### The Al-development connection

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### An epochal tipping point

- Ethics as "consequences remote in time and place" (Rachel Carson)
- Al as "Master Signifier" (Jacques Lacan) in neo-liberal capitalism
- Data accumulation and capital accumulation as two sides of the coin
  - Accumulation for the sake of accumulation
  - Produced socially, owned privately
  - Thrives on differentiation
  - Leaves a trail of exploitation
  - Centralises control

#### **Current debates on AI fairness**

- An emerging body of research on fairness mostly liberalist
- The platform marketplace and nature of exclusion
  - Evisceration of right to market participation of small actors
- Need to look at fairness in relation to social structure
  - Algorithmic base orders production relations
  - Beyond endogenous feedback loops and corrections
  - Not system design but supra-systemic logic of platform infrastructures
  - Modalities of 'intelligence premium' cornering of value

### **Developmental realpolitik of data**

- Al as competitive advantage
- Double whammy for developing countries loss of jobs, loss of data
- Unfair trade deals
  - Local governments denied access to algorithmic scrutiny
  - No technology transfer
  - Crisis of economic democracy
- Calls to data nationalism and an era of 'AI partnerships'
- Colonization of new data frontiers

### An 'ideas' revolution to reimagine Al

- Al economy as post-institutional, cyber-libertarian
- Need to confront the crisis of de-democratisation to address global injustice
- Need for new institutional values, norms and rules
  - Restraining the 'intelligent corporation'
  - Reimagining citizenship rights
  - A new social contract
  - Making the fourth industrial revolution work for women

#### Meta parameters for a new Al order

- Resignifying AI for alternative discourses of value
- Decoupling AI from market fundamentalism
- Evaluative criteria that responds to de-democratisation
  - Sustainable datafication
  - Economic democracy
  - Multiple value imaginaries
  - Nested sovereignty

# 1. Sustainable datafication

Human sociality beyond individual privacy

What are the boundaries of data extraction and algorithmic profiling?

How are policy and design working to dismantle surveillance tech?

How is AI being reclaimed from cycles of data accumulation for big capital?

How does AI promote sustainable consumption?

# 2. Economic democracy

## Markets make place for small actors

What norms guide the use of social or community data?

How is the digital knowledge heritage of humankind being governed for the public good?

How are IP regimes restraining the enclosure of the intelligence premium?

What are the social boundaries / policy conditions to harness the intelligence commons for the local economy?

How are interests of small economic actors protected and promoted in the algorithmified marketplace?

## 3. Multiple value imaginaries

## Reclaiming potential for the social and public

What kinds of AI projects exist in open science, public health, sustainable farming, bio conservation and climate adaptation?

Are there publicly supported cloud, platform and AI infrastructures for small enterprises in the local economy?

What AI stewardship models exist for fair distribution of value to workers?

How is AI-enabled automation reducing drudgery of tasks performed by women and other marginal workers?

## 4. Nested Sovereignty

Not only individual control of data, but also a collective right to share in the gains of the intelligence commons What should a global-to-local regime of economic rights in data and the intelligence commons look like?

What models will take us beyond the tyranny of hierarchical multilateralism, a sweeping data nationalism and a coopted multistakeholderism?

What institutional ethics, norms, and architectures are needed to build overlapping, polycentric Al governance frameworks, with nested ideas of sovereignty? From an autonomous weapon of social injustice to an agent of autonomous societies...

## Thank you

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