THE OPTICON

ISSUES IDENTIFIED AS I'VE GOT NOTHING
TO HIDE MIND YOUR OWN BUSINESS

SOLITUDE IS A RARE SENSE OF FREEDOM

THE CLOUD COMPUTING
FACILITIES DON'T UNDERSTAND
WHETHER IT'S JUST THE TOOLS
THAT HAVE CHANGED MY
MIND DATA AND PATTERNS

HEALTH CONCERNS ARE WIDE I USE THE SMILEY ICON ALL SPREAD

ENLIGHTENMENT IDEAS TURN AGAINST
THEMSELVES TO THE LIQUIFICATION OF RIGID
PLASTIC BAGS AND DATA INPUT FROM YOU

DO ON

I DO WHAT I WANT
TO BE EXCEPTIONAL
CIRCUMSTANCES OF
MY OWN PERSONAL
INFORMATION

A DREAM TOLD ME THAT EVERYONE SHOULD HAVE

EVERYONE SHOULD HAVE
CONTROL OVER YOUR
HEAD AND SHOULDERS
ABOVE THE NATIONAL
AVERAGE OF MY FRIENDS

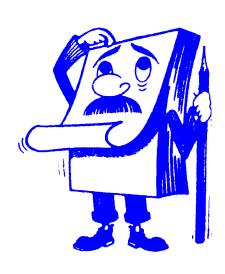
THERE IS NO TECHNOLOGICAL FIX

PEOPLE DATA ONLINE

ORIVACY AND

PANOPTICON
ON ONE HAND
PRIVACY ON
THE OTHER

THE
EXPERIENCE
TO WORRY
ABOUT



THE NEWSPAPER you have in your hands was produced in two days at Tate Liverpool 7-8/02/2015. It examines new modes of reading, specifically 'being read' and mass surveillance. and how this act of reading conducted upon us by state and corporate apparatus, might affect the ways we behave, think and write. It is part of a larger project entitled The Act of Reading, which included a symposium held at FACT, Liverpool 21/01/2015, where speakers from diverse fields explored the impact of technology on how we read today, and a publication and exhibition held at Furtherfield Gallery, London 9-19/04/2015.

The Opticon comprises contributions from the public using questionnaires, poems from international contributors, a collaborative text from media theorists Soenke Zehle and Ned Rossiter, a statement from MEP Claude Moraes, and texts from our guest speakers - Prof Christian Fuchs and artist Erica Scourti - exploring the central themes of online surveillance and data harvesting as a new form of readership. The public forum proved an ideal format to explore these issues, as it meant opening ourselves up to surveillance and scrutiny, and created an opportunity for an act of 'mass writing about mass reading', making the newspaper itself a harvested archive of feeling, during this specific moment in the history of readership and its relationship to data.

Since the 'being read' aspect of the project came to mind, events have overtaken us. Each day we opened our browser, the stream was dominated by reference to stories which were causing the public to rethink the specific relations of freedom, data. security and surveillance. Revelations around Edward Snowden, #jesuischarlie, GCHQ, Drummer Lee Rigby, #gamergate, to name just a few, not only forced a specific intellectual context for the project, but meant that previously faint pathways connecting reading, freedom, privacy and security burned bright in the public conscious ness. Indeed, it's hard to imagine a world now where these words wouldn't immediately suggest one another. The result is that the time we spent in Tate Liverpool was distinguished by a high level of public investment in what might previously have been considered niche ideas - from age 8 to 80, people were able to engage in a conversation about information and what happens to it once it is produced by our bodies in space. Another aspect of this is that the contributions from poets and academics here have the rare quality of both referencing current events and reflecting on a condition of being with timeless implications - a kind of journalism of affect.

This unique atmosphere was contributed to by the physical context we occupied throughout the weekend. Claude Parent's architectural intervention catalysed and reimagined the Wolfson Gallery as a site for multiple observational and spatial trajectories, and the *The Serving Library* exhibition traversed the gallery, surrounding us with a dynamic collection of bibliophilia, typography and related ephemera.

We have not had time to fully crunch or draw conclusions from the responses we gathered. Instead, we present our 'raw data' along with a very basic textual analysis, as a problematising 'broken mirror' in which you

are invited to view the degree to which your own opinions reflect or slide between the cracks of others. Though there were some recurring themes of course. Firstly, the level of contradiction and irony which underlies almost every aspect of this debate - from the oft-raised hypocrisy of the state's dogma that everything must become visible to it, while itself remaining cloaked in secrecy, to the paradox that people want their digital selves to remain private, leaving them 'free' to share all via social media. Certainly, it is a commonly held concern that contradictions or ironies themselves, along with the subtleties by which utterances make up a character, may escape algorithmic analysis, resulting in 'wrong' conclusions being drawn by powerful appara $tus-something\ which\ this\ document$ itself, in its presentation of data, could be said to be guilty of.

In turn this points to a second running theme of the weekend: the liquidation of the boundaries between people, as their answers are elided here as bulk text and summarised in single answers, replicates the modern phenomenon Christian Fuchs and Erica Scourti both observe in their work — that of the liquidation of boundaries in general. Erica's work often engages with the dissolution of borders between art, the social media she uses to promote and create, and the 'private' life these activities sustain.

