIP (whether or not contiguity is imposed).

Now, we discuss how to safely fix variables to zero in the Hess model \((11)\) using the heuristic upper bound \( UB \) and the Lagrangian. Let \( x^* \) be an optimal solution to the reduced Lagrangian problem \((14)\) with objective value \( L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) \). The associated set of centers is \( S := \{v \in V \mid x^*_{vv} = 1\} \).

If we were to tentatively fix \( x_{ij} = 1 \), the resulting Lagrangian bound \( L_{ij}(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) \) would be
\[
L_{ij}(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) = \begin{cases} 
L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) & \text{if } j \in S, \ i = j \\
L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) + \max \{0, \hat{w}_{ij}\} & \text{if } j \in S, \ i \neq j \\
L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) - \max_{v \in S} \{W_v\} + W_j & \text{if } j \in V \setminus S, \ i = j \\
L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) - \max_{v \in S} \{W_v\} + W_j + \max \{0, \hat{w}_{ij}\} & \text{if } j \in V \setminus S, \ i \neq j.
\end{cases}
\]

This value can be used to update the lower bound \( LB_{ij} \leftarrow \max \{L_{ij}(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon), LB_{ij}\} \) on the objective value that would result from fixing \( x_{ij} = 1 \). Observe that \( L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) \) and \( \max_{v \in S} \{W_v\} \) do not depend on \( i \) nor \( j \), meaning that they can be precomputed, stored, and then used to update all of the \( LB_{ij} \) values in time \( \Theta(n^2) \).

The outer problem for the Lagrangian (for finding the best Lagrange multipliers) is controlled by Shor’s \( r \)-algorithm. When it terminates with the final values \( LB_{ij} \), we fix \( x_{ij} = 0 \) if \( LB_{ij} > UB \).

### 5.3 Lagrangian-based variable fixing for contiguity models

We can fix even more variables \( x_{ij} \) to zero by exploiting contiguity. Ideally, we would add constraints to \((13)\) requiring that the vertices \( V_j(x) \) assigned to \( j \) induce a connected subgraph. In this case, the Lagrangian relaxation model could be solved by redefining \( W_j \) as the weight of a minimum-weight connected subgraph (MWCS) rooted at \( j \) (where the weight of vertex \( i \) is \( \hat{w}_{ij} \)) and again
solving the problem (14). One issue is that the rooted MWCS problem is NP-hard. While this problem has been studied frequently lately (Álvarez-Miranda et al., 2013a,b; Álvarez-Miranda and Sinnl, 2017; Rehfeldt et al., 2019), and several research codes perform quite well on benchmark instances (Fischetti et al., 2017; Gamrath et al., 2017; Rehfeldt and Koch, 2019), we choose not to use them given how frequently we would need to solve the rooted MWCS problem. Also, preliminary experiments with solving the rooted MWCS problem exactly showed little to no improvement—in terms of the number of variables fixed—over the simple and very quick procedure that was settled on.

We consider a relaxed form of contiguity for which all \( L_{ij} \) values can be updated in \( O(n^2) \) time. This relaxed form of contiguity only enforces that an \( i,j \)-path exists within \( G[V_j(x)] \) if \( x_{ij} \) is tentatively fixed to one. For this, define the weights \( q_{ju} \) as below, representing the “extra” cost to use vertex \( u \) in an \( i,j \)-path in district \( V_j(x) \). Observe that the “cost” \( \hat{w}_{uj} \) of vertex \( u \) has already been accounted for in \( W_j \) if \( u = j \) or \( \hat{w}_{uj} \leq 0 \), giving an extra cost of zero.

\[
q_{ju} = \begin{cases} 
0 & \text{if } u = j \text{ or } \hat{w}_{uj} \leq 0 \\
\hat{w}_{uj} & \text{otherwise}
\end{cases}
\]

Again, let \( L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) \) be the objective value of the Lagrangian relaxation model (14) and let \( S \) be the associated set of centers. Then, a lower bound on the contiguity-constrained Lagrangian relaxation model—when \( x_{ij} \) is tentatively fixed to one—is as follows.

\[
\tilde{L}_{ij}(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) = \begin{cases} 
L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) + \text{dist}_{G,q^j}(i, j) & \text{if } j \in S \\
L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) - \max_{v \in S} \{W_v\} + W_j + \text{dist}_{G,q^j}(i, j) & \text{if } j \notin S.
\end{cases}
\]

Here, \( \text{dist}_{G,q^j}(i, j) \) is the vertex-weighted distance from \( i \) to \( j \), where vertex \( u \) has weight \( q_{ju} \). These distances \( \text{dist}_{G,q^j}(\cdot, j) \) can be computed in time \( O(n) \) with a planarity-exploiting single-source shortest path algorithm (Henzinger et al., 1997). Thus, all updates \( LB_{ij} \leftarrow \max\{LB_{ij}, \tilde{L}_{ij}(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon)\} \) can be computed in time \( O(n^2) \). However, for ease of implementation, we use Dijkstra’s algorithm, so our code takes time \( O(n^2 \log n) \) to update the \( LB_{ij} \) values. As before, we fix \( x_{ij} = 0 \) if \( LB_{ij} > UB \). Theorem 4 ensures that this is safe.

**Theorem 4.** For every set of Lagrange multipliers \( (\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) \) we have \( z_{ij}^* \geq \tilde{L}_{ij}(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) \), where \( z_{ij}^* \) is the optimal objective of the Hess model when \( x_{ij} \) is fixed to one and contiguity is imposed.

**Proof.** Consider a set of Lagrange multipliers \( (\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) \), the corresponding \( \hat{w} \) and \( W \), and an optimal set of centers \( S \) for the Lagrangian (14). Then, let \( x^* \) be an optimal solution to the Hess model (1) when \( x_{ij} \) is fixed to one and contiguity is imposed, and let \( S^* := \{v \in V \mid x_{uv}^* = 1\} \) be the associated set of centers. Observe that subset of vertices assigned to \( j \) induces a connected subgraph, so there is a path \( P \) from \( i \) to \( j \) whose vertices \( u \in V(P) \) satisfy \( x_{uj}^* = 1 \).

