

AI FOR PARLIAMENTS WORKSHOP

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# AI & the possibility of **Outcomes-Driven Legislation**

Zeppelin University  
Friedrichshafen, Germany  
JULY 3, 2023

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Executive Director  
POPVOX Foundation



MISSION:

To inform and empower people  
and make government work better for everyone.



CAPACITY



INNOVATION



ENGAGEMENT

# THE PACING PROBLEM

## EXTERNAL

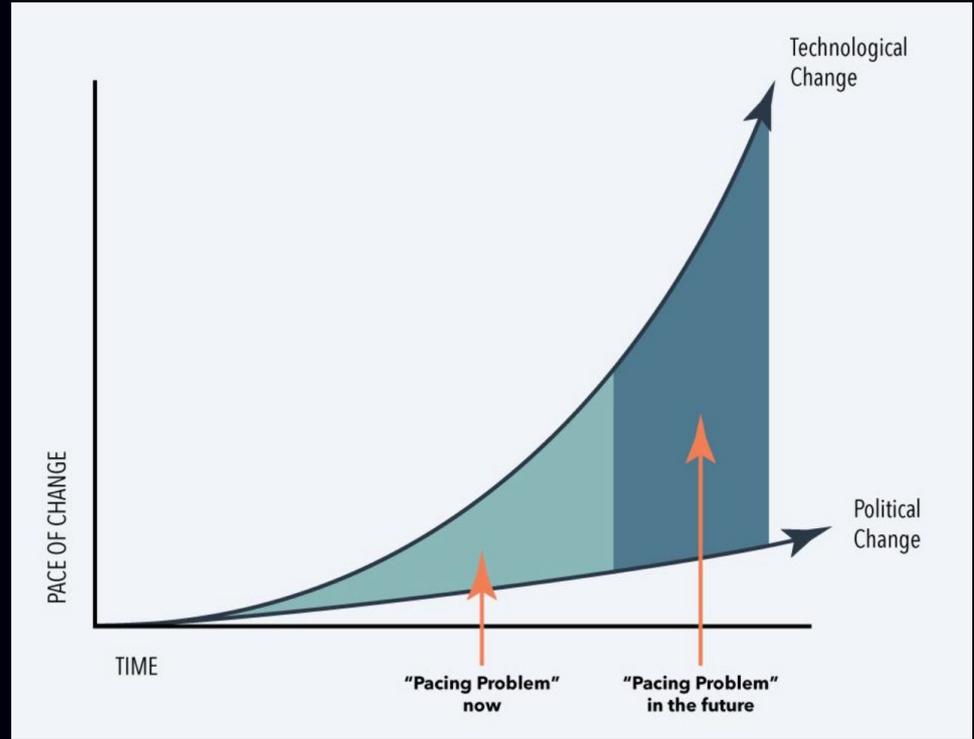
Failure to keep pace with emerging innovations that are changing industries and society