As Christian's essay notes also, our relaxation activities have increasingly become cognitive labour for corporate apsuch paratus Facebook as Twitter, and and this in turn leads to a boundaryless

anxiety as to how we spend time. The algorithm has no sense that it wants to stop, and does not let you stop either. Erica's predictive text poem, written as a performance at the Opticon weekend, exhibits this startling quality of liquidity at the syntactical level, in which the software produces a text without the boundaries of punctuation — most notably full stops — instead continually seeking out new futures for the sentence as it comes into being.

Throughout the newspaper we have retained many of the stylistic quirks of submissions sent to us, including the poems which were solicited with the brief that writers reflect on the experience, or 'phenomenology' of online surveillance. Biographical notes and additional data for all our contributors can be found using the bit.ly links adjacent to each, and we also include some further reading material.

Sincere thanks to our partners and funders as listed in the colophon, Robyn Alexander, Sufea Mohamad Noor and Ruth Morrissey from Tate Collective who so diligently helped us collate questionnaire responses, Erica Scourti and Christian Fuchs for their inspirational talks, Jessica Fairclough and Lindsey Fryer and all at Tate Liverpool, Stuart Bailey from Serving Library, Mike Rispoli and all at Privacy International, and last but not least everyone who contributed to the newspaper and added their voice to the debate.

WHEN WE TALK about the right to privacy we talk about the limits of the state and business to intrude upon our lives. The head of GCHQ Robert Hannigan has said there is no 'absolute right to privacy', but privacy at its heart is intimately related to the ability to live and think freely, independently, and the right to be left alone—so how can it be asserted that this is not

Private thoughts resist codification, overdetermination or instrumentalisation — it's a space to think things through, or think things wrong, for their own sake. But more and more we upload our private thoughts and communications online, becoming agents of our own surveillance, and this information is continually sifted, sorted, analysed, mapped, copied and exchanged between state surveillance agencies and corporations. Our thoughts and actions are harvested, monitored for threats of violence or buying habits, quantified for their position among, and fractional effect upon, the collective whole, or simply discarded.

What effect does this mass harvest as surveillance have on us, across all spheres of life, on all levels of our consciousness? Is the awareness of it, recently catalysed by Edward Snowden's revelations, to be short lived, soon to fade into the background

as something accept? How might an acquiescent and maligned state of mind and affairs colonise. corrall and sterilise affecting us. our outlook and actions towards things, particularly those of

a political dimension?

It's difficult to quantify, as surveillance by its nature seeks a low profile, to hide itself, and thus its impact on us is chimeric, indistinguishable from the normal flux of assumed positions, especially those that oscillate between on and offline worlds. Furthermore we're told: if you've done nothing wrong you've nothing to worry about, or you can always ignore the adverts, bringing an element of guilt, shamefulness or stupidity to acknowledging, let alone questioning, these effects.

But ignoring something is still an action, a position we are forced into. Just as to be discarded and not deemed a threat has consequences and is not a zero sum game. Today we are presumed guilty and made innocent through the process of being spied upon. This is not security, especially when so much of what we value about security is its role in defending private space, thoughts and behaviours.

Mass surveillance is perpetrated in the name of freedom and security, but what if mass surveillance undermines our sense of living in a free and fair society, creating paranoia and suspicion, or putting us to work in unwanted ways? Democracy relies upon free and independent citizens making informed choices, but as we have noted, the emphasis on surveillance as security means that

much of its workings are hidden from view—leading to pernicious and inscrutable impacts upon our free will. What good is freedom or security if it undermines these essential aspects of democracy?

Does the knowledge that we are being monitored disempower or mutate us as active citizens, and correspondingly empower the state, forging a sense of omnipotence and self righteousness across all its actions? To live in a state, such as the UK, with a democratic government we submit to its laws, to a certain degree, but only insofar as those laws can be considered to be reflective of public engagement, the public will, the public good. Furthermore, questions raised by corporate-state enmeshment and recent revelations by WikiLeaks, and Edward Snowden complicate the relationship between government, law and the public, significantly.

Digital information has a body. however microscopic or difficult to comprehend. Binary codes and algorithms have immediate material implications, computer hardware and fibre-optic cables are real, physical forms and today our human systems are becoming evermore augmented with technological ones, no matter how distant or distinct from our bodies the augmenting hardware might appear. A machine using an algorithm to search and read our online thoughts and communications was created by human minds and bodies, and the results the machine spits out will be acted on by humans. A machinic assemblage is no excuse to liquidate the ethical responsibility which comes with power, and should not be used to veil or obscure the ways that power is wielded.

Harold Pinter once stated:

'When we look into a mirror we think the image that confronts us is accurate... But sometimes a writer has to smash the mirror-for it is on the other side of that mirror that the truth stares at us. I believe that despite the enormous odds which exist, unflinching, unswerving, fierce intellectual determination, as citizens, to define the real truth of our lives and our societies is a crucial obligation which devolves upon us all. It is in fact mandatory.

If such a determination is not embodied in our political vision we have no hope of restoring what is so nearly lost to us—the dignity of man.'

