



AI in elections: A problem searching for a solution

Council of Europe, Tuesday, November 15, 2022

UNITED METHODIST
BUILDING

**VOTING IS AN
ACT OF FAITH**

Who are we to discuss this?

How many data scientists present?

What do we know about algorithms?

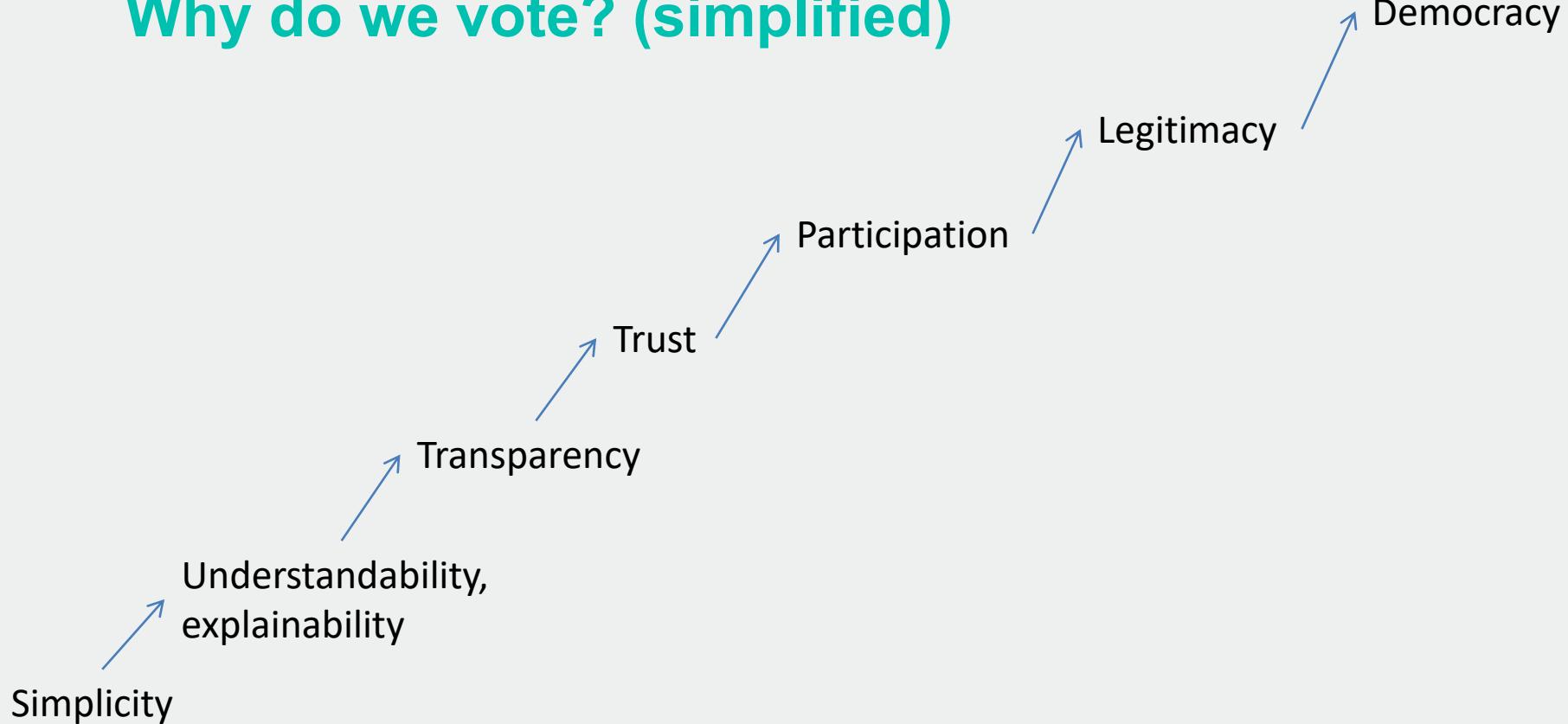
What is your problem?

Why should we talk about AI in elections?

- For whom is it a problem?
- For whom is it an opportunity?

Primum non nocere: First, do no harm

Why do we vote? (simplified)



Keep it simple ...

We vote if we trust

We trust if we understand

We understand if we can

→ Introducing more complexity will harm trust, participation, integrity and legitimacy

Let's go back: Year 2000

We should get voting machines!
That'll be great for election integrity.

Year 2010

We should get internet voting!
That'll be great for election integrity.

But: Year 1897:

We should get secret voting!
That'll be great for election integrity.
(only this is procedure, not technology)

The case for techno-scepticism

The Danish context

2012: E-voting almost introduced

2020: New election administration IT system goes down in flames

2017: Microtargeting in mobilisation campaigns almost introduced

2018: Cambridge Analytica scandal

Can AI reliably predict election outcomes?

I certainly hope not, and we should resist it.

"AI can

- Predict voter turnout
- Election results
- Predict # of advance vs. election day voters
- Reduce waiting times
- Ensure that elections run smoothly
- Make results more readily available."

Is this sufficiently true?...