**Claim 1.** \( z_{ij}^* \geq \sum_{u \in V} \alpha_u + \sum_{v \in S^*} W_v + \text{dist}_{G,q^j}(i, j) \).
Proof. Using the notations \((a)^+ := \max\{0, a\}\) and \((a)^- := \min\{0, a\}\), observe that

\[
\begin{align*}
z_{ij}^* &= \sum_{u \in V} \sum_{v \in V} w_{uv} x_{uv}^* \quad & \text{(15a)} \\
&\geq \sum_{u \in V} \sum_{v \in V} w_{uv} x_{uv}^* + \sum_{u \in V} \alpha_u \left(1 - \sum_{v \in V} x_{uv}^*\right) + \sum_{v \in V} |\lambda_v| \left(x_{uv}^* - \sum_{u \in V} p_u x_{uv}^*\right) \\
&\quad + \sum_{v \in V} |v_v| \left(\sum_{u \in V} p_u x_{uv}^* - x_{uv}^*\right) \quad & \text{(15b)} \\
&= \sum_{u \in V} \alpha_u + \sum_{u \in V} \tilde{w}_{uv} x_{uv}^* \quad & \text{(15c)} \\
&\geq \sum_{u \in V} \alpha_u + \sum_{v \in S^*} W_v + \text{dist}_{G,q}^\dagger(i, j). \quad & \text{(15d)}
\end{align*}
\]

Here, inequality \((15b)\) holds by the feasibility of \(x^*\) for the Hess model. Equality \((15c)\) holds by the definition of \(\tilde{w}\). Finally, inequality \((15d)\) holds by inequalities \((16)\), which are shown below.

\[
\begin{align*}
\sum_{u \in V} \sum_{v \in V} \tilde{w}_{uv} x_{uv}^* &= \sum_{v \in V} \tilde{w}_{uv} x_{uv}^* + \sum_{v \in V} \sum_{u \in V \setminus \{v\}} (\tilde{w}_{uv})^{-} x_{uv}^* + \sum_{v \in V} \sum_{u \in V \setminus \{v\}} (\tilde{w}_{uv})^{+} x_{uv}^* \quad & \text{(16a)} \\
&\geq \sum_{v \in V} \tilde{w}_{uv} x_{uv}^* + \sum_{v \in V} \sum_{u \in V \setminus \{v\}} (\tilde{w}_{uv})^{-} x_{uv}^* + \sum_{v \in V \setminus \{j\}} (\tilde{w}_{uj})^{+} x_{uj}^* \quad & \text{(16b)} \\
&\quad \geq \sum_{v \in V} \tilde{w}_{uv} x_{uv}^* + \sum_{v \in V \setminus \{j\}} (\tilde{w}_{uv})^{-} x_{uv}^* + \sum_{v \in V \setminus \{j\}} (\tilde{w}_{uj})^{+} x_{uj}^* \quad & \text{(16c)} \\
&= \sum_{v \in V \setminus \{j\}} \left(\tilde{w}_{uv} + \sum_{u \in V \setminus \{v\}} (\tilde{w}_{uv})^{-}\right) x_{uv}^* + \sum_{v \in V \setminus \{j\}} (\tilde{w}_{uj})^{+} x_{uj}^* \quad & \text{(16d)} \\
&\quad = \sum_{v \in V} W_v x_{uv}^* + \sum_{u \in V \setminus \{j\}} (\tilde{w}_{uj})^{+} x_{uj}^* \quad & \text{(16e)} \\
&\quad = \sum_{v \in S^*} W_v + \sum_{u \in V \setminus \{j\}} q_u^j \quad & \text{(16f)} \\
&\quad \geq \sum_{v \in S^*} W_v + \text{dist}_{G,q}^\dagger(i, j). \quad & \text{(16g)}
\end{align*}
\]

With Claim \(\square\) established, we turn to the theorem. In the first case, suppose that \(j \in S\). Then,

\[
\begin{align*}
z_{ij}^* &\geq \sum_{u \in V} \alpha_u + \sum_{v \in S^*} W_v + \text{dist}_{G,q}^\dagger(i, j) \\
&\geq \sum_{u \in V} \alpha_u + \sum_{v \in S} W_v + \text{dist}_{G,q}^\dagger(i, j) \\
&= L(\alpha, \lambda, v) + \text{dist}_{G,q}^\dagger(i, j) = \tilde{L}_{ij}(\alpha, \lambda, v),
\end{align*}
\]
where the inequalities hold by Claim 1 and by the optimality of $S$ for the Lagrangian $L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon)$, and the equalities hold by the definitions of $L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon)$ and $\tilde{L}_{ij}(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon)$.

In the other case, where $j \not\in S$, there exists a vertex $s$ that belongs to $S$ but not to $S^*$. (Otherwise, $S \subseteq S^*$ and $j \in S^* \setminus S$, implying the contradiction $k = |S| < |S^*| = k$). Then,

$$\sum_{v \in S^*} W_v = \sum_{v \in (S^* \cup \{s\}) \setminus \{j\}} W_v - W_s + W_j \geq \sum_{v \in S} W_v - W_s + W_j \geq \sum_{v \in S} W_v - \max_{v \in S} \{W_v\} + W_j,$$

which, along with Claim 1, implies that

$$z_{ij}^* \geq \sum_{u \in V} \alpha_u + \sum_{v \in S^*} W_v + \text{dist}_{G,q'}(i,j) \geq \sum_{u \in V} \alpha_u + \sum_{v \in S} W_v - \max_{v \in S} \{W_v\} + W_j + \text{dist}_{G,q'}(i,j) = L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon) - \max_{v \in S} \{W_v\} + W_j + \text{dist}_{G,q'}(i,j) = \tilde{L}_{ij}(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon),$$

where the equalities hold by the definitions of $L(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon)$ and $\tilde{L}_{ij}(\alpha, \lambda, \upsilon)$. \hfill \qed

6 Computational Experiments

In this section, we conduct an extensive computational study. Broadly speaking, the aim is to answer the questions: (i) Which model for imposing contiguity is the fastest in practice? (ii) Is this fastest model able to solve the large-scale instances encountered in practice?

Most experiments were performed on a machine with Intel Xeon E3-1270 v6 “Kaby Lake” 3.80 GHz CPU with 8 cores and 32 GB RAM. The MIP solver is Gurobi Optimizer 8.1.1. When solving the MIPs, default settings are used with the following exceptions: 8 threads maximum, 10 GB RAM maximum, concurrent method for the LP relaxation, and zero MIP gap tolerance. We invoke the LazyConstraints parameter when solving the CUT and LCUT models. In the CUT and LCUT implementations, only integer points are separated, using Algorithm 1. This choice was informed by the authors’ previous experience (Salemi and Buchanan, 2019; Validi and Buchanan, 2019b) and the experience of other researchers (Fischetti et al., 2017; Arslan et al., 2019b).

