# Lecture 14: Network Traffic, Congestion, and Potential Games

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## Network Traffic

Having covered the basics of both graph theory and game theory, we're now ready to study strategic interactions on networks.

Start with a simple and important example: **network traffic** (also known as **routing games**).

- Multiple individuals need to get from point A to point B on a network.
  - Drivers on a road network; information packets under decentralized routing on a communication network.
- Each individual chooses a route to minimize its own travel time, given others' route choices. (Nash equilibrium.)
- What happens? Is the equilibrium outcome socially efficient? How inefficient can it be? What types of interventions can restore efficiency?
- Network traffic is important in its own right, and is also a point of entry into the study of **potential games**, an important general class of games with many engineering/CS applications.

# A Simple Example

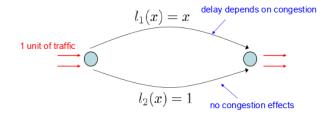
A unit mass of traffic must be routed over a network.

There are two routes.

- ► On route 1, the delay (or latency) depends on the mass of traffic taking that route: if mass x takes route 1, the latency is l<sub>1</sub> (x) = x.
- ➤ On route 2, the delay is independent of the mass of traffic: for any mass of traffic x, the latency is l<sub>2</sub> (x) = 1.

(Perhaps route 1 is a direct route on slow and easily congested local roads, while route 2 is an indirect route on a fast highway that's less congestible.)

### Example: Diagram



#### Example: The Social Optimum

What is the **socially optimal** (total utility maximizing) routing, i.e. the routing pattern that minimizes average delay?

If mass x takes route 1, average delay is

$$x \cdot x + (1 - x) \cdot 1 = x^2 + 1 - x$$

• This is minimized at  $x = \frac{1}{2}$ , for an average delay of  $\frac{3}{4}$ .

**Note:** At this socially optimal solution, different agents face different delays.

- Half the agents take route 1 and face delay <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>.
- Half the agents take route 2 and face delay 1.

The social optimum is not an equilibrium when each agent chooses her own route, as the agents who are "supposed" to take route 2 would deviate to taking route 1.

# Example: The Nash Equilibrium

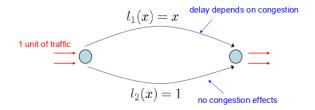
What is the (Nash) **equilibrium routing**, i.e. the routing pattern that results from each agent choosing the route that minimizes her own delay?

- For any x < 1, delay is less on route 1 than route 2.
- ► Hence, the only NE is for everyone to take route 1.
- This results in a delay of 1 for all agents.

**Note:** As compared to the social optimum, half the agents face the same delay (1) and half the agents face more delay (1 instead of  $\frac{1}{2}$ ).

No one is better off, and some people are strictly worse off!

# Example: Intuition



Economic intuition for equilibrium inefficiency:

- Choosing the congestible route 1 rather than route 2 imposes a cost on other agents: a "negative externality."
- An individual agent does not take this externality into account when making her decision.
- Therefore, at equilibrium there are inefficiently many agents taking route 1.

# Congestion vs. the Prisoner's Dilemma

The negative externality imposed on others by driving on a congestible road can be related to the prisoner's dilemma we saw last class:

	С	D
С	2,2	0,3
D	3,0	1,1

- Playing D rather than C always yields a selfish gain of 1, but imposes a negative externality of 2 on the other player.
- ► The unique Nash equilibrium outcome is (D, D), even though the socially optimal outcome is (C, C).
- Similarly, driving on a congestible road can save an individual agent time, but it imposes a negative externality on everyone else.
- Nash equilibrium in a congestion game involves overuse of congestible resources, relative to the social optimum.

### The Price of Anarchy

In a game with negative payoffs ("costs" or "losses" that we want to minimize), the **price of anarchy** is the ratio of the total cost borne by all agents in the worst equilibrium to the total cost at the social optimum.

•  $POA \ge 1$ , because the social optimum minimizes costs.

In the example,

- There is a unique equilibrium with total cost 1.
- Total cost at the social optimum is  $\frac{3}{4}$ .
- Hence, the price of anarchy is  $1/\frac{3}{4} = \frac{4}{3}$ .
- In other words, total cost is <sup>4</sup>/<sub>3</sub> times higher in the (worst) equilibrium as compared to the social optimum.

## The Price of Anarchy

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- In other words, total cost is <sup>4</sup>/<sub>3</sub> times higher in the (worst) equilibrium as compared to the social optimum.