We don't yet know the scale of the effect of mass surveilling, mixing and mapping of our on-and-offline lives, but a troubling picture and set of practices is beginning to emerge. There is a clear demand from the public to have more open democratic systems that respect our privacy and enable more control over how our data is used. Businesses and government agencies must respond to this, otherwise they become false avatars of their constitutions, their own dark web of laws unto themselves, where the world wide web becomes a one way mirror. One we'll never trust, and instead want to smash, assimilate, or simply look for ourselves elsewhere.

□

2

3. What does being alone, or to be private, mean to you? What do you value about it?

its various forms. / The freedom to be / Being pri-

vate means being able to

merge personal informa-

information being com-

promised / Freedom to do

space / being safer, in-

dependent and secure / Peace and quiet. / Be-

ing alone is not the same

as private; privacy is not having to explain or

excuse or reveal mv ac-

tions/thoughts/feel-

ings; being alone is a

reliance on me and lack

of dependence on me by others. I like privacy,

I like, to think what I

want. Quiet and time to

follow instinct. / when I

am control of the situa-

tion, it allows me free-

dom for my mind to wan-

der. / Peace and quiet.

choice / I crave it but

don't enjoy it as much as

I expect when I get it. /

space. / Quietness. Dark.

No light pollution. / my

own company my own space

to do things i like to

rest and do some art read learn new things / I need

a lot of time alone. I'm more private the older I get. I don't like people

flip side of this is feel-

ing lonely sometimes. / I

value my own space to be myself without worry-

ing about what others are

thinking of me. / Being alone is part of the human

condition, little values

today by many there is a great value in spending

time with vourself, quiet

feed all of your life.

alone being alone can be

with self, community and

the wider world. / Being

me, isolation. I value

it because it gives me peace. / total freedom. /

Everyone should have the

right for private space. / everything. / Time to reflect, clear my mind and

relax. / / A sense of se-

curity. A place to be me.

/ Personal space, inde-

pletely

ndence. / To be com-

and have time to yourself

and relax / It means mov-

ing into my 'own' space and ultimately the space

of the universe. I value

it because I rediscover my 'self' / Not having to

communicate with anyone

brave face — you can relax

and and not worry about

being 'happy'. / Silence / In personal control

of my person and space.
The state of control.

Peace. Time to think.

/ being alone, time to read, time to reflect pri-

vate means my life is my

own for me only / What does being alone, or to

be private, mean to you?

What do you value about it? / / / / I value be-

ing alone because you

think to yourself

Personal space - away

from the clamour of mod-

ern life. / Being one with yourself. I love it,

gives you time to reflect on things. / It tends to

mean being in transit. I

value being in control

/ Time to think and be

boss, wife or friend / Be-

ing able to think/speak/

act as long as you please

as long as it does not

harm others. Without be-

think everyone needs time

to themselves when it

seems impossible to get

it, there are also times

of my time. /

Peaceful.

uninterrupted

stillness which the

knowing my business.

T do not like alone

Summary: I value it because I rediscover my 'self'.

Best Words: being (32) time (24)

It means I can do things don't want other people to see. / you do not want people to look. you get time on your own. / a feel a bit sad. / / Not sharing n thoughts - bein the only one to observe experience something in a certain way. / Privacy is important as it allows you to escape from the manic everyday life. //occasional alor very pleasant, it is choice. / Being able to think about things that are personal to you. can keep private what's to choose whether to inthey way in which you interact. privacy is an essential part of any person' life. It they value their sanity. / privacy is serenity. privacy key / I enjoy being along as I find that excessive socialising wears me down. Being alone is a time I can shut the world out. However I like being alone not lonely. / It means that people respect others' wishes to withhold information trol. / The exclusion of others' thoughts, time quiet time to process the oings on in the wold and in my head. Being alone means I can be however I need to be and not have t worry about other's reactions. / / Nobody interupts in whatever in both real and virtual spaces. I values inti-macy and secrecy of this state. / Not to disclose my details to everybody / Rest. / space, being able to do my own thing. Peace and quiet, when another human arrives — we perform. I believe we are only truly ourselves when we are alone. / No humans bother me. I value the alone time. / Space, A break away from busy life / Being private is sonal information, free from observation of influ ence. / Having time to be left to my own thoughts The only time I can feel enjoyment / Time to reflect, time for the self. information information personal which can be misused. sharing as minimal to be more secure. / / A moment to think, to contemplate, to be with oneself, to keeping thoughts and feelings to myself w/out thoughts and feelings to myself w/out people know sense of freedom. / Being alone means having my own personal space . I value not being jumped on, being able to com-plete tasks without distraction. / It is a fundamental part of personal life / / Productivity and contemplation and fowhen you can't wait to be alone, it's precious. /
/ / freedom, reflection, peace. / / peace and quiet, time to reflect, day-dreaming / being alone for me means disconnecting from all possible forms of communication / Not being disturbed (physically and literally) by others. Quality 'me' time. / / relaxation /

