HOW WILL AI INFLUENCE POLITICS?

CHANCE OR DANGER FOR DEMOCRACY?

GEORGIOS I. ZEKOS

BS(ECON), JD, LLM, PHD (LAW) PHD (ECON)

International Hellenic University

Thessaloniki, Greece

Cicero Foundation Great Debate Paper No. 22/03

The Cicero Foundation is an independent pro-Atlantic and pro-EU think tank, founded in 1992
in Maastricht at the signing of the Maastricht Treaty.

www.cicerofoundation.org

How Will AI Influence Politics?

Chance or Danger for Democracy?

Georgios I. Zekos

zekosg@ihu.gr

Artificial intelligence (AI) is shaping fundamental aspects of Human societies. To that extent AI causes fundamental alterations concerning its ethical, social, and economic matters which means that AI alters the international political economy and consequently international politics. Artificial intelligence systems will be able to solve problems whose scale and complexity are beyond human capabilities. Via advanced artificial intelligence (AAI) techniques[1], machines will think as brains, and brains can be thought of as machines. Human intervention in the decision-making will be completely out of the loop in entirely automated systems[2].

AI brings about noteworthy advantages, but it also poses serious risks, particularly associated to privacy, safety, and security due to the current functionality of AI and the absence of a mechanism of automatic repair and control of the objective functionality of AI. Also, AI automate, speeds up and improves the accuracy of the performance of broad categories of undertakings, embracing classification, clustering and prediction.

AI's prospective contribution to social good is attained by generating a comprehensive socio-political question of responsibility of the different stakeholders, of cooperation between them, and of shareable principles underpinning current human understanding of a 'AI society'. In other words, a social understating for AI is required in order to amalgamate a new strategy for AI applications. Moreover, AI is developing very rapidly

and human societies become more ''information mature'' by relying increasingly on AI technologies which means that the impact of AI technologies on human shared values increases.

AI has become an integral part of public governance and so AI systems have to implement and comply with the rule of law. It is worth mentioning here that algorithms themselves can be biased due to the selections made by humans by embracing sources of inaccuracy. While AI enriches neutrality and accuracy in decision-making it raises fears about the status of public values and democratic principles.

Does the direction of AI innovations need to be steered socio-politically? Will the private sector set the standard for what may be deemed the rightful AI? Does AI contribute to legitimate political processes? Does AI pose threats to democracy? Do AI applications disrupt democracy via information manipulation?

Aim of the current concise consideration is the presentation of the impact of AI upon politics and democracy[3].

REGULATING AI

AI is good for innovation and economic growth as commercially developed AI influencing a new address of societal issues. To that extent, regulation of AI is required and so governments should either fit AI into existing regulatory schemes or into new regulatory schemes.

AI has altered the conditions for democratic input and throughput legitimacy via a shift in power and control between public and private sectors. Presently corporate R&D is driving AI-based innovation and AI is a powerful force that is reforming humans' lives, interactions, and environments. In other words, AI is generating the digital world in which human generations will spend most of their time and so designing the status of 'AI society' where human flourishing will be achieved by fostering human dignity as the grounding foundation of a better world. It has to be taken into account that AI is enabling autonomy in other technological systems and so having distinct political and legal consequences. Also, the interactions of private actors are highly political. Furthermore, the private sector does not represent or replace the public regardless

that many technological innovations are generated by the private sector and are employed by the public sector indicating that the democratic basis due to AI is not altered. On the other hand, the characteristics of AI allow the public sector to advance all democratic rationales more effectively. Thus, AI policies must not only adopt the concept of ethics but also there is a need for legal regulation of presently utilized AI systems due to the fact that the utilized technology does not alter the conceptions of politics and democracy but merely AI is a new advanced tool in the implementation of both politics and democracy in a society.

Will human manipulation allow the flourishing of the pros of AI technology or an elite will get hold of AI systems in order to impose its own interests upon society once again?

