# Mass Politics of Global Al Governance

Aina Gallego, Alexander Kuo and Shir Raviv

# A.I. Pioneers Call for Protections Against 'Catastrophic Risks'

Scientists from the United States, China and other nations called for an international authority to oversee artificial intelligence.

# The Global Race to Control A.I.

AI needs regulation, but what kind, and how much?

# Welcome to the era of AI nationalism

Sovereigns the world over are racing to control their technological

destinies

'Irrefutable' need for global regulation of Al

The world wants to regulate AI, but does not quite know how

There is disagreement over what is to be policed, how and by whom

A global agency to oversee AI is a tall order

Setting one up will be as complex as the technolog

The EU wants to become the world's super-regulator in AI

The world needs an international agency for artificial intelligence, say AI experts

# Motivation

### Al: Emerging regulatory regime and global governance

- Governments worldwide have responded to the increase in the perceived risks of AI –which itself strongly grew after the release of ChatGPT– with a wave of national regulations (Maslej et al 2024)
- Several existing cross-national initiatives (Schmitt 2022, Bradford 2023)
  - United Nations (UN) High-Level Advisory Body on Artificial Intelligence (HLAB-AI)
  - OECD AI Principles
  - European Union EU AI Act
  - Council of Europe Convention on Artificial Intelligence (CAI)
  - Hiroshima Al Process by the Group of Seven (G7)
  - Global Partnership on AI (GPAI)
  - China's Global Al Governance Initiative

# Motivation

### Need and feasibility of *global governance* of Al

### Some key international risks related to Al

- Fragmentation of the internet (Bradford 2023)
- Short-term risks related to regime destabilization potential
- Geostrategic concerns
- Security concerns and weapons
- Existential risks

Effective AI risks mitigation requires international cooperation, but global efforts need some public support to be politically feasible

Public opinion may play a minor role compared to other factors, but it may be a constrain in some cases, particularly in contexts of growing distrust and nationalism

# Research gap and question

- Gap: We know nothing about which types of governance frameworks the population prefers and whether the public is sensitive to specific features of frameworks
- Question: Which considerations create support or opposition for a global governance frameworks among citizens in the world's main country actors?

## Factors that may be relevant among the public

### Number of countries

- Collective action problems
- Higher effectiveness of broad agreements

### Actor leading an initiative

- Some actors may be perceived as more legitimate if they are associated with defense of principles, rights, or les powerful actors (e.g. EU, UN, or Global South may be considered more trustworthy)
- Concerns about self-serving or polarizing behavior of the US and China

### Enforcement mechanisms

- Initiatives with stronger enforcement may be considered more effective
- But some populations may be reluctant to give away sovereignity

### Area of Al covered

- General coverage may be seen as more effective
- Or citizens may prefer a focus on specific high-risk issues

# Data and Measurement

- We designed and fielded an online survey with samples of adult populations from six countries: the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, India, and China (N=45,135).
  - Together, the six countries account for over 75% of global investment in Al development (Stanford Al Index Report 2024)
  - These countries differ systematically in their regulatory approaches, as well as their political and economic institutions.
  - The surveys were administered between June and August 2024 by the international polling firm Respondi, which conducted sampling to match the known population marginals on socio-demographic and regional variables.

# Conjoint

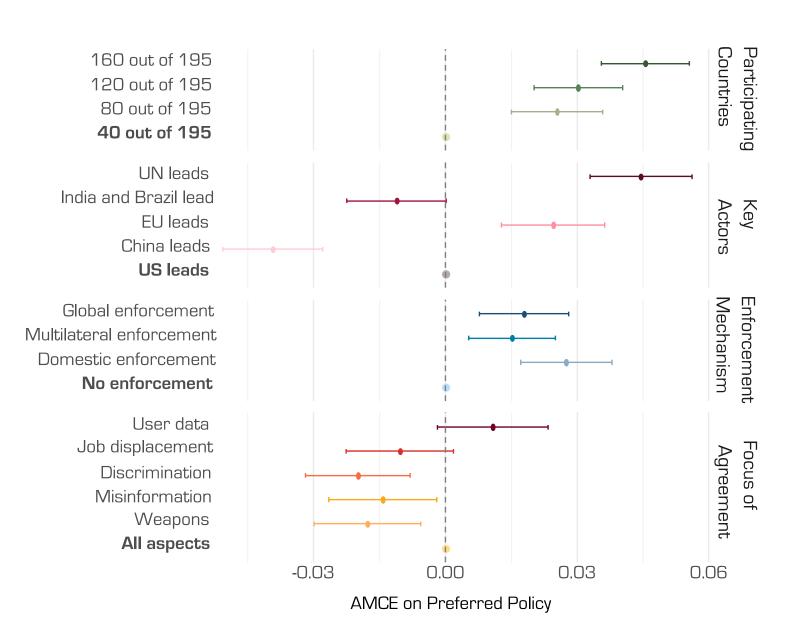
Respondents evaluate pairs of proposals for international Al governance that vary randomly across four attributes.