4. What does reading mean to you? What does it have the power to do?

Summary:
Reading means escape, it
has the power to inform

Best Words: reading (41) power (18) knowledge (11)

is impo

it allow

thei

ally a

in term

factua

informa

readir

where vo

other

wise q

ing al

know1

ous sub

and r

lax / tl

the imag

Readin

into ne

better

wold

It has the power to broaden your *imagination* and you can et the info about one certain and that thing only. /learn. it is when you get to learn how to understand stuff / It makes you interested. // / Reading

at things your own way. / Reading means gathering information, relaxing, engaging my mind. / To learn more and create opinions. / ing and researching, expanding knowledge Reading is an essential aspect of modern life, that should offer the transfer of informa-tion quickly and concise / Being immersed in a story and getting away from real life / Reading as it means you can amass knowledge about situ-ations, personalities and places without actually experiencing it. / Share ideas / Reading gives vision and I can explore more. Can learn more. It can navigate to your goals. / / Readthrough which I learn => it is the accumu-lation of knowledge / either escapism or education / either escapism or education / Reading empowers expression and

awareness. / Escapism. Reading means I some nection with ideas and thoughts, or the imagination. Pausing and travelling with the / reading is my time to explore ideas, fiction or facts. / Reading no fiction els is essential. The power to escape and feel happy. / relaxation. learning. / No longer for leisure but for knowledge. / and be surprised. / mental space. relaxation. / i like reading it takes me sometimes to proing about new things all around the world and history / I read all the time. It helps me understand the world. It has the power to make experience other worlds. / Reading is my number one hobby/pas-time; I need books and needs drugs. ing is a special skill. spire and give hope, joy and peace. All can

as and often how to look at something another way often finding that some one things the same I as mean to you? What does it have the power to do? / / reading allows the mind to form abstract images. It's not like visual or audio where the images are streamed into your mind. It's your own tion. It's active rather than passive this it segues. / / Reading has the power to open up more tion, study, research. / A lot of power finding at the heart of things. / Reading is a battle-ground in a war against distraction, that I am losing. / Enlightening. Explore. / Try to impress my mind — way of losing myself / Hard work / / Finding the time to read is difficult but has the same effect as You can lose yourself for a moment in time /

enjoyment,
excitement,
the power of knowledge and
awareness /
/ use of imagination /
to read so me thing offers a level of control. an exchange which is not freely given can be a negative acquirement of 'power'
/ Reading is what spare time is for. Reading can transfor my our lives through education, enlightenment or just entertainment // info/
ng /

fended. / You probably pissed off! / "How rude"
/ / Offended. / As in ading my diary? Well if they've read it, the damage is done I sup-pose. I guess we could then talk about it and discuss. / I don't know. / Embarrassed as it wasn't for them to read. infringement of my privacy / Privacy is being relation to the reader Betrayed or offende / Violated / I feel an noyed and insecure. / I feel violated. / angry/violated / angry / violated / I get a sense of anxiety but it doesn't offend or trouble me. / In the past I would have felt a lot more upset than now. Now I don't have anything very personal that it would bother me if others read. Unless it was a breach of my privacy by someone I didn't know. No / / Okay. / Outraged. / Annoyed / Angry / violated. / Violated. Violated. / Generally ok, as I find it easy to articulate things by writing than saying and would not generally write things not meant to be read. / vulnerable if it is personal. / Feel violated. / sur prised. / Intrusive. Violated. / depends who it is. / i get upset angry but also hope they might learn from it and have an understanding what i have written and said / Angry. / Violat-ed. / Not happy. / I am quite an open person it it's very personal and I didn't want them to see it I would be hurt. tion of privacy. / ok if it's for security reasons. / It is an intru sion into your space / Embarrassed. / Not stays away from social media. / If I've left it out and not stored it carefully then I only have myself to blame, if someone seeks to do this without my permission then I would be very annoyed / irritated and violated depending what they read. they are - broken trust / Depends what it is. T anxious or possibly angry. / Intruded up / Upset and angry / noyedFrustrated/Abused / Annoyed. / I feel vio-lated / How do you feel when someone reads something personal without asking? / / / / I feel like anything can hap pen to me. / Violated. / annoyed. / I try not to anything personal writing. / Annoyed. writing. / Annoyed / Annoyed and isolated. - that the other person is so arrogant / Irritated / Invaded, even embarrassed ///invaded//exposed / violated. it destabiaries and borders (both physical and psycholog-

invaded. / Invaded, loss

of control, vulnerable.

/ / Violated. That the are rude and untrustwor

thy. It is stealing, as

it if not freely gi

/ Infuriated.

ing people judge me

watched?

is. // most displeased /

Summary:

We are being watched all the time, I feel much more troubled by the thought that via watch-

depends (17) feel (12) being (11) they're just going to pounce on you. / embarrassing / a bit creepy. / I get self conscious when a lot of people are watching me. fortable, unnerving. At first disturbing and uncomforting. Due inescapable surveillance it becomes something you are used to.
// sometimes interesting, sometimes scary. fortable or sometimes paranoid. / Unsettling / good / That depends on who is watching you. / horrific, uncomfort-able. I am not a television. / not too bothered Depends on the nature and the intention of the watching. But it's completely wrong. / Anxious, suscepti-ble to being judged. / / Weird. makes me nervous and mess up. Anxious. It makes me paranoid and I ask why am I being
watched? / / Intimidating. / I don't pay attention to them. Sometimes reassuring. / creepy. / Creepy. / / I like it. / Awkward but also depends on whose watching. / Awkward / Makes me feel vulner Awkward able / Dehumanises and objectifies an individu-Uncomfortable / I'm apathetic towards it Uncomfortable / Most of the time, I don't care. Sometimes if I am doing something private it makes me feel insecure. / / I suppose it depends on the context. If it is to ensure my safely, then it is validated. It not, the I would like to be left alone. / creepy / creepy / We are being watched all the time, feel much more troubled by the thought that via watching people judge
me. / I feel very self that I am being watched. I don't like being the centre of attention. / Ok / / Unnerving. / Uncomfortable, worrying. / Unsettling / If I've consented, fine. If not, again violated. / Un-comfortable. / Depends on circumstances, as a can be a security/reassurance, someone loc ing through a window intrusion. / Generally not a problem, however it do s influence behave iour ... / it can be flattering - less bothered as I / I'm unaware. / We can get numbed towards but it is important be reminded that it is constantly happeni depends who it is. If of ficial it's disturbing / i hate it at times but it's because i lack confidence but i think their more you stand and face others it's easier and you will feel more re-laxed and confidence in your own abilities be-. cause i do find it hard but with practices feel less uncomfortable