It has to be taken into account that technology infrastructure, networks and devices encompass technical arrangements delimiting explicit or implicit economic, social, legal and political rationales. To that extent, technical standardization accelerates systems and network compatibility and so empowering interoperability critical in the evolution of AI governance and automated decision-making. Also, the advance of leading global standards is utilized politically to back particularly regulatory and normative understandings for certain policies.

It is worth noting that technological forces are forming society along with underpinning political ones causing political interactions. It seems that presently there is not an international effort of regulating AI but there are national efforts on regulating AI.

The EU sets regulatory standards with regard to AI advocating a risk-based approach, in which only high-risk AI would be subject to mandatory requirements[4]. In US self-regulation and soft-law methodologies have been the principal preferred option on regulating AI[5]. On the other hand, China's regulation on AI is grounded on the control over the data on imposing social governance reflected on privacy standard containing stringent measures[6]. Hence, the three different approaches concerning AI regulation encompass the rationale of politics accepted and implemented by the three jurisdictions. Also, the governance model for AI encompasses a political preference concerning liberal values, such as privacy and freedom, and safeguarding state

sovereignty and security. Furthermore, the AI industry is a policy tool for the ruling during national and economic difficulties[7].

AI is marketed by ethical guidelines directed towards the industry, while accountability and transparency, receive less attention not only in EU AI policy but also worldwide indicating political implications concerning technological change. Regulating AI along with continuous control of AI algorithms are vital in preventing the careless development of AI in society, citing discrimination and bias, privacy infringements and lack of transparency.

AI, POLITICS, AND DEMOCRACY

The emergence of cyberspace has generated a shift in the nature and quantity of the circulated information.[8] General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and the ePrivacy Directive[9] indirectly tackle manipulation by limiting the amount of individual data that can be collected and so misused, while Directive 2005/29/EC addresses some formulas of intentional manipulation in commercial practices using AI systems presently prohibited in EU law. The Digital Services Act[10] compels transparency requirements curtaining manipulation and so averting the instrumentalization of the platforms by third parties, and not manipulation from the platform firms themselves.

AI has proven to be superior to human decision-making in particular areas and predominantly whenever there is a demand for advanced strategic reasoning and analysis of vast amounts of data in order to solve complex problems. To that extent, politics is the field with some of the most complex matters humans face and so short-term and long-term effects have to be balanced. AI can be used to produce fake textual, audio, or video content causing the interaction with humans. Moreover, the use of AI systems to target specific voters has had quantifiable outcomes on election in many countries.

It is worth noting that citizens must make informed political choices without manipulation or coercion demanding regulation on the transparency and targeting of political advertising[11].

First of all, direct electronic advertisement in politics is a reality and so has been constantly used by political parties. Nevertheless, intense uses of electronic political advertisement serve as a mean of a communication tool for a party and electoral candidate enabling candidates to access a certain demographic group, invite new supporters, promote voters' participation in the campaign, raising fund for the candidate and party involved, and in the end attacking the opponent. Have uses of electronic political advertisement generated negative effects upon politics? It is characteristic that the uses of negativity in electronic political advertisement raises ""cynicism"" among voters and so discouraging voters to participate in politics which means demobilizing them in being involved politics.

AI generates challenges for democratic responsiveness and accountability due to a novel technological dimension and in link with existing transparency and accountability drawbacks which means that there is a need for institutionalizing suitable governance mechanisms challenging the input level of politics. Furthermore, politicians will have the chance to utilize AI to send the message to voters and promote their own work which means uprising politics to a different level. Thus, AI will bring forwards a new voting system and of the whole elections process for campaigning to the final results.

AI governance is utilized partly and numerous harms after the use of AI to govern various aspects of human affairs have been taken place such as concerns linked to matters of privacy and surveillance, bias and inequality, and freedom and autonomy[12].

Can AI technology alone achieve improvement to politics and democracy? As long as humans control AI technology then objectivity of AI could be trespassed but if an advanced AI is imposed not be able to be controlled by humans, then objectivity is more certain and improvement on both politics and democracy will be achieved.