Recall that to initialize the Lagrangian procedure we use optimal dual multipliers from the LP relaxation of the Hess model. In this case, the barrier method is used to solve the LP. For four states with the most census tracts (FL, NY, TX, and CA) the size of this LP model exceeds available memory, in which case we solve the LP using a different machine that has dual Intel Xeon E5-2620 “Sandy Bridge” hex core 2.0 GHz CPUs and 256 GB RAM.

6.1 Data preparation

To compare the computational performance of the models, we needed test instances having the following input data: contiguity graph $G = (V, E)$, population vector $p$, bounds $L$ and $U$, number of
districts \( k \), and the distance matrix \( d \). This data is not directly provided by the Census (particularly the graph and distance matrix), and optimization researchers who have studied districting in the past did not make their data public. This is a significant barrier to entry for those who want to apply their methods to redistricting problems. Moreover, previous studies have focused on one or two states, making it impossible to know how well their methods would perform on another state or if the data were different (say, after a new Census).

For these reasons, we generate the requisite data ourselves for all 50 states using the 2010 Census numbers. So that future researchers can use the same data and also for purposes of transparency, we post the complete data set online at [https://lykhovyd.com/files/public/districting/](https://lykhovyd.com/files/public/districting/). The GitHub repository includes scripts used to convert the raw data from the [Bureau of the Census](https://lykhovyd.com/files/public/districting/) into formats convenient for our use.

We generate the input data at two different levels: county and census tract. There is an average of 62 counties per state and a maximum of 254 for Texas. Meanwhile, there is an average of 1,461 census tracts per state and a maximum of 8,057 in the case of California. The county-level instances are small enough that we can apply each of the contiguity formulations. This allows us to compare them and discern which of them has the best chance to handle large instances. Moreover, several states require congressional redistricting plans to split the fewest number of counties, and states such as Iowa and West Virginia split zero counties in their 2013 maps. This makes county-level instances practical in some cases. However, most states cannot redistrict at the county level. For example, Dallas County in Texas had a population of 2,368,139 after the 2010 Census, meaning that it needed to be split into (at least) 4 congressional districts in order to satisfy the rigid population bounds. Census tracts are designed to be relatively homogeneous and typically have between 2,500 and 8,000 people in them, which provides enough granularity to satisfy the population bounds. The tract-level instances are sufficiently large and challenging that roughly half of them can be solved by our techniques, allowing us to show their computational limits. Note, however, that no state has a law requiring the indivisibility of tracts, and many states perform districting at the block level, where \( n \) approaches one million. The exact techniques considered in this paper cannot handle such instances, so we do not generate block-level data.

The data is constructed for each state separately, using a suitable map projection from the EPSG dataset ([IOGP](https://lykhovyd.com/files/public/districting/) 2019). The centroid of each county or tract is taken as its center, and Euclidean distances are measured between centroids. If two counties or tracts share a nontrivial border, we connect them by an edge in \( G \). For some states, the graph \( G \) is disconnected (e.g., due to islands off a state’s coast). In this case, we make it connected by adding a minimum-weight subset of (currently missing) edges via a straightforward extension of Kruskal’s algorithm. We take the weight of an edge \( \{i, j\} \) to be the distance between (the centroids) \( i \) and \( j \). In this way, a single island tract will be made adjacent to its nearest tract from the coast. However, if there is a tightly packed cluster of islands sufficiently far from the coast, only one edge will be added connecting the islands to the coast; the other added edges will be internal to the island cluster.

Although rare, some tracts are themselves non-contiguous. For example, the tract in Massachusetts with GEOID 25023990003 consists of three disconnected pieces, each a body of water with zero population. In these cases, a district that is connected in the contiguity graph may not be contiguous on the map. In fact, this happened in our experiments. To address this issue, one could adjust the contiguity graph by creating a different node for each of the tract’s pieces, or by merging the disconnected pieces into neighboring tracts ([Duchin](https://lykhovyd.com/files/public/districting/) 2020). However, as our intent in this paper is to compare the performance of the contiguity formulations on realistic instances—and not to create “good” plans—we opt to keep the contiguity graphs as-is. In the future, this might
not be a problem; the criteria specified for the 2020 Census state that “Census tracts must comprise a reasonably compact and contiguous land area” (Bureau of the Census 2018).

The other parameters are set as follows, where the number $k$ of congressional districts is known and set by reapportionment. We compute the ideal population $\bar{p} := \frac{1}{k} \sum_{i \in V} p_i$ of a district and allow a 1% deviation, setting $L := 0.995(\bar{p})$ and $U := 1.005(\bar{p})$, as was suggested in a redistricting competition held by reformers in Ohio (Altman and McDonald 2018). We then round the population bounds (in the appropriate direction) to an integer, i.e., $L := \lceil L \rceil$ and $U := \lfloor U \rfloor$.

### 6.2 Experiments with heuristic and variable fixing

Table 1 reports our experience with the heuristic and variable fixing procedures from Section 5. For space considerations, only tract-level results are reported here in the paper. Tract-level results are also more interesting because this is where these procedures are most needed.

Reported under the Lagrangian columns are the lower bound obtained from the Lagrangian and the time in seconds spent by Shor’s $r$-algorithm. As noted in Section 5, we initialize Shor’s $r$-algorithm with optimal dual multipliers from the LP relaxation of the Hess model. The time to solve this LP can be substantial—5 days for CA—so we precompute the LP dual multipliers and store them in the raig_warm directory for reuse; the time to solve this LP is not included in the time given in Table 1. We see that if Shor’s $r$-algorithm is limited to (at most) 100 iterations, it terminates in less than one minute for most instances. The last six columns report the upper bound obtained via the heuristic (without and with contiguity constraints), the time spent by the heuristic, and the percentage of the variables $x_{ij}$ that are eventually fixed.

Generally speaking, the objective values of the heuristic solutions (contiguous vs. not) are similar. So, the price of contiguity appears small. (This is confirmed for optimal solutions later.) Recall that in our heuristic we solve a series of restricted MIPs. For speed considerations, we do not force the MIP solver to prove optimality for these restricted MIPs. This explains the perhaps counter-intuitive observation that, when contiguity is enforced, the heuristic’s objective value sometimes improves (e.g., for NH, ID, OR, and OK).

Another observation is that the variable fixing procedure is quite powerful, sometimes allowing us to fix approximately 100% of the variables. While this is most pronounced on the smaller instances (e.g., RI, NH, ID, HI, ME), some large instances are also amenable to fixing. Roughly 97% of the variables can be fixed for IN which has $n = 1,511$ tracts.