For each pair, respondents indicate their preferred proposal and rate their support for each option on a 5-point scale.

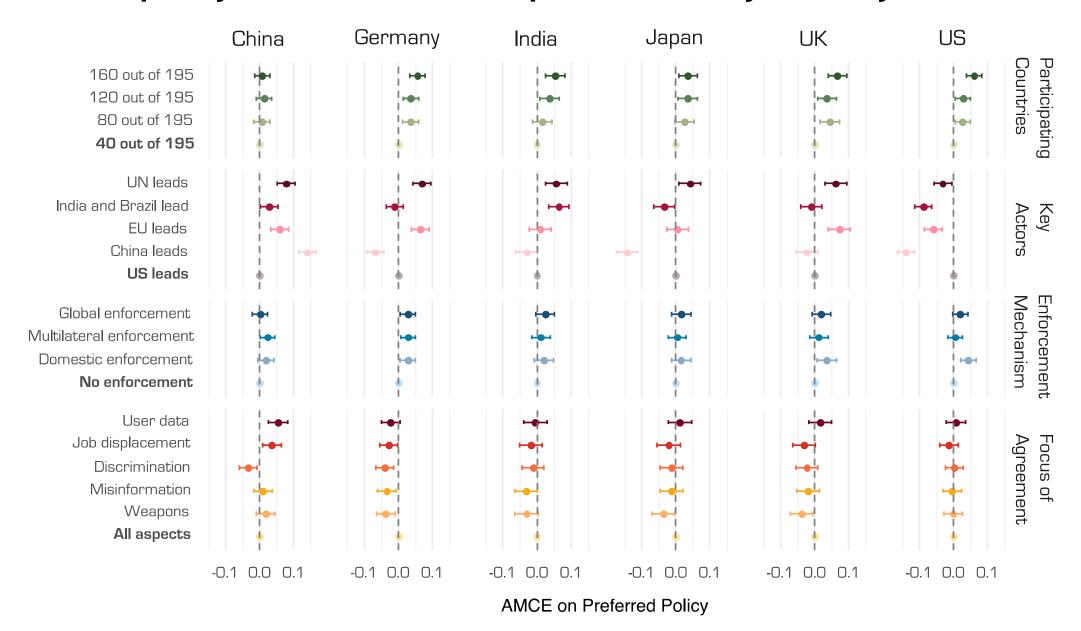
Number of participating Countries	160 out of 195; 120 out of 195; 80 out of 195; 40 out of 195
Actors Writing Proposal	India and Brazil lead; EU leads China leads; US leads; UN leads
Type of Agreement	Global enforcement; Multilateral enforcement Domestic enforcement; No enforcement
Agreement Focus	User data; Job displacement; Discrimination; Misinformation; Autonomous Weapons; General Risk

### Effects of policy features on voter preference, pooled sample

- Strongest preference for broad international participation
- UN leadership preferred across countries
- Strong support for some enforcement mechanisms
- Data protection as a primary concern



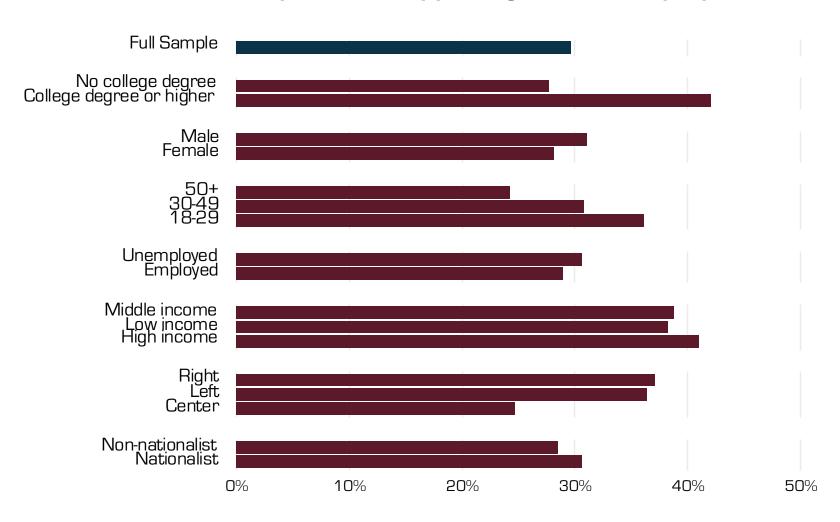
### Effects of policy features on voter preference, by country



### Which key subgroups are more likely to support global AI regulation?

 We examine the follow-up questions on whether respondents support each proposal separately on a O to 10 scale

