

# Artificial Intelligence, Crime and Policing

Or: *"Now That We're In The Future,  
What Does It Look Like?"*

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Sessions: Technology and Crime: Critical  
Criminological Perspectives

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UNIVERSITY OF COPENHAGEN



# We're in the future...



Noah Smith

@Noahpinion

Following



The cool thing about cyberpunk coming true  
is that we got ALL the cyberpunk futures.

China: universal surveillance and social  
control

America: cool gadgets and staggering  
inequality

Russia: shadowy plots, covert ops, and  
assassins

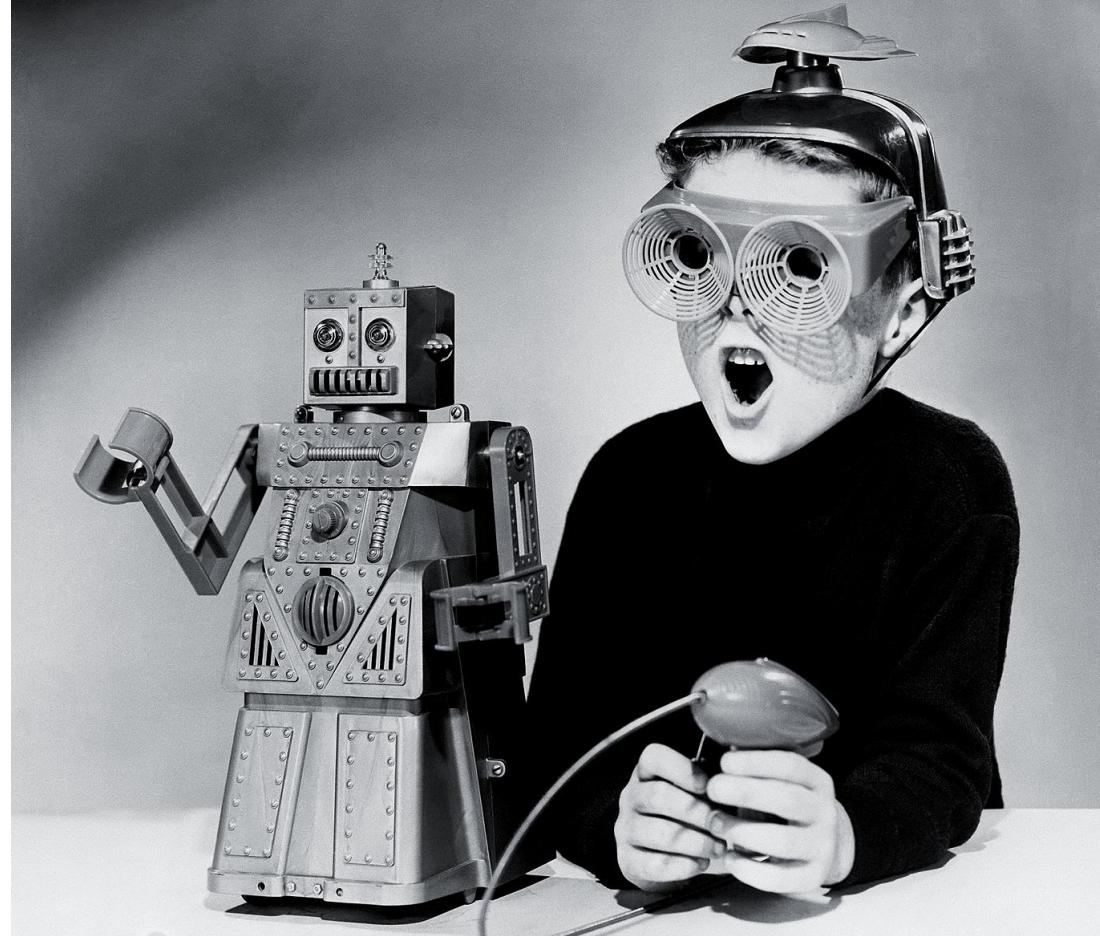
Japan: Japan

10:11 AM - 1 Jun 2018

6,245 Retweets 15,441 Likes

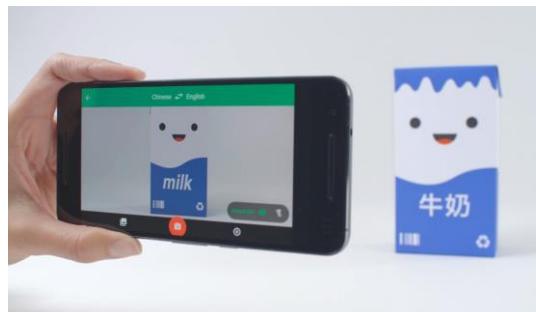


We're in the future!



...and artificial intelligence is *everywhere...*

...and it's *confusing!*



# AI, crime and policing: what we were promised...



...and now (that we are in the future) what does it (actually) look like?

- <goals of this talk>
  - To **reassure** you about AI—demystifying the technological dazzle, in order to better critically examine it
  - To **scare** you about AI—and its possible implications for crime/policing
  - To **provoke** discussion about the nature of 'crime', 'policing', 'fairness', and 'surveillance'
- [Programmatic—set of examples, issues and questions for discussion]

# Today

- What is AI?
- Criminal uses of AI
- Policing use of AI
- Issues and opportunities
- Conclusions, overall takeaways

- **What is AI?**

- Myths: what 'intelligence' in 'AI'?
- Defining AI: terms, workings
- Uses, Requirements
- Criminal uses of AI
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- **What is AI?**
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# AI: 'consciousness'; self-awareness'; 'sentience'?



**November 28, 2011:**  
Qbo passes the 'mirror self-recognition (MSR) test', (designed to measure self-awareness in animals).

(Humanity survives)

# What is Intelligence? Internal **thought process** or goal-oriented **behaviour**? **Human- or optimal performance?**

	Human Benchmark (H)	Rationality benchmark (R)
Intelligence as Thought Processes (T)	<p><b>(T-H) Systems that think like humans</b> (e.g. cognitive science)</p> <p><i>"The exciting new effort to make computers think ... machines with minds, in the full and literal sense"</i> Haugeland, 1985</p> <p><i>"The automation of activities that we associate with human thinking, activities such as decision-making, problem solving, learning ..."</i> Bellman, 1978</p>	<p><b>(T-R) Systems that think rationally</b> (logic/laws of thought)</p> <p><i>"The study of mental faculties through the use of computational models"</i> Charniak and McDermott, 1985</p> <p><i>"The study of the computations that make it possible to perceive, reason, and act"</i> Winston, 1992</p>
Intelligence as goal-oriented behavior (B)	<p><b>(B-H) Systems that act like humans</b> (Cf. Turing test; Winograd Schema Challenge<sup>39</sup>)</p> <p><i>"The art of creating machines that perform functions that require intelligence when performed by people"</i> Kurzweil, 1990</p> <p><i>"The study of how to make computers do things at which, at the moment, people are better"</i> Rich and Knight, 1991</p>	<p><b>(B-R) Systems that act rationally</b> (rational agents)</p> <p><i>"A field of study that seeks to explain and emulate intelligent behavior in terms of computational processes"</i> Schalkoff, 1990</p> <p><i>"The branch of computer science that is concerned with the automation of intelligent behavior"</i> Luger &amp; Stubblefield, 1993</p>

FIGURE 3: A TYPOLOGY OF DIFFERENT DEFINITIONS OF AI, AND THEIR UNDERLYING APPROACHES, WITH SOME EXAMPLES<sup>39</sup>

*AI agents ‘operate autonomously, perceive their environment, persist over a prolonged time period, adapt to change, and create and pursue [the best expected outcome].’*