Finally, we observe that it can be quite helpful to exploit contiguity in the variable fixing procedure (Section 5.3). For example, consider the case of TN. Here, the heuristic’s objective value does not change when contiguity is imposed, but the fixings increase from 8% to 44%. In another example, CO sees the fixings increase from 40% to 53% despite a degradation in objective value.

### 6.3 County-level results

A majority of the county-level instances are infeasible. For example, consider Texas. Dallas County had a population of $p_v = 2,368,139$, which far exceeds the population limit $U = 701,980$ that we impose. Thus, Texas is obviously infeasible at the county level. This type of overt infeasibility where the population of a single vertex exceeds $U$ is exhibited by 27 states. These, as well as the 7 trivial instances where $k = 1$, are uninteresting and are excluded from our county-level experiments.

This leaves 16 county-level instances. It turns out that each of them is MIP-feasible under the Hess model, although 4 of them become infeasible when contiguity is imposed (CO, NH, OR,
Table 1: Heuristic and Lagrangian results. We report the number of tracts ($n$), the number of districts ($k$), the Lagrangian objective (LB) and time in seconds, as well as the heuristic objective (UB), time, and the percentage of the variables fixed to zero (fixed) when contiguity is (not) imposed—rounded to the nearest percent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>$n$</th>
<th>$k$</th>
<th>Lagrangian</th>
<th>w/o contiguity</th>
<th>w/ contiguity</th>
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</thead>
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<td>2</td>
<td>228.33</td>
<td>228.42</td>
<td>228.42</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2,680.07</td>
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</tr>
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<td>53,930.05</td>
<td>53,916.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>13,991.27</td>
<td>13,991.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>7,716.04</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11,801.80</td>
<td>11,834.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>31,598.10</td>
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<td>16,700.81</td>
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<td>72,860.21</td>
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</table>

UB time fixed imposed—rounded to the nearest percent.
Table 2: An initial classification of the 50 county-level instances

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th># States</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Overt inf.</td>
<td>27 AZ, CA, CT, FL, GA, HI, IL, IN, KY, MA, MC, MI, MN, MO, NC, NJ, NV, NY, OH, PA, RI, TN, TX, UT, VA, WA, WI.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trivial ($k = 1$)</td>
<td>7 AK, DE, MT, ND, SD, VT, WY.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remaining</td>
<td>16 AL, AR, CO, IA, ID, KS, LA, ME, MS, NE, NH, NM, OK, OR, SC, WV.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SC), leaving 12 contiguity-feasible instances. The reasons why CO and OR are infeasible can be understood by inspecting the sub-maps depicted in Figure 7. For 4 instances, the optimal solution that is returned by the Hess model under the moment-of-inertia (MOI) objective happens to be contiguous (IA, ID, KS, MS). In the other 8 cases, the Hess solution that is found is not contiguous. Further, when contiguity is explicitly imposed, the optimal objective value increases, implying that for these states no optimal solution to the Hess model is contiguous (e.g., see Figure 8).

Figure 7: Side (a) shows that Colorado is infeasible at the county level because there is no feasible district containing Denver County (pop. 600,158). Side (b) shows that Oregon is infeasible at the county level because there is no feasible district containing Maltnomah County (pop. 735,334).

Figure 8: Optimal county-level solutions for Oklahoma.

Table 3 reports the optimal objective values and solve times (in seconds) for the 16 remaining county-level instances. Note that the reported times include all operations (heuristic, Lagrangian fixing, model build, model solve) excluding read time and the time to get the initial Lagrange multipliers (see Section 5). More details can be found in the results directory in the GitHub
repository. As the table shows, the Hess model is relatively easy for the MIP solver at the county level, with each being solved to optimality in under 10 seconds.

Table 3: Times and objective values for solving the resulting MIPs at the county level. Infeasibilities are denoted by an objective value of ∞, while TL denotes that the one-hour time limit was reached.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
<th>w/ contiguity</th>
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<td>∞</td>
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<td>32,944.25</td>
<td>0.63 0.11 0.10 0.10</td>
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<td>∞</td>
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<td>61,232.58</td>
<td>2.79 0.14 0.09 0.09</td>
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<td>∞</td>
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<td>17,748.05</td>
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<td>1.34</td>
<td>23,736.89</td>
<td>48.98 1.78 1.10 1.11</td>
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</table>

For the contiguity models, one observes that the MCF model is the slowest (attributable to its large size), while the others are reasonably competitive with each other. In some cases, however, LCUT edges out the competition. For example, LCUT edges out SHIR for Alabama (19 vs. 64 seconds). We attribute this time difference to LCUT being smaller and more nimble than SHIR. Meanwhile, LCUT edges out CUT for Colorado (2 seconds vs. TL). In fact, we find that LCUT proves infeasibility of Colorado at the root node of the branch-and-bound tree. To illustrate, recall Figure 7. Denver County cannot be paired with any adjacent counties without exceeding the population upper bound. Thus, the special case of the length-$U_{a,b}$-separator inequalities from Remark 5 enforces that Denver County cannot be assigned to other counties, nor can other counties be assigned to it. So, Denver County must be in its own district. However, this conflicts with the population lower bound, proving infeasibility. We also observe that SHIR proves the infeasibility of Colorado at the root node—with the help of the MIP solver’s presolve and cuts. When these features are turned off, branching is required to solve the SHIR model.

Surprisingly, South Carolina (with only 46 counties!) was left unsolved by all contiguity models after a one-hour time limit. Digging deeper, we find that each of its counties can be placed in a suitable district (satisfying contiguity and population balance), but that these districts cannot be pieced into a full districting plan. This provides a partial explanation why the contiguity models have more trouble proving the infeasibility of this instance than, say, Colorado. Another reason why the models might struggle is a sort of symmetry. To illustrate, observe that a partition $(V_1, V_2, \ldots, V_k)$ of the vertices can be represented in many ways in the formulation $(|V_1||V_2|\cdots|V_k|$ to be exact). Normally, we can distinguish between these solutions by their objective values (which differ based on the choice of centers). If any such feasible solution is discovered, then the other representations (with inferior objectives) would be pruned by bound. However, when the instance is
infeasible there is no incumbent solution that can be used for pruning, unleashing the combinatorial explosion. If an instance is suspected to be infeasible, we can attempt to prove this by imposing a canonical center for a district, say, with the largest population, by fixing \( x_{ij} = 0 \) whenever \( p_i > p_j \). In this way, we can prove the infeasibility of South Carolina with LCUT in three seconds and safely report the objective value in Table 3 as \( \infty \). Applegate (2019) and Buchanan (2019) confirm the infeasibility of South Carolina using different methods.