Election system of Denmark

4,3 M eligible voters

Proportional representation

179 seats in parliament

Average turnout app. (85 pct. general elections)

All votes on paper only

All votes counted twice

No critical infrastructure or systems!

A recent case

Nov 2nd, 1.30 AM on election night in Copenhagen

A legal corner case appears.
The tabulation IT system of Statistics Denmark cannot tabulate the results.

<https://www.dst.dk/valg/Mandatfordeleren20220921.xlsx>

From

<https://www.dst.dk/valg/beregninger.htm>

Partiernes stemmetal fordelt på landsdele

| Landsdel | A. Socialdemokrati | B. Radikale Venstre | C. Det Konsernative Folkeparti | D. Nye Borgerlige | F. SF - Socialstrikke Folkeparti | I. Liberal Alliance | K. KD Kristendemokraterne | M. Moderaterna | O. Dansk Folkeparti | Q. Fri Grønne, Danmarks Nye Venstrefløjsparti | V. Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti | Æ. Danmarks demokraterne - Inger Støjberg | Ø. Enhedslisten - De Røde Grønne | A. Alternativet | Øvrige | I alt |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------|---|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------|-----------|
| Landsdel Hovedstaden | 247.864 | 63.937 | 68.022 | 28.149 | 104.993 | 90.765 | 3.481 | 111.226 | 27.373 | 18.676 | 116.618 | 35.140 | 92.420 | 62.083 | 1.461 | 1.672.214 |
| Landsdel Sjælland-Syddanmark | 380.645 | 31.536 | 60.476 | 60.642 | 101.173 | 87.007 | 5.434 | 127.216 | 42.516 | 7.306 | 172.915 | 35.805 | 41.910 | 24.735 | 1.577 | 1.260.883 |
| Landsdel Midtjylland-Nordjylland | 343.496 | 38.458 | 66.322 | 40.733 | 87.020 | 100.884 | 9.361 | 89.267 | 23.539 | 5.805 | 181.013 | 35.851 | 47.122 | 30.749 | 1.197 | 1.290.891 |
| Total stemmetal | 971.995 | 133.931 | 194.820 | 129.524 | 293.186 | 278.656 | 16.276 | 327.709 | 93.428 | 31.787 | 470.546 | 286.798 | 181.452 | 117.987 | 4.241 | 3.533.914 |

Krav for at få tillægsmandater

| |
|--|
| 1. Har partiet fået kredsmændater? |
| eller 2. Har partiet i to af tre landsdele fået gennemsnittet for stemmer pr. kredsmædant? |
| eller 3. Har partiet fået 2 procent af alle gyldige stemmer? |

Kriterium 1: Har partiet fået kredsmændater?

| Kredsmændater | A. Socialdemokrati | B. Radikale Venstre | C. Det Konsernative Folkeparti | D. Nye Borgerlige | F. SF - Socialstrikke Folkeparti | I. Liberal Alliance | K. KD Kristendemokraterne | M. Moderaterna | O. Dansk Folkeparti | Q. Fri Grønne, Danmarks Nye Venstrefløjsparti | V. Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti | Æ. Danmarks demokraterne - Inger Støjberg | Ø. Enhedslisten - De Røde Grønne | A. Alternativet | Øvrige | I alt |
|---|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------|---|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------|-------|
| Landsdel Hovedstaden | 14 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| Landsdel Sjælland-Syddanmark | 1 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Landsdel Midtjylland-Nordjylland | 17 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 60 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 12 | 10 | 6 | 13 | 1 | 6 | 21 | 11 | 4 | 2 | 6 | 358 |
| Er partiet berettiget til tillægsmandat ud fra kriterium 1? | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Nej | Ja | Ja | Nej | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja |

Kriterium 2: Har partiet fået gennemsnittet for kredsmændater i to af tre landsdele?

| Stemmer pr. kredsmædant, gennemsnit | A. Socialdemokrati | B. Radikale Venstre | C. Det Konsernative Folkeparti | D. Nye Borgerlige | F. SF - Socialstrikke Folkeparti | I. Liberal Alliance | K. KD Kristendemokraterne | M. Moderaterna | O. Dansk Folkeparti | Q. Fri Grønne, Danmarks Nye Venstrefløjsparti | V. Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti | Æ. Danmarks demokraterne - Inger Støjberg | Ø. Enhedslisten - De Røde Grønne | A. Alternativet | Øvrige | |
|---|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------|---|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------|----|
| Landsdel Hovedstaden | 26.800 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 40 |
| Landsdel Sjælland-Syddanmark | 25.733 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 40 |
| Landsdel Midtjylland-Nordjylland | 26.105 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 40 |
| Landsdele med stemmer over gennemsnit | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Er partiet berettiget til tillægsmandat ud fra kriterium 2? | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Nej | Ja | Ja | Nej | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja |

Kriterium 3: Har partiet fået 2 % af alle stemmer?

