

### Ethics of quantification

Andrea Saltelli Open Evidence Research, Open University of Catalonia



Lesson at Scuola di Specializzazione Medica in Statistica Sanitaria e Bometria, Università di Firenze, Dipartimento di Statistica, Informatica, Applicazioni 'G. Parenti' (DiSIA)



Florence, June 23, 2021

#### Where to find this talk: www.andreasaltelli.eu



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# Quantifications and the roots of the Cartesian dream

### Separate but related stories

Cartesian dream: possess and domination of nature

The 'procedural utopia': grounding social harmony and progress in calculations







Francis Bacon (1561–1626)

We call Cartesian dream the idea of man as master and possessor of nature, of prediction and control, of Bacon's wonders of science and of Condorcet's mathematique sociale…



René Descartes (1596-1650)



Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet (1743- 1794)



Francis Bacon (1561–1626)

### Magnalia Naturae, in the New Atlantis (1627), 'Wonders of nature, in particular with respect to human use'

The prolongation of life; The restitution of youth in some degree; The retardation of age; The curing of diseases counted incurable; The mitigation of pain; More easy and less loathsome purgings; The increasing of strength and activity; The increasing of ability to suffer torture or pain; The altering of complexions, and fatness and leanness; The altering of statures; The altering of features; The increasing and exalting of the intellectual parts; Versions of bodies into other bodies; Making of new species; Transplanting of one species into another; Instruments of destruction, as of war and poison; Exhilaration of the spirits, and putting them in good disposition; Force of the imagination, either upon another body, or upon the body itself; Acceleration of time in maturations; Acceleration of time in clarifications; Acceleration of putrefaction; Acceleration of decoction; Acceleration of germination; Making rich composts for the earth; Impressions of the air, and raising of tempests; Great alteration; as in induration, emollition, &c; Turning crude and watery substances into oily and unctuous substances; Drawing of new foods out of substances not now in use; Making new threads for apparel; and new stuffs, such as paper, glass, &c; Natural divinations; Deceptions of the senses; Greater pleasures of the senses; Artificial minerals and cements.



Francis Bacon (1561–1626)

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The study of letters leading to "doubts and errors";

Comparing "disquisitions of the ancient moralists to very towering and magnificent palaces with no better foundation than sand and mud";

Condemnation of humanities and exaltation of mathematics.



René Descartes (1596-1650)

Discourse on Method (1637)

"I perceived it to be possible to arrive at knowledge highly useful in life; and in room of the Speculative Philosophy [...]



René Descartes (1596-1650)

Discourse on Method (1637)

http://www.bartleby.com/34/1/6.html

"to discover a Practical, by means of which, knowing the force and action of fire, water, air, the stars, the heavens, and all the other bodies that surround us, [...] we might also apply them [...]

and thus render ourselves the lords and possessors of nature."



René Descartes (1596-1650)

Discourse on Method (1637)

In the formulation of Condorcet: "All the errors in politics and in morals are founded upon philosophical mistakes, which, themselves, are connected with physical errors" (Ninth Epoch)



Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet (1743- 1794)

'Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Spirit' Overpopulation? War due to scarcity of resources? Will not happen because technical progress and ethical progress will go hand in hand. Man will understand that his duty "will consist not in the question of giving existence to a greater number of beings, but happiness." (Tenth Epoch)

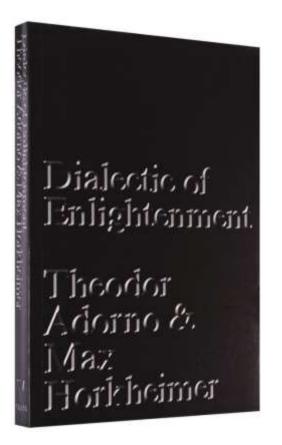


Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet (1743- 1794) 'Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Spirit'

"Technical progress and ethical progress will go hand in hand"



Marquis de Condorcet



= progressive view of enlightenment attacked by the Frankfurt school 'Mathématique sociale': We still use today terms such as 'Condorcet method', 'Condorcet winner', 'Condorcet-ranking procedure'



Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet (1743-1794)

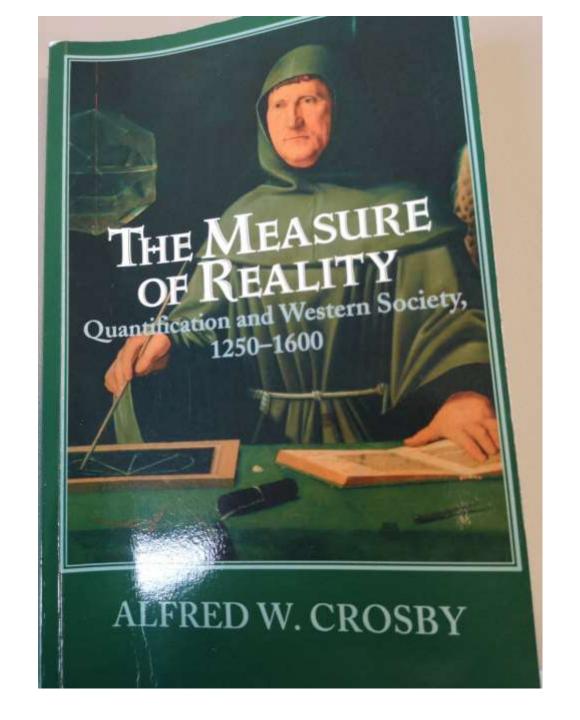
Feldman, J., 2005, Condorcet et la mathematique sociale: enthousiasmes et bemols, Mathematics and Social Sciences, 172(4), 7-41, <a href="http://www.ehess.fr/revue-msh/pdf/N172R955.pdf">http://www.ehess.fr/revue-msh/pdf/N172R955.pdf</a>

Munda G. (2007) - Social multi-criteria evaluation, Springer-Verlag, Heidelberg, New York, Economics Series



Condorcet's algorithms and Descartes' Geometry: the dream always had a quantification agenda



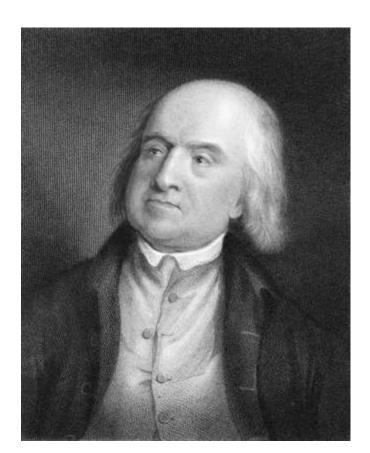


Were quantification (and visualization) the engine inside the engine of western success and domination?

### Condorcet's Mathématique sociale had its continuation in Jeremy Bentham's utilitarianism



Marquis de Condorcet (1743-1794)



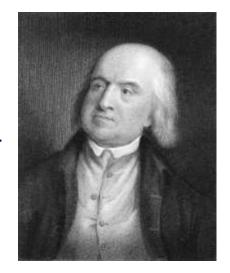
Felicific calculus: 'The greatest good for the greatest number' (utility or hedonistic calculus)

Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832)

- Intensity: How strong is the pleasure?
- Duration: How long will the pleasure last?
- Certainty or uncertainty: How likely or unlikely is it that the pleasure will occur?
- Propinquity or remoteness: How soon will the pleasure occur?
- Fecundity: The probability that the action will be followed by sensations of the same kind.
- Purity: The probability that it will not be followed by sensations of the opposite kind.
- Extent: How many people will be affected?