6.4 Tract-level results

Now we report tract-level results for the Hess, SHIR, and CUT formulations. The formulation MCF is omitted because it is too large to handle tract-level instances, and LCUT is omitted because it performs nearly the same as CUT on tract-level instances. As before, we do not consider the seven trivial instances (where \( k = 1 \)) in our experiments. The remaining 43 tract-level instances are feasible. Figure 9 gives an optimal solution for Oklahoma.

![Figure 9: A tract-level solution for Oklahoma that is optimal for the Hess and CUT models.](image)

Table 4 gives the results under a one-hour time limit. In every case, we apply the heuristic from Section 5 and provide the resulting solution to Gurobi as a MIP start. We also use the associated upper bound in the Lagrangian-based procedure discussed in Section 5 to safely fix some variables to zero. As expected, the formulations solve most quickly when the number of tracts is small, and they generally struggle more and more as \( n \) increases. They all solve instances as big as Kentucky \((n = 1,115)\), but solve none of the larger instances within a one-hour time limit. Somewhat surprisingly, the MIP solver even struggles with West Virginia \((n = 484)\) and Nevada \((n = 687)\)—whether or not contiguity is imposed. One explanation for this is that the Lagrangian-based reduced cost fixing is less effective on these instances (recall Table 1).

In some cases, Hess is noticeably faster than SHIR and CUT; for example, the times for Kentucky are 245 and 2272 and 2354 seconds, respectively. There are also cases where CUT is noticeably faster than Hess and SHIR; for example, the times for Kansas are 660 and 1310 and \( > 3600 \) seconds, respectively. Meanwhile, SHIR is consistently the slowest, performing worse than Hess in all cases, and worse than CUT in all but one case (Kentucky, by 82 seconds). The dominance of Hess over SHIR matches the experience of many researchers over the years who have observed that contiguity constraints tend to make problems more difficult. However, if using an alternative model...
Table 4: Results for solving the resulting MIPs at the tract level. For each formulation, we report the final lower and upper bounds at termination within a 3600 second time limit, as reported by Gurobi. When the LP relaxation does not solve within the time limit, the time is reported as LPNS.

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<td>11,078.13</td>
<td>11,081.76</td>
<td>11,081.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AZ</td>
<td>30,219.11</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VA</td>
<td>13,814.08</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GA</td>
<td>15,836.60</td>
<td>15,955.65</td>
<td>15,955.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJ</td>
<td>2,291.51</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>14,679.00</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MI</td>
<td>24,685.68</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OH</td>
<td>11,908.25</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IL</td>
<td>16,067.49</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>11,799.41</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FL</td>
<td>15,222.31</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NY</td>
<td>16,700.05</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TX</td>
<td>72,846.42</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>27,603.66</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
<td>LPNS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The objective values obtained for the CUT and SHIR models are inconsistent with each other. Suspecting this inconsistency was due to a numerical issue, we reran both models with the NumericFocus parameter set to 3, which is an action recommended by Gurobi for numerically unstable instances. ** With this change, both models reported an objective value of 19,107.72.

** The best solution that was found is connected in the contiguity graph but not on the map (see Section 6.1). This is due to non-contiguous tracts in MA (25023990003), LA (22075050100), and ME (multiple).
for enforcing contiguity (CUT), this no longer seems to be true. In fact, the CUT and Hess models seem to have very similar performance. They solve the same 16 instances within a one-hour time limit, and their running times on these instances are on par with each other.

Another observation is the LP relaxations are often quite difficult to solve. Half of the SHIR LP relaxations could not be solved within the one-hour time limit, and one third of the CUT LP relaxations could not be solved. This is summarized in Table 5.

Table 5: Summary of tract-level MIP results with a one-hour time limit.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Hess</th>
<th>SHIR</th>
<th>CUT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td># MIPs solved</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># LPs solved (but not MIP)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># LPs not solved</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Out of curiosity, we decided to test the limits of the approach by running select states without a time limit. Table 6 reports five instances that eventually solved. Interestingly, the MIP solver could not solve the Hess model for Minnesota when it is told to obey a one-hour time limit; however, when no time limit is imposed it solves in 2,205 seconds. The MIP solver appears to behave differently when told to obey a one-hour time limit.

Table 6: Tract-level MIPs that are solved when no time limit is imposed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>Hess</th>
<th>obj</th>
<th>time</th>
<th>CUT</th>
<th>obj</th>
<th>time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WV</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11,801.26</td>
<td>27,056.92</td>
<td>11,834.84</td>
<td>28,984.58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MN</td>
<td>1,338</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24,220.16</td>
<td>2,204.75</td>
<td>24,221.70</td>
<td>92,312.17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MD</td>
<td>1,406</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5,084.32</td>
<td>36,553.32</td>
<td>5,084.44</td>
<td>75,539.58</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WI</td>
<td>1,409</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16,311.75</td>
<td>173,216.16</td>
<td>16,312.72</td>
<td>293,674.57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IN</td>
<td>1,511</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11,081.72</td>
<td>10,570.75</td>
<td>11,081.72</td>
<td>13,435.36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 Conclusion

Many researchers have stated that contiguity constraints make districting problems particularly difficult to solve. However, for the classical districting problem of Hess et al. (1965), the experiments conducted in this paper suggest otherwise; the exact same 21 tract-level instances are solved to optimality whether or not contiguity is imposed. One explanation for this phenomenon is that the compactness objective proposed by Hess et al. leads to nearly contiguous districting plans; a slight nudge is all that is needed to achieve “full” contiguity. Formulations based on graph cuts, like the CUT formulation of Oehrlein and Haunert (2017) and the newly proposed LCUT formulation, are well-suited to this task. Few inequalities are needed to prove optimality. Meanwhile, flow-based formulations can also perform well on smaller instances, but their size becomes a problem sooner as their LP relaxations are larger. The practical difficulty of handling contiguity constraints under other objective functions (e.g., those unrelated to compactness) is less clear and is left for future work.
The biggest bottleneck is solving the root LP relaxations. The bedrock of the formulations considered in this paper—the Hess formulation—grows quadratically with the number $n$ of vertices. With Lagrangian reduced-cost fixing, many of these variables can be avoided, allowing half of the tract-level instances to be solved. With small tweaks to the implementation, other instances may be within reach, but entirely new ideas may be needed to solve the largest instances like Texas ($n = 5,265$) and California ($n = 8,057$).