### Share of respondents supporting 4+ out of 6 proposals

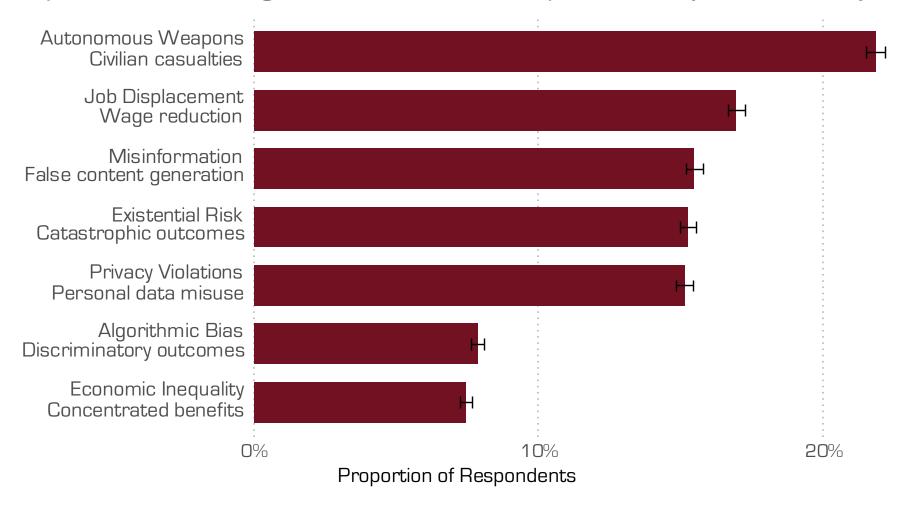


### Which issue areas are respondents more concerned about?

### Public Concerns About Al Risks - Pooled Sample

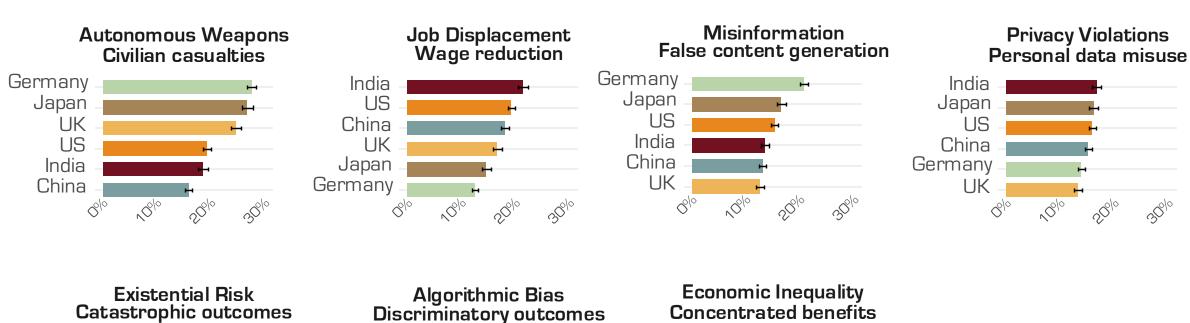
Proportion of respondents ranking each risk as their top concern (all countries)

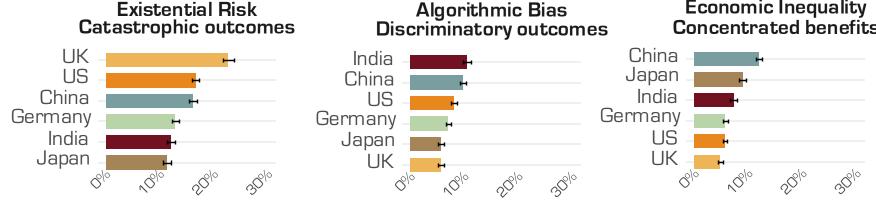
- Respondents rate their concern level (1-4 scale) for each of the seven Al risks.
- Based on their answers, they were asked to rank the top 3 concerns from this set.



### Public Concerns About Al Risks

Proportion of respondents ranking each risk as their top concern





# **Key Takeaways**

- Key features of institutional design affect support for AI global governance frameworks
- Considerable support for global AI governance
  - Somewhat higher among some sugroups: highly educated and young people
- Specific issue concerns
  - When asked about concerns, weapons and job displacement are the most mentioned
  - But global governance proposals on privacy obtain more support in the conjoint (still nuclear why this discrepancy, perhaps this is an area where people consider that governance may be more effective?)

### **Future directions**

- Fresh data, feedback on directions is most welcome
  - Focus on cross-country differences
  - Focus on within-individual difference
  - Balance of causal and descriptive sections
  - Heterogeneity (explored quite extensively)
  - Some specific theoretical questions

### **Marginal Means**