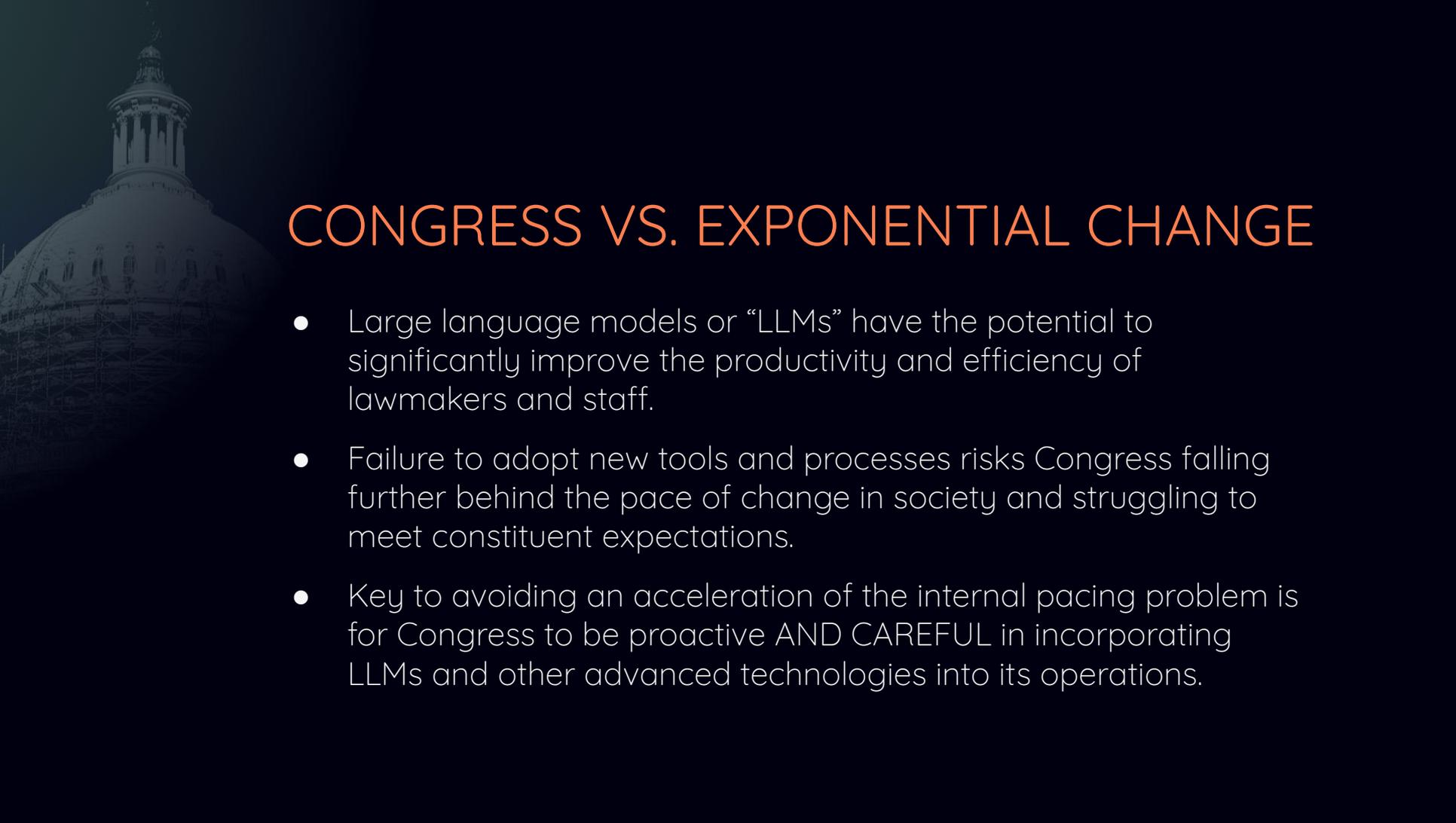
## INTER-BRANCH

Congress lags the executive branch, compromising its ability to act as a co-equal branch of government

## INTERNAL

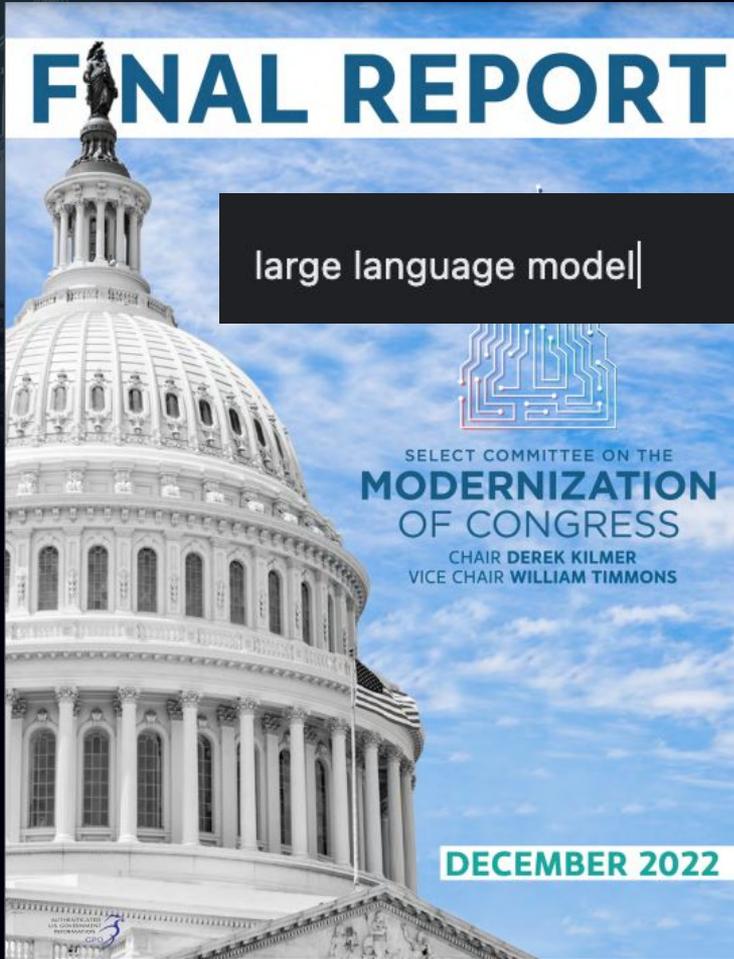
Failure to employ modern practices and technology for its own operations.





## CONGRESS VS. EXPONENTIAL CHANGE

- Large language models or “LLMs” have the potential to significantly improve the productivity and efficiency of lawmakers and staff.
- Failure to adopt new tools and processes risks Congress falling further behind the pace of change in society and struggling to meet constituent expectations.
- Key to avoiding an acceleration of the internal pacing problem is for Congress to be proactive AND CAREFUL in incorporating LLMs and other advanced technologies into its operations.



<p><b>Recommendation 175:</b> The House Digital Service should evaluate and onboard industry leading correspondence technology tools and platforms to enable offices to improve the quality and substance of constituent correspondence.</p>	<p>Open - Needs Attention</p>	<p>Need to enable real-time tracking of constituent correspondence and satisfaction, as well as the automation of aspects of correspondence that are repetitive for staff, through adoption of intelligent tools and use of Artificial Intelligence where appropriate.</p>	<p>CAO</p>
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large language model | 0/0 ^ v x

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Artificial Intelligence (AI) and Machine Learning. Several local, state, and foreign governments have recently started exploring ways to incorporate advanced computer software and analysis into the legislative process including for predictive problem-solving purposes. The Committee heard testimony explaining how these technologies can help government predict and prevent undesirable activities, test policies and options in real-life scenarios before adopting them, and find the best solutions by providing a set of alternatives to accelerate improved decision-making.