We make no claims that the maps generated in our computational experiments are “good” or even legal. For example, our implementation does not explicitly consider the Voting Rights Act, political subdivisions, partisan makeup of the districts, nor any laws that vary by state. We consider one measure of compactness (the most prominent one in OR models), but there are many others in the literature. We hope that the work conducted in this paper (including our publicly available source code and test instances) will provide a basis for further districting research.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix A– Formulation Correctness

Here we prove the correctness of the contiguity formulations.

**Definition 3.** A given \( \hat{x} \in \{0,1\}^{n \times n} \) is consistent if \( \hat{x}_{ij} \leq \hat{x}_{jj} \) for all \( i,j \in V \).

In the context of the \( x \) variables, a districting plan is represented as follows. If a given \( \hat{x} \in \{0,1\}^{n \times n} \) is consistent, the associated set of district “roots” is given by

\[ R(\hat{x}) := \{ b \in V \mid \hat{x}_{bb} = 1 \}, \]

and the district rooted at \( b \in R(\hat{x}) \) is given by

\[ V_b(\hat{x}) := \{ a \in V \mid \hat{x}_{ab} = 1 \}. \]

Supposing that \( \hat{x} \) is consistent, the four bright-line rules can be expressed mathematically as follows.

1. each vertex \( i \in V \) belongs to exactly one of the sets \( V_r(\hat{x}), r \in R(\hat{x}) \);
2. \( |R(\hat{x})| = k \);
3. for every \( r \in R(\hat{x}), L \leq \sum_{i \in V_r(\hat{x})} p_i \leq U \);
4. for every \( r \in R(\hat{x}), V_r(\hat{x}) \) induces a connected subgraph in \( G \).

We restate the correctness theorem for completeness.

**Theorem.** Formulations SHIR, MCF, CUT, and LCUT are correct.

**Proof.** We are to show that, for each formulation \( F \), \( \hat{x} \in \{0,1\}^{n \times n} \) is consistent and satisfies the four bright-line rules if and only if \( \hat{x} \in \text{proj}_x F \). By Theorem 1, it suffices to show the two claims:

1. if \( \hat{x} \in \{0,1\}^{n \times n} \) is consistent and satisfies the four bright-line rules, then \( \hat{x} \in \mathcal{P}_{LCUT} \); and
2. if \( (\hat{x}, \hat{f}) \in \mathcal{P}_{SHIR} \) and \( \hat{x} \in \{0,1\}^{n \times n} \), then \( \hat{x} \) is consistent and satisfies the four bright-line rules.

To prove the first claim, suppose that \( \hat{x} \) satisfies the four bright-line rules and is consistent. By the first three rules, \( \hat{x} \) satisfies the constraints [9a] from the Hess model. So, all that remains is to show that \( \hat{x} \) satisfies the length-\( U \) \( a,b \)-separator inequalities [9b]. By the third rule, \( \hat{x}_{ab} = 0 \), then the constraint [9b] is trivially satisfied, so suppose \( \hat{x}_{ab} = 1 \). This implies that \( a \in V_b(\hat{x}) \). By the fourth rule, \( V_b(\hat{x}) \) induces a connected subgraph in \( G \), implying that there exists a path \( P \) from \( a \) to \( b \) in \( G[V_b(\hat{x})] \). Moreover, this path \( P \) has length at most \( U \), because \( V(P) \) is a subset of \( V_b(\hat{x}) \) and because \( p(V_b(\hat{x})) \leq U \) by the third rule. By the definition of a length-\( U \) \( a,b \)-separator, there is at least one vertex \( c \in V_b(\hat{x}) \) that belongs to both \( C \) and \( V(P) \), and so constraint [9b] is satisfied as

\[ \hat{x}_{ab} = 1 = \hat{x}_{cb} \leq \sum_{j \in C} \hat{x}_{jb}. \]

To prove the second claim, suppose that \( (\hat{x}, \hat{f}) \in \mathcal{P}_{SHIR} \) and \( \hat{x} \in \{0,1\}^{n \times n} \). This implies \( \hat{x} \) is consistent. By the correctness of the Hess formulation, the districting plan \( V_b(\hat{x}), b \in R(\hat{x}) \),
satisfies the first three bright-line rules. So, it suffices to show that the fourth holds, i.e., that each vertex subset $V_b(\hat{x})$ induces a connected subgraph $G_b := G[V_b(\hat{x})]$ in $G$. For contradiction purposes, suppose that some $V_b(\hat{x})$ induces at least two connected components in $G$, and let $S$ be the vertex set of a component of $G_b$ that does not contain vertex $b$. Let $N(S)$ be the neighborhood of $S$, i.e.,

$$N(S) := \{ j \in V \setminus S \mid \exists v \in S \ni \{ j, v \} \in E \}.$$ 

Then,

$$1 \leq |S| = \sum_{j \in S} \hat{x}_{jb} = \sum_{j \in S} \left( \hat{f}^b(\delta^-(j)) - \hat{f}^b(\delta^+(j)) \right) \quad (17a)$$

$$= \sum_{j \in S} \left( \sum_{i \in N(j)} (\hat{f}^b_{ij} - \hat{f}^b_{ji}) \right) \quad (17b)$$

$$= \sum_{j \in S} \sum_{i \in N(j) \cap S} (\hat{f}^b_{ij} - \hat{f}^b_{ji}) + \sum_{j \in S} \sum_{i \in N(j) \cap (V \setminus S)} (\hat{f}^b_{ij} - \hat{f}^b_{ji}) \quad (17c)$$

$$= 0 + \left( \sum_{j \in S} \sum_{i \in N(j) \cap (V \setminus S)} \hat{f}^b_{ij} - \sum_{j \in S} \sum_{i \in N(j) \cap (V \setminus S)} \hat{f}^b_{ji} \right) \quad (17d)$$

$$= 0 + \left( \sum_{j \in S} \sum_{i \in N(j) \cap (V \setminus S)} \hat{f}^b_{ij} - 0 \right) \quad (17e)$$

$$\leq 0 + \left( \sum_{i \in N(S)} \hat{f}^b(\delta^+(i)) - 0 \right) \quad (17f)$$

$$= \sum_{i \in N(S)} \hat{f}^b(\delta^+(i)) - \sum_{i \in N(S)} \hat{x}_{ib} \quad (17g)$$

$$= \sum_{i \in N(S)} \hat{f}^b(\delta^-(i)) - \sum_{i \in N(S)} \hat{x}_{ib} \leq 0. \quad (17h)$$

