

FROM BLACK BOX PARADOX TO OPEN LEDGER: EXPLORING BLOCKCHAIN TECHNOLOGY AS A PILLAR OF ACCOUNTABILITY IN AI GOVERNANCE

Mr. Pankaj Chhuttani*

Abstract

The impact of artificial intelligence (AI) on decision-making and its widespread use across businesses is growing rapidly. There are new obstacles to accountability, transparency, and compliance as a result of its fast expansion, which has outstripped current regulatory frameworks. The unchangeable and decentralized nature of blockchain technology makes it an attractive option for dealing with these problems. The possibilities of blockchain technology for AI governance accountability and regulatory compliance are discussed in this study. Finding gaps and offering recommendations for blockchain-based solutions, this report analyses the current legal frameworks in India and compares them with other key jurisdictions including the US and the EU. Strong governance systems, ethical AI practices, and international collaboration to harmonise AI legislation are highlighted in the report. It finds that blockchain has the potential to be a game-changing technology that promotes innovation and trustworthiness.

Keywords: AI Governance, Blockchain Technology, Regulatory Compliance, Accountability, Ethical AI

Introduction

Globally, businesses have been impacted by the advent of artificial intelligence (AI), which has changed the way people engage with technology and gave new meaning to long-established norms. Many fields can benefit from it, including medicine, economics, teaching, transportation, and government. Although artificial intelligence (AI) integration has brought us a new age of creativity and efficiency, it has also brought up major societal, legal, and ethical issues. Some of the most pressing issues in this area are accountability, governance, and

*Assistant Professor, School of Law, GD Goenka University, Gurugram and Research Scholar, NLU Patiala.

compliance. The establishment of legal frameworks has frequently lagged behind the rapid breakthroughs in AI technology, leaving governments and organizations grappling with the challenge of ensuring the responsible and ethical use of AI. Adding to these difficulties, many AI algorithms are opaque, which brings up questions of responsibility, bias, and transparency (the "black box problem").

The complexity of AI governance derives from the fact that AI systems are multifaceted. Machine learning and other forms of artificial intelligence allow systems to change and improve over time, unlike more static technological solutions. Due to its inherent uncertainty, AI results are notoriously hard to foresee and regulate, increasing the likelihood of undesirable side effects. Biased algorithms in face recognition systems or recruitment processes are only two examples of how AI might exacerbate preexisting inequality. It becomes much more difficult to hold AI accountable when its decision-making processes are not publicly disclosed, making it harder to determine what went wrong and fix it. In light of these difficulties, strong governance procedures are required to guarantee the ethical development and deployment of AI systems.

Blockchain technology provides an attractive answer to these problems due to its decentralized, transparent, and immutable characteristics. Blockchain has developed into a flexible technology with uses well beyond its original intent, which was to support digital currencies like Bitcoin. Critical components of AI governance, including as accountability, transparency, and regulatory compliance, can be addressed by blockchain, which offers a secure and verifiable record of transactions. Its decentralized structure ensures that no single entity has absolute control, promoting fairness and trust among stakeholders. This potential makes blockchain an ideal candidate for addressing the governance challenges posed by AI.

The increasing dependence on AI in vital industries including healthcare, banking, and public administration highlights the crucial need for efficient AI governance. Take healthcare as an example. AI systems are already helping with disease diagnosis, treatment recommendation, and result prediction. A number of issues, including data privacy, algorithmic bias, and responsibility for mistakes, have been brought to light by these apps, despite their life-saving and healthcare-improving potential. Algorithms powered by artificial intelligence (AI) are also utilized in the financial sector to make investment decisions, score credit, and detect fraud. The opacity of these systems can lead to unfair practices and undermine trust in financial

institutions. In public administration, AI is increasingly being used for decision-making in areas such as law enforcement and social services, where accountability and fairness are paramount.

As one of the biggest and most diversified democracies in the world, India offers a special case study in artificial intelligence governance. India has all the makings of an AI powerhouse, what with its burgeoning tech scene and lofty digital ambitions. Digital India and the National AI Strategy are examples of government initiatives that aim to use AI for the benefit of society and the economy. One major obstacle, though, is that there is currently no specific legislative framework for AI governance. While laws like the Information Technology Act of 2000 lay the groundwork for protecting sensitive information and preventing cyberattacks, they are inadequate to deal with the specific problems that artificial intelligence (AI) presents. Though it's a step in the right direction, the Digital Personal Data Protection Act of 2024 has taken some heat for ignoring AI-centric concerns like bias and algorithmic accountability. This regulatory gap underscores the need for innovative solutions, such as blockchain, to enhance AI governance in India.