Is there a prospective for the beneficial use of AI concerning politics? Taking into account that AI is higher to human intelligence for analysis of large and complex problems encompassing the demand for strategy, prediction of long-term effects and analysis of vast amounts of data, AI is already employed in many facets of government and politics. First of all, the use of AI in the domain of government is possible when AI

is given the authority to govern by ""mandates"" which are algorithms encompassing standard actions executed due to given electronic data.

Will people being marginalized and deprived of political power and influence due to prospective ""de-politicisation"" consequences of AI governance? AI is currently exploited in all areas of society such as driving cars, AI weaponry, trading stocks, navigation, recognizing speech, forecasting the weather, etc. Moreover, AI is employed in areas of government such as general public service, economic affairs and environmental protection. Presently, AI offers efficiency but it is open to control and direction[13].

It has to be taken into consideration that implanting AI in governance mechanisms contributes to an enhanced informational basis of democratic politics reinforcing overall responsiveness and accountability. AI-based tools will transform the decision making of civil servants for maximum impact, galvanising agency administrators to employ AI in predicting and intervening for better citizen effects. Moreover, digital reinvention aids a government to be more responsive and effective in accomplishing its duties and meeting citizen needs not mentioning that AI generates more transparency

While AI aids humans, most problems of politics are highly intricate optimisation problems which means that policies have to be dynamic, always reacting to alterations in human preferences and behaviour and so AI technology has to have the capacity to react on humans' preferences as well. Moreover, AI owing to new ways of participation, such as AI co-creation, leads to a revitalization of participation and the accessibility of the political domain which means that most people have more political power than they had before in a conventional world.

Will AI government ""de-politicise"" society? It has to be taken into consideration that increased participation means improving democracy. Due to AI implementation political systems have legitimacy for the reason that the citizens have political power. Moreover, because of AI technology legitimacy exists, the population is not deprived of essential political rights by taking part in decision-making.

AI government is extracting facts, entities, concepts and objects from big data and so there is a new governmental resource available via vast reserves of data. To that extent, the resources of big data are utilized by AI systems and so controlling the future through the power of inference which means that AI governmentality is based upon governable subjects who are seen as aggregates of infra-personal data assembled and exploitable on an indescribable scale and detail[14]. Also, the extending accessibility of data and the escalating power of AI decision-making alters the future of political institutions. To that extent, AI decisions in public governance must be transparent and explainable to gain legitimacy. It is characteristic that recent advances in AI have generated strong reasons for states to develop governance strategies for maximising the prospective benefits of AI technologies whilst mitigating their risks[15].

Data mining and the computational generation of knowledge from algorithmic government re-organises the world in far reaching transformation than any previous technology due to the autonomous functionality of AI technologies. To that extent, AI technology based on algorithms is posited as one that can think more quickly, comprehensively and precisely than any human agency and so decisions made by AI are presented as neutral, efficient, objective – drawn from the data and beyond subjective politics. AI technology generates its own AI politics, which can be implemented without any human intervention, but due to the level of the current AI technology, functionality is grounded upon the aims of the creator of the AI technology.

Can AI knowledge and functionality produce truth? AI knowledge can assert the competence to generate truth providing an accurate and comprehensive account of data stipulating an objective truth. AI governmentality would certainly be more objective than a conventional governmentality influenced by human politics as long as the algorithm will be objectively programmed to function. Besides, an AAI governmentality would certainly be objective not influenced by human politics due to the fact that AAI technology will act objectively based on its own political decision based on the objective reading of the data concerning any political matter.

While current AI promises greater fairness, access to justice, and legal certainty, issues of discrimination and transparency have occurred demanding immediately improved AI technology in order not to put liberal democratic principles under pressure.

Moreover, AI implementation could bring equal treatment for all citizens via AI fairness rather than human bias which is the distinctive part of liberal democracies[16]. Which is the factor of allowing AI to function objectively and achieving the best outcome? The answer is a good algorithm formulated in a non-bias way and not influenced by any political intervention in favoring a particular solution except an objective outcome coming out of valuable big data.