Equation $(17a)$ holds by constraints $(2b)$. Equation $(17d)$ holds because, in the left sum, each flow variable $\hat{f}^b_{ij}$ with $i, j \in S$ appears once with a positive coefficient and once with a negative coefficient, so they cancel each other. Equation $(17c)$ holds by constraints $(2c)$ and $(2e)$, because $\hat{x}_{ib} = 0$ for every vertex $i \in N(S)$. Inequality $(17f)$ holds by constraints $(2e)$. Equation $(17g)$ holds by constraints $(2b)$. The equation in line $(17h)$ holds because $\hat{x}_{ib} = 0$ for every vertex $i \in N(S)$. The inequality in line $(17h)$ then holds by constraints $(2c)$. This results in the contradiction $1 \leq 0$. $\square$
Appendix B – NP-Hardness of Fractional Separation for LCUT

To prove Theorem 3, we require the following lemma. It refers to the PARTITION problem, in which positive integers $t_1, t_2, \ldots, t_n$ are given as input, and the task is to determine whether there exists $T \subseteq [n]$ with $\sum_{i \in T} t_i = \sum_{i \in [n] \setminus T} t_i$.

**Lemma 5.** PARTITION remains NP-hard when two of the integers in the input equal $(3/8) \sum_{i=1}^n t_i$.

**Proof.** The reduction is from an arbitrary instance of PARTITION with positive integers $s_1, s_2, \ldots, s_q$. Let $\sigma = \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^q s_i$ be the associated target value, and let $n := q + 2$. We construct an equivalent instance of partition $t_1, t_2, \ldots, t_n$, where $t_i := s_i$ for every $i \in [q]$, and the last two integers $t_{q+1}$ and $t_{q+2}$ are each set to $3\sigma$. The sum $\sum_{i=1}^n t_i$ equals $8\sigma$, meaning that the new target value is $4\sigma$. This implies that $t_{q+1}$ and $t_{q+2}$ cannot be on the same side of the partition, in which case the new instance of PARTITION is equivalent to the original one. Since the reduction runs in polynomial time and since $t_{q+1} = t_{q+2} = 3\sigma = (3/8) \sum_{i=1}^n t_i$, this proves the lemma. \qed

**Proof of Theorem 3.** We show that it is NP-complete to determine whether a given point $x^*$ lies outside of $P_{LCUT}$. This problem belongs to NP because a violated inequality from $P_{LCUT}$ is a suitable witness. The hardness reduction is from a PARTITION instance from the special class described in Lemma 5. Without loss, suppose that $t_1 = t_2 = \frac{3}{4} \alpha$, where $\alpha := \frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^q t_i$ is the target value, and that $\alpha \geq 17$ (otherwise it is solvable in polynomial time by dynamic programming). Figure 10 details the construction of the graph $G = (V, E)$, the population vector $p$, and the nonzeros of the point $x^*$. Also, set $L := 0$, $U := \alpha - 1$, and $k := n + 1$. The graph $G$ has $3n + 1$ vertices and is outerplanar.

![Figure 10](image-url)

Figure 10: An illustration of the graph $G = (V, E)$, the population vector $p$, and the nonzeros of $x^*$.

First, we show that $x^*$ belongs to $P_{LCUT}$. For every vertex $i \in V$, $\sum_{j \in V} x_{ij}^* = 1$, so the assignment constraints (1b) are satisfied. Furthermore, $\sum_{j \in V} x_{jj}^* = n + 1 = k$, so constraint (1c) is satisfied. The population constraints (1d) are clearly satisfied for $a$, the $h_i$ vertices, and the top-most vertices, so consider a vertex of the type $v'$ on the bottom, and see that

$$Lx_{v'v}^* = 0 \left( \frac{t_v}{\alpha + 1} \right) \leq \sum_{i \in V} p_i x_{iv}^* = t_v \left( \frac{t_v}{\alpha + 1} \right) \leq (\alpha - 1) \left( \frac{t_v}{\alpha + 1} \right) = Ux_{v'v'},$$

42
where the last inequality holds by $t_v \leq \frac{3}{4} \alpha$ and $\alpha \geq 4$. For vertex $b$, we have

$$Lx_{ib}^* = 0(1) \leq \sum_{i \in V} p_i x_{ib}^* = \sum_{i=1}^{n} p_i x_{ib}^* = \sum_{i=1}^{n} t_i \left( 1 - \frac{t_i}{\alpha + 1} \right) = \sum_{i=1}^{n} t_i - \left( \frac{1}{\alpha + 1} \right) \sum_{i=1}^{n} t_i^2 < \sum_{i=1}^{n} t_i - \left( \frac{1}{\alpha + 1} \right) \left( t_1^2 + t_2^2 \right) = 2\alpha - \left( \frac{1}{\alpha + 1} \right) \left( \frac{9\alpha^2}{8} \right) \leq (\alpha - 1)(1) = Ux_{ib}^*.$$  

The last inequality holds because $\alpha \geq 17$. It is clear that $x^*$ satisfies the coupling constraints (14c).

The $i$, $j$-separator inequalities (15b) obviously hold for most variables $x_{ij}^*$, because most of them are zero or have $i = j$. The only nontrivial case is when $j = b$. In this case, every minimal $i$, $b$-separator is of the form $C = \{v, v'\}$ or $C = \{v_a\}$, and both have $x_{ib}^* \leq 1 = \sum_{c \in C} x_{cb}^*$. So, $x^*$ satisfies all inequalities (15b), and thus satisfies all constraints defining $\mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}}$.

Now, to show NP-hardness, we must demonstrate that $(t_1, t_2, \ldots, t_n)$ is a “yes” instance of PARTITION if and only if there is an inequality defining $\mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}}$ that $x^*$ violates.