The global landscape of AI governance is characterized by significant variations in regulatory approaches. While some countries, such as the United States, adopt a sectoral approach, relying on existing laws to address specific issues, others, like the European Union, have developed comprehensive frameworks to govern AI. The U.S. approach prioritizes innovation and economic growth, often at the expense of comprehensive governance. The lack of a centralized regulatory framework has led to inconsistencies and gaps, making it difficult to address cross-sectoral challenges. On the other hand, the AIA that the EU is proposing would be a proactive and organized way to regulate AI. To achieve its goals of openness, accountability, and ethics, the AIA categorizes AI systems according to their risk levels and places strict criteria on high-risk applications. With its focus on data protection and user rights, the EU's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) is an additional piece of legislation that supplements AI oversight. These regulatory frameworks provide valuable insights for countries like India, which are in the process of developing their AI governance strategies.

One possible solution to the most serious problems in artificial intelligence governance is to use blockchain technology. The immutable and transparent record of transactions that blockchain technology provides has the potential to increase accountability and decrease the

likelihood of misconduct. Take data privacy as an example. Blockchain technology empowers users to have more control over their personal data, guaranteeing its ethical and compliant use. Also, AI decision-making can benefit from blockchain's auditable decision trail, which helps to spot and fix biases and mistakes. When it comes to industries like healthcare and finance, where mistakes made by AI could have serious effects, this capacity is absolutely crucial.

Additionally, blockchain is a great tool for fostering equity and inclusion in AI governance because its decentralized structure is in line with democratic governance ideas. Blockchain technology can help level the playing field by allowing more people to have a say in important decisions, which in turn makes it more likely that different viewpoints will be taken into account. This is especially crucial in a nation like India, where economic and social disparities impact the utilization and advantages of AI technologies. India can build trust and confidence among its citizens by using blockchain technology to make sure that AI is developed and used in a fair and equitable way.

The integration of blockchain and AI governance also has significant implications for global cooperation. As AI systems become increasingly interconnected and cross-border in nature, the need for harmonized regulatory frameworks becomes evident. Blockchain can serve as a unifying tool, enabling countries to collaborate on issues such as data sharing, algorithmic transparency, and ethical standards. By providing a shared platform for recording and verifying AI processes, blockchain can facilitate cross-border compliance and promote international cooperation. This capability is particularly relevant in addressing global challenges such as climate change, public health, and cybersecurity, where AI can play a transformative role.

The Current Landscape of AI Governance

AI governance is an evolving field, shaped by the interplay of technological advancements, ethical considerations, and regulatory frameworks. While many countries have recognized the need to regulate AI, their approaches vary significantly, reflecting differences in legal systems, cultural values, and economic priorities. This section examines the state of AI governance in India, the United States, and the European Union, highlighting their strengths and limitations.

The government of India is very interested in using AI to its fullest potential so that the country can advance economically and socially. The "National Strategy on AI" was published in 2018 by the National Institution for Transforming India (NITI Aayog), which lays out a plan for the

ethical usage and implementation of AI. Still, India does not have a specific set of laws governing artificial intelligence. While laws like the Information Technology Act of 2000 do some work in this area, they are mostly concerned with data protection and cybersecurity and don't do much to address issues unique to artificial intelligence. Data usage regulation is an important part of artificial intelligence systems, and the Digital Personal Data Protection Act 2024 is a big step in the right direction. However, there are many who believe the Act should have addressed algorithmic transparency, prejudice, and accountability. Governance of artificial intelligence in India is already complicated due to the lack of sector-specific legislation and enforcement mechanisms.

India's legal framework for AI governance reflects its broader approach to technology regulation. While there are guidelines and policies promoting the development and ethical use of AI, these remain largely aspirational and non-binding. The NITI Aayog's focus on leveraging AI for social good, such as in healthcare and agriculture, highlights the potential of AI in addressing pressing societal challenges. However, without enforceable legal mechanisms, these goals remain challenging to achieve. Moreover, the lack of clarity regarding liability in AI-driven decisions, especially in high-stakes sectors like autonomous vehicles and healthcare, underscores the need for a robust regulatory framework. As AI adoption continues to grow, the absence of comprehensive regulations increases the risk of misuse and unintended consequences.

