"They are the ones with the guns and the apps" – Interrogating the Danish POL-INTEL system

Algorithmic Governance and Cultures of Policing, 8th of April, Oslo Met

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https://cuppresearch.info

CUPP
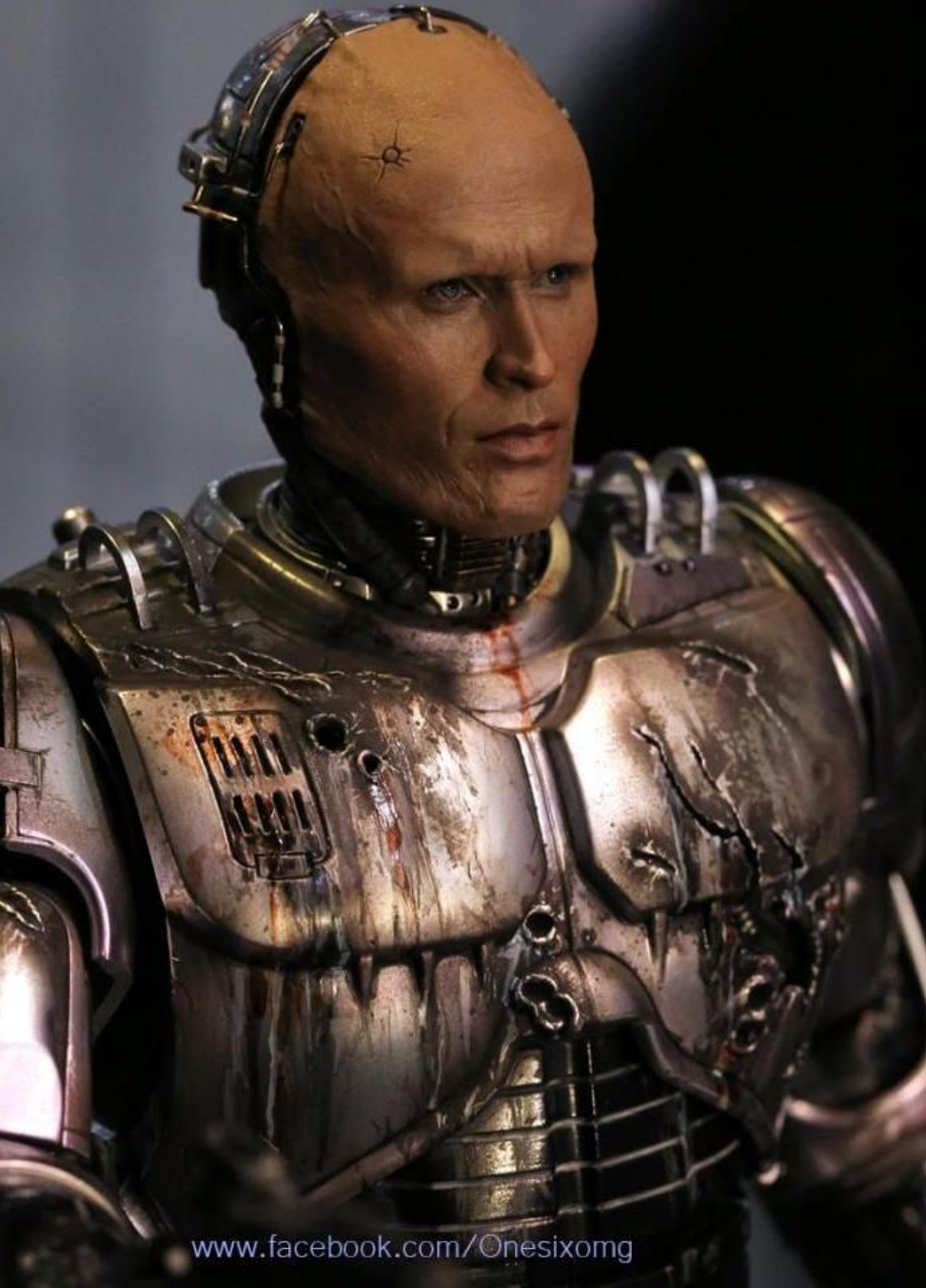Critical Understanding of Predictive Policing