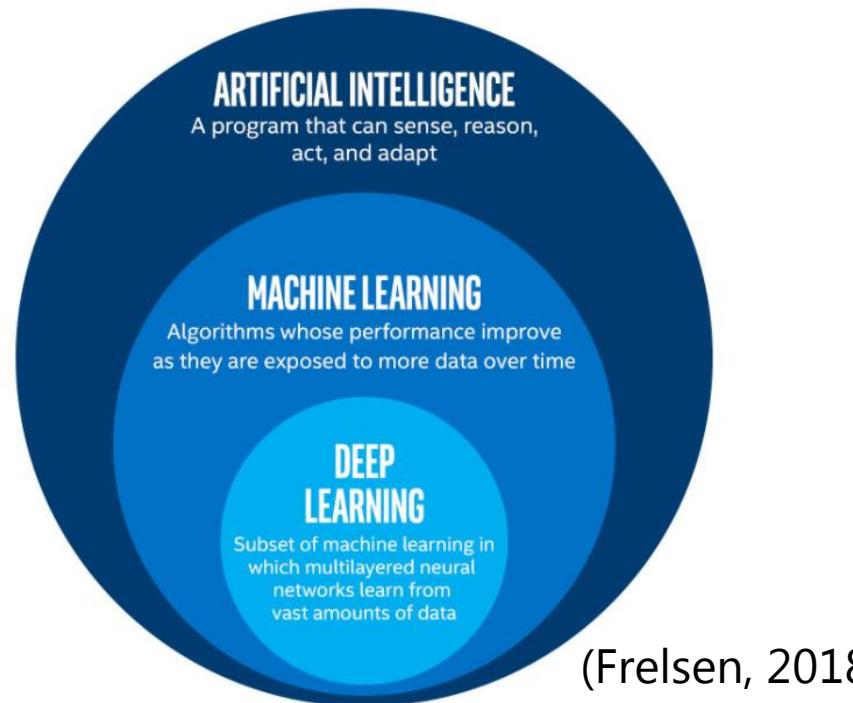
–Russell and Norvig, *Artificial Intelligence: A Modern Approach*, 4.

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# What is AI? ML? DNN?

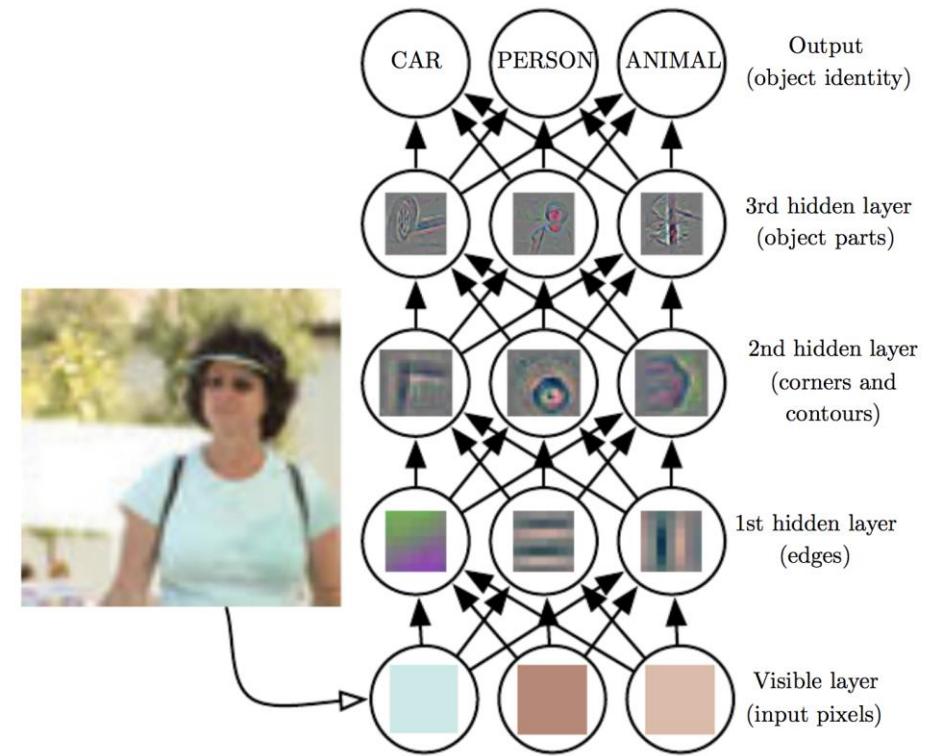
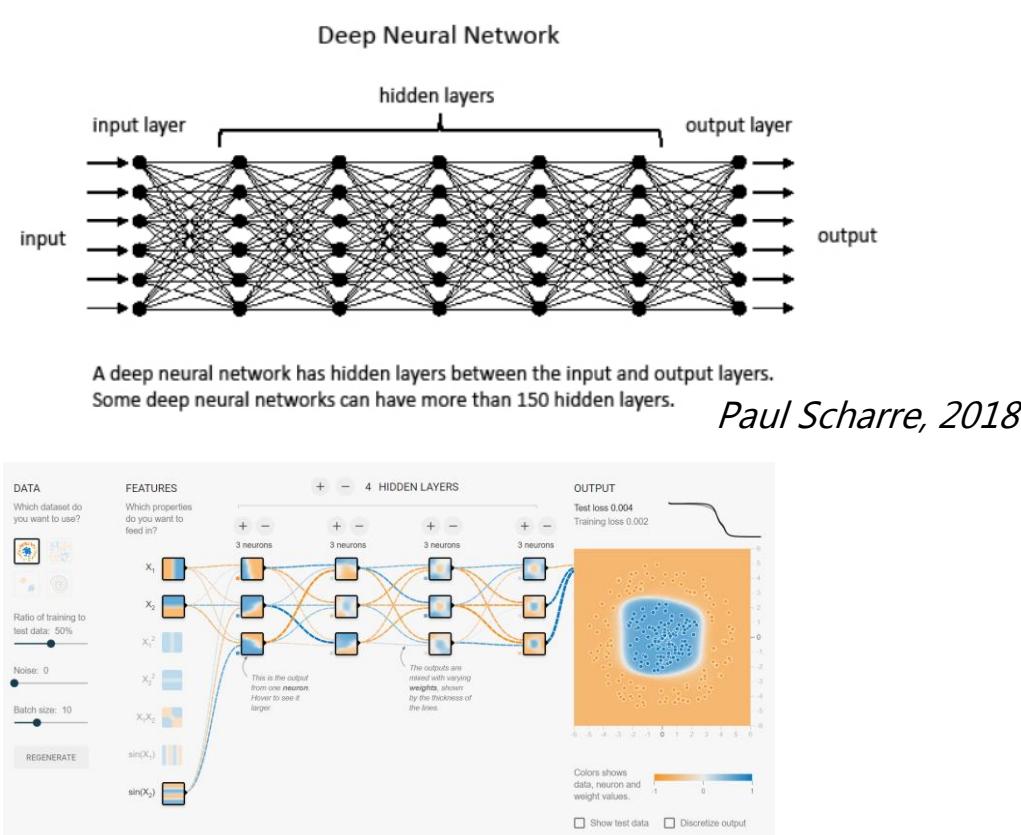
**Machine learning:** algorithms which adjust their behaviour (by trial and error) in reactions on training datasets, to gradually improve their performance on new data:

**Deep learning** is a type of machine learning, inspired by the brain, that uses multi-layer 'neural networks'...



(Freisen, 2018)

# A deep learning neural network encodes knowledge, by varying the weights of connections between neurons



Play around with a neural network on <https://playground.tensorflow.org/>

# Varieties of current AI

**Machine learning:** algorithms which adjust their behaviour (by trial and error) in reactions on training datasets, to gradually improve their performance on new data:

- **Supervised learning:** using labelled training data [million images of 'dog', 'person', 'apple']: algorithm starts off random, but learns to distinguish relevant data features that improve its accuracy | e.g. **image-recognition**
- **Unsupervised learning:** machine independently identifies hidden patterns in unlabelled data, clustering them itself. | e.g. **identify anomalous financial transactions; diagnose cancer in patients...**
- **Reinforcement learning:** through trial-and-error in a [simulated] environment (or playing against itself), machine learns what actions give it a higher end-score... | **AlphaGo (zero); Atari games**
- **Generative adversarial network:** one system tries to create fake data until it is so indistinguishable from real that it fools another, trained network | **DeepFakes**