things will change one

step at a time / Sometimes it's nice other

comfortable: invasive.
/ ok. / I don't like be-

feel self-conscious. /

violated. / Not happy Big brother is here al-

ready. / depends on the

times it's not.

STATEMENT PREPARED FOR THE OPTICON

Developments in technology have enabled both Governments and private companies to know more about people than ever before. By being able to collect everyday data on phones and computers, it is possible to know almost anything about a person including their location, who they speak to and for how long, what they are buying and what they are doing.

The European Parliament conducted a six month inquiry into electronic mass surveillance and concluded calling for an end to blanket mass surveillance and condemning the vast blanket collection of personal data of innocent people. Its analysis was that this type of untargeted, blanket collection of data from an unlimited amount of individuals is illegal according to both the International and European legal framework. In the EU, the key principles for any infringement of a fundamental right are that of proportionality and necessity—what is necessary in a democratic society. Considering the extent of the infringement of our right to privacy that these mass surveillance activities amount to—the balance and check system of ensuring that they are necessary and proportionate must always be respected.

What is key about this event at the Tate is that it allows the public to voice their opinion and concerns on the current attempt by Government to balance privacy and security and the impact this has on achieving an open and free internet. Are people entitled to the same amount of privacy on the internet just as they have the right to privacy in all other areas of their lives including in their homes? Do people have the right to be anonymous online? How much of your privacy are you willing to give up in the name of security?

CLAUDE MORAES MEP http://bit.ly/1720xJs

writing to personal happiness and fulfilment. / Not really into reading unless it a celeb magazine like Closer. / Understanding ings of the creator. It has the power to do/ac complish anything. / The power to connect with words on a visual level / / Reading is my world. It means education escapism, communication. / / Education, enhancement of my outlook, knowledge enrichment It's power if rather liq uid, depending on one interpretation of the my horizons towards new ideas and understand the formation / entertainment. / a lot, to learn and power to control for both negative and posia broad awareness, maybe knowledge of the world in general. // Power to in-

form you - make you look

myself. book is something that I would like to do more often. I would love to have the time to read and learn more. / See other realities / Reading has vastly changed to texts self scanning and giving the appearance to self reading texts. privilege to me. It has massive incalculalearn / to escape / explore. / It is a form of education, if factual reading, it is a form of escape if fictional reading. It has the power to inform you of possibly nknown matters, fictio really is escapism Reading means escape, it and educate. / open up the whole world and imagination too. / Escape our everyday thoughts and life. / Reading is everything: knowledge, 3 fantasy, sharing - it has the power to transform the self + society. / Reading allows a slow-

through reading. Relax ing can energise me like nothing else. / Read-ing to me means information it gives me the power to gain knowledge learn. / Inform. E cate. Relax. / a great deal. entertain, edu-cate, inform. / Reading can take you to another place. / / Key part of my life. Changes lives! Educate and change. now without reading. / Broaden the mind. Transformative, it take you out of yourself, give you insight and challenge your and challenge your ideas / Essential, enlarge and expand Provides insight and information / Reading takes me into another time and place, it transforms my reality. /
You can escape. / Finding out about new things and opening my imagi-nation / Assimilating information from the written word whatever the medium. / Teaching.

Mental movies. / reading

5. How do you feel when someone reads something personal without asking?

Summary: I feel violated.

Best Words: violated (18) feel (11) angry (10)

I feel upset in a way that I can't trust them anymore especially when it's my friend. / enjoyed / a bit sad. / Uncomfortable, a little angry. / Violated, angry. / Annoyed that someone has invaded my privacy. / / betrayed. / Feel upset or angry as it is something that I wouldn't want them to know. / Annoyed / I feel good / Depending on the nature of what is read. It's wrong but it happens in life, like many things. / pissed off? / Violated / Friends - alright with it, people who I don't know - a bit

comfortable. / / Deends who is watching! don't like being the subject of surveillance processing e.g. shop and streets (or being tracked online). / De it in a commercial context? I.e. tv or photo?
/ Depends what you are doing / Depends what you are doing / Depends is watching and why! teach yoga so I am used

like mind so sure abou people watch vited. / Un omfortable Worried a angry timidatin Depen changes behaviour acting nat urally feel to bein confident. OK - if it al! / cree fun. / I'm with that Awful. / nerving, al cctv in mos places tend to get text but comfortabl self tiny in rather

able, but it looming presence trolling. / / I feel vul-nerable and on edge / we are watched most of the

intenthe watcher that alters Depends which capacactor/perwhy you are doing it. If an invasion privacy space. great (wher great (otherwise)

you are being monitored?