IT University of Copenhagen

Agenda

- Background
- Conceptual Considerations
- Historical Background
- POL-INTEL Unplugged
- Researchers Guide to the Police Galaxy
- Prediction, Intelligence or Mundane Tool?
- Public debate – public concerns
- Double Panopticon & Digital Taylorism
- Discrimination and Feedback Loops
- All Conclusions Are Beautiful

Conceptual Considerations

- [Police] have never been non-technological [modern]: technology and materiality shapes/performs policing into a specific assemblage (Latour, 1993; Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Stevnsborg, 2010; Foucault, 2020; Volquartzen 2013)

- Diversity in practices and sociotechnical imaginaries. What is generated, institutionally stabilized and performed by shared understandings of forms of crime and social order (i.e Jasanoff, 2015)?

- How is ideology (Althusser, 2020) on crime, policing and security translated in and out of sociomaterial systems?

- How is data fed into POL-INTEL, how is it processed, what is its output and what kind of social relations, public policy, legal frameworks and police practices do they perform? (Kaufmann, 2018; Kaufmann & Leese, 2021)

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Historical Background: The Reign of the Civil Servants & the State of Exception (Agamben, 2005)

- 2014: The idea of a predictive policing software is discussed in police management during a trip.

- 2015: Terror attacks in Copenhagen. Release of the report "Et stærkt værn mod terror"

- 2016: Public tender

- 2017: Bill passes

- 2017: Executive Order on "the processing of information by the police in connection with cross-cutting information analyzes"

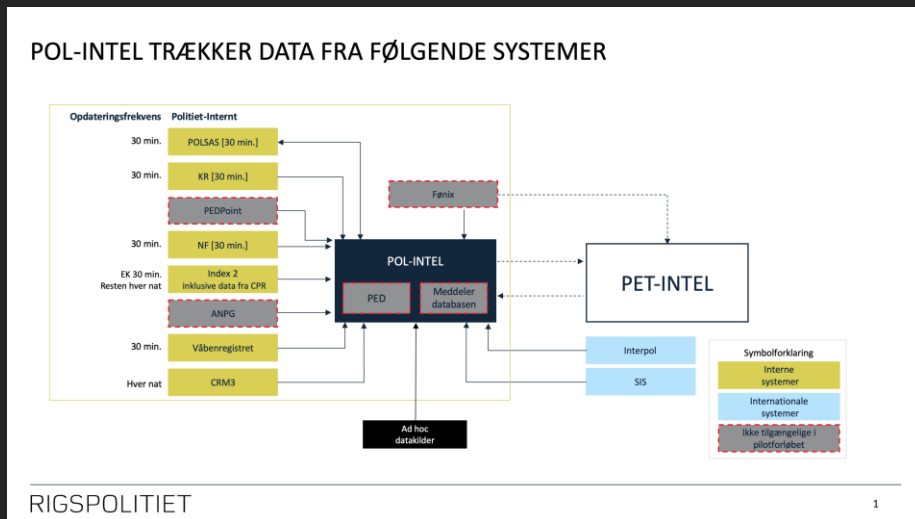- 2018: POL-INTEL becomes fully operational

"So we basically said can you build this, and they said no, but maybe we can build this and this and this, and then we said, ok then we put that into law. So, they showed us something and then I wrote an executive order describing that"