The US, on the other hand, uses preexisting legislation to tackle certain problems in artificial intelligence (AI) regulation on a sectoral level. To combat discrimination and unfair practices in AI applications, there are procedures provided by laws such as the Equal Credit Opportunity Act and the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) Act. However, governance is inconsistent and gaps exist due to the absence of a centralized regulatory framework. The "Blueprint for an AI Bill of Rights," which was published in 2022, seeks to lay forth rules for the moral use of AI, with an emphasis on privacy, openness, and equity. While commendable, these guidelines lack enforceability, limiting their impact on AI governance. The U.S. approach prioritizes innovation and economic growth, often at the expense of comprehensive governance. This approach has been effective in fostering technological advancement but has also resulted in significant challenges related to accountability and consumer protection. For instance, controversies surrounding AI-driven social media algorithms and their impact on mental health and democracy have highlighted the limitations of the U.S. regulatory approach.

In terms of artificial intelligence (AI) regulation, the European Union (EU) is ahead of the curve. An all-encompassing framework for AI regulation, the proposed Artificial Intelligence Act (AIA) would categorize systems according to their risk levels and place strict regulations on applications with a high potential for harm. By placing an emphasis on data protection and user rights, the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) provides an additional layer of support for AI governance. An example for AI governance around the world is the European Union's emphasis on openness, responsibility, and ethics. Stakeholders are worried about the AIA's possible effect on innovation and its complexity. The European Union's stance demonstrates its seriousness about protecting basic freedoms and ethical standards. The goal of the AIA's risk classification system is to guarantee that mission-critical and biometric surveillance systems, among others, adhere to stringent regulations. Nevertheless, discussions over the equilibrium between regulation and flexibility have arisen due to the administrative load linked with compliance and the possibility of impeding innovation.

Blockchain Technology and Its Potential in AI Governance

Blockchain technology, with its decentralized and immutable features, offers a powerful tool for addressing the challenges of AI governance. By providing a transparent and verifiable ledger of transactions, blockchain can enhance accountability, ensure compliance, and promote ethical practices in AI applications. This section explores the potential of blockchain in addressing key aspects of AI governance, including transparency, data integrity, compliance, and accountability.

Bringing AI governance up to speed is no easy feat, and it's especially difficult when dealing with the so-called "black box problem." It is difficult to comprehend the decision-making process behind many AI algorithms because of how they function, which is opaque to both users and regulators. Blockchain technology offers a solution to this problem by creating a verifiable record of AI decisions. The unchangeable ledger that blockchain records all AI system decisions makes these processes public and accessible to stakeholders and regulators. By being open and honest, AI systems can gain trust and allow for greater supervision. In healthcare applications, for example, blockchain can record AI decisions in a verifiable way, making them accountable and allowing users to contest any wrong or biased results.

Data integrity is an additional essential component of AI regulation. Because AI systems use massive volumes of data for training and decision-making, it is crucial that this data is accurate

and genuine. As a decentralised ledger that cannot be altered, blockchain technology guarantees the authenticity of data. Data accuracy is of the utmost importance for artificial intelligence applications in public services, healthcare, and governance in India. Stakeholders can reduce the likelihood of bias or manipulation by storing data on a blockchain, guaranteeing that AI systems use accurate and impartial data. For instance, blockchain technology has applications in the banking industry that help ensure the legitimacy of transaction data utilized by AI algorithms for purposes such as credit scoring and fraud detection.

Meeting all of the requirements set out by regulators is a daunting and time-consuming task. Smart contracts, which are built into blockchain technology, automate the implementation of previously set rules and laws, making compliance much easier. Smart contracts have the potential to streamline compliance procedures, lessen administrative loads, and guarantee conformity to regulations. For instance, smart contracts can minimize the risk of regulatory infractions by automatically verifying compliance with know-your-customer (KYC) and anti-money laundering (AML) standards in the financial sector. To a similar extent, supply chain management can benefit from blockchain technology by creating an auditable record of transactions that can be used to verify adherence to environmental and labor regulations.