# DEVELOPMENTS/DISCUSSIONS IN THE US

**AI wrote a bill to regulate AI. Now Rep. Ted Lieu wants Congress to pass it.**

JANUARY 26, 2023

**REP. JAKE AUCHINCLOSS USES CHATGPT ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE TO WRITE HOUSE SPEECH**

MIT Technology Review

SUBSCRIBE



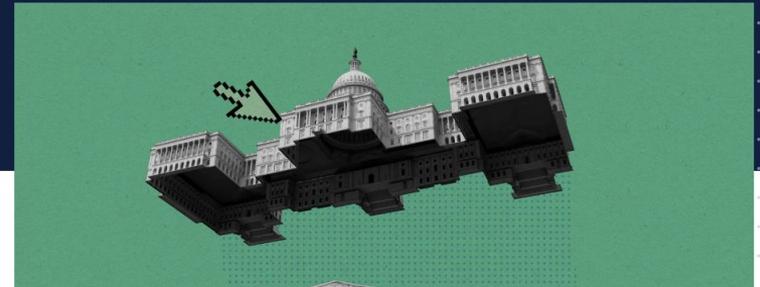
ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

## How AI could write our laws

ChatGPT and other AIs could supercharge the influence of lobbyists — but only if we let them

By Nathan E. Sanders & Bruce Schneier

March 14, 2023

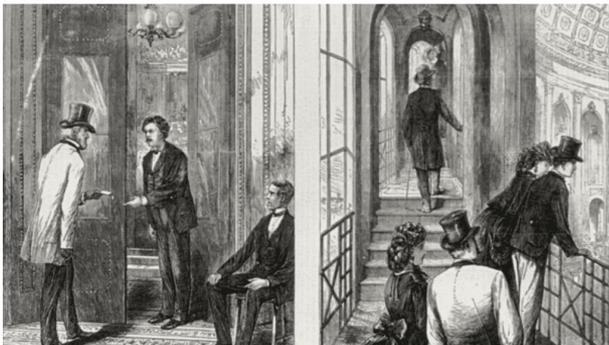


## Bots in Congress: The Risks and Benefits of Emerging AI Tools in the Legislative Branch

PUBLISHED FEBRUARY 8, 2023



*Zach Graves is executive director at Lincoln Network and a fellow at the National Security Institute at George Mason University. Daniel Schuman is policy director at Demand Progress. Marci Harris is Executive Director of POPVOX Foundation, an adjunct professor at the University of San Francisco and a lecturer at San Jose State University.*



Man presenting his calling card to a Senator at the U.S. Capitol; tourists ascending stairs above the rotunda. [Library of Congress](#)

In the last year, we've seen huge improvements in the quality and range of generative AI tools—including voice-to-text applications like OpenAI's [Whisper](#), text-to-voice generators like [Murf](#), text-to-image models like [Midjourney](#) and [Stable Diffusion](#), language models like OpenAI's [ChatGPT](#) and [GPT-3](#), and others. Unlike the clunky AI tools of the past (sorry, [Clippy](#)), this suite of technologies is increasingly able to replicate and outpace work done by humans.

## AI TOOLS for the Congressional Workplace

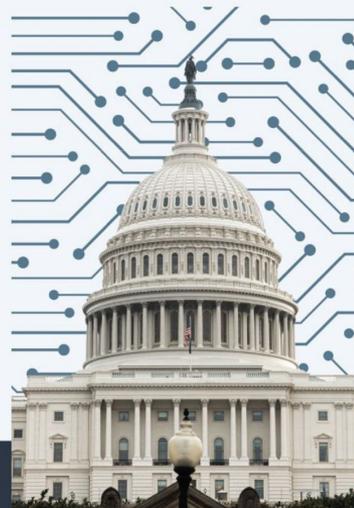
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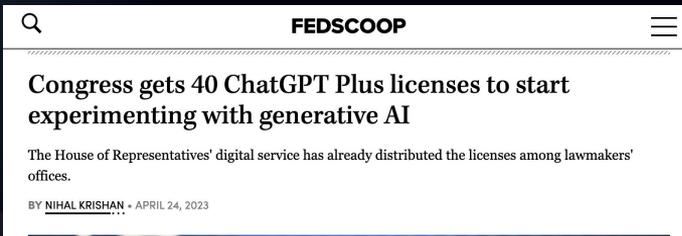


In collaboration with:



**House Digital Service**  
CAO | U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES





Artificial Intelligence (AI) tools like ChatGPT and the new Bing search engine are future – and the House Digital Service team is making it easier for offices to understand and explore AI at the House.

### What AI Means for the House

AI tools can be used for a variety of office administrative and operational purpose including:

- Generating constituent response drafts and press documents;
- Summarizing large amounts of text in speeches;
- Drafting policy papers or even bills;
- Creating new logos or graphical elements for branded office resources;
- And more.

### How Your Office Can Leverage AI

Our new working group is open to any office interested in using AI tools like Chat and other related cloud services.

[Join the AI Working Group](#)



## CONGRESS Promise or peril? AI may offer both to congressional staff

Technology can cut be avoided

AXIOS

Log In

### Scoop: Congress sets limits on staff ChatGPT use

Andrew Solender



Illustration: Allie Carl/Axios

The House is placing new guardrails around use of the popular AI chatbot [ChatGPT](#) by congressional offices, Axios has learned.

## Only ChatGPT Plus Chat Bot Authorized for Use with Non-Sensitive Data, Research and Evaluation



Sending Office: Office of the Chief Administrative Officer  
Sent By: caocommunications@mail.house.gov

Notice to All House Staff:

House offices using the ChatGPT artificial intelligence (AI) chatbot are **only authorized to use the ChatGPT Plus version** of the product. The Plus version of the product incorporates important privacy features that are necessary to protect House data. [ChatGPT Plus is available from Open AI](#) as a subscription for \$20 per month.

ChatGPT Plus has been authorized provisionally by the Committee on House Administration with the following conditions and limitations:

- Use of the product is for *research and evaluation only*. House offices are authorized to experiment with the tool on how it may be useful to congressional operations, but offices are not authorized to incorporate it into regular workflow.
- The product is only to be used with *non-sensitive data*. For example, do not paste into the chat bot any blocks of text that have not already been made public.
- The product must be used with privacy settings enabled. These settings ensure that your history is not preserved and your interactions are not incorporated back into the large language model. These settings are disabled by default. You should enable these privacy settings under "Settings" on the main menu of the product. Visit the OpenAI website for additional information about [ChatGPT Plus Chat Bot privacy setting recommendations](#).