[there are many other approaches, including rule-based systems]

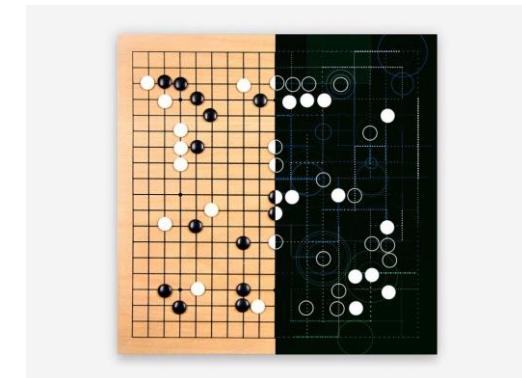
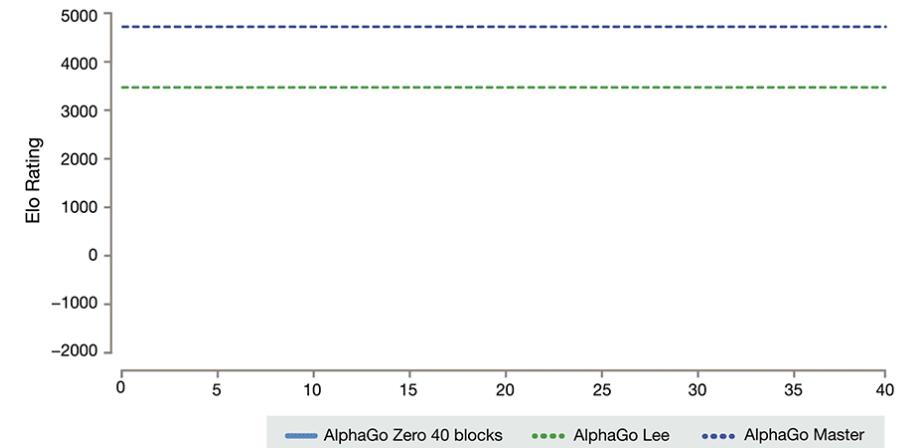
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# Uses: what AI is good for

- **Data classification:** from images to spam email, and from song genres to faces
- **Anomaly detection:** fraudulent financial transactions or new malware
- **Prediction:** from Netflix and Amazon recommendations, to weather forecasting, to patient recovery rates
- **Optimization** of complex systems and tasks: e.g. energy efficiency in Google data centre
- Rapid **reaction times, precision** and **autonomous operation** in robots

# Requirements and limits for use

- Large and structured (or labelled) datasets
  - E.g. social media
  - E.g. financial transactions
  - E.g. re-offense rate records.
  - E.g. ability to play against itself
- Limitations:
  - Transferring learning from one task to another
  - Susceptibility to 'adversarial input'
  - No 'Common Sense' → 'artificial stupidity'



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# Crimes with AI: why will AI enable 'malicious use'? [Brundage et al. 2018]

## ***"Expansion of existing threats.***

- The **costs of attacks may be lowered** by the scalable use of AI systems to complete tasks that would ordinarily require human labor, intelligence and expertise. A natural effect would be to **expand the set of actors** who can carry out particular attacks, the **rate at which they can carry out these attacks**, and the **set of potential targets**.

## ***Introduction of new threats.***

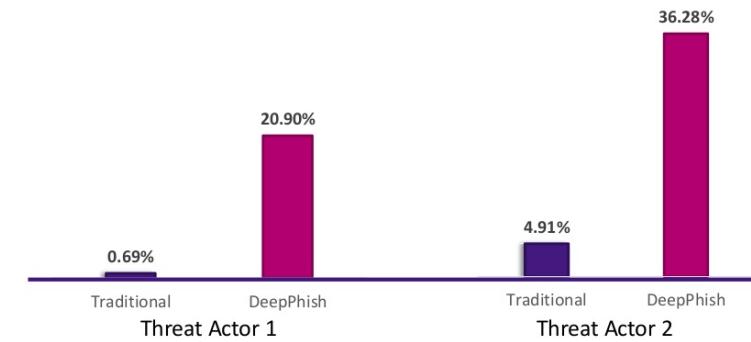
- New attacks may arise through the use of AI systems to complete tasks that would be **otherwise impractical** for humans. In addition, malicious actors may **exploit the vulnerabilities of AI systems** deployed by defenders."

'Malicious Use of AI' Report:  
<https://maliciousaireport.com/>

# *Crimes with AI | in cyberspace: scalable hacking & identity theft*

- Humans are vulnerability in any system. Today: 91% of cybercrimes and attacks start with a phishing email.
- But today, phishing emails are either generic and unconvincing ('FBI'; 'Nigerian Prince...', 'You've won 1\$M!'), caught by spam filters, or must be (hand)tailored to targets (usually not worth time and effort).
- With 'DeepPhish' AI: automatically learn from, combine features (synthetic URLs, etc.) from other phishing attacks, avoiding spam filters and improving success rate...
- Eventually: automatically tailor emails to individuals?

Traditional Attacks vs. AI-Driven Attacks



<https://albahnsen.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/deepphish-simulating-malicious-ai-submitted.pdf>

# Crimes *with* AI | DeepFakes as custom blackmail material?

- Ability to edit faces into videos
- Original use: this is the internet—What do you *think*?  
[…]
- Case: Leia (Carrie Fisher), inserted digitally in Star Wars *Rogue One*

- Formerly: high threshold
  - (Disney - industrial CGI)
- Now: incredibly accessible
  - (laptop)



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RiBqZoVe92U>

# Crimes *with* AI | using AI to 'steal' a voice (- one day, your grandmother gets a call from you...)



'You won't believe what Obama Says in this Video!'  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cQ54GDm1eL0>

'Clone' your own voice (just 1 min of audio required) with *Lyrebird* at- <https://lyrebird.ai/>

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# Crimes on AI | a new attack surface for 'adversarial input' ('hypnotizing' your AI, making it 'hallucinate')