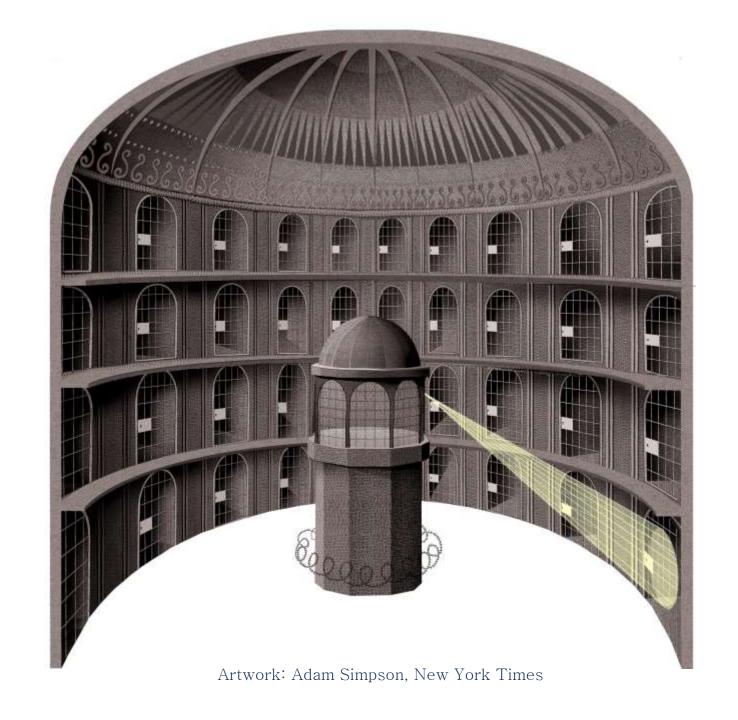
Jeremy Bentham

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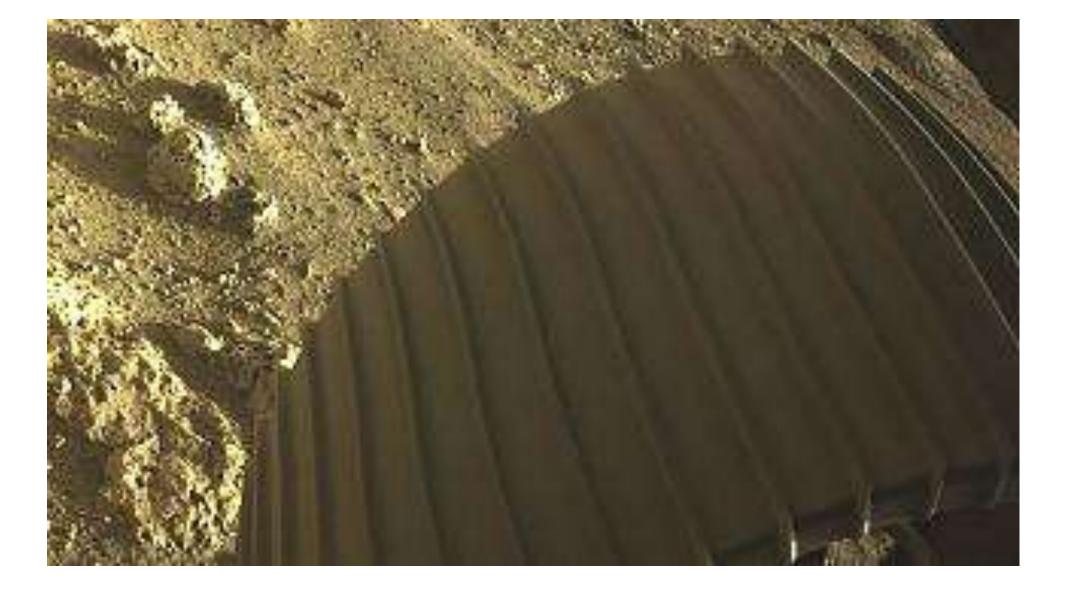


"The utilitarian ethic, of 'the greatest good for the greatest number', was an implicit quantification of ethics, needed for the post-theological age" (Jerome R. Ravetz)

### Bentham's Panopticon



## The success of the Cartesian dream and quantification blues



February 18, 2021, Landing of Perseverance on Mars

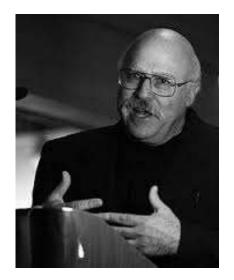
If you are a natural scientists you were nourished and trained in the Cartesian dream, (S. Toulmin: 'The hidden agenda of modernity')

The dream was spectacularly successful, in all fields of endeavor, leading to what Steven Shapin calls 'invisible science'

Steven Shapin, 2016, Invisible Science, The Hedgehog Review: Vol. 18 No. 3 (Fall 2016).



Stephen Toulmin



Steven Shapin

## Many voices of alarm as to misuse of quantification

### Numbers, visible and invisible…

### Blurring lines:

"what qualities are specific to rankings, or indicators, or models, or algorithms?"



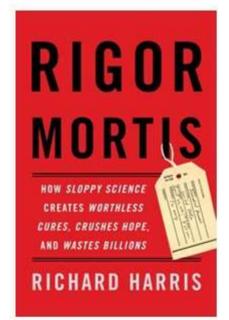
Elizabeth Popp Berman

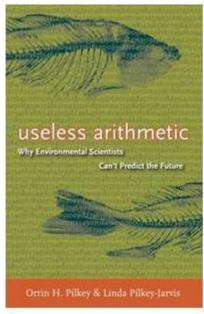
E. Popp Berman and D. Hirschman, The Sociology of

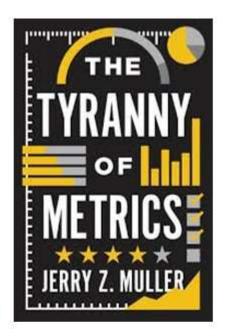
Quantification: Where Are We Now?, Contemp. Sociol., vol. in press, 2017.

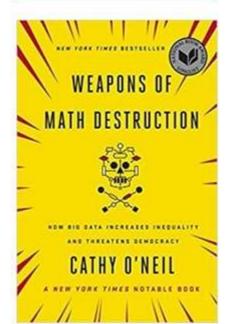
### And an explosion of works, from within and without, from many disciplines

### Algorithms, models, metrics, statistics...

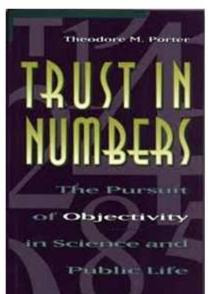






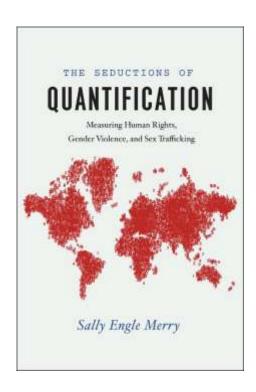


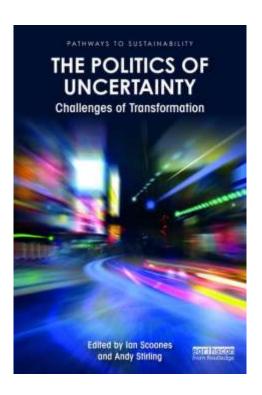


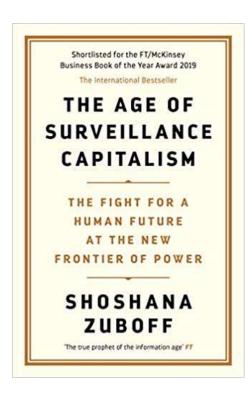


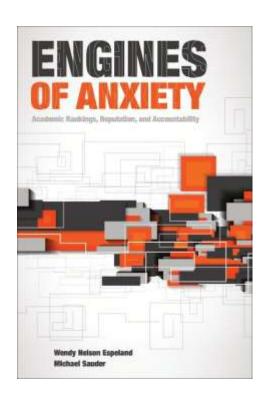


### Algorithms, models, metrics, statistics...









Numbers and their 'reactivity' (Espeland and Sauder, 2016)

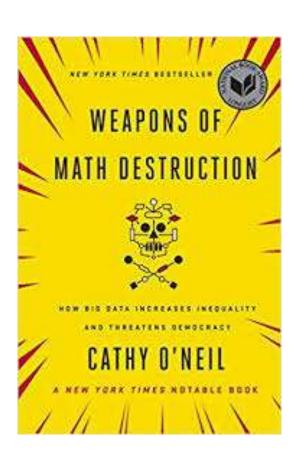
Incumbent numbers affect what society will measure in the future (Merry 2016)

Numbers "create the environment that justifies their assumptions" (O'Neil, 2016)

### Alarm for Weapons of Math Destruction



Cathy O'Neil

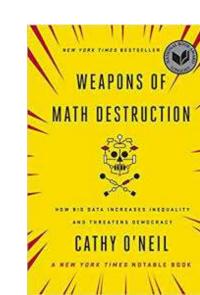


O'Neil, C. (2016). Weapons of math destruction: how big data increases inequality and threatens democracy. Random House Publishing Group.