If we consider the best equilibrium instead of the worst one, the corresponding ratio is called the **price of stability**.

• 
$$1 \leq POS \leq POA$$
.

## General Traffic Model

Directed network G = (N, E).

Some given node is the origin, another node is the destination.

- We consider here a relatively simple model where everyone starts at the same origin and needs to get to the same destination.
- The analysis is similar in the more general case where different agents have different origins or destinations.

We normalize the total mass of traffic to 1.

### General Traffic Model

Let P denote the set of paths between origin and destination.

Let  $x_p$  denote the **flow** on path  $p \in P$ .

How many agents use path *p*.

Each link  $i \in E$  has a **latency function**  $I_i(x_i)$ , where  $x_i$  is the total flow on link *i*, given by

$$x_i = \sum_{p \in P: i \in p} x_p.$$

• Here,  $i \in p$  means link *i* is part of path *p*.

The latency function captures congestion effects.

- Assume I<sub>i</sub> (x<sub>i</sub>) is non-negative and non-decreasing for each link i.
- The functions l<sub>i</sub> can be different for different links i: some links can be more congestible than others.

#### General Traffic Model

A routing pattern (or flow) x is a probability distribution on P.

A description of what fraction of the traffic takes each possible path from the origin to the destination.

The **total delay** (or **total latency**, or **total cost**) of a routing pattern x is

$$C(x) = \sum_{i \in E} x_i I_i(x_i).$$

This is simply the sum over links of the total delay (=mass of traffic times per-unit delay) incurred on each link.

We could also write this as

$$C(x) = \sum_{p \in P} x_p \sum_{i \in p} I_i(x_i)$$
 ,

where here we take the sum over paths of the total delay incurred on each path.  $^{13}$ 

# Socially Optimal Routing

A routing pattern x is **socially optimal** if it is a solution to the following problem:

$$\min_{x}\sum_{i\in E}x_{i}I_{i}(x_{i})$$

subject to

$$\begin{array}{rcl} x_i & = & \sum_{p \in P: i \in p} x_p \text{ for all } i \in E, \\ \sum_{p \in P} x_p & = & 1 \text{ and } x_p \geq 0 \text{ for all } p \in P. \end{array}$$

- First constraint: traffic on link i = mass of agents using a path that goes through link i.
- Second constraint: everyone must get from origin to destination.

### Equilibrium Routing

A routing pattern x is an **equilibrium** if, for any path  $p \in P$  with  $x_p > 0$ , there does not exist a path  $p' \in P$  such that

$$\sum_{i\in p'}I_i(x_i)<\sum_{i\in p}I_i(x_i).$$

 Taking what everyone else is doing as given, no agent can switch to a faster route.

In other words, x is an equilibrium if

1. For all  $p, p' \in P$  with  $x_p, x_{p'} > 0$ , we have

$$\sum_{i\in p}{{I_i}\left( {{x_i}} 
ight)} = \sum_{i\in {p'}}{{I_i}\left( {{x_i}} 
ight)}$$
 , and

2. For all  $p, p' \in P$  with  $x_p > 0$  and  $x_{p'} = 0$ , we have

$$\sum_{i \in p} I_i(x_i) \leq \sum_{i \in p'} I_i(x_i).$$

## Equilibrium Routing: Comment

A routing pattern x is an **equilibrium** if, for any path  $p \in P$  with  $x_p > 0$ , there does not exist a path  $p' \in P$  such that

$$\sum_{i\in p'}I_i(x_i)<\sum_{i\in p}I_i(x_i).$$

This is simply the Nash equilibrium of the large-population game where no one individual's route affects overall traffic.

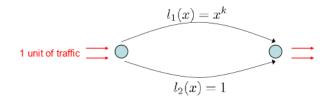
- In the context of routing games, this is also called Wardrop equilibrium.
- (Minor point: technically doesn't fit the usual definition of Nash equilibrium, since there is a continuum of players.)

## Inefficiency of Equilibrium Routing

We've already seen that equilibrium routing can be inefficient.

In fact, this equilibrium inefficiency can be arbitrarily severe:  $POA \approx \infty$ .

Consider the same example as earlier but with a different latency function on route 1:



**Note:** we simply replaced  $l_1(x) = x$  with  $l_1(x) = x^k$ .

When k is large, congestion<sup>17</sup> on route 1 only "gets bad" when almost everyone is using route 1.