– former DPO of POL-INTEL

But that's another problem that politicians change a lot. […] We are about three people left who might know something about it. […] I know the ministry of justice, it's one of the ministries where we have the largest amount of bills, laws, coming out. So it means that if you want to try to survive in the system you have to keep focus on the bills and it means you don't look much back because you don't have the time for it. And that's a democratic problem […] you don't have five minutes to sit down and think "was this good? Is it working? And how do we control it now?"
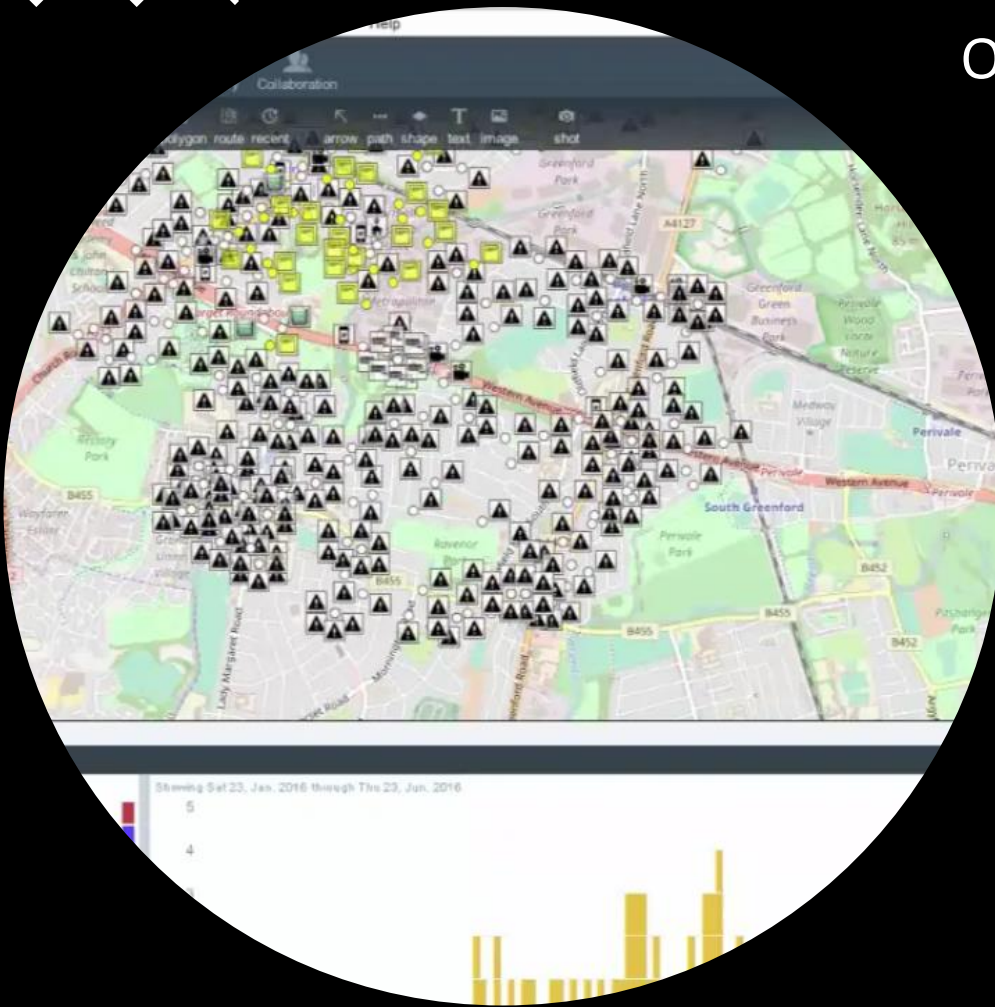
 – Karina Lorentzen Dehnhardt, member of parliament for Socialistisk Folkeparti

POL-INTEL Unplugged

POL-INTEL TRÆKKER DATA FRA FØLGENDE SYSTEMER

Opdateringsfrekvens | Politiet-Internt

- 30 min. — POLSAS [30 min.]
- 30 min. — KR [30 min.]
- PEDPoint
- 30 min. — NF [30 min.]
- EK 30 min. Resten hver nat — Index 2 inklusive data fra CPR
- ANPG
- 30 min. — Våbenregistret
- Hver nat — CRM3

Fønix

POL-INTEL
PED | Meddeler databasen

PET-INTEL

Interpol
SIS

Ad hoc datakilder

Symbolforklaring
- Interne systemer
- Internationale systemer
- Ikke tilgængelige i pilotforløbet

RIGSPOLITIET
1

- "If you are Danish, you are in the system" – former POL-INTEL DPO

- " […] my unit or the auditor can see all data processes in real time by every user of find or Palantir products that we use." Current POL-INTEL DPO

- A digital double Panopticon (Foucault, 2020).

