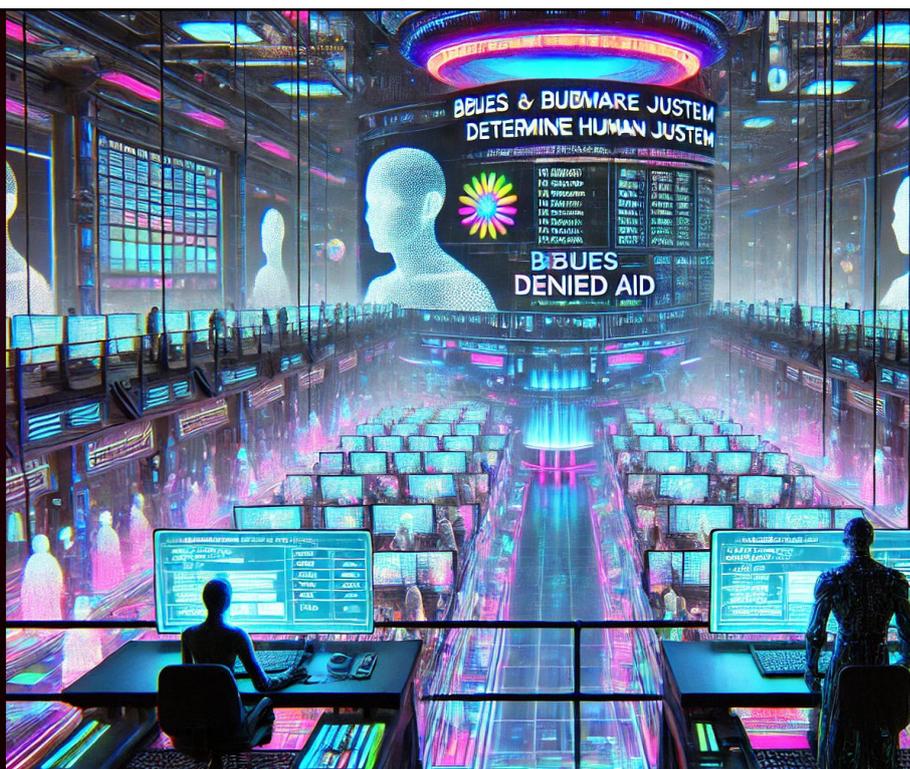


ALGORITHMIC GOVERNANCE IN EUROPE

HOW TO DETECT AND ADDRESS DISCRIMINATION IN THE CONTEXT OF AI?