# Inefficiency of Equilibrium Routing (cntd.)

When k is large,  $x^k$  is close to 0 unless x is very close to 1.

- If 99% of agents take route 1, then when k is very large total delay is close to .99 · 0 + .01 · 1 = .01.
- As k increases, can have more and more agents take route 1 with incurring much delay.
- Socially optimal delay goes to 0 as  $k \to \infty$ .

But  $x^k$  is still less than 1 for all x < 1, so equilibrium again has everyone taking route 1, which yields equilibrium delay 1.

Therefore, the price of anarchy goes to  $1/0 = \infty$  as  $k \to \infty$ .

## How to Improve Efficiency?

There are different ways to reduce traffic or improve efficiency.

Leading contenders:

- Build new links or increase capacity on existing links.
- Introduce congestion pricing.

We'll see a classic example of how increasing capacity can backfire, while congestion pricing is a quite general solution.

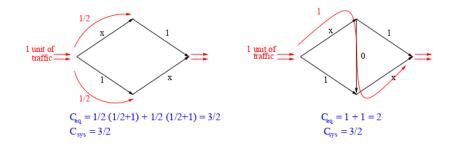
It can also be shown that a sufficiently large increase in capacity always reduces traffic, but we won't cover this result here. Basic idea: can show that equilibrium delay with 1 unit of traffic is less than optimal delay with 2 units of traffic, so delay must decrease if we "double the capacity of every edge." Can reducing the latency function  $I_i(\cdot)$  on any link ever increase socially optimal delay.

No, because can always stick with the old routing pattern, which now involves less delay.

A special case of this observation: adding a new link always decreases optimal delay.

This raises the question, can adding a new link ever increase **equilibrium** delay?

#### Braess's Paradox



## Braess's Paradox in the Real-World?

Braess's paradox shows that, in theory, closing a road can reduce commuting time, even if the number of commuters does not fall.

An interesting question: does this ever happen in real-world traffic networks?

There are several claimed cases, but evidence is mostly anecdotal.

Rather than trying to identify exogenous *actual* road closures, it's easier to run simulations about what *would* happen to real-world networks if some roads were closed.

• Debatable how convincing such simulations are.

# Braess's Paradox in the Real-World? (cntd.)

One of the best-known papers doing this (Youn, Gastner, and Jeong, *Physical Review Letters* 2008) argues that closing Main Street would decrease traffic between Cambridge and Boston! Possible explanation: Consider commuters going from Harvard Square to downtown Boston.

Three main routes that don't use Main Street:

- 1. Cross river at Harvard Sq, take Storrow Drive all the way.
- Take Mass Ave through Cambridge and across river, then Storrow. (First part of the route is the most congestible: Mass Ave in Cambridge.)
- Take Broadway/Hampshire through Cambridge, take Longfellow bridge. (Second part of the route is the most congestible: Longfellow bridge.)

Main St lets commuters use first part of Route 2 and second part of Route 3: causes traffic both  $o_{23}$ Mass Ave and Longfellow bridge. If we closed Main St and forced commuters to choose between Routes 2 and 3, traffic could decrease on both routes.

## **Congestion Pricing**

An alternative way to reduce traffic: congestion pricing.

Consider first example of inefficiency:  $l_1(x) = x$ ,  $l_2(x) = 1$ .

- Efficient routing:  $x = \frac{1}{2}$
- Equilibrium routing: x = 1

Why isn't efficient routing an equilibrium?

Each route 2 agent has an individual incentive to switch to route 1, as doesn't take into account that this increases delay for the mass  $\frac{1}{2}$  agents on route 1.

**Solution:** impose a tax on route 1 ("congestion pricing").

# Congestion Pricing (cntd.)

Suppose all drivers value their time at \$1 per unit.

Suppose the government declares that each driver must pay t dollars to use route 1, with the proceeds of  $t \cdot x_1$  dollars distributed equally among all members of society.

Now an individual driver is indifferent between the two routes iff

x + t = 1.

(**Note:** she gets the proceeds  $t \cdot x_1$  whichever route she takes, so this doesn't affect her decision.)

Given tax t, the equilibrium mass of drivers on route 1 equals 1 - t.

# Congestion Pricing (cntd.)

Given tax t, the equilibrium mass of drivers on route 1 equals 1 - t.

To implement the socially efficient outcome of  $x = \frac{1}{2}$ , the government must set  $t = \frac{1}{2}$ .