- Massive amounts of quantitative data develops into a qualitatively different system. (Brayne, 2017)

POL-INTEL: Police Thought and Memory or just another little Big Brother?

- Delivered by Palantir Technologies and based on the Gotham platform

- POL-INTEL Finder & POL-INTEL Analyse

- "Silo" structure with different levels of access.

- "Munin" Auditing system.

- Ca 10 000 police users but not the only tool in the police system.

- Became fully operational in 2018

Researchers Guide to the Police Galaxy

Document analysis of:
The public debate (concluded). Newspaper articles, debate and hearing replies in Folketinget.
Ministry of Justice and police documents on strategies and policies.

Interventionist approach. Raising public discussion and awareness. Collaboration with Prosa. Public meetings.

Observation of the program (with live data).
Request for observation studies in ridealongs and data centers (ongoing).

Miscellaneous Other: LinkedIn trawling, scientific publications, public events, Palantir reports, official statistics and crime reports, parliamentary queries and policy, etc.

Interviews with the Danish National Police (Rigspolitiet): Former DPO, project owner, DPO, gang unit manager, data warehousing, data analyst, etc.
Former head of PET, Danish Security and Intelligence Service.
Further interviews with Special Crimes Division requested, North Zealand police district in progress.
Interview with Folketinget member.
Further interviews requested and denied.
Interview with Palantir Technologies Scandinavian branch manager, engineer and Privacy and Civil Liberties Team.
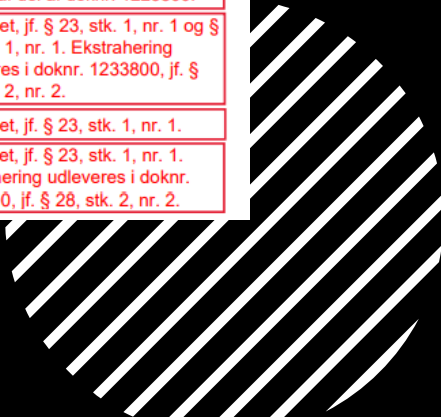Interviews targetized by police, further interviews requested.
Interviews with former MoJ Deputy Head of Police Division. Further interviews denied or unanswered.
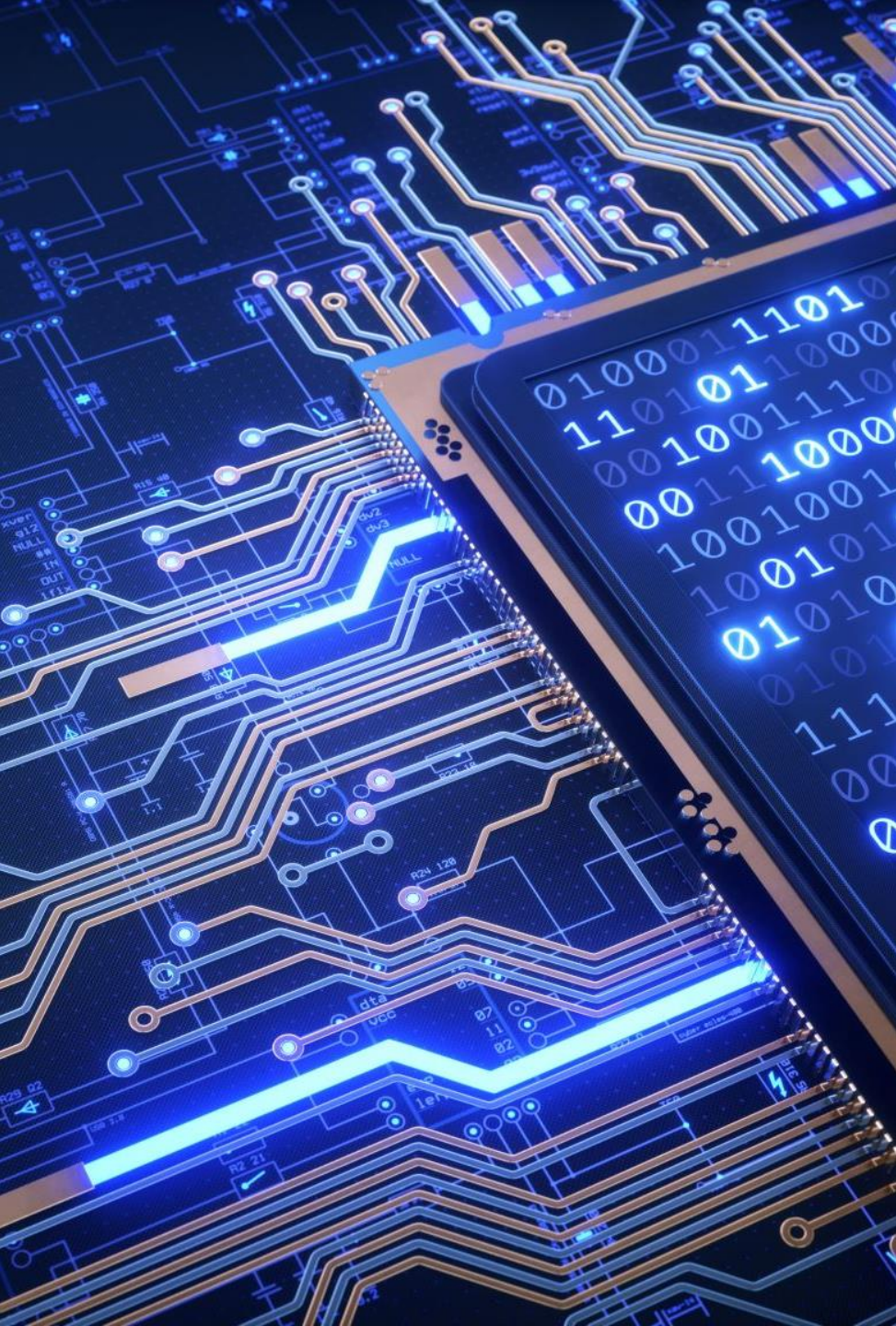
Access Denied