Opacity (also because of trade secrecy) of algorithms used to decide on recruiting, carriers (including of researchers), prison sentencing, paroling, custody of minors, political campaigns...

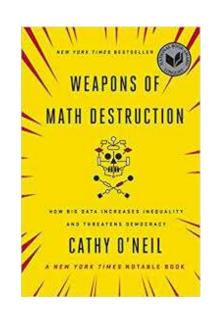
O'Neil, C. (2016). Weapons of math destruction: how big data increases inequality and threatens democracy. Random House Publishing Group.

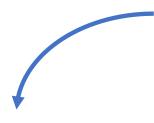
Brauneis, R., & Goodman, E. P. (2018). Algorithmic Transparency for the Smart City. Yale Journal of Law & Technology, 20, 103–176. Retrieved from https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=3012499

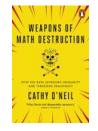


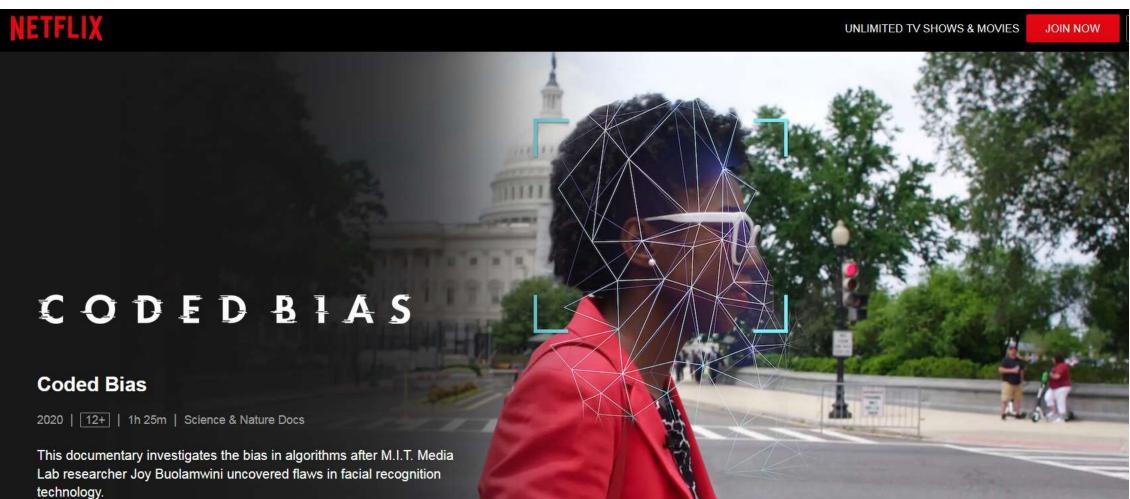
Opacity coupled with opportunity for scale and damage and with non-appealability make them an instrument of oppression & inequality

Cathy O'Neil Google talk https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TQHs8SA1qpk

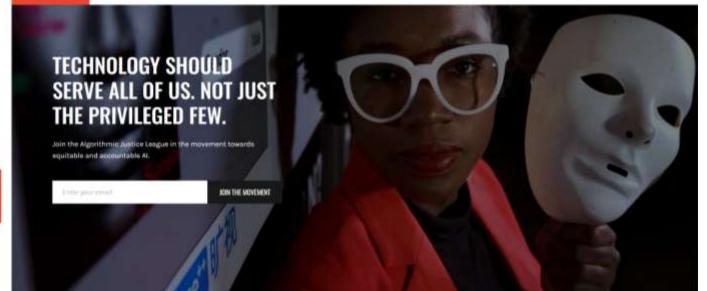






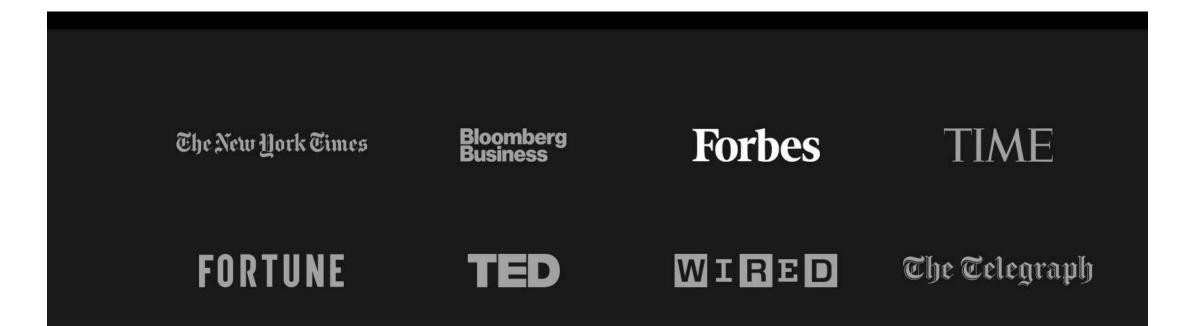


#### RACIAL JUSTICE REQUIRES ALGORITHMIC JUSTICE. SUPPORT THE MOVEMENT.



#### Algorithmic Justice League

https://www.ajl.org/



# Quantification blues, continued



Charles Goodhart

p. 44 "Any ... measures necessarily involve a loss of information ... [and distorts behavior]" (Porter, 1995)

This is what we normally call Goodhart's law, from Charles Goodhart. "When a measure becomes a target, it ceases to be a good measure."

Also known as Campbell's law (1976); https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Goodhart%27s\_law

### Dangers of mathematization of economics









Wolfgang Drechsler

Erik S. Reinert

Paul Romer

Philip Mirowski

W. Drechsler, "On the possibility of quantitative-mathematical social science, chiefly economics," *J. Econ. Stud.*, vol. 27, no. 4/5, pp. 246–259, 2000.

E. S. Reinert, "Full circle: economics from scholasticism through innovation and back into mathematical scholasticism," *J. Econ. Stud.*, vol. 27, no. 4/5, pp. 364–376, Aug. 2000.

P. Romer, "Mathiness in the Theory of Economic Growth," Am. Econ. Rev., vol. 105, no. 5, pp. 89–93, May 2015.

Mirowski, Philip. 2013. Never Let a Serious Crisis Go to Waste: How Neoliberalism Survived the Financial Meltdown. Verso.





WORKING PAPER
WP 2021/07

### Altered States: Cartesian and Ricardian dreams

Erik S. Reinert

Tallinn University of Technology
UCL Institute for Innovation and Public Purpose

Monica di Fiore

Institute for Cognitive Sciences and Technologies, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche

Andrea Saltelli

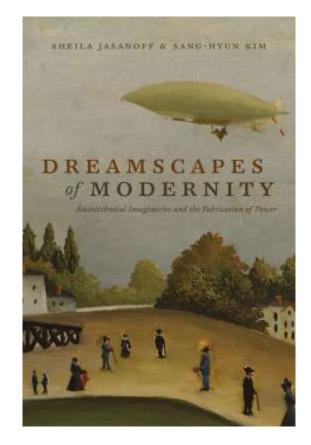
Open Evidence Research, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC)

Jerome R. Ravetz

Institute for Science, Innovation and Society, University of Oxford

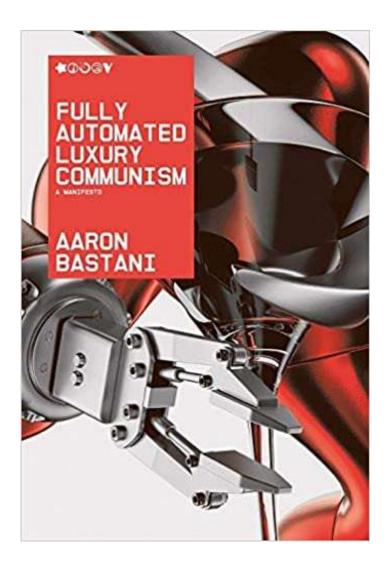
## And yet …which is the prevailing sociotechnical imaginary?