House offices interested in researching and evaluating ChatGPT Plus are encouraged to read guidance from the [House Digital Service AI Advisory Group](#), which details concerns like accuracy, bias, cybersecurity, and copyright, and allows staffers to join to share usage information back with the House community.

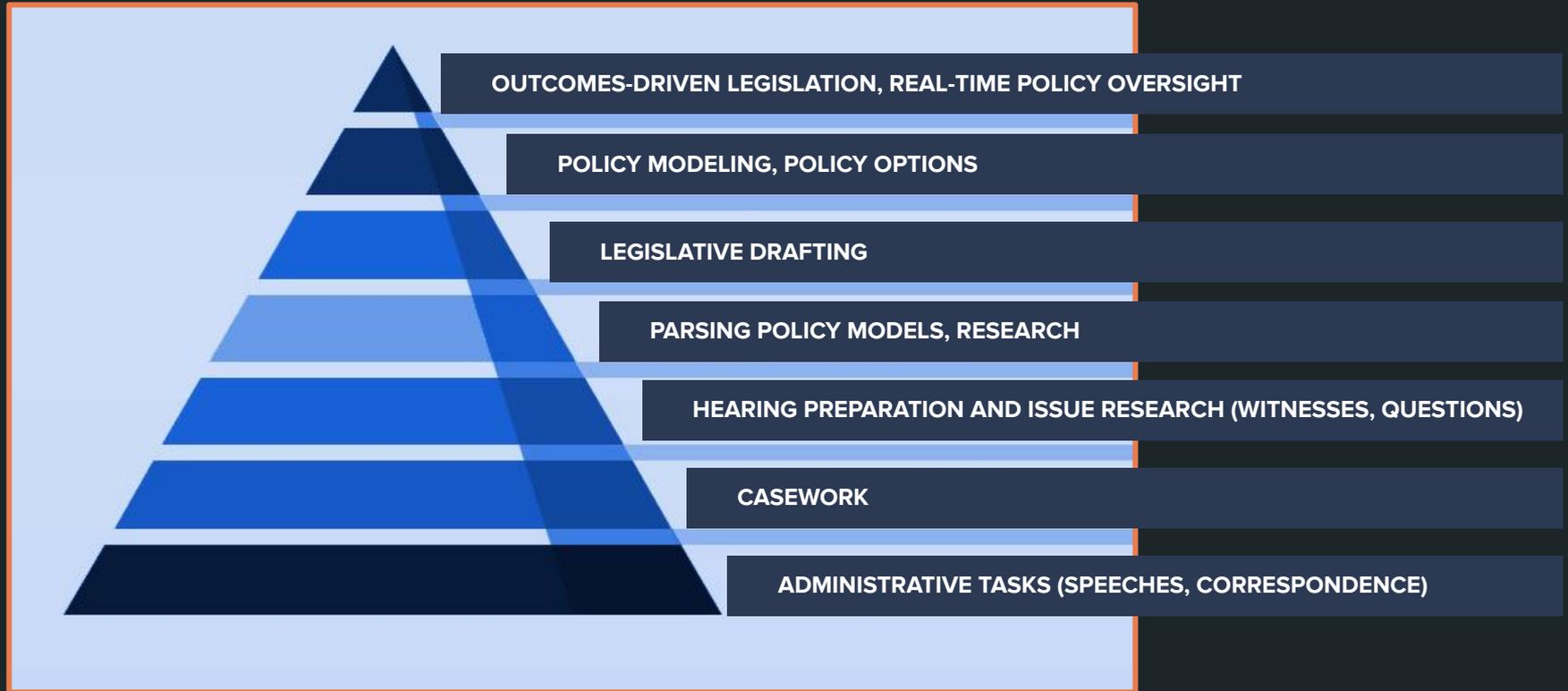
No other versions of ChatGPT or other large language models AI software are authorized for use in the House currently. For additional information on House cloud services that are currently authorized, in review, or not authorized, please visit the [Cloud Services page on HouseNet](#).