- Fences, Non Disclosure Agreements, secret offices, non-accessible contact details, referals back to Rigspolitiet and endless no's.

- How to conceptualize this control of information visavi the hunger to gain other people's information? (Holmberg, 2014)

Prediction, Intelligence or Mundane Tool?

- Three issues with the idea that POL-INTEL is not predictive:

- 1: Police have always been predictive and acted predictively through technology.

- 2: Police utilize hot spots to plan patrols, etc.

- 3: Empirically, an informant in Palantir claimed that intelligence-led policing is just predictive policing renamed: "And I don't think there's any difference here. We talk about intelligence-led policing, it's the same concept [...]"

POL-INTEL. POLITIETS NYE SUPERVÅBEN

07:24

・2:a
Incident Lead | Danish Police
4 år • Redigerad • 🌐

Currently in Los Angeles for the purpose of gathering informations, experiences and best practice for implementation of a new IT system (that supports predictive policing) in Denmark. ���� Predictive policing is about using large data bases (Big Data) to predict crime. ����🔲⚖️ Forecasting future situations is the new weapon in law enforcement agencies. #withgoodcolleagues �������

Rigspolitiet lover: Vi bruger ikke Pol-intel til predictive policing

From Super Weapon to Mundane Tool (Woolgar & Neyland, 2013) "Pretty Good Google Search" and from predictive policing to intelligence-led policing

Public Debate – Public Concerns

- Repetitive, ideological (Althusser, 2020) debate full of sociotechnical imaginaries.

- Both critics and proponents united in the idea of efficiency of POL-INTEL.