It has to be taken into consideration that AI algorithms offer an objective tool to implement democratic legitimacy by offering the possibility of equal democratic participation[17]. Moreover, the impact of AI decision-making on democratic governance and legitimacy could be vital on upgrading the implementation of real democracy. To that extent, AI algorithms boost the understanding of the real dimension of a problem via the examination of a variety of data and analysis not be able to be made by a human mind which means that data processed by AI algorithms are taken into consideration by the political decision-making process and so generating better informed political choices aiding a more meaningful and thorough estimation of civic issues by decision-makers.

AI technologies gradually and persistently formulate people's perceptions of the world and so daily use AI applications concentrating on the activities accelerated by these technologies influence the context in which people make decisions. In addition, due to the characteristics of AI systems, people have the possibility to be informed via different AI systems not centrally governed and controlled which indicates not only the plurality on information but also the continued process of learning of the used algorithms denotes possibility of correction of any possible miscalculation or manipulation. To that extent, the Cambridge Analytica scandal has revealed how AI applications influence electoral decisions and so illustrating the systemic disruption set by AI applications to democracy. In other words, AI applications disrupt democracy by the new forms of information manipulation[18]. Furthermore, due to AI capacities, AI-enabled manipulation contests democracy by upsetting citizens' autonomy, equal participation in democratic practices such as elections and that the public forum broadcasts all the information entailed to cast informed votes. Hence, AI governance mechanisms needed to set up technical and socio-technical guiderails for reliable and

trusty AI innovation practices in compliance with a binding legal framework based on human rights, democracy and the rule of law. Thus, AI has to make certain that projects are carried out with proper levels of public responsibility, comprehensibility, and democratic governance.

There are clearly positive effects of digitization including the democratization of access to knowledge, new opportunities for political and social engagement, greater transparency via forms of e-government but they can be expanded more realistically if the global dimensions of digital democracy are more fully acclaimed. It has to be taken into account that the increasing adoption of AI alters the informational foundations of societies. The consequences of AI are wide-ranging and so AI can diminish or increase information deficits of both citizens and decision-makers on the input, throughout, and output level of the political system. Anyway, there are concerns encompassing the capacity of AI technology to support or enable pervasive forms of disinformation or online manipulation threatening democratic norms and practices.

It is worth noting that presently there is an increase on participation conducted through periodic voting indicating the protection of fundamental rights and output legitimacy. The utilization of AI systems on public decision-makers augments concern to develop legal and policy frameworks for the trustworthy sharing and processing of data to support democratic processes. To that extent, data-sharing allows citizens to connect with public decision-making processes in a manner supplementing the more traditional role of the news media to build and inform political agendas[19].

AI IN EU POLITICS

Has EU achieved the projection of collective power, wealth, and influence by becoming a global power? It seems that in its current form and due to the political approach of EU members, the European Union has managed partly the projection of collective power, wealth, and influence but not becoming a global power[20]. The political approach of EU in the Ukrainian crisis has shown the weakness of the current EU to act as a global player.

Will AI promote European integration? The development of AI and moreover the advanced AI will allow the automated decision making based on objectivity rather than

subjectivity of the current human society. The utilization of AI technology on the level of decision making of EU commission will allow automated decision objectively on EU matters producing the best result rather than a subjective and calculated decision based more on national interests rather than maximizing the outcome for EU.

Will AI allow better decisions for EU policy? Have the European leaders all the data for a rightful decision for EU People without AI technology? EU leaders could have taken better decisions by using AI technology on matters of engagement of EU on various conflicts rather than nowadays not only by using incomplete data but also by subjectively promoting national interests rather than purely EU Interests. AI technology could have calculated all the elements concerning the engagement of EU on a conflict and have advised not taking part in a conflict which might be proven damaging for the EU economy.

Does the implementation of AI technology necessitate the transformation of EU into the United State of Europe? The expansion and advancement of AI technology and its utilization on all fields of human life will generate the need for a central government system in order to achieve the best outcome forcing a political integration and transformation of EU into the United State of Europe[21] acting as a global player antagonizing other super powers. Also, due to the European civilization, the United States of Europe will become the balancing global player bringing stability and growth on the global economy and so avoiding any global instability causing economic problems not only upon EU economy but also on global one as it seems to take place currently.