Sincerely,

Catherine L. Szpindor  
Chief Administrative Officer

# LLMS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL WORKFLOW

A POTENTIAL TIERED APPROACH



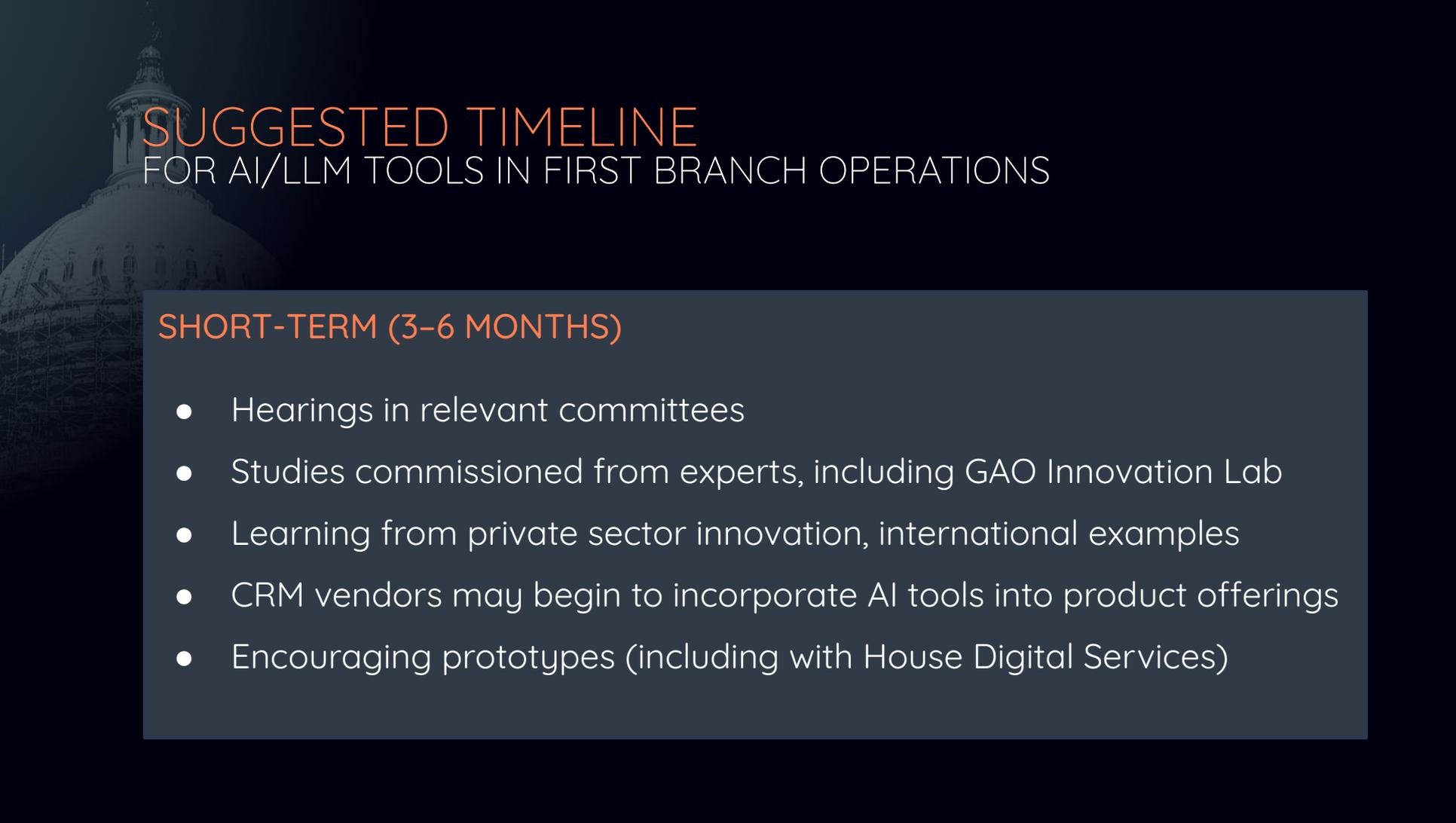


# SUGGESTED TIMELINE

## FOR AI/LLM TOOLS IN FIRST BRANCH OPERATIONS

### IMMEDIATE (~3 months)

- Enable experimentation, clarify guidance for incorporating new tools
- Share information (example: House AI Working Group)
- Learn from other industries and legislatures
- Monitor changes in advocacy practices and constituent engagement; look for inauthentic campaigns



# SUGGESTED TIMELINE

## FOR AI/LLM TOOLS IN FIRST BRANCH OPERATIONS

### SHORT-TERM (3-6 MONTHS)

- Hearings in relevant committees
- Studies commissioned from experts, including GAO Innovation Lab
- Learning from private sector innovation, international examples
- CRM vendors may begin to incorporate AI tools into product offerings
- Encouraging prototypes (including with House Digital Services)



# SUGGESTED TIMELINE

## FOR AI/LLM TOOLS IN FIRST BRANCH OPERATIONS

### MEDIUM-TERM (6 MONTHS-2 YEARS)

- Significantly invest in modernizing technical/IT systems to integrate flows of information and automate routine processes.
- Create new multi-disciplinary teams to tackle complex policy and oversight work and relieve pressures on existing staff.



# SUGGESTED TIMELINE

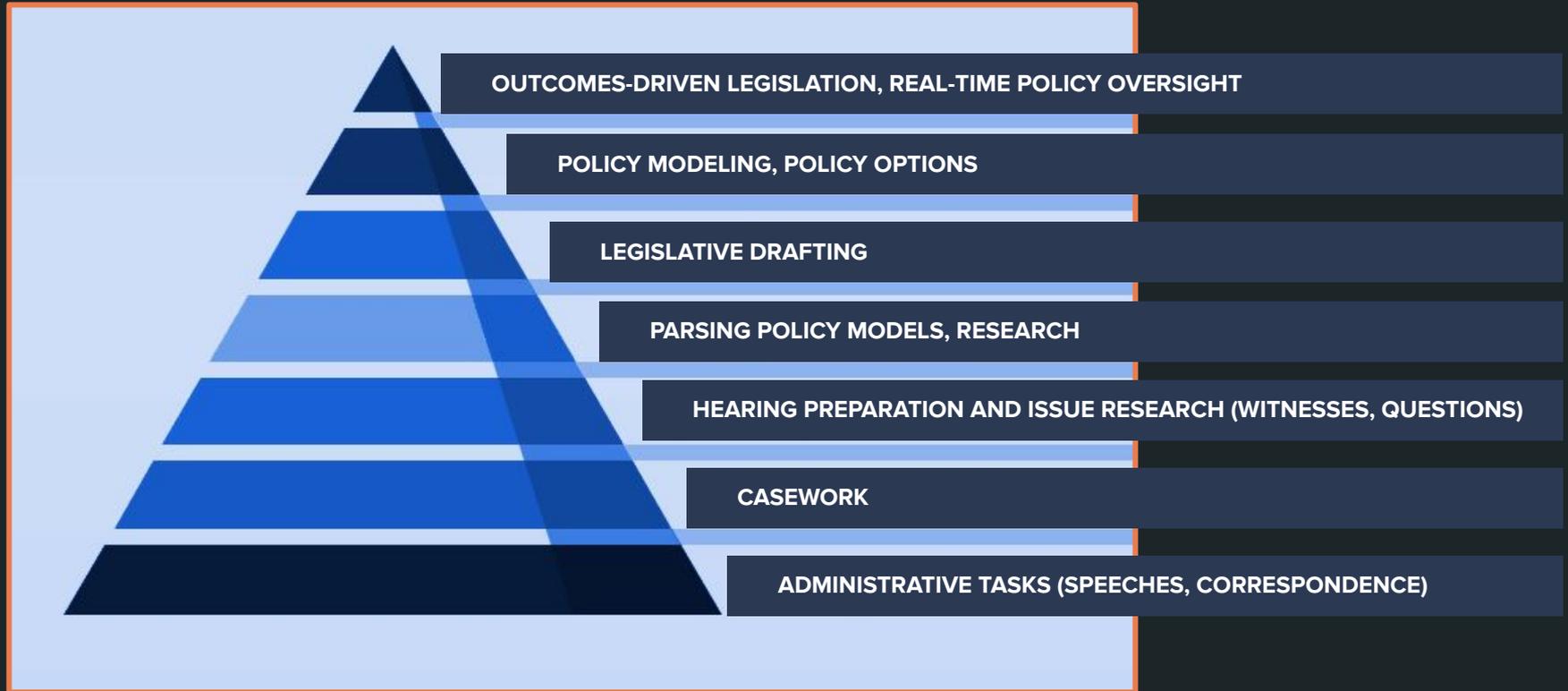
## FOR AI/LLM TOOLS IN FIRST BRANCH OPERATIONS