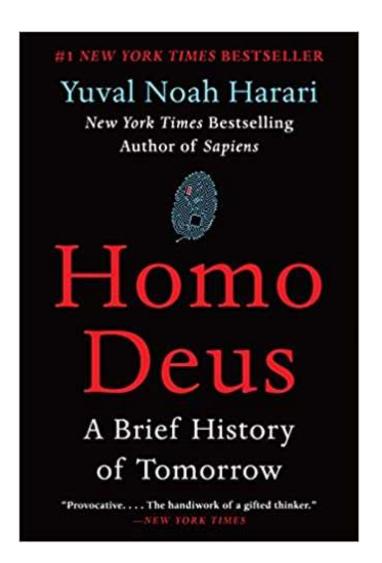
Sociotechnical imaginary: How visions of scientific and technological progress carry with them implicit ideas about public purposes, collective futures, and the common good

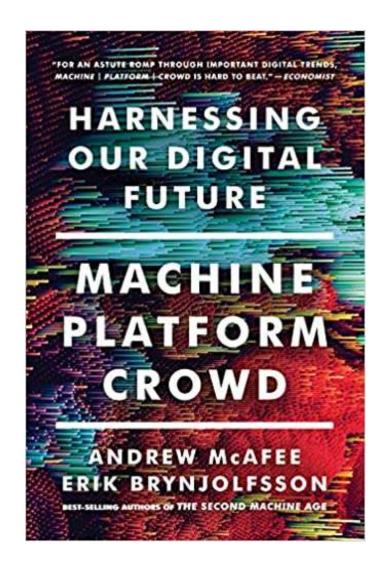




Sheila Jasanoff

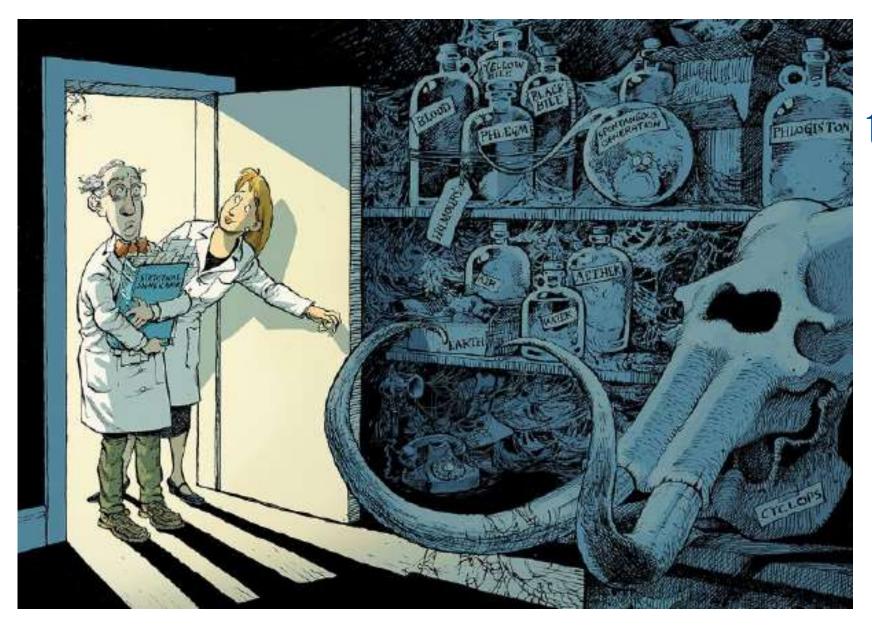






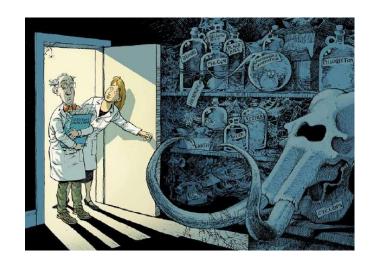
Good news!

### Statistical and mathematical modelling



Throw away
the concept of
statistical
significance?





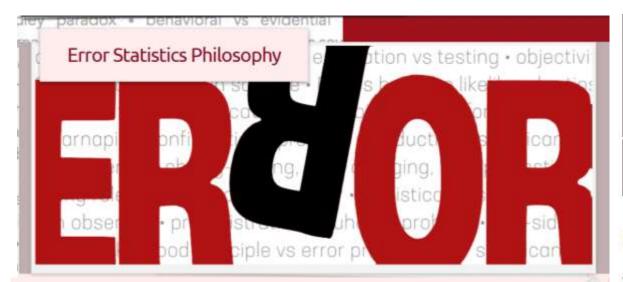
COMMENT · 20 MARCH 2019

### Scientists rise up against statistical significance

Valentin Amrhein, Sander Greenland, Blake McShane and more than 800 signatories call for an end to hyped claims and the dismissal of possibly crucial effects.



See the discussion on the blog of Andrew Gelman https://statmodeling.stat.columbia.edu/





### SIGNIFICANCE

Business

Culture

Politics

Cargo-cult statistics and scientific crisis

Written by Philip B. Stark and Andrea Saltelli on 05 July 2018. Posted in Science



Statistics in the wake of the reproducibility crisis

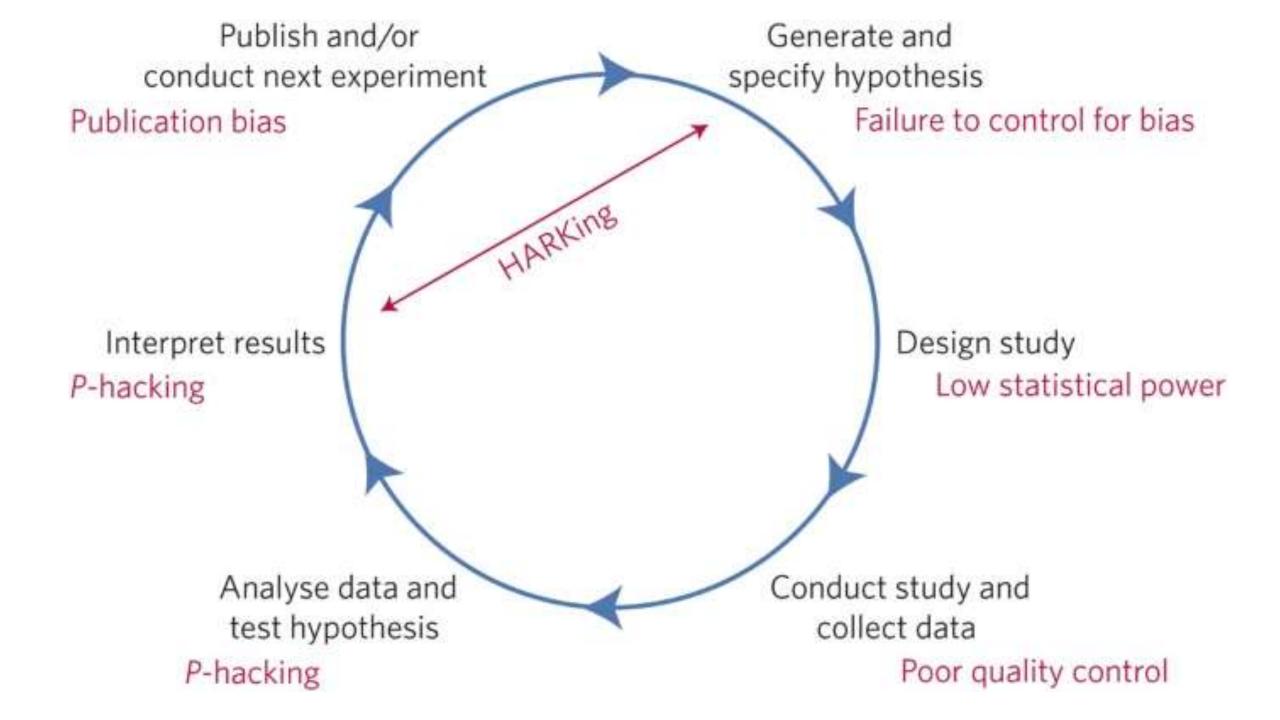
Statistical wars?

### nature human behaviour

Open Access | Published: 10 January 2017

### A manifesto for reproducible science

Marcus R. Munafò <sup>™</sup>, Brian A. Nosek, Dorothy V. M. Bishop, Katherine S. Button, Christopher D. Chambers, Nathalie Percie du Sert, Uri Simonsohn, Eric-Jan Wagenmakers, Jennifer J. Ware & John P. A. Ioannidis



P-hacking (fishing for favourable p-values) and HARKing (formulating the research Hypothesis After the Results are Known);

Desire to achieve a sought for – or simply publishable – result leads to fiddling with the data points, the modelling assumptions, or the research hypotheses themselves

Leamer, E. E. Tantalus on the Road to Asymptopia. J. Econ. Perspect. 24, 31-46 (2010).