- Police act as a political organization doing their own PR/politics for their own aims. (Holmberg, 2014; Stevnsborg, 2010)

- "[…] *the elder I get, the more I have concluded that I don't believe anything anymore. What I read, what I hear in the press… I don't believe anything. It can be a game. It is intelligence work and no, I don't believe anything* […]"
- \- Ole Andersen, former head of PET, Danish Security and Intelligence Service

- Bad publicity is also potentially good for a company like Palantir on the marketplace of surveillance technologies (Zuboff, 2019):

- "*Honestly sometimes… as many people would contact us in a positive way after an article came out that sort of said "no. This is a scary, powerful technology." You'd get a call from intelligence agencies or whatever it was like. "Wow, it's that good? We've got to see this.*"
- \- John Grant, Palantir
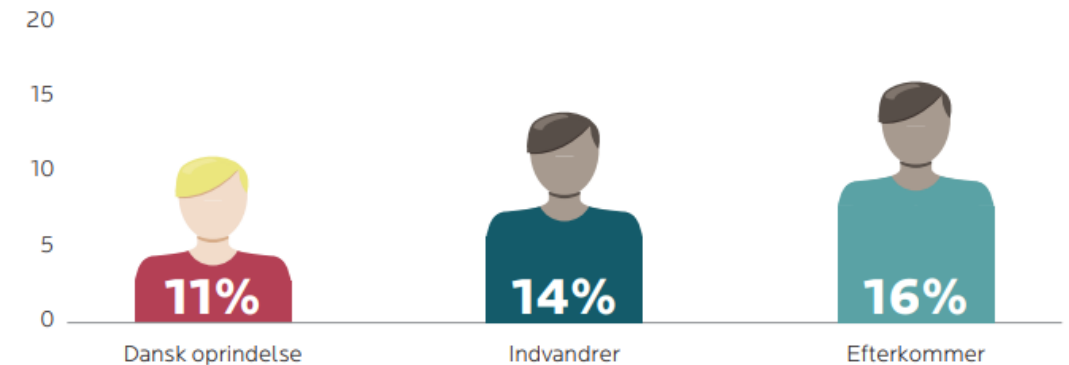
Double Panopticon & Digital Taylorism

- POL-INTEL is part of a reshaping of the Danish police to be "intelligence-led", to be proactive.

- NPM values and management systems are inscribed in POL-INTEL, auding systems form a double Panopticon visavi both society *and* internally in the police.

- A management-led push to open-endedly gather more and more data, to "connect the dots" (Kaufmann, Hoijtink & Leese, 2019)

- However, POL-INTEL is not always a digital Taylorism (Gundhus, 2021): also allows (some?) police officers creativity and independence.

Discrimination and Feedback Loops

- "I'm noted, and that's three years ago, 3500 times. And then they looked in the documentary from my own video material that that's a lot of times that they don't even write anything so who knows how many times I've been in contact. I know my personal record is seven times in one day, it's three times in an hour, it's twice in ten minutes."

- Inscription of ethnicity (and gender and class) in the POL-INTEL system.

- Hot Spot Policing, Police Discrimination & Ghetto Laws(?) (Brayne, 2017; Ferguson, 2017; Holmberg, 2014; Flyverbom & Hansen, 2019; Sausdal, 2019)

politiets vold: Mørk og mistænkt
ESON 1 EPISODE 1 | 44M

SANDSYNLIGHED FOR SIGTELSE UDEN FÆLDENDE AFGØRELSE

11%	14%	16%
Dansk oprindelse	Indvandrer	Efterkommer

All Conclusions Are Beautiful

- The image of Intelligence-Led Policing as a systematic, objective, scientific endeavour is challenged. Althusserian *ideology* reloaded.

- The boundaries between Big Data policing, Intelligence-Led Policing, predictive policing, etc. are artificial.

- POL-INTEL a boundary object.

- POL-INTEL: a new digital expression of the state monopoly of violence.

- Bias in, bias out. Another story of class, gender, race and ethnicity

Thank you!

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