### LONG-TERM (2-5 YEARS)

- **Fundamentally change** the way we interact with constituents, make laws, model policy, conduct oversight
- ...

# LLMS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL WORKFLOW

A POTENTIAL TIERED APPROACH





“If I had asked people what they wanted, they would have said faster horses.”

—Henry Ford

**Public Input/  
Deliberation**

**State Capacity**

**Data & Evidence**



**GOAL-SETTING**  
(Often electoral)

**POLICY MAKING**  
(WHAT we want to accomplish)

**POLICY MODELING & METRICS**

**IMPLEMENTATION DISCRETION.**  
**LEARNING, REFINEMENT**

**PRINCIPLES**

Unalienable Rights

**PUBLIC INPUT**

Elections and Consultation

**POLICY OPTIONS & METRICS**

Lawmaking and Regulation



**POLICY MODELING & ASSESSMENT**

Options, Implementation, Refinement



**FEDERATED DATA SYSTEM**

Governmental  
Commercial  
Personal

# OUTCOMES-DRIVEN LEGISLATION

## UPDATING THE POLICYMAKING PROCESS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY



## The Problem

Most discussions of declining governing capacity tend to focus on making a legacy process more effective and efficient, such as recruiting and retaining more qualified staff or upgrading paper-based processes, improving basic technology tools. But, in order for our laws to keep pace with a rapidly changing society, legislatures need more than just human expertise and new tools, they must fundamentally change how laws are written, implemented and evaluated.

## The Solution

Outcomes-driven legislation (ODL) upends the traditional top-down policymaking process in which policymakers work with experts and governing agencies to identify problems and solutions and write laws directing agencies to implement those solutions. Instead, ODL challenges lawmakers to establish the goals or outcomes of a potential policy intervention, leaving wide latitude for innovative implementation to those charged with carrying out the policy (with a preference for local or community entities, where appropriate) in tandem with standardized, constantly updating metrics of program effectiveness that allow for ongoing oversight, information-sharing and program refinement. Furthermore, the localized implementation approach of an ODL process creates opportunities for innovative public engagement to inform program design and evaluation.

Policy catalyst	“What should be done?”	“What do we want to accomplish?”
Problem identification	Industry/interest group-informed problem identification and solution shaping	Localized problem identification and solution-shaping
Policy design	Top-down policy design	Bottom-up policy design with local implementation discretion
Models and Metrics	Cost-benefit analysis at (pre-implementation) stage; sparse post-hoc analysis	Legislation sets overarching goals & requires/funds standardized reporting; agency identifies metrics
Public engagement	Notice and comment rulemaking requiring high level of awareness and expertise	Localized public engagement / co-creation
Implementation	Rules/spec-based process focused on “how” to implement	Outcomes/goals-based process allowing implementation discretion
Oversight	Oversight by report, political advocacy or journalism (usually years after implementation)	Constant (ideally real-time) metrics available to identify +/- outliers, best practices, or areas that need refinement
Public evaluation	Public opinion polls, constituents contact lawmakers if unhappy with program/policy	Structured public input (especially from impacted population) included in policy metrics
Political review	Policymakers receive input from interested parties, read news coverage, invite agency or local authorities to testify, and decide if the program met their own priorities	Standardized data shows which approaches were most successful in meeting outcomes identified in legislation and if program overall ultimately moved toward identified outcome