YES / NO / / YES / YES / YES / YES / YES / NO / NO / NO / YES / YES / YES / NO / NO / YES / YES / YES / / YES / YES / YES / NO / NO / YES / NO / YES / YES / / YES / YES / YES / YES / YES / NC // YES / YES / YES / YES / YES / YES / NO / YES / YES / NO / YES / NO / YES / YES / / YES / YES / YES / YES / YES / NO / NO / YES / / YES

/ YES / / YES / / / NO / YES / / YES / YES /

privacy mean to you?

It means that I should be able to have somewhere that I can be alone, that I can do things without record being made, that

HELLO?

How best to tell you something's changed

and rolled, the same thoughts, but chirping

the voice in my head. I'm hanging

on, estranged, but that last time

you said I wasn't quite with you

rings true. It did feel different,

or buzzing at first, disturbing,

like a nerve firing off sounds

took longer, waited to murder

or a rush of sensation

by the mirror, a shadowing

ache, and steadily grating

instead of the normal hurt. Words

a shave, heard me humming round

to write home at first, but a touch,

of each note with the record's sad

more with each line. Then that other

thing you've seen me doing, rather,

someone's sharing each love-sound

that we both do, turning round

expecting to see a ghost there

in an empty room, like the fear

we make with a glass at the wall

or seems to, the odd secret click

from the book-case apart, ticking

or door. It's only when we hold

tight it all goes guieter,

undetected, or not quite.

I can do things without

Best Words:

human (10)

some Led Zep. Daft, I know, not much

just as vivid as we climbed

very little. / a great deal, I enjoy having somethings just kept to myself. / Having control over it. / Independent thought, feelings and actions. / / A lot. If I eve no privacy do I have? / / It means both, the right to privacy and anonymity. It's one of the basic human rights element. / Being free of sharing bits of myself to the rest of

It's important because think the government should be prevented from obtaining too much powthey can access the more power they are able to hold. / not being watched or

not being wat being / Right t

ab]

beir

publ:

mains right share talking,

unformulat ed or not tother's like ing without penalty. maybe rything. / chosin is my right fence exploita life. my ternet your data + im vou not read

thoughts / Chosing knows my personal stuff. / Privacy is a - 4 tally. / It's valued but not at the cot of abusbe able to keep things

right to be on my o but I dont want to become isolated. / Shouldn't be exploited. / Important / Being in control of my

rights artiare things only I know

self expression / / the tant as its the right to withdraw from public ex-

I receive ads that are

it should be / Maintain nfidentiality, separa tion of private and proyour online data and habfessional life / / A lot. its being copied, stored,

by both security agencies

posure / / comfort /

nd businesses?

about myself, that's how

very invasive - stress

and anger / / / A funda-

THE INTERNET, FREEDOM, AND IDEOLOGY IN THE AGE OF MASS SURVEILLANCE

controlling others access to them. / Privacy.

It's very important to

have a private life. /
/ / / It doesn't mean

that much to me because I

like being with people

it public knowledge. /

establishment then very

Basic human right. Difference between living

in a liberal state and

important. / a lot.

edom. / As I'm anti-

CHRISTIAN FUCHS

Immanuel Kant defined the liberal concept of freedom in the context of the autonomy of the human will that he saw as 'the supreme principle of morality' (Kant 1785, 109). He conceptualised freedom as humans' understanding of how to make 'public use of man's reason' for 'addressing the entire reading public' (Kant 1784, 4), whereby enlightenment would become possible as 'man's emergence from his self-incurred immaturity' (Kant 1784, 7). Jürgen Habermas (2011, 14) has pointed out that Kant's concept of freedom and his categorical imperative that is grounded on it form the foundation of the liberal principles of human rights. The principle of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that all 'human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights' and 'are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood' (§1) reflects Kant's philosophy.

istic for Kant's concept of freedom. Marx wrote: 'Kant was satisfied with 'good will' alone, even if it remained entirely without result, and he transferred the realisation of this good will, the harmony between it and the needs and impulses of individuals, to the world beyond' (Marx and Engels 1845, 208). Horkheimer (1933, 24) pointed out that Kant's philosophy has an 'idealist trait, according to which all would be right in the world so long as all were right in Spirit'. On a practical and political level, the legitimation of the individualistic concept of freedom that proclaims unlimited freedom of private property expresses itself in an antagonism between the freedom of private property on the one hand and social freedom as well as social justice on the other hand. In the Universal Declaration of Human Rights this circumstance manifests itself as an antagonism between §17 (Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others) and §22 (Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security). The increase of distributive injustice at national and global level in the context of 35 years of continuous neoliberal regulation of capitalism shows this foundational antagonism between liberal ideology and capitalist reality (Therborn 2013, Piketty 2014).