| 2 % af de gyldige stemmer i hele landet | A. Socialdemokrati | B. Radikale Venstre | C. Det Konsernative Folkeparti | D. Nye Borgerlige | F. SF - Socialstrikke Folkeparti | I. Liberal Alliance | K. KD Kristendemokraterne | M. Moderaterna | O. Dansk Folkeparti | Q. Fri Grønne, Danmarks Nye Venstrefløjsparti | V. Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti | Æ. Danmarks demokraterne - Inger Støjberg | Ø. Enhedslisten - De Røde Grønne | A. Alternativet | Øvrige |
|---|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------|---|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------|
| 70.671 | 971.995 | 133.931 | 194.820 | 129.524 | 293.186 | 278.656 | 16.276 | 327.709 | 93.428 | 31.787 | 470.546 | 286.798 | 181.452 | 117.987 | 4.241 |
| Er partiet berettiget til tillægsmandat ud fra kriterium 3? | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja |
| Konklusion | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Opfylder partiet en af ovenstående kriterier? | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Nej | Ja | Ja | Nej | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja | Ja |

Beregning af mandatnøgle

| I alt | A. Socialdemokrati | B. Radikale Venstre | C. Det Konsernative Folkeparti | D. Nye Borgerlige | F. SF - Socialstrikke Folkeparti | I. Liberal Alliance | K. KD Kristendemokraterne | M. Moderaterna | O. Dansk Folkeparti | Q. Fri Grønne, Danmarks Nye Venstrefløjsparti | V. Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti | Æ. Danmarks demokraterne - Inger Støjberg | Ø. Enhedslisten - De Røde Grønne | A. Alternativet | Øvrige |
|---|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------|---|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------|
| Samlet antal stemmer for partier berettiget til tillægsmandater divedes med det samlede mandatnøgle (175) | 2.807.615 | 133.931 | 194.820 | 129.524 | 293.186 | 278.656 | 0 | 327.709 | 93.428 | 0 | 470.546 | 286.798 | 181.452 | 117.987 | |
| Sum af partiernes stemmetal | 20.060.920 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Mandatnøgle (sum af partiernes stemmetal / 175) | 0.000 | 6.676 | 9.711 | 6.457 | 14.615 | 13.890 | 0.000 | 16.396 | 4.857 | 0.000 | 23.456 | 14.296 | 9.045 | 5.860 | |
| Mandat uafbrundet (partiers stemmetal / mandatnøgle) | 119 | 0 | 6 | 9 | 14 | 13 | 0 | 16 | 4 | 0 | 23 | 14 | 9 | 5 | |
| Antal mandater nedbrundet | 0 | 0 | 0.676 | 0.711 | 0.457 | 0.615 | 0.890 | 0.000 | 0.336 | 0.057 | 0.000 | 0.456 | 0.296 | 0.045 | 0.860 |
| Rest af mandater | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Rest af mandater (rest af mandater / fordeling) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Rest af mandater (rest af mandater / fordeling) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Får partiet et rest-mandat? | Nej | Ja | Ja | Ja | Nej | Ja | Ja | Nej | Ja | Nej | Ja | Nej | Ja | Ja | Ja |
| Bestemt mandat | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

Hvor mange tillægsmandater er partiet berettiget til?

| I alt | A. Socialdemokrati | B. Radikale Venstre | C. Det Konsernative Folkeparti | D. Nye Borgerlige | F. SF - Socialstrikke Folkeparti | I. Liberal Alliance | K. KD Kristendemokraterne | M. Moderaterna | O. Dansk Folkeparti | Q. Fri Grønne, Danmarks Nye Venstrefløjsparti | V. Venstre, Danmarks Liberale Parti | Æ. Danmarks demokraterne - Inger Støjberg | Ø. Enhedslisten - De Røde Grønne | A. Alternativet | Øvrige |
|---|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------------|---|-------------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------|
| Mandatet partiet får i alt (beregnet ud fra mandatnøgle) | 178 | 50 | 7 | 10 | 15 | 14 | 14 | 16 | 10 | 0 | 21 | 11 | 4 | 2 | |
| Minus kredsmænder (allelede tilstød) | 135 | 60 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 12 | 10 | 0 | 13 | 1 | 0 | 11 | 4 | 2 | |
| Tillægsmandater som partiet får tilbuddt (mandatet + minus kredsmænder) | 43 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |



So how do we deal with AI?

- 1) It is out there. But don't embrace it.
- 2) Focus on The Fair Election: Fair rules. Fair press. Fair arguments.
- 3) Focus on the fact that many of the AI using actors in elections are key stakeholders: Politicians and press

My claims

- 1) If you have an immensely complex election integrity problem that only AI can solve, the complexity is the problem. So simplify.
- 2) If your election integrity is flawed, you most likely know the cause(s).
- 3) Complexity harms election integrity. AI will increase complexity and therefore harm election integrity.

Ask instead:

Which voters are hampered in the voting process?

Which voters abstain?

Why do they?

What will it take for voters to support democracy in 20 years? 40?

(hint: AI is not part of the solution)

... etc.

(but probably only researchers can answer those for you)

Thank you for listening!