**GOAL-SETTING**  
(Often electoral)

**POLICY MAKING**  
(WHAT we want to accomplish)

**POLICY MODELING & METRICS**

**IMPLEMENTATION DISCRETION.**  
**LEARNING, REFINEMENT**

## PRINCIPLES

Unalienable Rights

## PUBLIC INPUT

Elections and Consultation

## POLICY OPTIONS & METRICS

Lawmaking and Regulation



## POLICY MODELING & ASSESSMENT

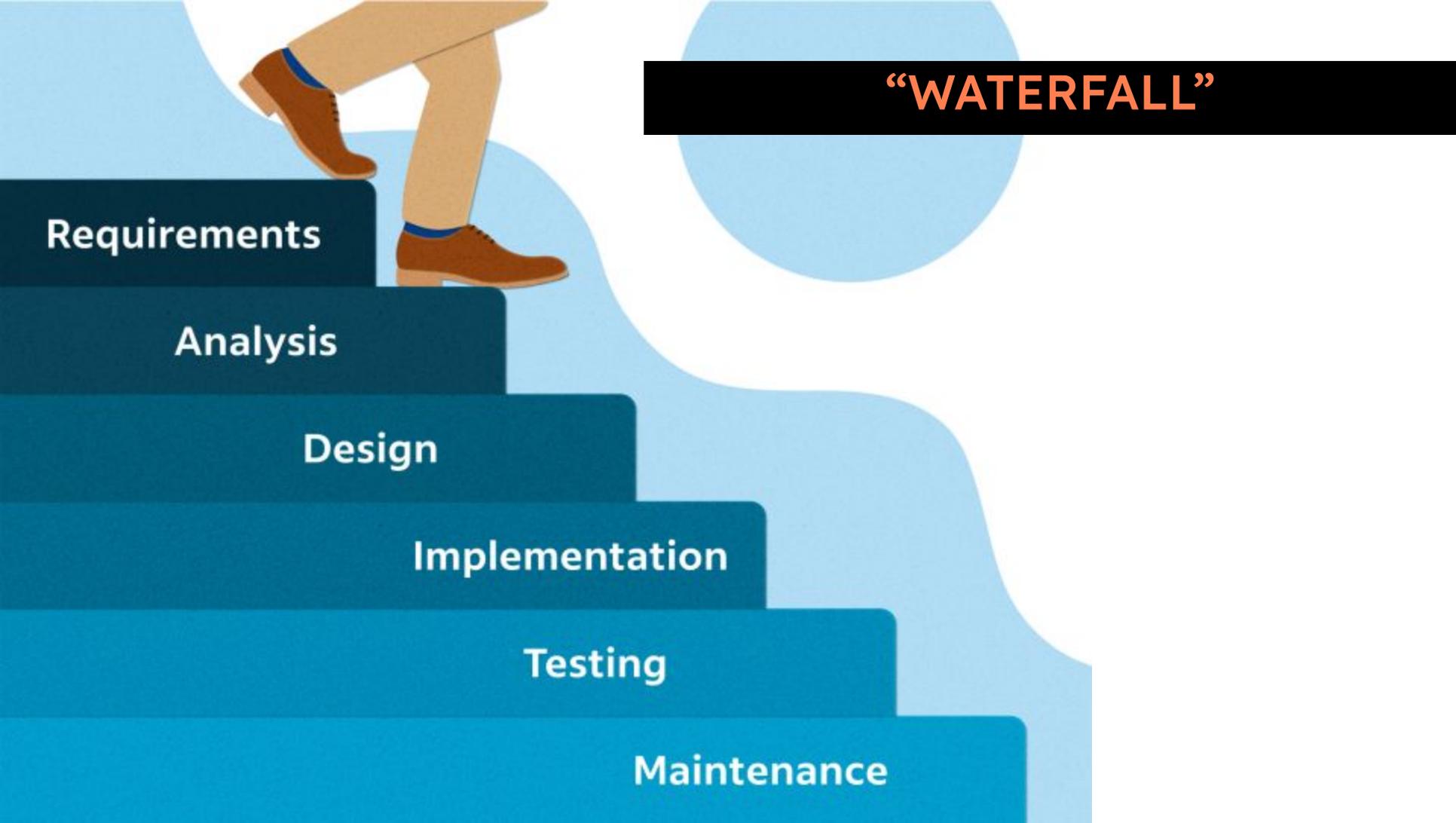
Options, Implementation, Refinement



## FEDERATED DATA SYSTEM

Governmental  
Commercial  
Personal

# “WATERFALL”

A diagram illustrating the Waterfall model of software development. It features a series of six descending steps, each representing a phase: Requirements, Analysis, Design, Implementation, Testing, and Maintenance. The steps are colored in shades of blue, with the top step being the darkest and the bottom being the lightest. A person's legs and feet, wearing tan trousers and brown shoes, are shown stepping down the stairs. The background consists of light blue abstract shapes, including a large circle and a wavy line.