RAPHAËLE XENIDIS



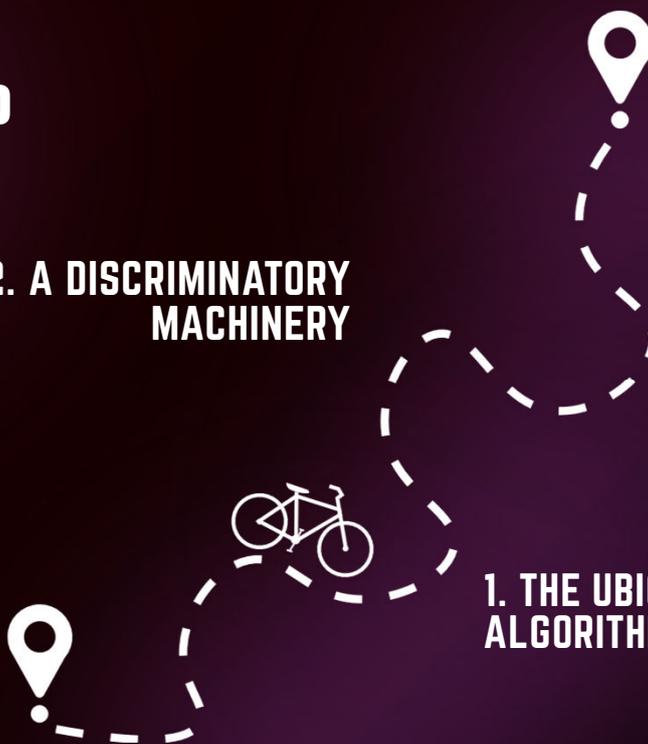
1

ROADMAP

2. A DISCRIMINATORY MACHINERY

3. RE-ENGINEERING LEGAL INTERVENTIONS

1. THE UBIQUITY OF ALGORITHMIC GOVERNANCE



2

ALGORITHMIC GOVERNANCE IN EUROPE

THE DIGITAL WELFARE STATE



La Quadrature du Net

CAF : LE NUMÉRIQUE AU SERVICE DE L'EXCLUSION ET DU HARCÈLEMENT DES PLUS PRÉCAIRES

19 octobre 2022

Date	Score	Date	Score
01/09/2021	0,22	01/12/2021	0,62
01/08/2021	0,18	01/11/2021	0,49
01/07/2021	0,32	01/10/2021	0,39
01/06/2021	0,48	01/09/2021	0,50
01/05/2021	0,48	01/08/2021	0,40
01/04/2021	0,62	01/07/2021	0,40
01/03/2021	0,62	01/06/2021	0,50
01/02/2021	0,67	01/05/2021	0,49
01/01/2021	0,67	01/04/2021	0,52
01/12/2020	0,73	01/03/2021	0,52
		01/02/2021	0,49
		01/01/2021	0,52
		01/12/2020	0,49
		01/11/2020	0,49
		01/10/2020	0,39
		01/09/2020	0,40
		01/08/2020	0,49
		01/07/2020	0,50
		01/06/2020	0,52
		01/05/2020	0,63
		01/04/2020	0,52
		01/03/2020	0,68
		01/02/2020	0,68
		01/01/2020	0,68



Le Monde

PUBLIÉ LE 4 DÉCEMBRE 2023

COMMENT L'ALGORITHME DE LA CAF PRÉDIT SI VOUS ÊTES « À RISQUE » DE FRAUDER

PAR MANON ROMAIN, ADRIEN SÉNÉCAT, ELSA DELMAS, LÉA GIRARDOT ET THOMAS STEFFEN



SURVEILLANCE | SUSPICION MACHINES

France's Digital Inquisition

Taking apart the secretive fraud detection algorithm that scores half of France's population but pursues the most vulnerable.

PUBLISHED DECEMBER 4, 2023 BY

Manon Romain, Adrien Sénécat, Soizic Penven, Gabriel Geiger, Maxime Vuadano, Justine-Camille Braun, Elsa Delmas, Léa Girardot, Tomas Steffen, Daniel Howden