Accountability is a cornerstone of AI governance. The decentralized nature of blockchain allows multiple stakeholders to verify AI processes, reducing the concentration of power and ensuring accountability. This aligns with democratic principles and fosters trust among users. In India, where trust in technology is often limited, blockchain can play a transformative role in building confidence in AI systems. By enabling real-time verification of AI decisions, blockchain can ensure that stakeholders have a clear understanding of how decisions are made and can hold parties accountable for any adverse outcomes. This is particularly relevant in sectors such as law enforcement and judiciary, where AI systems are increasingly being used for decision-making.

Comparative Analysis of Legal Frameworks

The legal frameworks governing AI across jurisdictions vary widely, reflecting differences in political philosophies, economic structures, and technological priorities. A comparative analysis of these frameworks reveals not only the strengths and weaknesses of various approaches but also the opportunities for adopting best practices to achieve a more comprehensive and effective governance model.

India, being a prominent hub for technological innovation, has adopted a cautiously optimistic stance toward AI regulation. The Indian government recognizes the transformative potential of AI and its ability to address societal challenges, as evident from initiatives such as the "National Strategy on AI" by NITI Aayog. However, the absence of dedicated AI-specific legislation has left governance largely reliant on existing legal frameworks like the Information Technology Act of 2000. While this law provides foundational support in addressing cybersecurity and digital communication issues, it does not adequately address AI's unique challenges, such as algorithmic accountability, ethical considerations, and data governance.

As a counterpoint, the EU's proposed Artificial Intelligence Act (AIA) represents a highly organized strategy for AI regulation. This law classifies AI systems as either low-risk or high-risk, and for the latter, it imposes strict compliance requirements. The goal of the AIA is to promote innovation in AI while ensuring that it adheres to ethical values through promoting openness, justice, and accountability. The EU's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), which places an emphasis on data protection and privacy, provides a complementary framework. When taken as a whole, these rules establish a solid framework for government oversight that strikes a fair balance between people's rights and technical progress. But detractors say that small and medium-sized businesses, in particular, will be hit hard by the disproportionate costs of compliance and the EU's strict regulations, which could limit innovation.

The United States, on the other hand, adopts a sector-specific approach, relying on existing laws to address AI-related issues within particular industries. For instance, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) enforces regulations against deceptive practices in AI-driven consumer products, while the Equal Credit Opportunity Act addresses discrimination in algorithmic lending. Additionally, the White House's "Blueprint for an AI Bill of Rights" provides non-binding guidelines to promote fairness, privacy, and transparency in AI applications. While the U.S. approach offers flexibility and fosters innovation, it also leads to fragmented governance, with significant gaps in accountability and oversight.

In comparing these frameworks, it becomes evident that India's regulatory approach lacks the specificity and enforceability seen in the EU and the U.S. While the EU's AIA provides a comprehensive blueprint for managing AI risks, its complexity may deter rapid adoption and innovation. The U.S.'s flexible, sectoral approach fosters technological growth but fails to

address cross-sectoral governance challenges. India's reliance on broader legislative instruments, such as the Digital Personal Data Protection Act 2024, underscores the need for a more focused regulatory strategy that incorporates the unique aspects of AI governance.

Blockchain technology emerges as a potential unifying tool that can address the limitations of these frameworks. By providing a transparent, immutable, and decentralized ledger, blockchain can enhance accountability in AI governance. In the Indian context, blockchain can serve as a mechanism to address gaps in the existing legal framework. For example, blockchain-enabled smart contracts can automate compliance with data protection laws, ensuring that AI systems adhere to legal standards without requiring manual intervention. Additionally, blockchain's ability to provide an auditable trail of AI decision-making processes aligns with the principles of accountability and transparency, addressing key concerns in AI governance.

The EU's regulatory framework offers valuable insights for India, particularly in integrating blockchain into AI governance. The AIA's emphasis on risk-based classification can be complemented by blockchain's ability to provide real-time monitoring and verification of AI processes. For instance, high-risk AI applications in healthcare or law enforcement can be audited through blockchain to ensure compliance with ethical standards. Similarly, the GDPR's focus on data protection can be strengthened by using blockchain to secure and authenticate data used by AI systems. By adopting these practices, India can enhance its regulatory framework and position itself as a global leader in ethical AI governance.