Kerr, N. L. HARKing: Hypothesizing After the Results are Known. Personal. Soc. Psychol. Rev. 2, 196–217 (1998).

A. Gelman and E. Loken, "The garden of forking paths: Why multiple comparisons can be a problem, even when there is no 'fishing expedition' or 'p-hacking' and the research hypothesis was posited ahead of time," 2013.

## Mathematical models



Andrea Saltelli 🗹 , Gabriele Bammer , Isabelle Bruno , Erica Charters , Monica Di Fiore , Emmanuel Didier , Wendy Nelson Espeland , John

Kay, Samuele Lo Piano, Deborah Mayo, Roger Pielke Jr, Tommaso Portaluri, Theodore M. Porter, Arnald Puy, Ismael Rafols, Jerome R.

Ravetz, Erik Reinert, Daniel Sarewitz, Philip B. Stark, Andrew Stirling, Jeroen van der Sluijs & Paolo Vineis

3 modellers Lo Piano, Puy, Saltelli

2 experts models and society Pielke, van der Sluijs

3 statisticians Mayo, Stark, Portaluri

2 statactivistes Bruno, Didier

2 economists Kay, Raynert

1 epidemiologist vineis

2 sociologists of quantification

Espeland, Porter

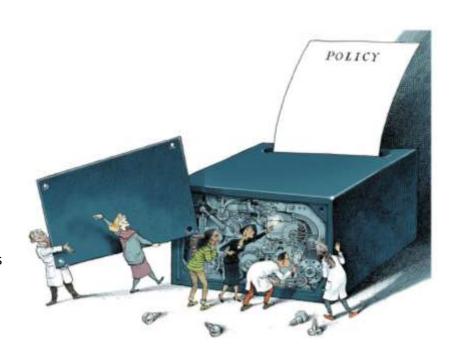
3 STS scholars Bammer, Sarewitz, Stirling

1 philosopher Ravetz

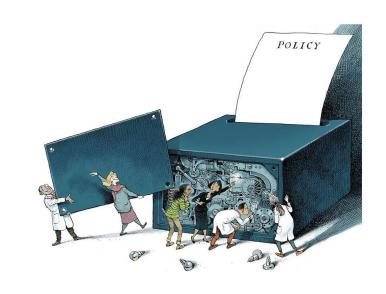
1 historian Charters

1 political scientists Di Fiore

1 expert RRI - Open Science Rafols



### COVID has put mathematical models in the limelight



→ Power & controversy

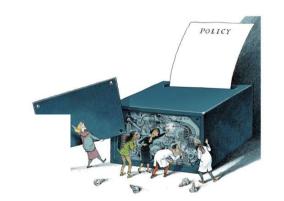
### Power

The New York Times

### Behind the Virus Report That Jarred the U.S. and the U.K. to Action

It wasn't so much the numbers themselves, frightening though they were, as who reported them: Imperial College London.

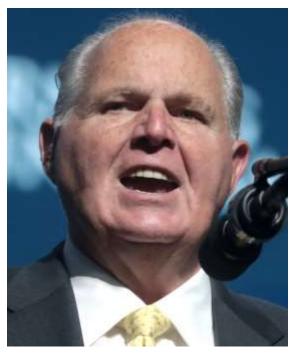
Landler, Mark, and Stephen Castle. 2020. Behind the Virus Report That Jarred the U.S. and the U.K. to Action - The New York Times.



### Conflicts, when questions of urgency, stakes, values and uncertainty collide

"Wild-Ass Covid numbers
... The minute I hear
anybody start talking about
models and modeling, I
blanch"

Rush Limbaugh



Rhodes, Tim, and Kari Lancaster. 2020. "Mathematical Models as Public Troubles in COVID-19 Infection Control: Following the Numbers", Health Sociology Review 1–18. doi: 10.1080/14461242.2020.1764376

Assess uncertainty and sensitivity

#### Mind the hubris

Complexity can be the enemy of relevance

### Mind the framing

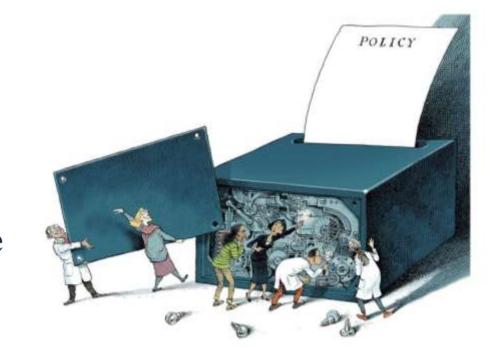
Match purpose and context

### Mind the consequences

Quantification can backfire.

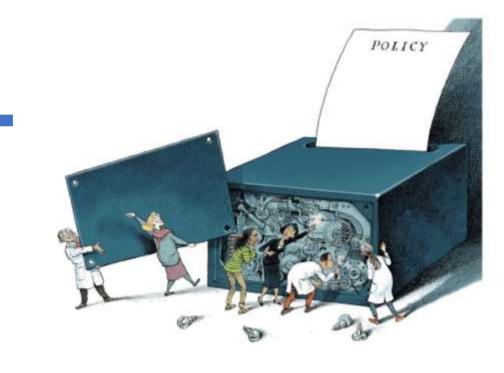
#### Mind the unknowns

Acknowledge ignorance



Assess uncertainty and sensitivity

··· models require input values for which there is no reliable information...



...global uncertainty and sensitivity analyses are often not done. Anyone turning to a model for insight should demand them

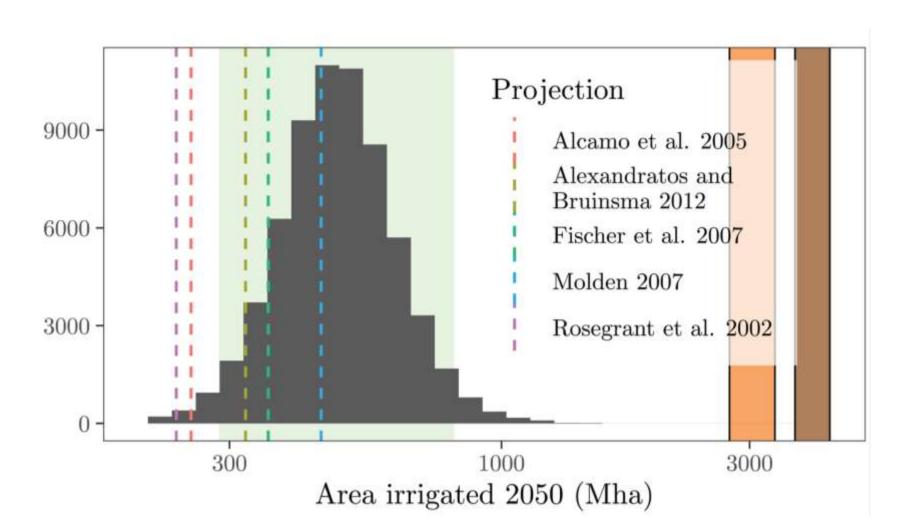
Assess uncertainty and sensitivity

··· this may lead to interesting discoveries ···



### Geophysical Research Letters Current Models Underestimate Future Irrigated Areas

A. Puy X, S. Lo Piano, A. Saltelli First published: 17 April 2020 https://doi.org/10.1029/2020GL087360



### Models ask as input information which we don't have - The case of WEBTAG

John Kay

J. A. Kay, "Knowing when we don't know," 2012, https://www.ifs.org.uk/docs/john\_kay\_feb2012.pdf

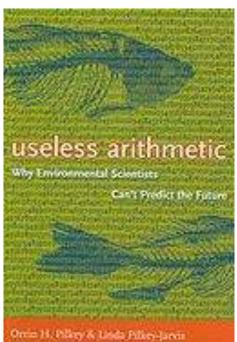


### WebTAG: Annual Percentage Change in Car Occupancy (% pa) up to 2036

Journey Purpose	Weekday						
	7am- 10am	10am- 4pm	4pm-7pm	7pm-7am	Weekday Average	Weekend	All Week
Work	-0.48	-0.4	-0.62	-0.5	-0.44	-0.48	-0.45
Non - Work (commuting and other)	-0.67	-0.65	-0.53	-0.47	-0.59	-0.52	-0.56



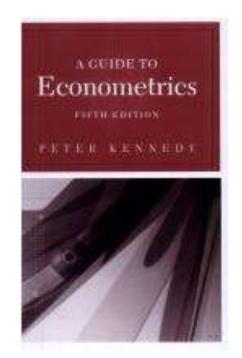
Orrin H. Pilkey

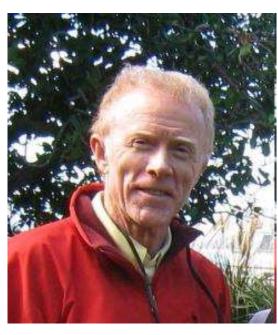


More examples in Useless Arithmetic: Why Environmental Scientists Can't Predict the Future, by Orrin H. Pilkey and Linda Pilkey-Jarvis

Peter Kennedy, A Guide to Econometrics.