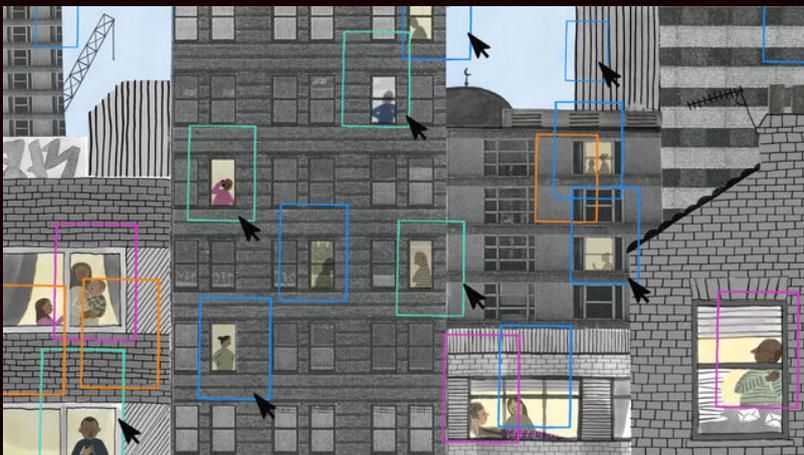
SIMILAR INVESTIGATIONS

3

RISK FACTORS

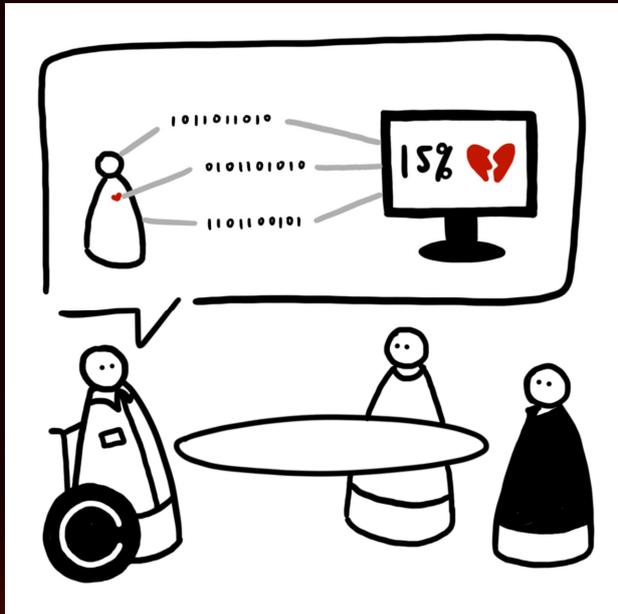
41 risk factors, among which:

- Single-parent families (95% of recipients are single mothers)
 - 16% of recipients
 - 36% of on-site controls
- Recipients' age
- Eligibility to disability benefits
- Marital status
- Income



Emily Rand & LOTI / Better Images of AI / AI City / CC-BY 4.0

4



Yaning Wu / Better Images of AI / prediction / CC-BY 4.0

RISK SCORING IN THE FRENCH SOCIAL SECURITY

A technosolutionist narrative

In 2022:

- more than 87% of investigations, i.e. 28,3 millions investigations, were automated
- Detected fraud only amounted to 0,35% of total benefits

ALGORITHMIC GOVERNANCE IN EUROPE

THE DIGITAL WELFARE STATE

LIGHTHOUSE REPORTS

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De Limburger Net binnen Regio Sport Media & Cultuur Economie

Kijken achter de voordeur: omstreken fraudeaanpak in meerdere Limburgse gemeenten

Bram van der Heijden, Rik van Hulst
05-02-2023, 06:45



De Limburger

Fraudeaanpak van gemeente Venlo onderzocht

Bram van der Heijden
Onderzoekjournalist

20-12-2022, 17:30



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SURVEILLANCE | SUSPICION MACHINES

Automating Distrust

Digital profiling of Dutch low income, minority neighbourhoods spirals, series of local investigations reveals



Een einde aan het Toeslagenschandaal Nu!

Dutch childcare benefit scandal an urgent wake-up call to ban racist algorithms

Algorithm to help find fraudulent students turns out to be racist



Students with a non-European migration background had a 3.0 times higher chance of receiving an unfounded home visit from the Dutch student grants fraud department

DUO is the Dutch organisation for administering student grants. It uses an algorithm to let them decide which students get a home visit to check for fraudulent behaviour. Turns out basically only check students of colour, and they have no clue why.

Racism & Technology Center

DUO Gebruik van geautomatiseerde risicoclassificering op basis van een risicoprofiel bij Controleproces Uitwonende Beurs (CUB)