In the U.S., blockchain can address the fragmentation of the current regulatory landscape by providing a unified platform for recording and verifying AI processes. For example, blockchain can be used to track compliance with sector-specific regulations, such as those enforced by the FTC or the Equal Credit Opportunity Act. This capability can streamline compliance efforts and reduce administrative burdens for AI developers and organizations. Moreover, blockchain's decentralized nature aligns with the U.S.'s emphasis on innovation and market-driven solutions, making it a compatible tool for enhancing accountability in AI governance.

Global cooperation is another critical aspect of AI governance that blockchain can facilitate. As AI systems increasingly operate across borders, the need for harmonized regulations becomes evident. Blockchain's transparency and interoperability make it an ideal tool for enabling cross-border compliance and fostering international collaboration. For instance, blockchain can be used to create a shared database of AI compliance records, allowing

regulators from different jurisdictions to verify adherence to global standards. This capability can enhance trust and cooperation among countries, addressing challenges such as data sharing, algorithmic bias, and ethical discrepancies.

India's unique position as a global technology hub offers an opportunity to lead the adoption of blockchain in AI governance. By integrating blockchain into its regulatory framework, India can address the limitations of its existing laws and set a precedent for other countries. For instance, blockchain can be used to enforce compliance with the PDPB's data protection requirements, ensuring that AI systems operate transparently and ethically. Additionally, blockchain-enabled smart contracts can automate the enforcement of ethical guidelines, reducing the risk of non-compliance and enhancing trust among stakeholders.

Challenges and Recommendations

Implementing blockchain for AI governance presents several challenges, including technical, legal, and ethical considerations. This section explores these challenges and provides recommendations for addressing them.

Topics like interoperability, energy consumption, and scalability pose technical hurdles. To process the massive volumes of data produced by AI systems, blockchain networks need to be scalable. Because proof-of-work blockchains use so much computing power, energy consumption is another issue. For a smooth integration, it is also necessary that various blockchain networks and AI systems are interoperable. Research and development investments, exploration of energy-efficient consensus methods, and the establishment of interoperability standards are all necessary for stakeholders to tackle these difficulties. Additionally, by utilizing advancements in quantum computing, the integration of blockchain into large-scale AI applications can be made possible, overcoming concerns with scalability and efficiency.

Legal and regulatory barriers pose significant challenges to blockchain-based AI governance. The absence of clear legal frameworks for blockchain and AI integration creates uncertainty and hinders adoption. In India, regulatory uncertainty regarding cryptocurrencies and blockchain applications highlights the need for comprehensive policies. Policymakers must develop clear and consistent regulations that address the unique challenges of blockchain-based AI governance. These regulations should provide legal clarity, promote innovation, and protect

user rights. Establishing a dedicated regulatory body for blockchain and AI can ensure that these technologies are governed effectively and responsibly.

Ethical considerations are another critical aspect of blockchain-based AI governance. While blockchain's transparency enhances accountability, it may conflict with privacy concerns, particularly in sensitive AI applications. Balancing transparency with user privacy is essential for ethical AI governance. Policymakers must establish ethical guidelines that address these concerns, ensuring that blockchain-based solutions respect user privacy while promoting transparency and accountability. Engaging diverse stakeholders, including civil society organizations and industry representatives, can ensure that these guidelines reflect a broad range of perspectives and priorities.

To address these challenges, India must develop a dedicated legal framework for AI governance, incorporating blockchain as a core component. Lessons from the EU's AIA and GDPR can guide these reforms. Investing in technical expertise and infrastructure is also essential for implementing blockchain-based solutions. Public-private partnerships can play a significant role in this endeavor. Establishing ethical guidelines for blockchain and AI integration can ensure a balance between transparency and privacy. Stakeholder engagement in policy formulation can enhance these guidelines. Finally, India should actively participate in international forums to harmonize AI regulations and promote blockchain as a tool for global compliance. By leveraging its strengths as a global technology hub, India can position itself as a leader in AI and blockchain governance.

Conclusion

Blockchain technology holds immense potential for transforming AI governance by enhancing transparency, accountability, and compliance. India, with its burgeoning AI ecosystem, stands to benefit significantly from adopting blockchain-based solutions. By addressing technical, legal, and ethical challenges, India can position itself as a global leader in AI governance. The synergy between blockchain and AI offers a pathway to a future where technology serves humanity responsibly and ethically. Blockchain is not just a tool for compliance; it is a catalyst for trust, innovation, and global cooperation in the age of AI. With concerted efforts from policymakers, industry leaders, and stakeholders, blockchain can pave the way for a new era of accountable and ethical AI governance.