What's the new equilibrium with this tax?

- Mass  $\frac{1}{2}$  of drivers take route 1.
- ► This generates revenue <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> · <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> = <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>, which is distributed equally among all drivers.
- Route 1 drivers face delay  $\frac{1}{2}$ , pay tax  $\frac{1}{2}$ , receive transfer  $\frac{1}{4}$ .
- Route 2 drivers face delay 1, pay no tax, receive transfer  $\frac{1}{4}$ .
- All drivers receive the same payoff of  $-\frac{3}{4}$ .
- Thus, the new equilibrium yields the socially optimal loss (and also eliminates inequality). 26

## Congestion Pricing: General Analysis

Ability of congestion pricing to restore efficiency goes far beyond this example.

Key idea: set the toll on link *i* equal to the externality of using link *i*, evaluated at the social optimum  $x^*$ :

$$t_i = x_i^* l_i'(x_i^*) \, .$$

- ► At the social optimum x<sup>\*</sup>, if you decide to use link i, this slows down x<sup>\*</sup><sub>i</sub> drivers by l'<sub>i</sub>(x<sup>\*</sup><sub>i</sub>) each.
- If you have to pay this externality to use link *i*, your incentives to use link *i* become perfectly aligned with social welfare.

#### This is called a **Pigouvian tax** (or in the congestion pricing confext, a **Pigouvian toll**).

# Congestion Pricing: General Analysis

Pigouvian toll: impose a toll of  $t_i = x_i^* I_i'(x_i^*)$  on each link *i*.

#### Theorem

With Pigouvian tolls, the socially optimal routing pattern  $x^*$  is also an equilibrium routing pattern.

We will see the same idea in a more general context when we discuss **Vickrey-Clarke-Groves** auctions later in the course.

The idea that setting taxes equal to externalities restores efficiency is a key insight of economic theory.

## General Analysis (cntd.)

Proof for 2-link case gives the intuition:

Two links with latency functions  $I_1(x_1)$ ,  $I_2(x_2)$ .

Socially optimal routing is given by solution to

$$\min x_{1} l_{1} (x_{1}) + (1 - x_{1}) l_{2} (1 - x_{1})$$

### General Analysis (cntd.)

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Socially optimal routing is given by solution to

$$\min x_1 l_1 (x_1) + (1 - x_1) l_2 (1 - x_1)$$

Convex function with first-order condition for optimum  $x^*$ :

$$l_{1}\left(x_{1}^{*}
ight)+x_{1}^{*}l_{1}^{\prime}\left(x_{1}^{*}
ight)=l_{2}\left(x_{2}^{*}
ight)+x_{2}^{*}l_{2}^{\prime}\left(x_{2}^{*}
ight)$$
 ,

or equivalently

$$\underbrace{l_2(x_2^*) - l_1(x_1^*)}_{l_2(x_2^*) - l_1(x_1^*)} = \underbrace{x_1^* l_1'(x_1^*) - x_2^* l_2'(x_2^*)}_{l_2(x_2^*)}$$

net private benefit of taking route  ${rak H}_0$  net externality of taking route 1

## General Analysis (cntd.)

Suppose we set tolls equal to externalities:

$$\begin{array}{rcl} t_1 & = & x_1^* \, l_1' \left( x_1^* \right) \\ t_2 & = & x_2^* \, l_2' \left( x_2^* \right) . \end{array}$$

Then total cost of using route 1 is  $l_1(x_1^*) + x_1^* l_1'(x_1^*)$ , total cost of using route 2 is  $l_2(x_2^*) + x_2^* l_2'(x_2^*)$ .

The first-order condition for optimality on the previous slide says precisely that these two costs are equal.

Hence, in equilibrium  $x_1^*$  agents take route 1 and  $x_2^*$  agents take route 2.

# Potential Games

Routing games are a special case of a general class of games called **potential games**.

Recognizing routing games as potential games will let us prove some important results about them, such as existence of pure-strategy equilibrium and an upper bound on the price of anarchy.

Intuitively, a potential game is one in which there exists a function  $\phi: S \to \mathbb{R}$ , called a **potential function**, such that, for any player *i* and any two strategies  $s_i, s'_i \in S_i$ , switching from  $s_i$  to  $s'_i$  has the same effect on player *i*'s payoff as it has on the potential.

- The potential function thus reflects all players' incentives simultaneously.
- A key reason why this is important is that maxima of the potential function will correspond to equilibria of the game.
- Most games do not admit a<sup>32</sup>potential function, but for those that do it's usually a very helpful object to work with.