ALGORITHMIC GOVERNANCE IN EUROPE

THE DIGITAL WELFARE STATE



Variables used in the model

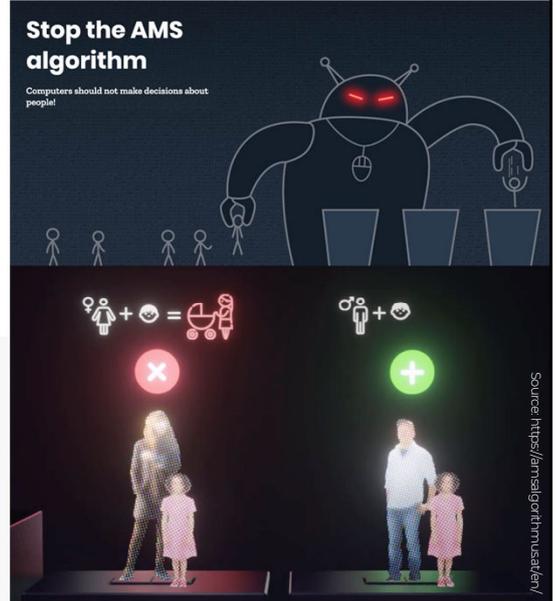
Variable	Nominal values
Gender	Male/Female
Age group	0-29/30-49/50+
Citizenship	Austria/EU except Austria/Non-EU
Highest level of education	Grade school/apprenticeship, vocational school/high- or secondary school, university
Health impairment	Yes/No
Obligations of care (only women)	Yes/No
Occupational group	Production sector/service sector
Regional labor market	Five categories for employment prospects in assigned AMS job center
Prior occupational career	Characterization of variable listed in Table 2

Algorithmic Profiling of Job Seekers in Austria: How Austerity Politics Are Made Effective

Doris Allhutter^{1*} Florian Cech^{2,1} Fabian Fischer^{2,1} Gabriel Grill^{3,1}
Astrid Mager^{1*}

Source: Doris Allhutter et al., 'Algorithmic Profiling of Job Seekers in Austria: How Austerity Politics Are Made Effective' (2020) Frontiers in Big Data

¹ Institute of Technology Assessment, Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, Austria
² Centre for Informatics and Society, Faculty for Informatics, Vienna University of Technology (TU Wien), Vienna, Austria
³ School of Information, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, United States



Source: <https://ams.gv.at/hm/sachen/>



ENGLISH

WHO WE ARE

WHAT WE DO

COUNTRIES

27 November 2024

Sweden: Authorities must discontinue discriminatory AI systems used by welfare agency

The use of opaque artificial intelligence (AI) systems by *Försäkringskassan*, Sweden's Social Insurance Agency, must be immediately discontinued, Amnesty International said today, following **an investigation** into Sweden's welfare system by Lighthouse Reports and Svenska Dagbladet, which found that the system unjustly flagged marginalized groups for benefits fraud inspections.

European Review of Digital Administration & Law - Erdal
2020, Volume 1, Issue 1-2, June-December, p. 167-177
ISBN 978-88-255-3896-0 – DOI 10.4399/978882553896015



27 November 2024

The Use of Secret Algorithms to Combat Social Fraud in Belgium*

Elise Degrave
Digital Institute
NADI/CRIDS)

(Professor at the University of Namur - Director of Research at the Namur Digital Institute)

Sweden: Automated discriminatory AI systems used by welfare agency

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Sweden: Automated discriminatory AI systems used by welfare agency



INVESTIGATIONS NEWSROOMS AI used by welfare



Analysis

UK risks scandal over 'bias' in AI tools in use across public sector

Kiran Stacey

Systems operating across government departments and police forces raise concerns about accountability and discrimination





ENGLISH

27 November 2024

Sweden: Aut

LIGHTHOUSE REPORTS

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CO-PUBLISHED WITH

Amnesty International

SURVEILLANCE | SUSPICION

Automating Distrust

Digital profiling of Dutch law investigations reveals



ENGLISH

WHO WE ARE WHAT WE DO COUN



< NEWS

12 November 2024

Denmark: AI-powered welfare system fuels mass surveillance and risks discriminating against marginalized groups – report

The Danish welfare authority, Udbetaling Danmark (UDK), risks discriminating against people with disabilities, low-income individuals, migrants, refugees, and marginalized racial groups through its use of artificial intelligence (AI) tools to flag individuals for social benefits fraud investigations, Amnesty International said today in a new report.