POLITICS AND DEMOCRACY IN AN AAI WORLD

It has to be taken into account that the current technical standardization of AI stands as a meaningful type of regulation which is not politically neutral due to the fact that all the aspects of the AI functionality are decided by the human creator of the algorithms employed by AI. In other words, AI does not decide its own standards according to an autonomous decision based on an objective reading of data. Also, the development of AAI technology will manage to deal with the risks of new technologies.

The digital society epitomizes a new society governed via the use of information and communication technologies and so a digital society is a networked information society with new values and needs[22].

AAI technology will allow the establishment of a global codified regulation permitting a network of AAI systems of the various AAI jurisdictions to be interconnected and even eradicating the sense of national sovereignty and establishing the AAI cyber-jurisdiction[23]. In an AAI society, AAI entities will employ the own politics which is the implementation of their own interests. It could be said that AAI systems will allow an electronic participation of AAI entities into AAI democracy leading to the implementation of the AAI politics which will have another form and another impact upon AAI society and life compared to that of the current conventional politics. There might be a centralised idea of politics and decision making due to the characteristics of the AAI technology.

Which will be the impact of AAI implemented by humanoid robots upon EU political functioning? Taking into account that still AAI is controlled by humans, the prevailing of AAI upon human life implemented by humanoid robots demands standardization, centrality and integration indicating the need for a political decision for a central AI governance and so transformation of EU into the United States of Europe.

CONCLUSIONS

AI technology has to generate accountable and reliable systems capable of social responsibility. The absence of adequately and timely governance of AI-powered systems causes significant liabilities for all governments utilizing AI technology. Moreover, the scale and impact of AI within and across sectors and the concentration of large AI providers augment the presence of network effects, incentivizing their presence.

AI will bring more democracy and better politics as long as AI is embedded in an objective democratic frame empowering both the represented and representatives to exercise control over the decision-making outcome via AI algorithms and people's choices have been taken into consideration.

NOTES

[1] G Zekos, Economics and Law of Artificial Intelligence - Finance, Economic Impacts, Risk Management and Governance, 2021 https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-030-64254-9 G. Zekos, Artificial Intelligence And E-Bills Of Lading Contracts, Journal of Internet Law April 2021 Vol. 24 N8 p3-10 Wolters Kluwer https://lrus.wolterskluwer.com/store/product/journal-of-internet-law/

[2] G Zekos, Advanced Artificial Intelligence and Robo-Justice,2022, www.springer.com

[3] For a detailed analysis see G. Zekos, Political, Economic and Legal Effects of Artificial Intelligence, 2022, https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-030-94736-1#toc

[4] European Commission (2020) White Paper on Artificial Intelligence: A European Approach to Excellence and Trust | European Commission. Bradford, Anu (2020) The Brussels Effect. Oxford University Press.

[5] https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Draft-OMB-Memo-on-Regulationof-AI-1-7-19.pdf.

[6] Roberts, Huw, et al. (2020) "The Chinese Approach to Artificial Intelligence: An Analysis of Policy, Ethics, and Regulation," June 2020 AI and Society. Next Generation Artificial Intelligence Development Plan (AIDP) Issued by State Council (2017) http://fi.china-embassy.org/eng/kxjs/P020171025789108009001.pdf.

[7] Lee, Kai-fu. 2018. AI Superpower: China, Silicon Valley and the New World Order. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. Zenglein, Max, and Anna Holzmann. 2019. "Evolving made in China 2015: China's industrial policy in the quest for global tech leadership." MERICS Papers on China 2019 (8).

[8] Directive 2005/29/EC on unfair business-to-consumer commercial practices in the internal market. Philipp Hacker, Manipulation by Algorithms. Exploring the Triangle of Unfair Commercial Practice, Data Protection, and Privacy Law (2021), https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3835259

[9] GDPR, EU 2016/679 (27 April 2016). Directive on Privacy and Electronic Communications, 2002/58/EC (2002).