One of the ten commandments of applied econometrics according to Peter Kennedy:





Peter Kennedy

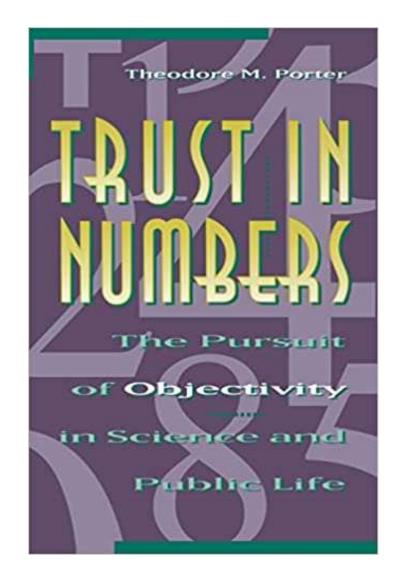
"Thou shall confess in the presence of sensitivity. Corollary: Thou shall anticipate criticism "



"One reason these methods [global sensitivity analysis] are rarely used is their honesty seems destructive;"

"or, to put it another way, a fanatical commitment to fanciful formal models is often needed to create the appearance of progress"

Tantalus on the Road to Asymptopia, Edward E. Leamer, 2010 *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, **24**, (2), 31–46.



Cost benefit analysis: chapter 7 in Porter's book Trust in Numbers", Princeton, 1995



Theodor Porter

Assess uncertainty and sensitivity

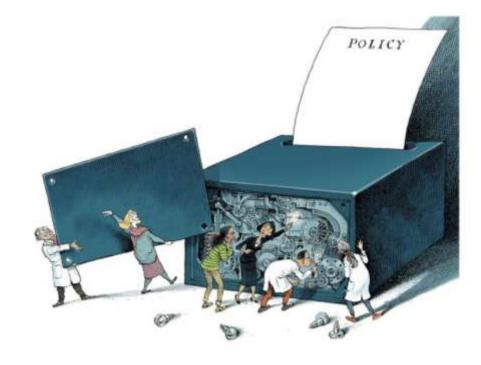
### Mind the hubris



Complexity can be the enemy of relevance

### Mind the framing

Match purpose and context



### Mind the consequences

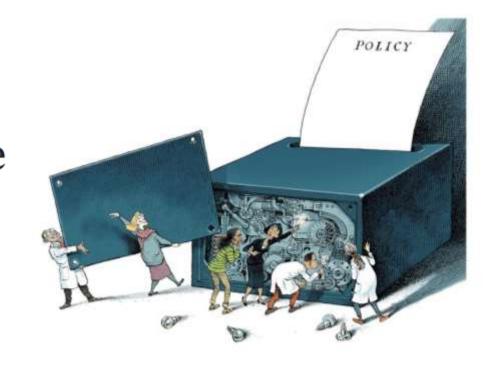
Quantification can backfire.

#### Mind the unknowns

Acknowledge ignorance

### Mind the hubris

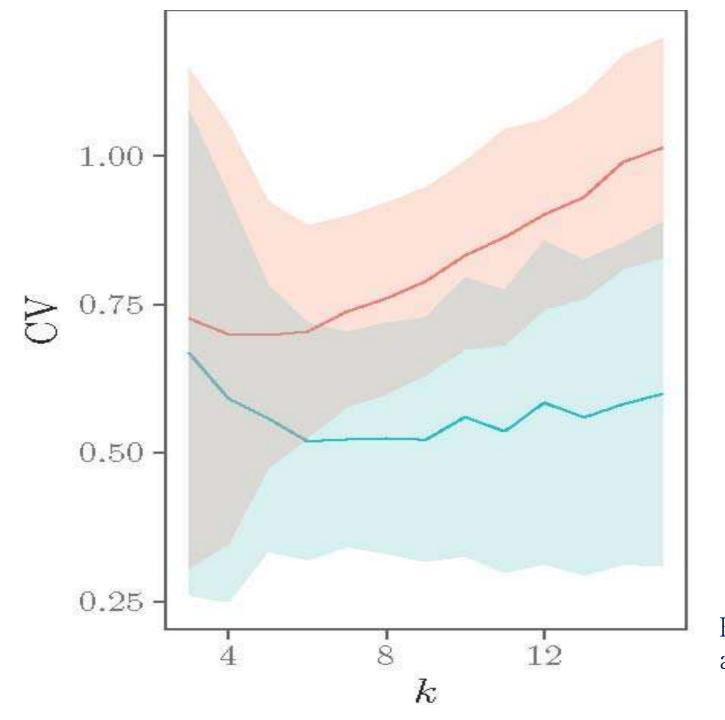
Complexity can be the enemy of relevance



... many are seduced by the idea of adding complexity in an attempt to capture reality more accurately, but...

#### SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

Model complexity



### O'Neil conjecture

CV=coeff. of variation= STD/mean k model dimensionality

#### Interactions

- Up to the k-th order
- Up to the *n*-th order

with  $n \le k$ 

From A. Puy et al, "Effective dimension and model uncertainty", paper in progress

Assess uncertainty and sensitivity

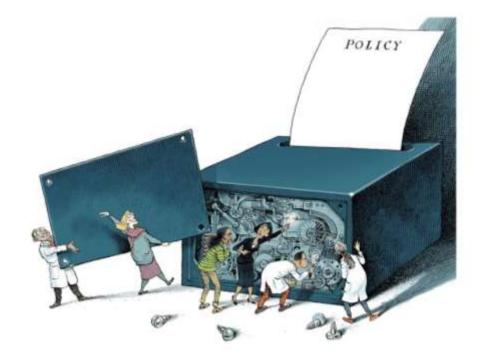
#### Mind the hubris

Complexity can be the enemy of relevance



### Mind the framing

Match purpose and context



### Mind the consequences

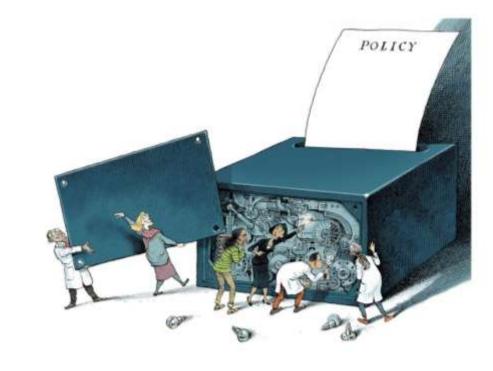
Quantification can backfire.