#### Potential Games: Definition

Formally, a function  $\phi : S \to \mathbb{R}$  is a **potential function** if, for all  $i \in N$ ,  $s_i, s'_i \in S_i$ , and  $s_{-i} \in S_{-i}$ , we have

$$u_i\left(s'_i, s_{-i}\right) - u_i\left(s_i, s_{-i}\right) = \phi\left(s'_i, s_{-i}\right) - \phi\left(s_i, s_{-i}\right).$$

A game is a **potential game** if it admits a potential function.

#### Potential Games: Trivial Example

A trivial example of a potential game is a **common-interest** game, where all players have the same payoff function: there exists  $u: S \to \mathbb{R}$  such that  $u_i(s) = u(s)$  for all  $i \in N$  and  $s \in S$ .

**Claim:** Every common-interest game is a potential game.

**Proof:** Simply let  $\phi(s) = u(s)$  for all *s*.

Then, for all  $i \in N$ ,  $s_i, s'_i \in S_i$ , and  $s_{-i} \in S_{-i}$ , we have

$$\begin{array}{rcl} u_i \left( s_i', s_{-i} \right) - u_i \left( s_i, s_{-i} \right) & = & u \left( s_i', s_{-i} \right) - u \left( s_i, s_{-i} \right) \\ & = & \phi \left( s_i', s_{-i} \right) - \phi \left( s_i, s_{-i} \right) . \end{array}$$

Unfortunately, finding a potential function is often not this easy.

## Another Example

Recall the prisoner's dilemma:

	С	D
С	2,2	0,3
D	3,0	1,1

This is a potential game, with potential function given by



► To see this, note that whenever a player switches her action from C to D, this increases her own payoff by 1, and also increases the potential by 1.

Note that the strategy profile that maximizes the potential is (D, D), which is also a Nash equilibrium.

We will see that this is a general feature of potential games.

# Potential Games: PSNE Existence

The following theorem is a simple and important example of the power of potential games:

#### Theorem

Every finite potential game has a pure strategy NE.

#### Proof:

- Since S is finite,  $\phi$  has a maximizer  $s^*$ .
- Since s<sup>\*</sup> maximizes φ, there's no way to increase φ by changing any one coordinate s<sub>i</sub>.
- ► Since  $\phi(s_i, s_{-i}^*) \phi(s_i^*, s_{-i}^*) = u(s_i, s_{-i}^*) u(s_i^*, s_{-i}^*)$ , there's no way to increase  $u_i$  by changing  $s_i$ .
- Hence, s<sup>\*</sup> is a PSNE.

**Note:** Conversely, every PSNE is the ratio of a saddle point of  $\phi$ .

# Routing Games and Potential Games

#### Theorem

Every routing game is a (convex) potential game, and therefore has a (unique) pure-strategy NE.

#### Note:

- ▶ We consider here routing games with a finite number *n* of players, rather than the continuum model we've considered thus far.
- In particular, x<sub>j</sub> is now the **number** of agents using link j, not the fraction.
- We'll also now use j subscripts for links and i subscripts for players/numbers of players.

# Routing Games and Potential Games (cntd.)

#### Theorem

Every routing game is a (convex) potential game, and therefore has a (unique) pure-strategy NE.

#### **Proof:**

We will show that a certain function  $\phi(x)$  is a potential function.

We define  $\phi(x)$  to be what total delay would be if the drivers arrived on the roads in sequence, and each driver only suffered the delay due to those drivers who arrived before her: that is,

$$\phi(x) = \sum_{j \in E} \sum_{i=1}^{x_j} l_j(i)$$

Note: this is **not** equal to total delay, which is

$$C(x) = \sum_{j \in E} x_j l_j(x_j).$$

Since each  $l_{j}$  is non-decreasing, we always have  $\phi(x) \leq C(x)$ .

### Intuition for the Potential Function

The potential on link j is  $\sum_{i=1}^{x_j} l_j(i)$ .

► If a new agent *i* starts using link *j*, this increases her travel time by *l<sub>j</sub>* (*x<sub>j</sub>* + 1), and also increases the potential on link *j* by *l<sub>j</sub>* (*x<sub>j</sub>* + 1).

The total delay on link j is  $x_j l_j(x_j)$ .