[10] Declaration By the Committee Of Ministers On The Manipulative Capabilities Of Algorithmic Processes, Council of Europe, https://search.coe.int/cm/pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=090000168092dd4b. Articles 24, 26.1(c) of the Digital Services Act. Carme Colomina, Héctor Sánchez Margalef & Richard Youngs, The impact of disinformation on democratic processes and human rights in the world (2021), https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2021/653635/EXPO_STU(2021)653635_EN.pdf.

[11] Proposal For A Regulation Of The European Parliament And Of The Council On The Transparency And Targeting Of Political Advertising, COM/2021/731 FINAL (2021). Proposal For A Regulation Laying Down Harmonised Rules On Artificial Intelligence ("AI ACT"), COM(2021) 206 final (2021).

[12] C. Katzenbach, L. Ulbricht, Algorithmic governance, Internet Policy Review 8 (4) (2019) 1–18.

[13] P.D. Konig, Dissecting the Algorithmic Leviathan: on the Socio-Political Anatomy of Algorithmic Governance, Philosophy & Technology, 2019, pp. 1–19.

[14] A Rouvroy, 'Algorithmic governmentality: a passion for the real and the exhaustion of the virtual', Transmediale – All Watched Over by Algorithms, Berlin. (2015), www.academia.edu/10481275/Algorithmic_governmentality_a_passion_for_the_real_and_the_exhaustion_of_the_virtual

[15] G Zekos, Political, Economic and Legal Effects of Artificial Intelligence, 2022, https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-030-94736-1#toc G Zekos, Economics and Law of Artificial Intelligence - Finance, Economic Impacts, Risk Management and Governance, 2021 www.springer.com

[16] Mukand S, Rodrik D, (2020) The Political Economy of Liberal Democracy. The Economic Journal 130(627):765–792. https://doi.org/10.1093/ej/ueaa004

[17] JK Sax, "The Problems with Decision-Making" (2020) 56 Tulsa Law Review 39.

[18] Daniel Susser, Beate Roessler & Helen Nissenbaum, Online Manipulation: Hidden Influences in a Digital World (2018), https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3306006

[19] T Flew and P Iosifidis, "Populism, Globalisation and Social Media" (2020) 82(1) International Communication Gazette 7-25, "Understanding Algorithmic Decision-Making: Opportunities and Challenges' of the European Parliamentary Research Service EPRS March 2019, https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2019/624261/EPRS_STU(2019)624261_EN.pdf. Leslie, D., Burr, C., Aitken, M., Katell, M., Briggs, M., Rincon, C. (2021). Human rights, democracy, and the rule of law assurance framework for AI systems: A proposal. The Alan Turing Institute. https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.5981676

[20] T.R. Reid, The United States of Europe: The New Superpower and the End of American Supremacy, 2005 by Penguin Books

[21] G Zekos, The United States of Europe The Global Player, 2019 Nova Science Publications New York USA. www.novapublishers.com G Zekos, The United States of Europe in place of the European Union, 2017 Nova Science Publications New York USA. www.novapublishers.com

[22] G Zekos, Political, Economic and Legal Effects of Artificial Intelligence, 2022, https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-030-94736-1#toc G Zekos, Economics and Law of Artificial Intelligence - Finance, Economic Impacts, Risk Management and Governance, 2021 www.springer.com Zekos considers that the spiritual life of humans cannot be replicated via AAI technology. see chapter 11 G Zekos, Advanced Artificial Intelligence and Robo-Justice,2022, www.springer.com

[23] G. Zekos, State Cyberspace Jurisdiction and Personal Cyberspace Jurisdiction , Int J Law Info Tech 2007 15: 1-37; doi:10.1093/ijlit/eai029 www.ijlit.oxfordjournals.org G Zekos, Electronic state sovereignty, 2008 , ICFAI Journal of Cyber Law www.iupindia.org G Zekos, Cyber-Territory And Jurisdiction Of Nations, 2012 Journal of Internet Law, Number 12/3 Aspen Publications. G Zekos, Demolishing State's sole power over Sovereignty & Territory via Electronic Technology & Cyberspace, 2013 Journal of Internet Law, VOLUME 17 NUMBER 5 November 2013 27-41.