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The Guardian

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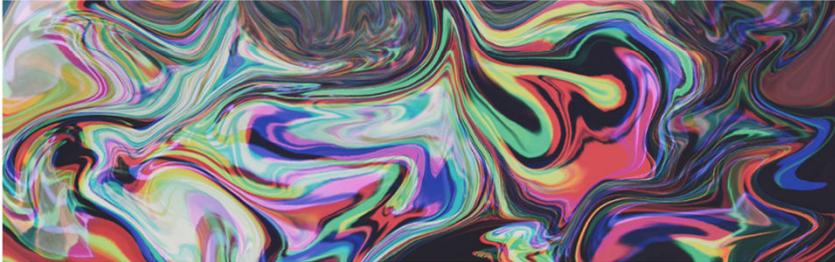
ENGLISH



La Quadrature du Net

FRANCE TRAVAIL : DES ROBOTS POUR CONTRÔLER LES CHÔMEURS·EUSES ET LES PERSONNES AU RSA

22 mai 2025



France Travail déploie actuellement des robots visant à automatiser et massifier le contrôle des personnes inscrites à France Travail. Depuis le 1 janvier 2025, cela inclut également les personnes au RSA. Il s'agit d'une nouvelle étape du dangereux [projet de gestion algorithmique des personnes sans-emplois](#), porté par le directeur général de France Travail, Thibaut Guilluy. Retour sur le contexte de cette mise en place et ses implications sociales.



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The Guardian

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WHAT DO THESE SYSTEMS HAVE IN COMMON?

13

AUTOMATING SECURITISATION

"Never before have welfare recipients, including the most vulnerable, been so rigorously monitored, and their illegal actions and mistakes so severely punished."

"Social fraud" is defined excessively broadly: "wrongful payments, including those resulting from oversights, errors or involuntary delays on the part of recipients, or even the administration".

Vincent Dubois, *Contrôler les assistés : Genèse et usages d'un mot d'ordre* (Raisons d'agir, 2021)



Photo by [Towfiq barbhuiya](#) on [Unsplash](#)

14

Types of discrimination: classifying algorithmic discrimination

Direct discrimination

- Link to protected ground
- Treatment, perpetrator and causality
- Individual harm and symmetry



Indirect discrimination

- Neutrality
- Effects and structural inequality
- Collective harm and asymmetry
- Open justifications

15

INTERSECTIONALIT

"The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression, and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking. The synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives."

- Combahee River Collective, The Combahee River Collective Statement, 1977

SYSTEMIC DISCRIMINATION

"Systemic discrimination involves the procedures, routines and organisational culture of any organisation that, often without intent, contribute to less favourable outcomes for minority groups than for the majority of the population, from the organisation's policies, programmes, employment, and services."

- Council of Europe, 2024

16

DISCRIMINATION 'BY DESIGN'



19

The General
Data Protection
Regulation
2016/679

Art. 9 GDPR

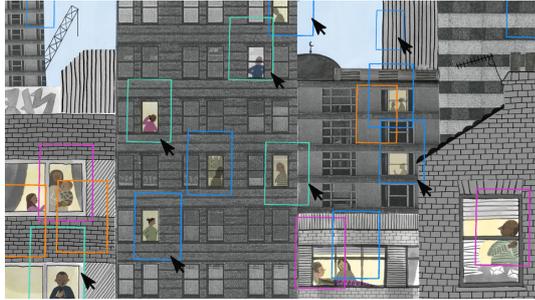
Processing of special categories of personal data

1. Processing of personal data revealing racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, or trade union membership, and the processing of genetic data, biometric data for the purpose of uniquely identifying a natural person, data concerning health or data concerning a natural person's sex life or sexual orientation shall be prohibited.

NB: exceptions exist!

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GUARANTEES AGAINST FULLY AUTOMATED DECISION-MAKING AND PROFILING



Art. 22 GDPR

Automated individual decision-making, including profiling

1. The data subject shall have the right not to be subject to a decision based solely on automated processing, including profiling, which produces legal effects concerning him or her or similarly significantly affects him or her.
2. Paragraph 1 shall not apply if the decision:
 - (a) is necessary for entering into, or performance of, a contract between the data subject and a data controller;
 - (b) is authorised by Union or Member State law to which the controller is subject and which also lays down suitable measures to safeguard the data subject's rights and freedoms and legitimate interests; or
 - (c) is based on the data subject's explicit consent.
3. In the cases referred to in points (a) and (c) of paragraph 2, the data controller shall implement suitable measures to safeguard the data subject's rights and freedoms and legitimate interests, at least the right to obtain human intervention on the part of the controller, to express his or her point of view and to contest the decision.
4. Decisions referred to in paragraph 2 shall not be based on special categories of personal data referred to in Article 9(1), unless point (a) or (g) of Article 9(2) applies and suitable measures to safeguard the data subject's rights and freedoms and legitimate interests are in place.