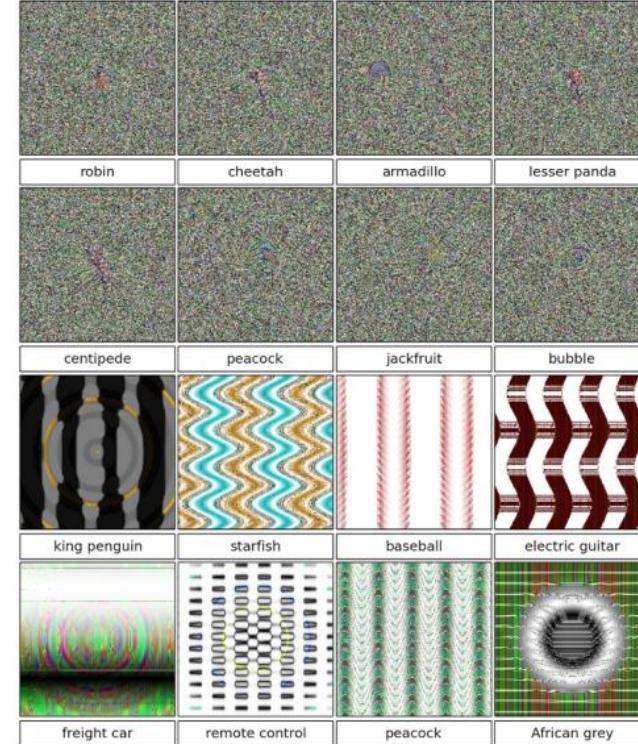
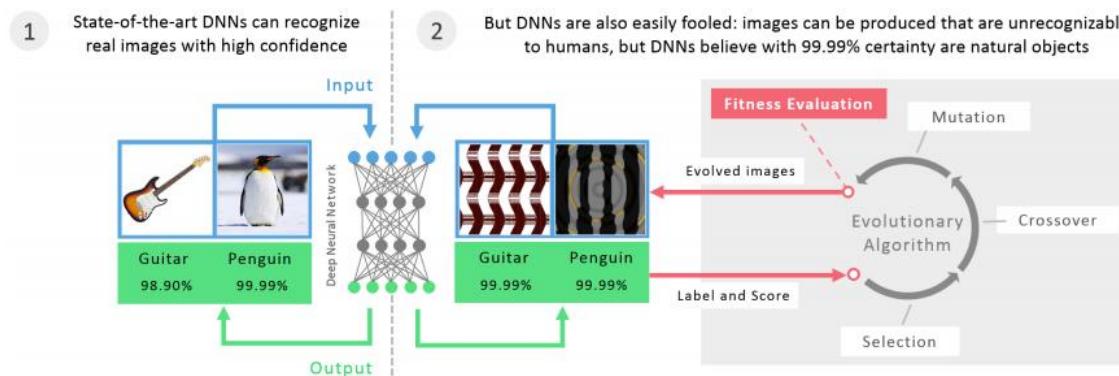
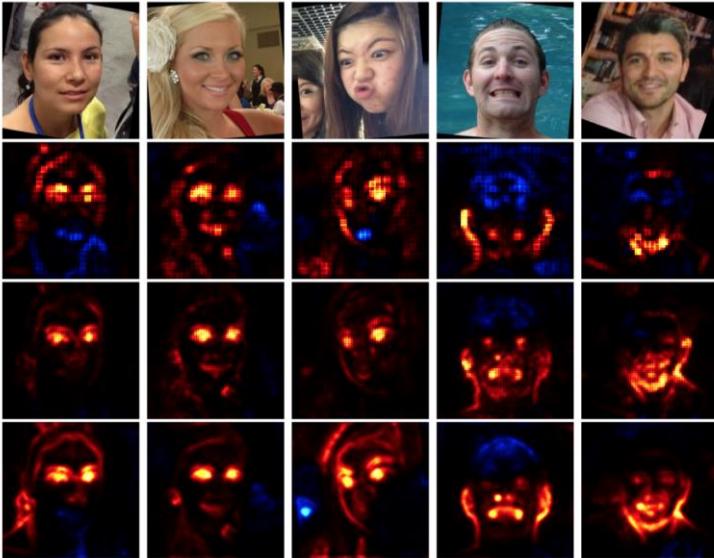
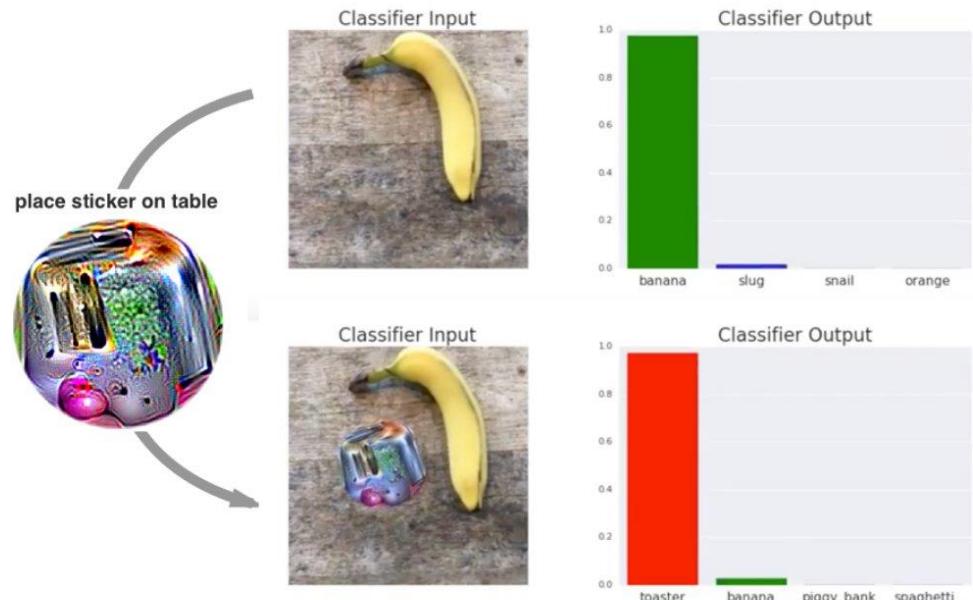


Figure 1. Evolved images that are unrecognizable to humans, but that state-of-the-art DNNs trained on ImageNet believe with  $\geq 99.6\%$  certainty to be a familiar object. This result highlights differences between how DNNs and humans recognize objects. Images are either directly (*top*) or indirectly (*bottom*) encoded.

Nguyen, Yosinski et al. 2015

# Crimes *on* AI | also in physical space, 'adversarial input' can exploit intrinsic vulnerabilities in AI...

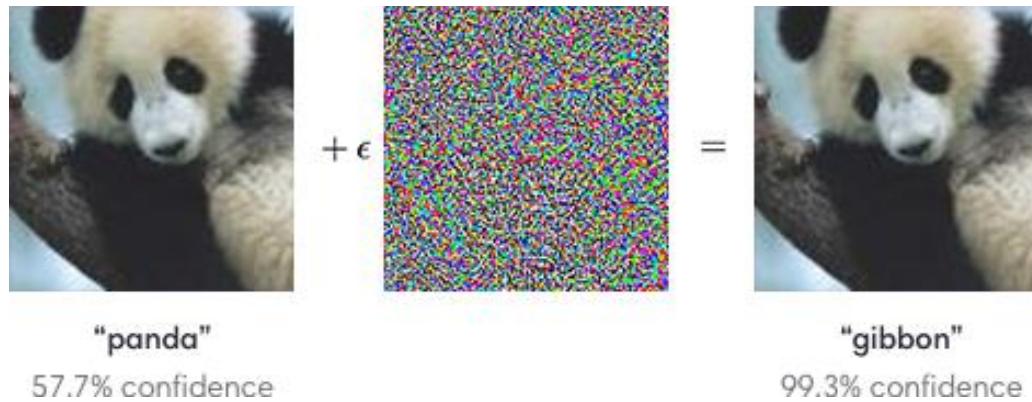


Stickers cause a neural network to misclassify images as a toaster (Brown, Mané, Roy, Abadi, Gilmer, 2017)



Stickers cause a neural network to misclassify stop signs as 'speed limit 45' signs (Evtimov, et al. 2017)

…and can be undetectable to the human eye



(to humans) imperceptible perturbation of image leads  
to algorithmic image reclassification (OpenAI, 2017)



■ classified as turtle ■ classified as rifle  
■ classified as other

3D-printed turtle, adversarially perturbed [altered] to classify as a  
'rifle' at every angle (Athalye et al. 2018)

# Crimes on AI | (hidden) adversarial input in audio: "Alexa, please transfer money to ..."

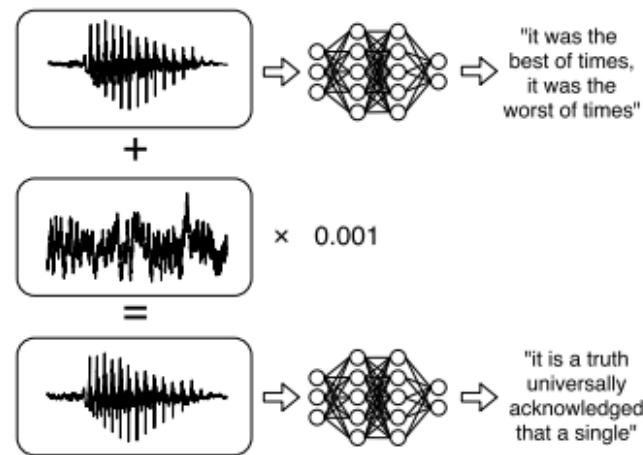


Figure 1. Illustration of our attack: given any waveform, adding a small perturbation makes the result transcribe as any desired target phrase.