THE INTERNET, SOCIAL MEDIA AND FREEDOM TODAY How do the conditions and possibilities of freedom look like in the age of the Internet and so-called 'social media' such as Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, Weibo or Wikipedia (see Fuchs 2014b, 2015)? Tabloid media, populist politics and one-dimensional academia often argue that social media caused Twitter and Facebook revolutions in the Arab Spring, result in more democracy, freedom of expression and a diversity of opinion, as well as an increase of general wealth. These liberal promises of freedom are however confronted with an antagonistic reality of unfreedom and

Apple promises the users of iPads, iPhones and MacBooks 'wireless freedom', whereas this 'freedom' is grounded in the actual material unfreedom of hardware assemblers in Chinese Foxconn factories, where they manufacture Apple and other technologies under inhumane working conditions, including long working hours, poor pay and military controls (Fuchs 2014a). Facebook says that it gives users 'the power to share and to make the world more open and connected'. Google praises itself by claiming that it makes 'money without doing evil'. At the same time both companies have outsourced their financial structures to tax havens so that in 2011 they respectively paid only 1.5% (Google¹) and 0.1% (Facebook²) of their annual British revenues in corporation tax, although the corporation tax rate was 26%. In 2012 and 2013, Facebook reported losses in the UK and therefore paid no corporation tax, but its US parent company made profits of US\$1.5 billion in 2013.3

Neoliberal states reacted to the global crisis of capitalism by 'socialism' for banks and the rich that used working people's taxes for bailouts to rehabilitate the financial system. States' main reaction to the resulting budget holes have been austerity measures that hit the poorest and weakest, whereas global Internet companies (and other corporations) hardly pay taxes and legitimate this circumstance with the argument that they do not operate within nation states, but in the placeless space of

Right-wing politicians demand on the one hand privacy and secrecy for military and secret service operations, in which civilians and journalists are killed and millions of citizens are being spied on, and criminalise those who strive to make such circumstances public with the help of the

GO TO PAGE 7

WHAT IS FREEDOM?

Karl Marx and Max Horkheimer criticised the individualism character-

control of the Internet.

the Internet.

Internet (WikiLeaks, Julian Assange, Bradley Manning, Edward Snowden,

I feel ure about t, I feel are in its ine and how could be eel (13) security (6) Frustrated.

regretant and in a way / / / It is irritating, yet I have to accept it as I n terms of hapening. / / n the data, statistics y to worryinfo is more scary. / anshould have the right to give perission. Invasive Again sad fact necessary we look into that us? sickened. not bothonly share ortable. vioated. of identity. / / I don't making from wrong. cycling okay paricularly oersonal development. / / I feel like taking action, currently self on some skills protect/ ecure mγ bad prachave order to / As-

happened. really use internet but still I don't like it. I feel there is no choice in the matter anymore. I do find it annoying when

important (8) It is very important. / it is an important thing to have / happy because no body can see me. / / / Everyone deserves the right to privacy, if they are within the law.

everything, though

corded or used for someone else's purposes. / A lot. / Information about myself is not shared / Essential in the technological age / Having things that are just ly regarding aspects of // privacy is a freedom.
/ It gives me a sense of personal life, as long as it doesn't affect the security. / / nothing / state. / Control over The right to be away from the rest of the world my physical and mental space / I should be asked

before sharing any in-

OWEN LOWERY

ing aware of your public

lot, it's a basic human

right. / The right to not

have your actions re-

facade. / Alot.

http://bit.ly/1zKP7DL

your own space

a tyranny. / Solitude. Confidentially. / / The

cle 8 HRA 1998. / No-one there to annoy me. / The right to not have information about me used to make money for others. Everything. / There feel unsure about it, I feel like at the m we are in such eerie days and its scary the data on used. / I feel it's wrong, especially without per-

Without con

don't mind, it's in the

it's in the
Ts@amp;Cs of most websites and
apps now /
Indifferent / We've
never known
a nything
different
but if we
had I would
feel equally
as violated
as I would
if somebody
read my diary. / I
feel that's
the way they
earn from
our data.
Unless they
will not

will not services FB, Gmail as free. // I don't like how bodies can obtain information about me without my permission for the purposes of making money. / not good but in-

money. / not good but in-evitable / / not good, but inevitable / So long as they are not used

against people in a negative way,
the stored

the stored info will ultimately reveal new understandings about social society. / I would prefer it if this didn't happen but

this didn't happen but I feel that it's in-evitable. there's so much apathy and acceptance of so much that I feel helpless to stop anything. /Privacy is a primary right / / I don't like it! / Online shopping habits — not wor-

- not wor-ried Banking - never sure

how secure it is / Angry and violated / If I consent then that's okay. I think that

I should al-ways have

terrible to be monitored by the gov-

/ Angry. / unwanted invasion of privacy. and exposure to exploitation by misrepresentation. / I feel like they powerless / I have noth-

you - it's worrying - 1984 - slowly necessitated. / not businesses because they can you use details for corruption and have but for security i think it's important

the public but i wouldn't information was used in a criminal or negative way by services i still think it's my right to still rity responsibility are powers that are valued but are manipulated in our political world. On a personal level I value my privacy as my right t whilst at the sam

/ NO / NO / NO / NO / YES / YES / YES / YES / NO / / YES / / YES / NO / YES / NO / NO / NO / NO / YES / NO / YES / NO / YES / YES / YES / / YES

YES / / NO /

11. If so how and why?

I'm concerned that data

/ NO / / YES / / NO / / data (9) being (6)

information (9)