References

- NITI Aayog, *National Strategy for Artificial Intelligence #AIforAll* (2018) <https://www.niti.gov.in> accessed 25 January 2025.
- Digital Personal Data Protection Act 2024.
- Information Technology Act 2000 (India).
- European Commission, *Proposal for a Regulation Laying Down Harmonized Rules on Artificial Intelligence (Artificial Intelligence Act)* COM (2021) 206 final.
- European Parliament and the Council, *Regulation (EU) 2016/679: General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)* [2016] OJ L119/1.
- White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, *Blueprint for an AI Bill of Rights: Making Automated Systems Work for the American People* (2022) <https://www.whitehouse.gov> accessed 25 January 2025.
- Nakamoto S, 'Bitcoin: A Peer-to-Peer Electronic Cash System' (2008) <https://bitcoin.org/bitcoin.pdf> accessed 25 January 2025.
- Zyskind G, Nathan O and Pentland A, 'Decentralizing Privacy: Using Blockchain to Protect Personal Data' (2015) IEEE Security and Privacy Workshops 180.
- Floridi L, *Ethics of Artificial Intelligence: Principles, Challenges, and Opportunities* (Oxford University Press 2021).
- Pasquale F, *The Black Box Society: The Secret Algorithms That Control Money and Information* (Harvard University Press 2015).
- De Filippi P and Wright A, *Blockchain and the Law: The Rule of Code* (Harvard University Press 2018).
- Hildebrandt M, *Smart Technologies and the End(s) of Law: Novel Entanglements of Law and Technology* (Edward Elgar 2015).
- Eubanks V, *Automating Inequality: How High-Tech Tools Profile, Police, and Punish the Poor* (St Martin's Press 2018).
- Mayer-Schönberger V and Cukier K, *Big Data: A Revolution That Will Transform How We Live, Work, and Think* (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt 2013).
- Brynjolfsson E and McAfee A, *The Second Machine Age: Work, Progress, and Prosperity in a Time of Brilliant Technologies* (WW Norton 2014).

- Wachter S, Mittelstadt B and Russell C, ‘Counterfactual Explanations Without Opening the Black Box: Automated Decisions and the GDPR’ (2017) 31 Harvard Journal of Law & Technology 841.
- Taddeo M and Floridi L, ‘How AI Can Be a Force for Good’ (2018) 361(6404) Science 751.
- Mittelstadt BD, Allo P and others, ‘The Ethics of Algorithms: Mapping the Debate’ (2016) 3(2) Big Data & Society 1.
- Tapscott D and Tapscott A, *Blockchain Revolution: How the Technology Behind Bitcoin and Other Cryptocurrencies is Changing the World* (Penguin 2016).
- Russell S and Norvig P, *Artificial Intelligence: A Modern Approach* (4th edn, Pearson 2020).
- Crawford K and Calo R, ‘There Is a Blind Spot in AI Research’ (2016) 538 Nature 311.
- Binns R, ‘Fairness in Machine Learning: Lessons from Political Philosophy’ (2018) 81 Proceedings of the 2018 Conference on Fairness, Accountability, and Transparency 149.
- Goodfellow I, Bengio Y and Courville A, *Deep Learning* (MIT Press 2016).
- Auer R and Claessens S, ‘Cryptocurrencies and Financial Stability’ (2020) BIS Quarterly Review March 2020 <https://www.bis.org> accessed 25 January 2025.
- European Union Agency for Cybersecurity (ENISA), *Artificial Intelligence Cybersecurity Challenges* (2020) <https://www.enisa.europa.eu> accessed 25 January 2025.
- Kuner C, *Transborder Data Flows and Data Privacy Law* (Oxford University Press 2013).
- Weitzner DJ and others, ‘Information Accountability’ (2008) 51(6) Communications of the ACM 82.
- Mazzucato M, *The Value of Everything: Making and Taking in the Global Economy* (Penguin 2018).
- Guadamuz A, ‘The Blockchain and the Law: A Critical Evaluation’ (2019) 25(1) Modern Law Review 79.
- Allen H, ‘Regulating Artificial Intelligence Systems: Risks, Challenges, Competencies, and Strategies’ (2021) 35(1) AI & Society 1.