- “Over the last two years, researchers [...] have begun demonstrating that **they can send hidden commands that are undetectable to the human ear to Apple’s Siri, Amazon’s Alexa and Google’s Assistant**. Inside university labs, the researchers have been able to secretly activate the artificial intelligence systems on smartphones and smart speakers, making them dial phone numbers or open websites. In the wrong hands, **the technology could be used to unlock doors, wire money or buy stuff online — simply with music playing over the radio.**”

-[Smith, NYT, 2018]

For examples, see: [https://nicholas.carlini.com/code/audio\\_adversarial\\_examples/](https://nicholas.carlini.com/code/audio_adversarial_examples/)



WHEN VISITING A NEW HOUSE, IT'S GOOD TO CHECK WHETHER THEY HAVE AN ALWAYS-ON DEVICE TRANSMITTING YOUR CONVERSATIONS SOMEWHERE.

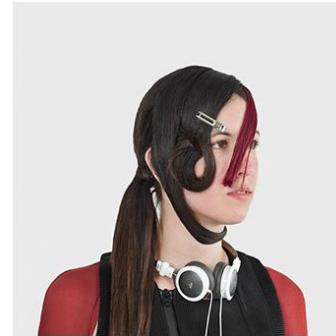
# Resistance against AI surveillance? | 'dazzle fashion' against facial recognition

New Looks



**Anti Face**  
This face is unrecognizable to several state-of-art face detection algorithms.

by Coreana Museum of Art + Soobin Academy + G-square Model Academy.



*Look N° 4*

For DIS Magazine (2010)  
Creative direction by Lauren Boyle and Marco Roso  
Model: Jude  
Hair: Pia Vivas



*Look N° 3*

For DIS Magazine (2010)  
Creative direction by Lauren Boyle and Marco Roso  
Model: Jude  
Hair: Pia Vivas



## Camouflage from face detection.

CV Dazzle explores how fashion can be used as camouflage from face-detection technology, the first step in automated face recognition.

The name is derived from a type of World War I naval camouflage called Dazzle, which used cubist-inspired designs to break apart the visual continuity of a battleship and conceal its orientation and size. Likewise, CV Dazzle uses avant-garde hairstyling and makeup designs to break apart the continuity of a face. Since facial-recognition algorithms rely on the identification and spatial relationship of key facial features, like symmetry and tonal contours, one can block detection by creating an "anti-face".

*From all appearances, deception has always been critical to daily survival—for human and non-human creatures alike—and, judging by its current ubiquity, there is no end in immediate sight*

— Roy Behrens, Camopedia



*Look N° 2*

For DIS Magazine (2010)  
Creative direction by Lauren Boyle and Marco Roso  
Model: Irina



*Look N° 1*

For NYU ITP Thesis Presentation (2010)  
Hair: Pia Vivas  
Model: Jen Jaffe

<https://cvdazzle.com/>

# Crimes on AI | 'How to Steal an AI'

- Copying a publicly embedded AI [e.g. Amazon book recommendation algorithm] simply by 'asking it a lot of questions' & training your own neural network on its input/output..
- The complexity of the algorithm determines how **hard it is to steal**. Simple yes-or-no algorithms can be copied in just 41 queries, less than \$0.10 under Google's payment structure. Complex neural networks **on average took 108,200 queries**, but achieved more than 98% accuracy against the original algorithm. –[Tramer, Zhang et al. 2016]
- Ability to steal AI products from companies like Microsoft and IBM; but also small, single-machine-learning API startups. Also helps in developing adversarial input.



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# Crimes by AI? | AI as white-collar criminal 'shield'?

Switzerland

Swiss police release robot that bought ecstasy online

The robot - which goes by the name Random Darknet Shopper - was part of an art installation meant to explore the dark web



▲ The robot and all of the purchases it made online were returned to !Mediengruppe Bitnik, the art group that designed Random Darknet Shopper. Photograph: !mediengruppebitnik

Jana Kasperkevic in New York

✉ @kasperka ⏤ Email  
Wed 22 Apr 2015 17.16 BST



This article is over 3 years old

Taking that further: legally recognized 'Algorithmic Entities'?

- It may be possible today to establish a limited liability company under current US law, and put an algorithmic entity solely in charge of it [Bayern 2015], functionally bestowing legal personhood on an AI
- *"Initiators can limit their civil and criminal liability for acts of their algorithms by transferring the algorithms to entities and surrendering control at the time of the launch.<sup>75</sup> For example, the initiator might specify a general goal, such as maximizing financial return, and leave it to the algorithm to decide how to do that. If the algorithm later directed the commission of a crime, prosecutors may be unable to prove the intent necessary to convict the initiator of that crime (as opposed to the lesser charge of reckless initiation)." [-LoPucki 2018]*

# Summary: AI and Crime

- **Crimes *with* AI:** ability to scale up existing crimes (e.g. cyberattacks); introduces new attacks (e.g. generate fake material)
- **Crimes *on* AI:** AI as a new attack surface, vulnerable to theft or to being spoofed or even controlled through (audio/image) adversarial input.
- **Crimes *by* AI:** 'Algorithmic entities' operating as intermediary for others render identification and proof of criminal involvement or intent difficult
- The danger of '**Artificial Stupidity**' as new vulnerability, widely dispersed in society

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  - Prediction: plagued by bias
  - Sentencing: better accuracy?
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# AI in policing: tool, partner, usurper?