21

C-634/21 Schufa Holding (CJEU, 2023)

Is Article 22(1) of the [GDPR] to be interpreted as meaning that the **automated establishment of a probability value** concerning the **ability of a data subject to service a loan** in the future **already constitutes a decision based solely on automated processing**, including **profiling**, which **produces legal effects concerning the data subject or similarly significantly affects him or her**, where that value, determined by means of personal data of the data subject, is transmitted by the controller to a third-party controller and the latter draws strongly on that value for its decision on the establishment, implementation or termination of a contractual relationship with the data subject?

| SCHUFA Score-Simulator

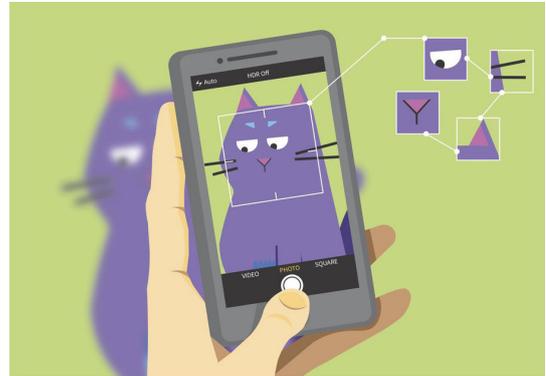


22

C-634/21 Schufa Holding (CJEU, 2023)

YES!

73. ...Article 22(1) of the GDPR must be interpreted as meaning that **the automated establishment, by a credit information agency, of a probability value based on personal data** relating to a person and concerning his or her ability to meet payment commitments in the future **constitutes 'automated individual decision-making'** within the meaning of that provision, **where a third party, to which that probability value is transmitted, draws strongly on that probability value** to establish, implement or terminate a contractual relationship with that person.

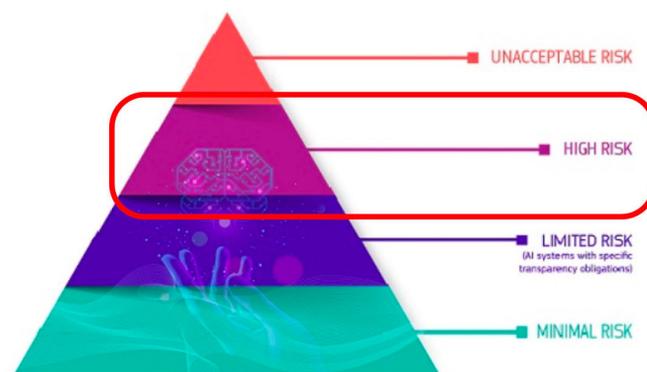


Oleksandra Mukhachova & The Bigger Picture / Better Images of AI / Snapcat / CC-BY 4.0

