# Is Sortition both Representative and Fair? 



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## Outline

- Intro. to Sortition
- Based on "Democracy and the pursuit of randomness" by Ariel Procaccia [1]
[1] Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e7FwWfUcZTg


## Outline

- Intro. to Sortition
- Based on "Democracy and the pursuit of randomness" by Ariel Procaccia [1]
- Fairness and Representation in Sortition
- Definitions
- Dichotomy
- (A bit of) Algorithms and Analysis
- Trade-off between Fairness and Representation
[1] Link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e7FwWfUcZTg


## Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762) *

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"The people of England deceive themselves when they fancy they are free; they are so, in fact, only during the election of Members of Parliament: for, as soon as a new one is elected, they are again in chains, and are nothing."


## Alternative: <br> Sortition

Democracy built on random selection of representatives


## History

## 462-322 BC

Ancient Athens:
Council of 500
and magistracies
chosen by lotteries

[^0]
## History

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462-322 BC
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Ancient Athens:
Council of 500
and magistracies chosen by lotteries

## 1328-1530

## Florence:

The government and legislative council chosen by lot

## History



[^1]
## History

| 462-322 BC | 1328-1530 | 1776-present | 21 ${ }^{\text {st }}$ Century |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ancient Athens: <br> Council of 500 and magistracies chosen by lotteries | Florence: <br> The government and legislative council chosen by lot | USA: <br> American and French revolutions make democracy synonymous with elections | Worldwide: <br> Citizen's assemblies organized by local and national governments |

[^2]
## Recent Examples *

Ireland $(2016,2019)$ France (2019) Mongolia (2017) Chile (2020)

| Participants: | 99 | 150 | 669 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Topic: | Constitution | Climate | Constitution |

[^3]
## Uniformly Random Selection



## Pipeline in Practice *



* "Democracy and the pursuit of randomness" by Ariel D. Procaccia


## Pipeline in Practice *

Fair Algorithms for Selecting Citizens' Assemblies (Nature, 2021)


* "Democracy and the pursuit of randomness" by Ariel D. Procaccia


## Uniformly Random Selection



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## Two Appealing Qualities

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- Fairness

Equal chance of participation

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\forall i: \operatorname{Pr}(i \in P)=\frac{k}{n}
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$\forall i: \operatorname{Pr}(i \in P)=\frac{k}{n}$

- Representation

Likely to reflect the composition of the population

## Uniformly Random Selection

$\checkmark$ Perfectly fair
? Is it representative in a rigorous sense?
[This work]

Metric Representation





## Metric Representation



## Metric Representation

How to determine the metric?

- Demographic features
- Domain specific features
- Tricky: Legal interpretations



## Cost of Panel



Cost of panel for an individual: Distance to its $q$-th closest panel member

$$
\text { Smaller q-Cost } \quad \leftrightarrow \quad \text { Better Representation }
$$

## Cost of Panel



Cost of panel for an individual: Distance to its $q$-th closest panel member
Optimal Panel: Minimizes the sum of costs (i.e., min social cost)

$$
\text { Representation: } \frac{\min _{P^{*}} \operatorname{social}-\operatorname{cost}\left(P^{*}\right)}{\mathrm{E}_{P \sim \operatorname{Alg}}[\operatorname{social}-\operatorname{cost}(P)]} \quad \longrightarrow \text { Between } 0 \text { and } 1
$$

## Dichotomy of Results

$$
q>\frac{k}{2}
$$

$$
q \leq \frac{k}{2}
$$

Uniform Selection achieves constant representation when $\frac{k}{2}<q<k-\Omega(k)$.

- Uniform Selection incurs zero representation in the worst case

Regime of $q>\frac{k}{2}$

- Interpretation: one wants the majority of the panel to be representative of themselves.


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## Theorem 1.

Any perfectly fair selection algorithm achieves a representation of at least $\frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{k-q+1}{k}$.

## Theorem 2.

Any perfectly fair selection algorithm incurs a representation of at most $2 \cdot \frac{k-q+1}{k}$.

- Constant representation (near optimal) when $\frac{k}{2}<q<k-\Omega(k)$.


## Zero Representation when $q \leq \frac{k}{2}$

$\frac{n}{2}$ people
$\frac{n}{2}$ people

Optimal social cost: 0 (e.g., $\frac{k}{2}$ from left and $\frac{k}{2}$ from right)
Uniform selection: prone to picking less than $q$ from one side

## Zero Representation when $q \leq \frac{k}{2}$

$$
\frac{n}{2} \text { people } \quad \frac{n}{2} \text { people }
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Fix: Always pick $\frac{k}{2}$ panel members randomly from left and $\frac{k}{2}$ randomly from right

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## Theorem 3 (weaker version).

Any perfectly fair selection algorithm incurs 0 representation when $q \leq \frac{k}{2}$.

## What is the Difference when $q>\frac{k}{2}$ ?

- Optimal cost is bounded away from zero
- For two individuals $i, j$ and optimal panel $P^{*}$



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- Optimal cost is bounded away from zero

$$
\begin{aligned}
\forall i & \neq j: \quad d(i, j) \leq c_{q}\left(i, P^{*}\right)+c_{q}\left(j, P^{*}\right) \\
& \Rightarrow \sum_{i \neq j} d(i, j) \leq \sum_{i \neq j} c_{q}\left(i, P^{*}\right)+c_{q}\left(j, P^{*}\right) \\
& \Rightarrow \sum_{i \neq j} d(i, j) \leq 2(n-1) \cdot \operatorname{social}-\operatorname{cost}\left(P^{*}\right)
\end{aligned}
$$

## Proof of Theorem 2

## Theorem 2.

Any perfectly fair selection algorithm achieves a representation of at least $\frac{1}{2} \cdot \frac{k-q+1}{k}$.

- On Blackboard!


## Positive news for $q \leq \frac{k}{2}$ ?

Trade-off between Fairness and Representation

## Positive news for $q \leq \frac{k}{2}$

## Theorem 4.

RandomReplace achieves $\frac{1}{q+1}$ representation while selecting each individual w.p. $\frac{q}{n}$.

## RandomReplace Algorithm

- Find $P^{*}$
- Randomly pick a group $S$ of size $q$
- For each $i \in S$ :
- Replace $i$ with one of its (remaining) closest $q$ neighbors in $P^{*}$


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## RandomReplace Algorithm

- Find $P^{*} \longleftarrow$ Hard to find. Use approximately optimal.
- Randomly pick a group $S$ of size $q$
- For each $i \in S$ :
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## Conclusion

- Sortition and Metric Representation
- Dichotomy
- $\frac{k}{2}<q<k-\Omega(k)$ : Uniform selection is almost optimal in expectation
- $q \leq \frac{k}{2}$ :

No representation if fairness is sought

- Trade-off between Fairness and Representation
- RandomReplace: Scratched the surface
- What level of fairness can be achieved if we seek constant representation?


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- $\frac{k}{2}<q<k-\Omega(k)$ : Uniform selection is almost optimal in expectation
- $q \leq \frac{k}{2}$ : No representation if fairness is sought
- Trade-off between Fairness and Representation
- RandomReplace: Scratched the surface
- What level of fairness can be achieved if we seek constant representation?
- Other cost functions
- Some results for average distance to all members of the panel
- Several other options


## Thank you!


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