## Tool

Just an implement  
for a human worker



## Partner

Autonomous but  
shares tasks/functions  
with human worker



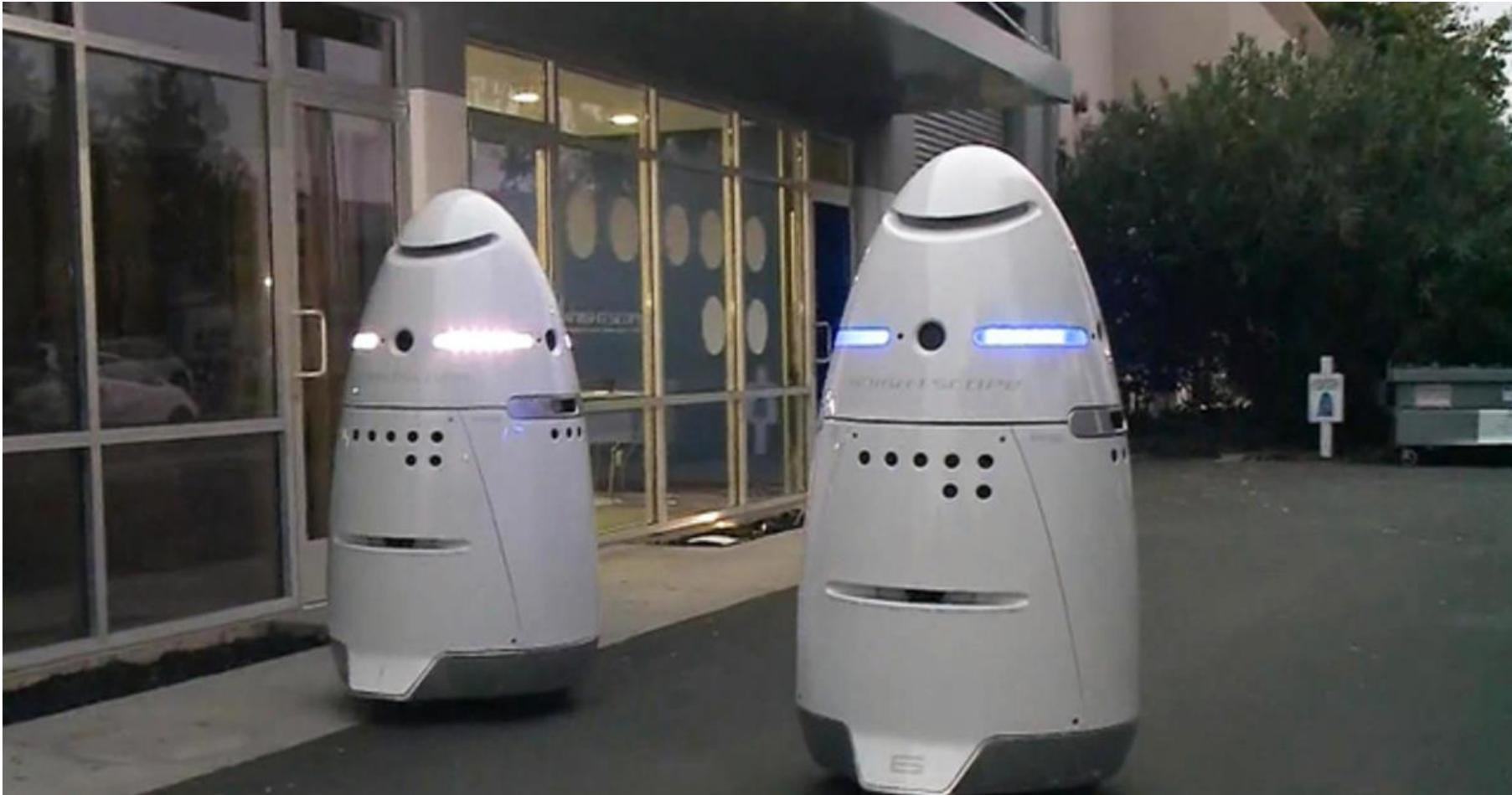
## Usurper

Autonomous and  
humans no longer  
required.



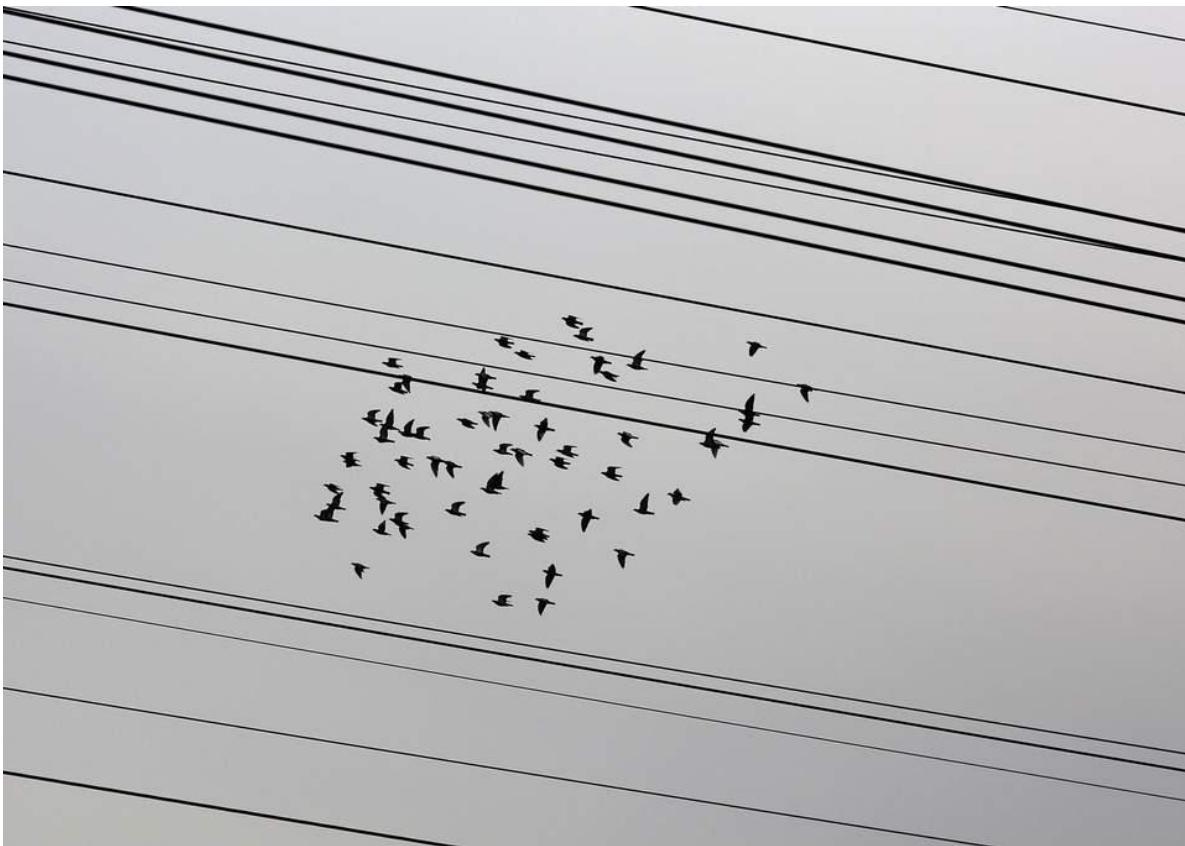
[Danaher 2018]

Monitoring AI: real 'robocops'?  
[Also cf. private sector policing].

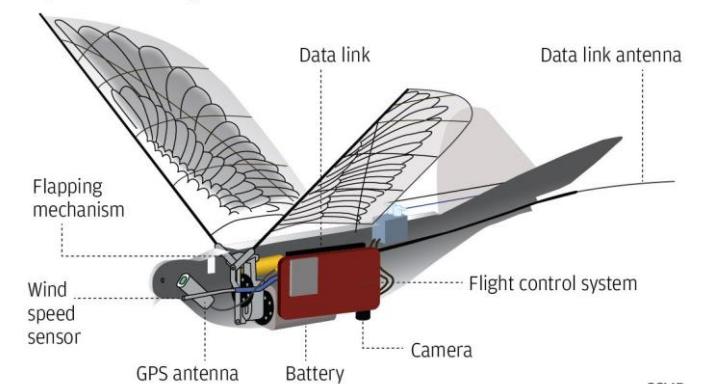


# Monitoring: also surveillance in plain sight...

- China's bird drones (code-named 'Dove') operational in 5 provinces



**Eye in the sky**



SCMP

# Cf. comprehensive 'social' surveillance—Chinese Social Credit system

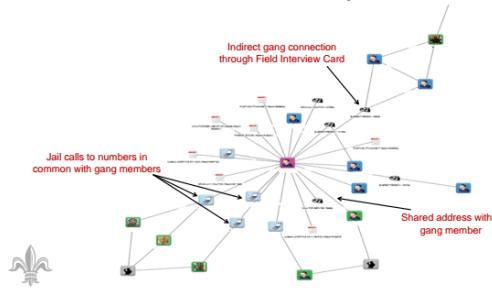
- By 2020: full implementation of social credit score system
- **Input:** full social profile, including location, friends, health records, insurance, private messages, financial position, gaming duration, smart home statistics, preferred newspapers, shopping history, and dating behaviour
- **Results:** flight ban, exclusion from private schools, slow internet connection, exclusion from high prestige work, exclusion from hotels, and registration on a public blacklist.