► If a new agent i starts using link j, this increases the total delay on link j by l<sub>j</sub> (x<sub>j</sub> + 1) + x<sub>j</sub> (l<sub>j</sub> (x<sub>j</sub> + 1) - l<sub>j</sub> (x<sub>j</sub>)).

Thus, the potential (but not the total delay) reflects individual agents' incentives to use the link.

- ► Another way of seeing this is that the increase in the potential equals the increase in total delay minus the externality x<sub>j</sub> (l<sub>j</sub> (x<sub>j</sub> + 1) l<sub>j</sub> (x<sub>j</sub>)).
- If we want to capture incentives, we have to subtract off this externality, since individuals<sup>39</sup>don't take it into account when making their choices.

### Proof that We Have a Potential Function

Formally, if driver *i* switches from path p to path p', the effect on her delay is

$$\sum_{j \in 
ho' \setminus 
ho} I_j\left(x_j + 1
ight) - \sum_{j \in 
ho \setminus 
ho'} I_j\left(x_j
ight)$$
 ,

where  $j \in p' \setminus p$  indicates that link j is in path p' but not path p, and similarly for  $j \in p \setminus p'$ .

By inspection, this is exactly the same as the effect on  $\phi$ . Hence,  $\phi$  is a potential function.

**Note:** To see that we could not have just taken C as the potential function, note that the effect of i switching from p to p' on C is something different:

$$\sum_{j \in p' \setminus p} [l_j (x_j + 1) + x_j (l_j (x_j + 1) - l_j (x_j))] \\ - \sum_{j \in p \setminus p'} [l_j (x_j) + (x_j 40 1) (l_j (x_j) - l_j (x_j - 1))].$$

We now use the potential game approach to prove the following important result: with affine latency functions, there is always an equilibrium that is not "too inefficient."

A latency function  $I_j(x_j)$  is **affine** if it can be written as  $I_j(x_j) = a_j x_j + b_j$  for constants  $a_j, b_j \ge 0$ .

#### Theorem

In any routing game with affine latency functions,  $POA \leq 2$ .

# Price of Stability: Comments

#### Theorem

In any routing game with affine latency functions,  $\textit{POA} \leq 2$ 

- The simple example at the very beginning of lecture has affine latency and POA = 4/3.
- ► The theorem can actually be improved to say that POA ≤ 4/3. So the simple example is actually the worst possible!
- Rough intuition: negative externalities are "as strong as possible" in the simple network.
- In contrast, we've seen that, with general polynomial latency functions, the price of anarchy can be arbitrarily high.

#### Price of Stability: Proof

Let  $x^*$  be a socially optimal routing (i.e., a routing that minimizes C), and let  $x^E$  be a routing that minimizes the potential  $\phi$  (and hence is a PSNE).

We know that, for any routing x, we have  $\phi(x) \leq C(x)$ .

We will prove that, for any routing x, we have  $\phi(x) \ge C(x)/2$ .

Then we're done: we have



That is, total delay at  $x^E$  is no more than twice the socially optimal delay.

# Price of Stability: Proof (cntd.)

The fact that  $\phi(x) \ge C(x)/2$  follows from the assumption of affine latency functions:  $l_j(x_j) = a_j x_j + b_j$  for all j.

Recall that C(x) is total delay, while  $\phi(x)$  is total delay when drivers arrive in sequence and each driver only suffers the delay caused by earlier drivers.

Total delay on link j equals

$$(a_j x_j + b_j) x_j = a_j x_j^2 + b_j x_j.$$

Potential on link j equals

$$\sum_{i=1}^{x_j} l_j(i) = a_j(1+2+\ldots+x_j) + b_j x_j.$$

- Note that  $1 + 2 + \ldots + x_j = 4x_j (x_j + 1) / 2 \ge x_j^2 / 2$ .
- Hence, potential is at least (total delay)/2.

# Summary

- Routing games are an important application of Nash equilibrium to networks, especially for understanding transportation and information routing.
- Equilibrium routing is typically inefficient, as individual agents do not take into account their contributions to congestion when making decisions.
- With non-affine latency functions, this inefficiency can be arbitrarily severe.
- With affine latency functions, inefficiency cannot be "too bad" (however, in reality a factor of 2 or <sup>4</sup>/<sub>3</sub> is not great!).
- Increasing capacity does not always help, as shown by Braess's paradox.
- Congestion pricing presents a general solution.
- Routing games are an important example of potential games, an important general class of games with nice theoretical properties.

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