$(\implies)$ Suppose that $(t_1, t_2, \ldots, t_n)$ is a “yes” instance of PARTITION, meaning that there is a subset $C \subset [n]$ such that $\sum_{i \in C} t_i = \sum_{i \in [n] \setminus C} t_i$. We argue that $C$ is a length-$U$ $a$, $b$-separator in $G$ and that $x^*$ violates the associated inequality. First, see that if a vertex $i \in C$ is removed from $G$, then any $a$, $b$-path must cross its copy $i'$ which will contribute $p_i$ towards the length of the path. Thus, if $C$ is removed, then every $a$, $b$-path will have length at least $\sum_{i \in C} p_i = \sum_{i \in C} t_i = \alpha = U + 1$. That is, $C$ is a length-$U$ $a$, $b$-separator. Then, $x^*$ lies outside of $\mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}}$ because $$x_{ab}^* = 1 > \frac{\alpha}{\alpha + 1} = \frac{1}{\alpha + 1} \sum_{i \in C} t_i = \sum_{i \in C} t_i \left( \frac{t_i}{\alpha + 1} \right) = \sum_{i \in C} x_{ib}^*.$$  

$(\iff)$ For the other direction, suppose that there is an inequality defining $\mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}}$ that $x^*$ violates. As we have shown, $x^*$ belongs to $\mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}}$ (and thus $\mathcal{P}_{\text{HESS}}$), so any violated inequality must take the form $x_{ij} \leq \sum_{c \in C} x_{cj}$ where $i \neq j$. Observe that $C$ must be a length-$U$ $i$, $j$-separator and not just an $i$, $j$-separator (by $x^* \in \mathcal{P}_{\text{CUT}}$), so there exists an $i$, $j$-path in $G - C$, but its length is more than $U$. Without loss of generality, we suppose that $C$ is a minimal length-$U$ $i$, $j$-separator.

Claim 2. $j = b$.

Proof. The claim follows because if $j \neq b$, then $x_{ij}^* = 0 \leq \sum_{c \in C} x_{cj}^*$.  

Claim 3. $C$ contains no vertices from the middle row $\{a, h_2, h_3, \ldots, h_n, b\}$.

Proof. If $C$ contains a vertex $v$ from the middle row, then $x_{ib}^* \leq 1 = x_{cb}^* \leq \sum_{c \in C} x_{cb}^*$, and $x^*$ satisfies the length-$U$ $i$, $b$-separator inequality for $C$.  

43
Claim 4. C contains no vertices from the bottom row \( \{1', 2', \ldots, n'\} \).

Proof. For contradiction purposes, suppose that \( C \) contains a vertex \( v' \) from the bottom row. Let \( C' := C \setminus \{v'\} \) and consider a shortest \( i, b \)-path \( P' \) in \( G - C' \). This path \( P' \) cannot cross \( v' \), for if it did then replacing \( v' \) by its upper counterpart \( v \) gives a shorter path \( P \) of length

\[
\text{length}(P) = \text{length}(P') + p_v - p_{v'} = \text{length}(P') + 0 - t_v < \text{length}(P').
\]

Thus, \( P' \) also belongs to \( G - C \), implying that \( \text{dist}_{G-C,P}(i, b) = \text{dist}_{G-C,P}(i, b) \). Recalling that \( \text{dist}_{G-C,P}(i, b) > U \) as \( C \) is a length-\( U \) \( i, b \)-separator, we see \( \text{dist}_{G-C',P}(i, b) = \text{dist}_{G-C,P}(i, b) > U \). Consequently, \( C' \) is also a length-\( U \) \( i, b \)-separator, contradicting the minimality of \( C \).

Claim 5. The inequalities \( \alpha \leq p_i + \sum_{\alpha \in C} t_{\alpha} \) and \( (\alpha + 1) \sum_{\alpha \in C} x_{\alpha}^* \geq (\alpha - p_i) \) hold.

Proof. By Claims 3 and 4, \( C \subseteq [n] \). By minimality of \( C \), \( i \) must be somewhere to the left of the \( C \) vertices in Figure 10. So, every \( i, b \)-path must cross \( i \) and the lower counterparts \( C' \) of \( C \), and thus has length at least \( p_i \) and \( p(C') \). Meanwhile, a path \( P \) of the same length can be constructed by moving from left to right, opting for \( v \in [n] \) when it is available \( (v \notin C) \) and taking \( v' \) otherwise. Thus, \( P \) is a shortest \( i, b \)-path in \( G - C \), and

\[
\alpha = U + 1 \leq \text{dist}_{G-C,P}(i, b) = p_i + p(C') = p_i + \sum_{\alpha \in C} t_{\alpha} = p_i + (\alpha + 1) \sum_{\alpha \in C} x_{\alpha}^*.
\]

Claim 6. Vertices \( i \) cannot belong to the top row \( \{1, 2, \ldots, n\} \).

Proof. If \( i \in \{1, 2, \ldots, n\} \), we arrive at the following contradiction.

\[
(3/4)\alpha \geq t_i = (\alpha + 1)x_{ib}^* > (\alpha + 1) \sum_{\alpha \in C} x_{\alpha}^* \geq \alpha > (3/4)\alpha.
\]

The first inequality holds by special class of partition instances that we reduce from. The second inequality holds by the assumption. The third inequality holds by Claim 5 and \( p_i = 0 \).

Claim 7. \((t_1, t_2, \ldots, t_n)\) is a “yes” instance of Partition.

Proof. By Claim 9 either \( i \in \{a, b_2, \ldots, h_n\} \) or \( i \in \{1', 2', \ldots, n'\} \). In the former case,

\[
1 = x_{ib}^* > \sum_{\alpha \in C} x_{\alpha}^* = \sum_{\alpha \in C} \frac{t_{\alpha}}{\alpha + 1},
\]

implying that \( \alpha + 1 > \sum_{\alpha \in C} t_{\alpha} \) and so

\[
\alpha + 1 > \sum_{\alpha \in C} t_{\alpha} = \sum_{\alpha \in C} t_{\alpha} + p_i \geq \alpha,
\]

where the last inequality holds by Claim 5. Because all terms of (19) are integers, it follows that \( \sum_{\alpha \in C} t_{\alpha} = \alpha \). Thus, \( C \) is a solution to the partition instance.  In the latter case, \( i \) belongs to the bottom row \( \{1', 2', \ldots, n'\} \). Let \( j \in \{1, 2, \ldots, n\} \) be its upper counterpart. Then,

\[
1 - \frac{t_j}{\alpha + 1} = x_{ib}^* > \sum_{\alpha \in C} x_{\alpha}^* = \sum_{\alpha \in C} \frac{t_{\alpha}}{\alpha + 1}.
\]
implying that $\alpha + 1 - t_j > \sum_{c \in C} t_c$ and so

$$\alpha + 1 > \sum_{c \in C} t_c + t_j = \sum_{c \in C} t_c + p_i \geq \alpha,$$

(21)

where the last inequality holds by Claim 5. Because all terms of (21) are integers, it follows that $\sum_{c \in C} t_c + t_j = \alpha$. Thus, $C \cup \{j\}$ is a solution to the partition instance. □