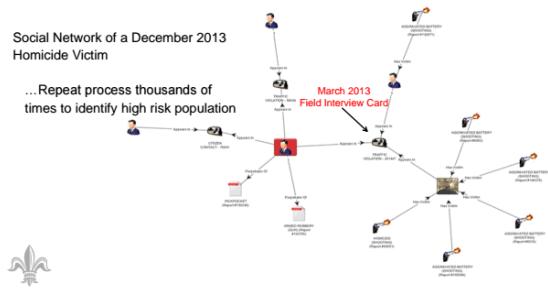
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# Predictive Policing

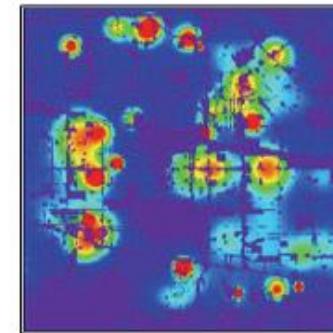
## [HC3] Identifying Connections Through Social Network Analysis



## [HC3] Identifying High Risk Victims Through Social Network Analysis



- (secretly) used by *Palantir* in NOLA (Operation LASER) until March 2018
- Also PredPol software, which inputs three variables of crime (where, when, what type) to calculate 'hotspots'
- Does it work? RAND report suggests no statistically significant crime reduction...
- ...but system enforces racially biased policing patterns and practices



TACTICAL AMBIGUITY  
rear-view mirror heat map



TACTICAL CLARITY  
forward-looking PredPol boxes

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# Algorithmic sentencing: promise and peril

- Use of algorithms to determine e.g. sentencing, bail decisions
- Goal to reduce bias and increase accuracy: (some) algorithms better at predicting risk or recidivism than human judges:
  - In deciding on whether a defendant should await trial in jail, a NBER algorithm could cut **crime by defendants awaiting trial by as much as 25 percent without changing the numbers of people waiting in jail.**
  - Or it could **reduce the jail population awaiting trial by more than 40 percent** while leaving the **crime rate by defendants unchanged.**
- But: risks from bias? (COMPAS)
- Shift from concept of law to 'regulatory instrumentalism'?



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# Technology, and from normative to non-normative 'regulatory modalities'... [Lessig, 2001, Brownsword 2016]

Golf Club: how to solve golf cart flower-surfing?

## Normative:

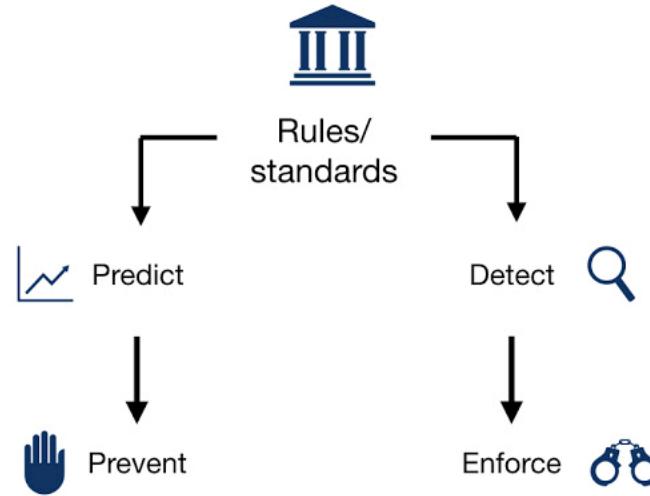
- **Norms** (*proper members don't do that; you'll get shunned*)
- **Law** (...*we now have a rule that says you'll get fined if we catch you doing it...*)
- **Law+(Technology-enforced law)** (...*and we have cameras to ensure we catch you doing it.*)



## Non-normative:

- Technological management (*built-in GPS shuts off your cart when approaching the flowers*)

# 'Technological management'... [Browsword 2016]



[Danaher 2018]

Automation drives shift...

from '**Detect and Enforce**' to '**Predict & Prevent**'

Cf. 'Situational Crime Prevention' (SCP)

# ...the 'Disneyfication' of policing in future smart cities?

*[Disneyland] anticipates and prevents possibilities for disorder through constant instructions to visitors, physical barriers that both guide and limit visitors' movements, and through "omnipresent" employees who detect and correct the smallest errors (Shearing & Stenning 1985: 301). **None of the costumed characters nor the many signs, barriers, lanes, and gardens feel coercive to visitors. Yet through constant monitoring, prevention, and correction embedded policing is part of the experience..."***

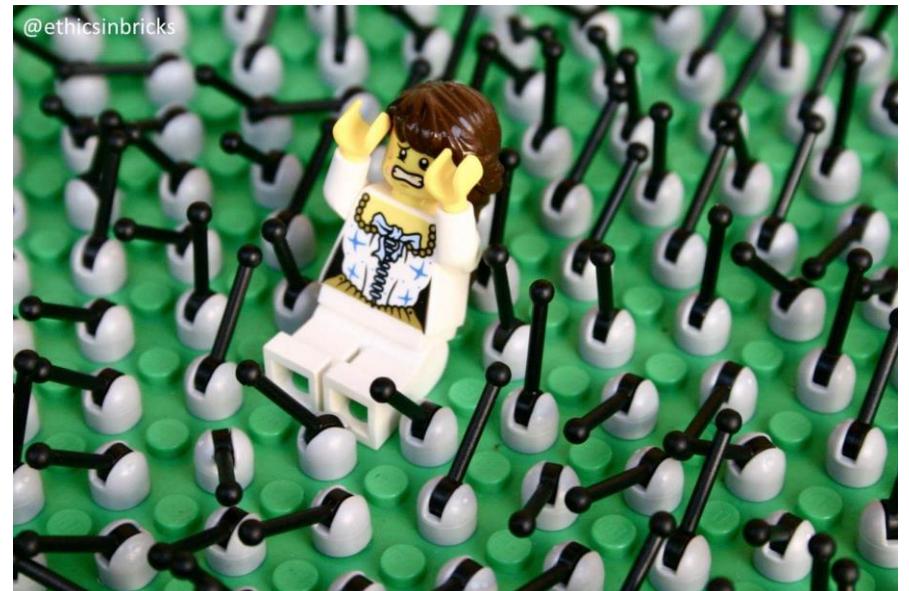
[Joh 2018]