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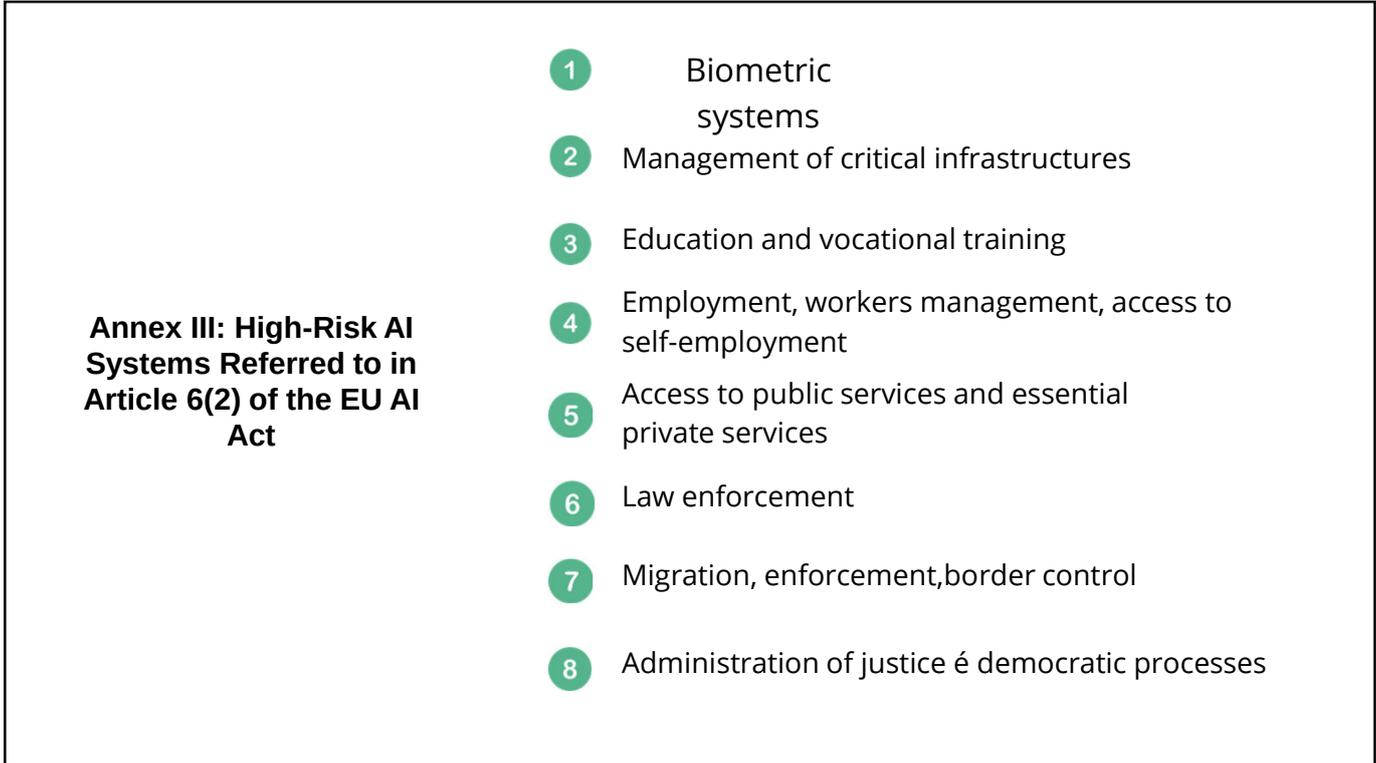
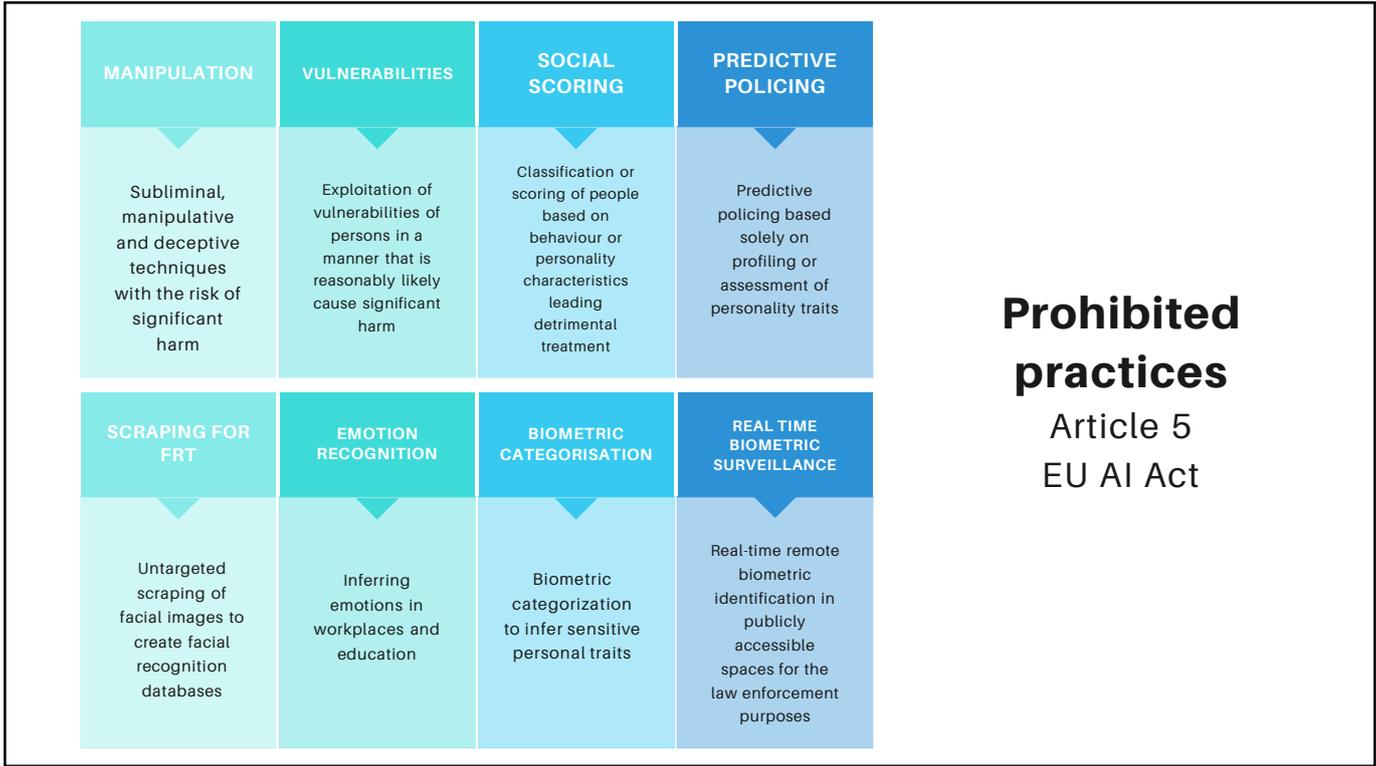
Regulation laying down harmonised rules on artificial intelligence (EU AI Act)