#### Mind the unknowns

Acknowledge ignorance

### Mind the framing

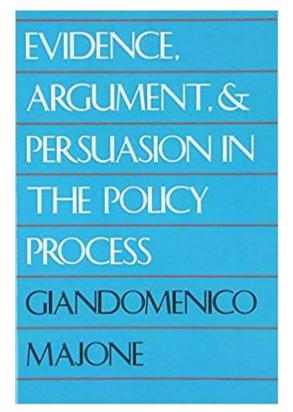
Match purpose and context



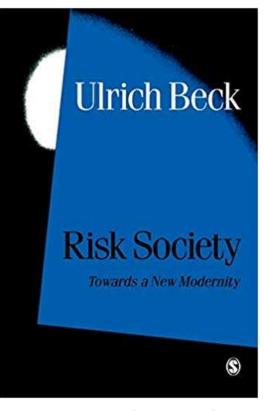
··· models will reflect the interests, disciplinary orientations and biases of the developers···

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

### From Ulrich Beck to Giandomenico Majone: the technique is never neutral







1992 (1986)



Ulrich Beck (1944 –2015)



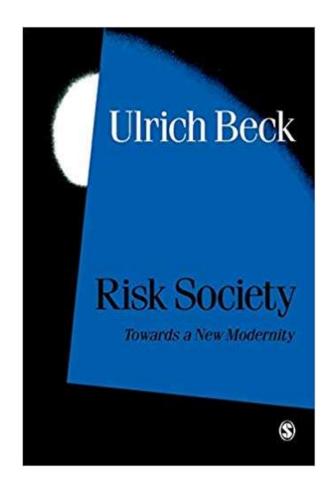
Environmental Science & Policy Volume 106, April 2020, Pages 87-98



The technique is never neutral. How methodological choices condition the generation of narratives for sustainability

Andrea Saltelli <sup>a, b</sup> ○ ☑, Lorenzo Benini <sup>c</sup>, Silvio Funtowicz <sup>a</sup>, Mario Giampietro <sup>d, e</sup>, Matthias Kaiser <sup>a</sup>, Erik Reinert <sup>a, f</sup>, Jeroen P. van der Sluijs <sup>a, g, h</sup>

"It is not uncommon for political programs to be decided in advance simply by the choice of what expert representatives are included in the circle of advisers."



1992 (1986)



Ulrich Beck (1944 –2015)

### The technique is never neutral. How methodological choices condition the generation of narratives for sustainability



Andrea Saltelli a, b A M, Lorenzo Benini c, Silvio Funtowicz a, Mario Giampietro d, e, Matthias Kaiser a, Erik Reinert a, f, Jeroen P. van der Sluijs a, g, h

Combine more lenses, including Post-normal science (PNS), Bioeconomics, and Non-Ricardian economics

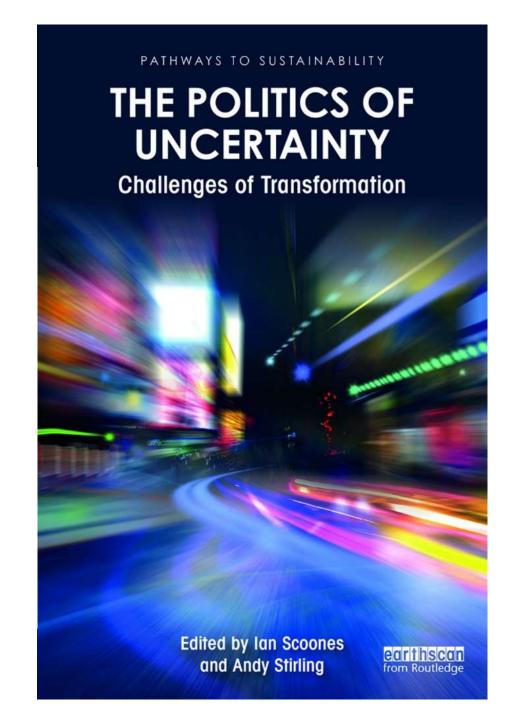
### On reductionism

4

### THE UNRAVELLING OF TECHNOCRATIC ORTHODOXY?

Contemporary knowledge politics in technology regulation

Patrick van Zwanenberg



## Frames as hypocognition & Socially constructed ignorance



Steve Rayner

Rayner, S., 2012, Uncomfortable knowledge: the social construction of ignorance in science and environmental policy discourses, Economy and Society, 41:1, 107-125.

### Rayner's (2012) strategies to deal with "uncomfortable knowledge".

Denial, Dismissal, Diversion, Displacement



Model based

Rayner, S., 2012, Uncomfortable knowledge: the social construction of ignorance in science and environmental policy discourses, Economy and Society, 41:1, 107-125.

Displacement: "The model we have developed tells us that real progress is being achieved" (The focus in now the model not the problem).

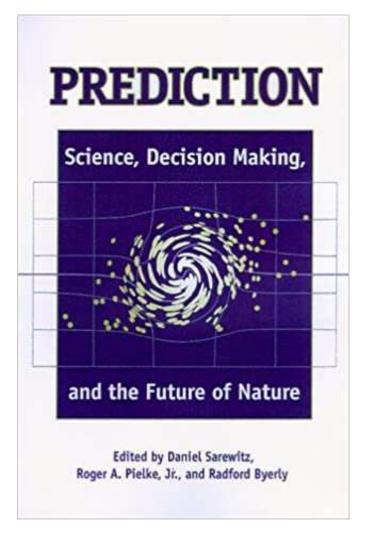
Rayner, S., 2012, Uncomfortable knowledge: the social construction of ignorance in science and environmental policy discourses, Economy and Society, 41:1, 107–125.

Example of displacement: Chesapeake Bay Program (CBP) modelling work

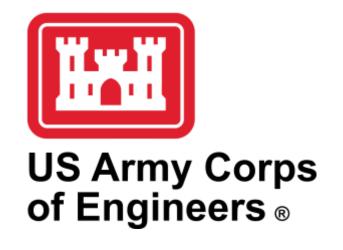
"Bay models are used to track nutrient loads to ensure the cap is not exceeded"

→ The model results – rather than the actual measurements, become the substance of use

Rayner, S., 2012, Uncomfortable knowledge: the social construction of ignorance in science and environmental policy discourses, Economy and Society, 41:1, 107-125.



Model GENESIS for beach erosion



Manipulated to support coastal-engineering projects

It neglected the role of extreme event

Sarewitz, D., Pielke, R. A. & Byerly, R. *Prediction: Science, Decision Making, and the Future of Nature* (Island Press, 2000).

### Mind the assumptions

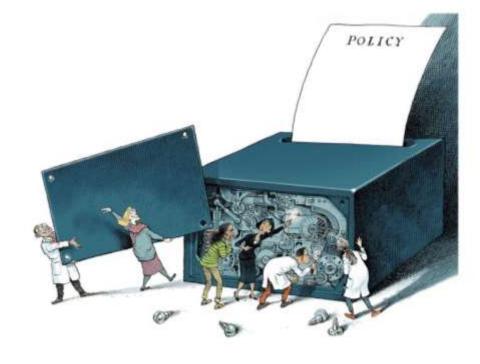
Assess uncertainty and sensitivity

#### Mind the hubris

Complexity can be the enemy of relevance

### Mind the framing

Match purpose and context





### Mind the consequences

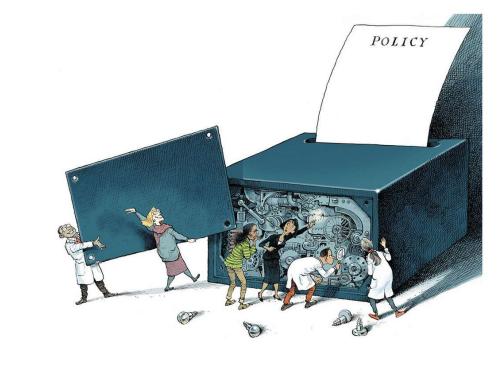
Quantification can backfire.

#### Mind the unknowns

Acknowledge ignorance

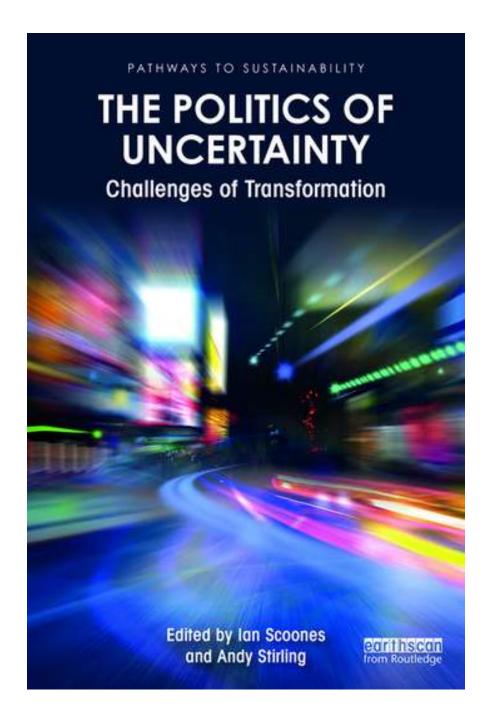
### Mind the consequences

Quantification can backfire.