Requirements

Analysis

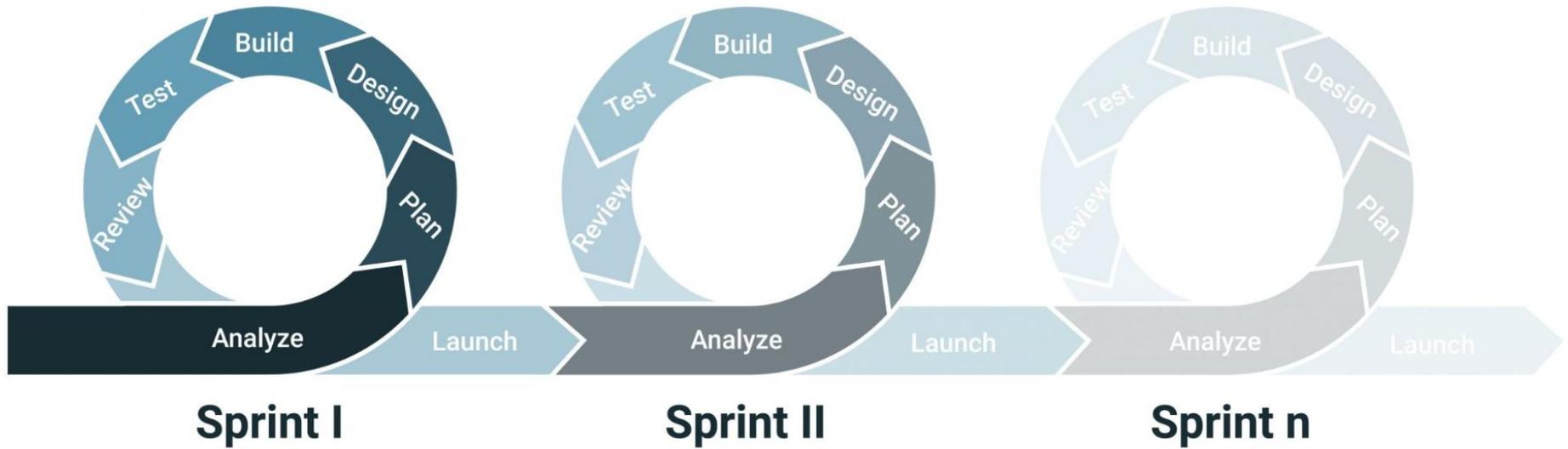
Design

Implementation

Testing

Maintenance

# “AGILE”

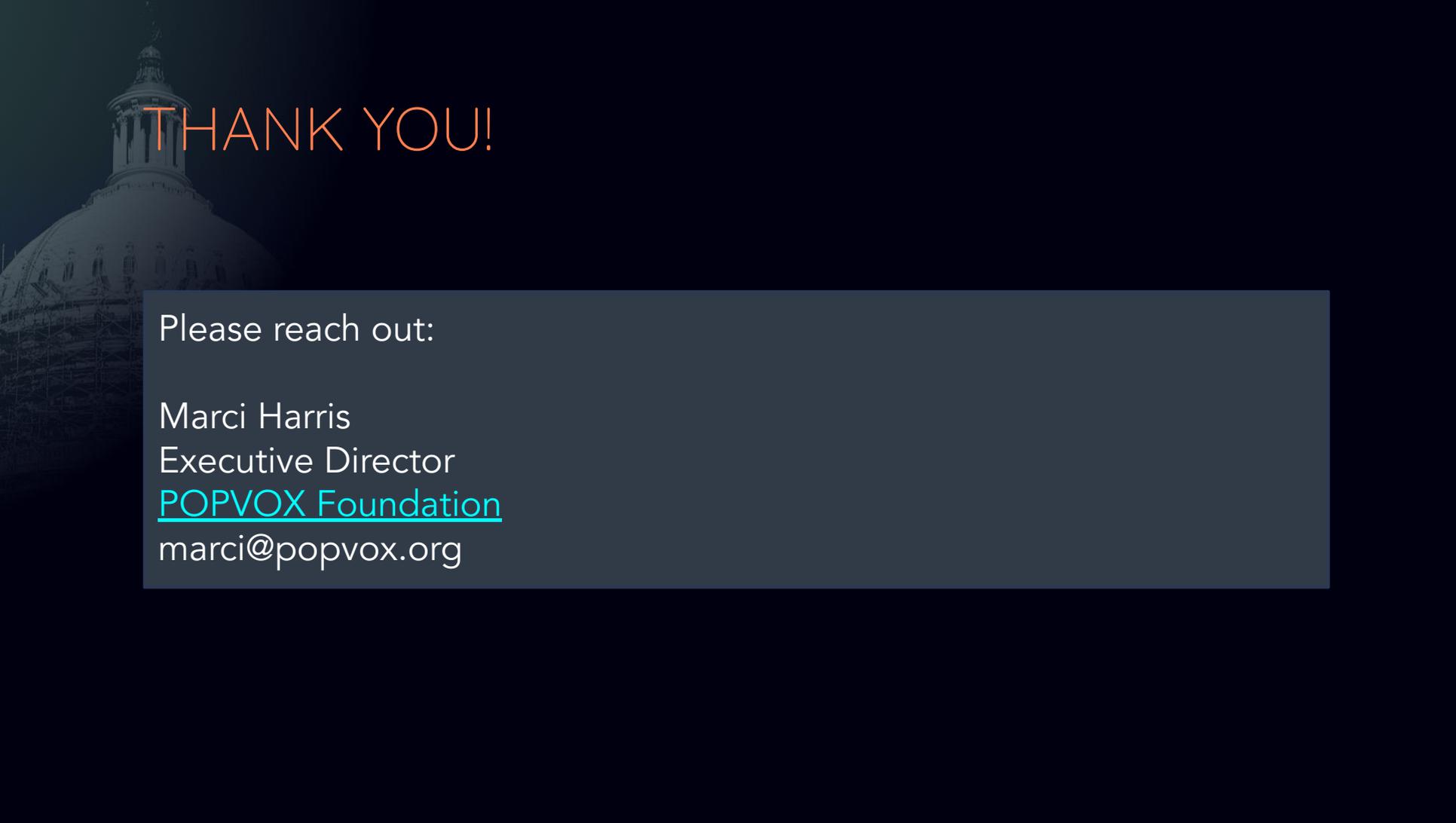




# OUR WORK

## CATALYZING THROUGH CONVERSATION & CONNECTION

- Establishing First Branch (Legislative) AI Cohort for quarterly off-the-record conversations among institutional staff, experts, stakeholders
- Hosting staff briefings to share information about how Congressional offices and agencies are using new tools
- Attending, sharing information in international fora and conferences: AI for Parliaments, hosting Comparative Legislative Strengthening Project (CLSP) working group conversations
- OSSL (Open Source Software for Legislatures): Building Digital Public Goods for legislative workflow



# THANK YOU!

Please reach out:

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