- Risk-based approach
- Liability: AI Liability Directive



Source: <https://digital-strategy.ec.europa.eu/en/policies/regulatory-framework-ai>

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Council of Europe Framework Convention on Artificial Intelligence and Human Rights, Democracy and the Rule of Law

- **Art. 10 on equality and non-discrimination:** negative and positive obligation
- **Art. 8 on transparency and oversight**
- **Art. 9 on accountability and responsibility** for adverse impacts
- **Art. 14 on accessible and effective remedies**, incl. information & documentation accessible to supervision bodies and victims & complaint mechanism
- **Art. 15 on effective procedural guarantees**, safeguards and rights
- **Art. 16 on risk and impact management framework:** measures for the identification, assessment, prevention and mitigation of risks, incl. representation, documentation and testing (HUDERIA methodology)

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European Union Artificial Intelligence Act

Specific requirements for high-risk systems:

- Art. 9 on risk management
 - Art. 10 on data governance
 - Art. 27 on fundamental rights impact assessments
 - Art. 11 on technical documentation
 - Art. 12 on record-keeping
 - Art. 13 on transparency
 - Art. 14 on human oversight
 - Art. 15 on accuracy and robustness
 - Art. 17 on quality management systems
- + Art. 49 and 71 on registration obligations & EU database
- + Art. 27 on fundamental rights impact assessments

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AI Act key stakeholders

- Enforcement: **market surveillance authorities**
- Supervision of fundamental rights by **Art. 77 authorities**
- **CEN-CENELEC**: standardisation process, high stakes (e.g. definition of “residual risk”?)
- **AI Office**: supports implementation of EU AI Act & investigates possible infringements

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THANK YOU



Hanna Barakat & Archival Images of AI + AIxDESIGN / Better Images of AI / Weaving Wires 1 / CC-BY 4.0

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