From the risk of financial products to the management of costal zones to the models for disaster insurance bad modelling may lead to wrong decisions

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION



3

### SHARING RISKS OR PROLIFERATING UNCERTAINTIES?

Insurance, disaster and development

Leigh Johnson

Model-based parametric insurance led to dramatic consequences for developing countries experiencing draughts

**Open access:** https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/politics-uncertainty-ian-scoones-andy-stirling/e/10.4324/9781003023845

### New WHO estimates: Up to 190 000 people could die of COVID-19 in Africa if not controlled

07 May 2020

**Brazzaville** – Eighty-three thousand to 190 000 people in Africa could die of COVID-19 and 29 million to 44 million could get infected in the first year of the pandemic if containment measures fail, a new study by the World Health Organization (WHO) Regional Office for Africa finds. The research, which is based on prediction modelling, looks at 47 countries in the



Speculative scenario in which ten uncertain input probabilities are increased by an arbitrary 10% — as if they were truly equally uncertain — with no theoretical or empirical basis for such a choice





### Mind the assumptions

Assess uncertainty and sensitivity

#### Mind the hubris

Complexity can be the enemy of relevance

### Mind the framing

Match purpose and context

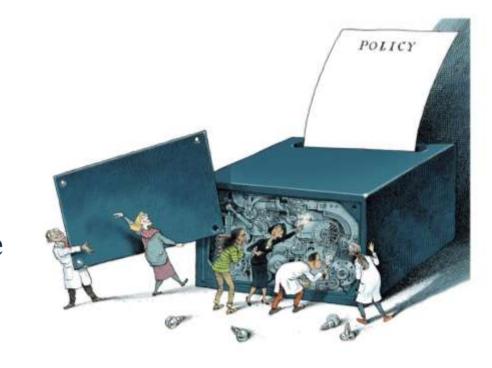


Quantification can backfire.



Mind the unknowns

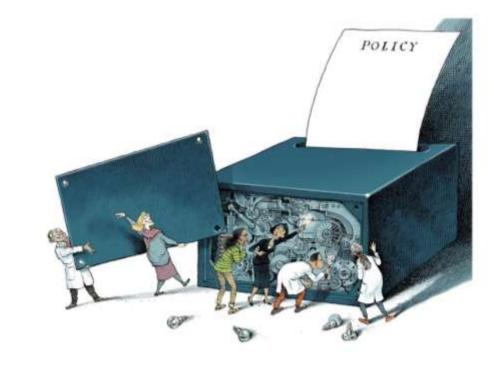
Acknowledge ignorance



### Mind the unknowns

Acknowledge ignorance

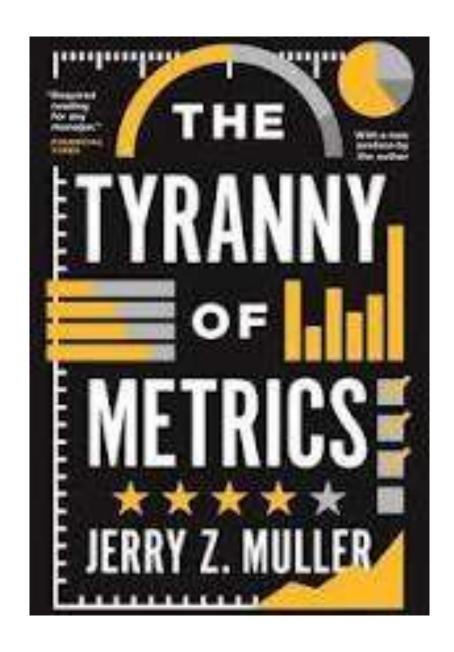
"there is no number-answer to your question"



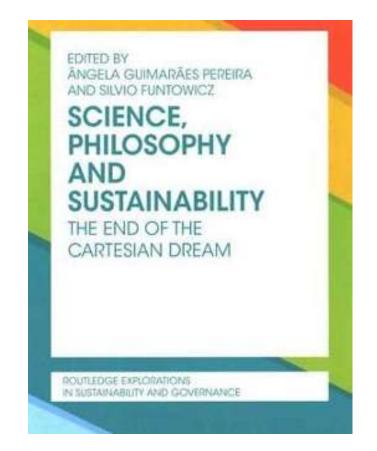


SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION

Anthony Fauci



"keep in mind at every step that the best use of metrics may be not to use it at all"





Jerry Ravetz

Ravetz, J, R, 2015, Descartes and the rediscovery of

**1gnorance**, in Guimarães Pereira, Â, and Funtowicz, S, Eds, 2015, The end of the Cartesian dream, Routledge.

Ravetz, J., R., 1987, Usable Knowledge, Usable Ignorance, Incomplete Science with Policy Implications, Knowledge: Creation, Diffusion, Utilization, 9(1), 87-116.



### **Futures**

Volume 91, August 2017, Pages 62-71



Original research article

# What is wrong with evidence based policy, and how can it be improved?

Andrea Saltelli a, b, c ≥ Mario Giampietro a, c, d

Responsible use of quantitative information; try via negativa (N. Taleb); instead of proving policy options try to falsify them



#### **Futures**

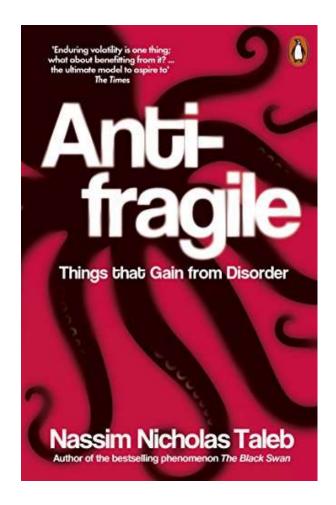
Volume 91, August 2017, Pages 62-71



Original research article

What is wrong with evidence based policy, and how can it be improved?

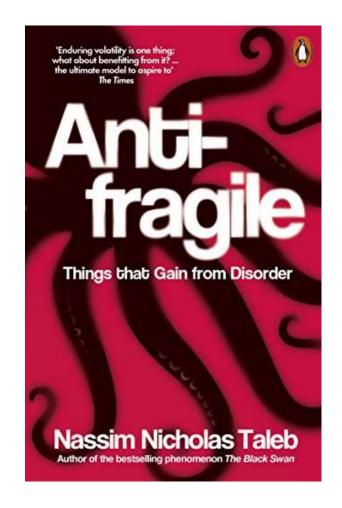
Andrea Saltelli a, b, c ≥ M, Mario Giampietro a, c, d



"...we know what is wrong with more clarity than what is right, and that knowledge grows by subtraction

··· easier to know that something is wrong than to find the fix ···

Actions that remove are more robust than those that add because addition may have unseen, complicated feedback loops"



### Falsification of the available options based on:

- Feasibility (compatibility with external constraints),
- Viability (compatibility with internal constraints), and
- Desirability (compatibility with normative values adopted in the given society)



Futures
Volume 91, August 2017, Pages 62-71



Original research article

What is wrong with evidence based policy, and how can it be improved?

Andrea Saltelli a, b, c, & s, Mario Giampietro a, c, d

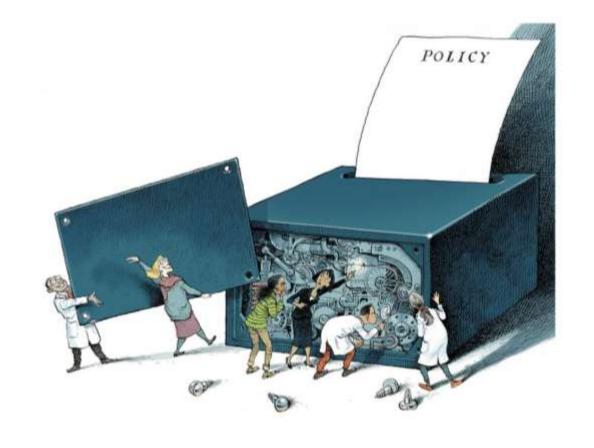
### nature

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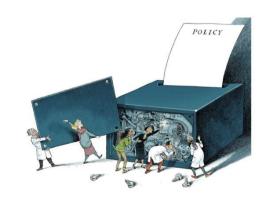
nature > comment > article

COMMENT | 24 June 2020

# Five ways to ensure that models serve society: a manifesto



→ Responsible modelling; reciprocal domestication between models and society



"Modellers must not be permitted to project more certainty than their models deserve;

and politicians must not be allowed to offload accountability to models of their choosing"

### The End



@andreasaltelli