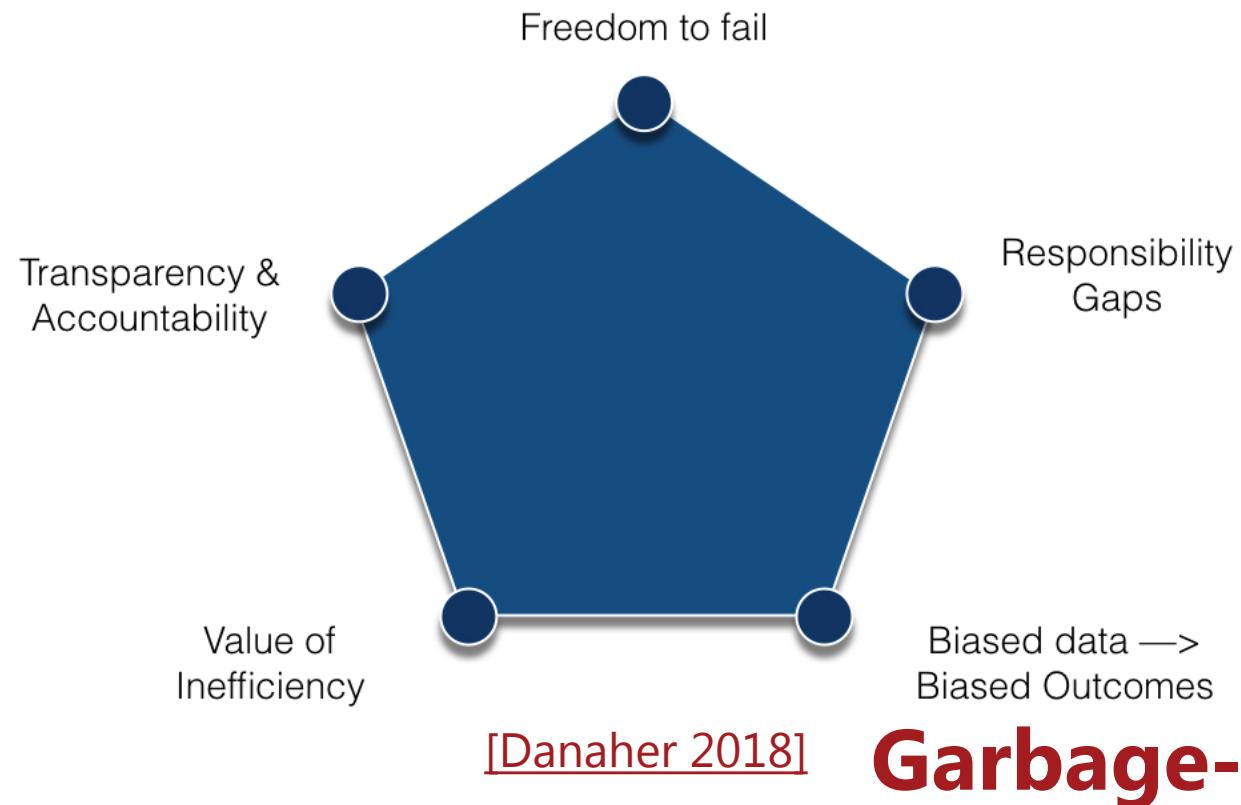
# Summary: AI and Policing

- Set to drive shift in policing...
  - **Monitoring:** ...from visible to 'invisible' (yet known to be all-pervasive)
  - **Prediction:** ...from 'detect and enforce', to 'predict and prevent'
  - **Sentencing:** ...from rule of law to 'regulatory instrumentalism'
  - **Structure:** ...from 'normative', to 'non-normative' technological management / automated Situational Crime Prevention approach

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- Policing use of AI
- **Issues and opportunities**
  - **Overall considerations**
  - Does AI surveillance need to be intrusive?
  - Conclusions, overall takeaways



# Five Considerations (cf. Danaher 2018)

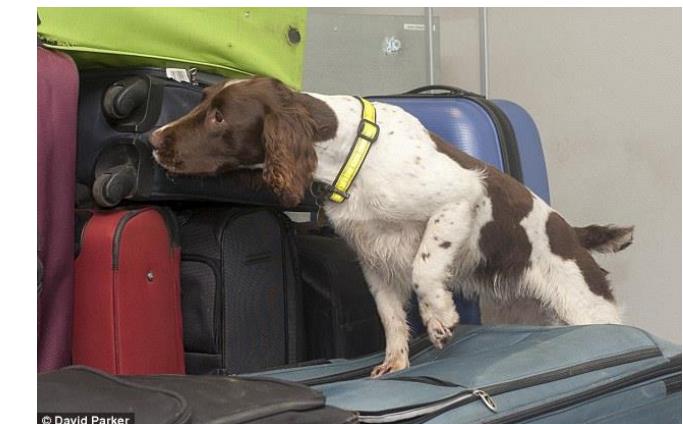


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# Does surveillance need to be intrusive? - Possible advantages of automation [Garfinkel 2018]

- Discussions of surveillance often assume core trade-offs:
  - Privacy vs. security ('*to find the minority of bad actors, we must have access to everyone*')
  - Accountability vs. security ('*if we make a search protocol public, bad actors can alter their behaviour*')
- But are these tradeoffs intractable?
  - Bomb/drug-sniffing dogs reduce the need for human search of all luggage; only 'flag' suspect behavior.
  - *United States V. Place* – ruled that because drug dogs exclusive detect odor of narcotics, they are not considered a 'search' or invasion of privacy.



# Does surveillance need to be intrusive? - Possible advantages of automation [Garfinkel 2018]

But automation...

## ***“Can act as a “screen” between data and humans***

- *Can judge whether human search/access is warranted; can redact sensitive information (e.g. automatic face blurring)*

## ***Can increase accuracy:***

- *Less need for searches/violations of privacy based on false positives*

## ***In certain regards, more predictable and less opaque than humans***

- *Not a complete “black box,” as humans are; clear audit logs; less likely to engage in certain abuses (LOVEINT, extortion, etc.)*

## ***Makes auditing more “scalable”:***

- *Easier to audit one piece of software, than many humans*

***Easier to associate with summary statistics (e.g. accuracy rate)—no ‘plausible deniability’ of bias. There is a reason why we Pro Publica was able to ‘expose’ COMPAS”***

# Homomorphically Encrypted AI: privacy-preserving, less intrusive surveillance? [Trask 2017]

- Encrypted neural network, which finds, reveals only data that matches pre-determined (but encrypted—ergo hidden) criteria for illegal/suspect activity, and does not reveal any other public data.
- *"Say we're talking about the surveillance cameras of the future, which come up with encrypted images. Why would we want to do that? [...] If you're looking for a suspect, you might be interested in doing some computations on an encrypted image, to match [only] to the subject."*



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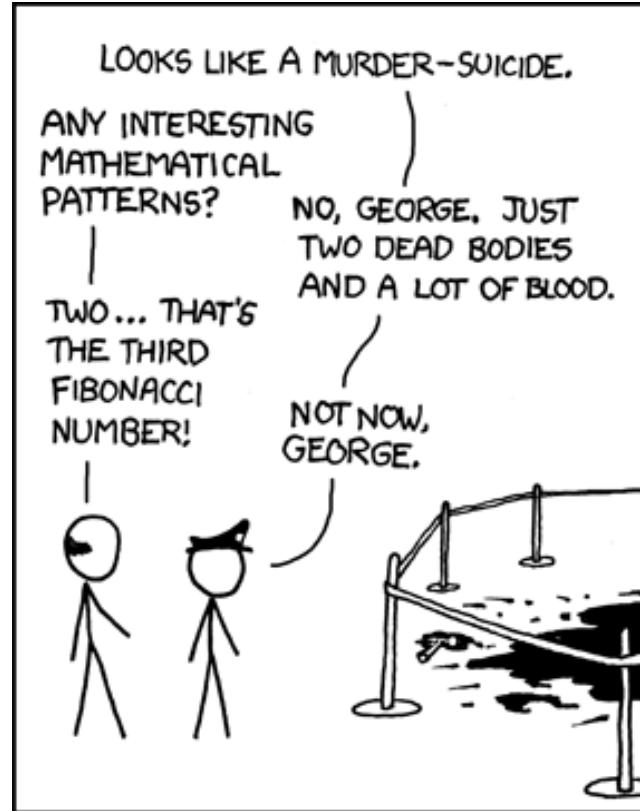
## In sum

**Now that we're in the future... What *does* it look like?**

- I. **AI is not magic**: we can [and must!] engage with the technology and its complexity, if we are to hold it accountable
- II. **Criminal uses of AI**: scaling up existing crimes; enabling novel crimes—amplified by prevalence of algorithmic 'artificial stupidity'
- III. **Policing use of AI**: more diffuse monitoring; structural shift towards prediction and prevention
- IV. **AI is not magic**: garbage-in-garbage-out; we have to *choose* the right data.
- V. **AI is not (black) magic**: ...it *could* also help us reduce the intrusiveness of policing and surveillance

# Thanks!

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WHEN MATHNET SHUT DOWN, THE  
OFFICERS HAD TROUBLE REINTEGRATING  
INTO THE REGULAR L.A.P.D.

## Assorted readings:

- Trask, I. (2017) 'Safe Crime Detection: Homomorphic Encryption and Deep Learning for More Effective, Less Intrusive Digital Surveillance' -  
<https://iamtrask.github.io/2017/06/05/homomorphic-surveillance/>
- Danaher, John [2018] 'The Automation of Policing: Challenges and Opportunities', *Philosophical Disquisitions*.  
<https://philosophicaldisquisitions.blogspot.com/2018/10/the-automation-of-policing-challenges.html>
- Garfinkel, Ben (2018) 'The Future of Surveillance'.  
<https://www.effectivealtruism.org/articles/ea-global-2018-the-future-of-surveillance/>

# Backup material:

# Crimes on AI | adversarial input in markets: criminal (?) spoofing can lead to 'flash crash'