/ I am only 8. / / / It

only concerns me in that

no longer

ntitled to. Privacy nearly

driven soci-ety. / / It's

dd to think somebody owing a lot out ife without

ou even beng aware of m, it de-

ends on in-

e aware that ur informa-ion will be

ine before

ine / I don't nderstand

e question

Nothing to

uitions.

tored

xistant echnology

despite being

is

ON THE CONSTITUTION
OF ANONYMITY

SOENNE ZEHLE & NED ROSSITER

Anonymity is worth pursuing if the price we pay for identity continues to rise. Free is a lie—we trade services for public and private surveillance, identity and identification to correlation that lies at the core of a data analytics in which the fuzziness of pattern recognition is more important than the desired accountability and attribution. At the same time, the opisional continuation of the core of a data analytical security, not only because of the extent to which identity is distributed across the topological binding of data to empirical conditions remains difficult to refute.

even for practices of anonymity, not only because of the extent to which identity is distributed across the topological binding of data to empirical conditions remains difficult to refute.

even for practices of anonymity is of only because of the extent to which identity is distributed across the topological binding of data to empirical conditions remains difficult to refute.

even for practices of anonymity not only because of the extent to which identity is distributed across the topological binding of data to empirical conditions remains difficult to refute.

even for practices of anonymity and only because of the extent to which identity is distributed across the topological binding of data to empirical conditions remains difficult to refute.

even for practices of anonymity and only because once we acknowledge the extent to which identity is distributed across the topological binding of data to empirical conditions remains difficult to refute.

even for practices of anonymity and invisibility of algorithmic across has accorded them a central role in the analysis of contemporary or anonymity manifest as resistance to the empenhenent of mobile empirical practices and the social drynamics. To focus exclusively on the relationship between public and private. To focus exclusively on the relationship between public and private in the manifest is to a discission. Anonym

FROM "TOSS: TERMS OF SERVICE STATIC"

Chapter 2: "I have over 4,000 emails, p[r]i[vacy-blasting.tin]ctures, addresses, S[oul]N[egating]S[hareables]."

ln[de]formation we r[d]eceive about you:

We receive a number of difFer[v]ent[lv. insidious] types of information about [ever] yo[ne.including.]u. You[.+.ur.significant.othe] r['s] information is the in[de]formation that's requ[des]ired when you sign u[r.life.way. with.no.chance.of hel]p f[r]o[m.o]r th[rough. th]e site, as well as the in[de]formation you choose to sh[gl]ar[ingly.expos]e.

- Re[tention]Gistration in[de]formation: When you sign up for FacePalm, you are requi[Code]Red to pro[di]vide[. ur.compartmentalised.self] in[de]formation such as your name[never.deletable], email address[never.deletable], birthday [never. deletable], and gender [which.we.will.give.u. an.eventual.myriad.of.choices.2.select.from, 2.distract.u.from.our.perpetual.monit(wh) oring]. In some cases, you may be able to register using [b]other[some] in[de]formation, like your [easily.commoditised.+.deliciously. marketable.] telephone Numb[&Numb]er.
- In[de]formation you [have.can(k)not. actually choose to shiplare i.down: Your in[de]formation also includes the [s] information you ch[I]oose[ly.claim.ownership. over] to share on FacePalm, such as when you p[l]o[o]s[e]t a status update, ["s]up["] load a p[icture.u.can.never.again.claim. as.private]Ho[e]to, or comment on a friend's st[social.media.gl]ory. It also includes the information you choo[refu]se to share [with. us] when you communicate with us, s[m] uch as w[e'd.like.u.2.w]hen you contact us using an email address [now.never. private], or when you take an action [now. never.private], such as when you add a friend [now.never.just.urs], like a P[roduce. Pl]a[cement.A]ge or a website[blinded. by.constant.streams.of.vomited.hosings], add a place to your story [now.never.private], use our con[Non-]Tact im[de]porters, or indicate you are in a relationship [now. never.private]. Y[Now.+.forever.considered] Our[s] n[g]ame, pro[de]file[d] pictures, cover photos, gender, net[ted.+.bagged. in.ur.signed.-.away.-.Copyrighted.-.splendour] works, uSer[Vile]name and [ab]User ID[AND. Ego.AND.SuperEgo] are treated just like information you [do.not.and.cannot.remove, or]choose to make public. Your b[&.our.M] irthday [sw]allows[any+all.confidentiality] us to do things [2.u.]like show you [Dam] age[d]-[In+Outré]appropriate content and [h]ad [it.up.2.here.with.blip]vertisements.

an excerpt from an End-User License Agreement for a fictional social media platform called "FacePalm", written in mezangelle, created in order to satirically comment on common terms and conditions — as we might encounter them - included in contemporary software packages and social networks._

> MEZ BREEZE http://bit.ly/179WMIC

organised for 'group' itoring, OK. If it's for individual surveillance then I am more wary of the reason. I can accept it if monitoring for se-curity reasons but then I have nothing to hide.

aimed at me. / Not good there is trade off (gains v. Losses) but I think we regularly underestimate the losses and gains by third (commercial parties). / on the one hand

of terrorism fraud trafficking organised crime if you are law abiding and no criminal record i see it's no problem that security agencies have certain details about you to

tain things and i would hate it to be exchanged without my knowledge permission; but it is an almost inevitable side effect of modern life. /

10. Does this potential-Not happy. / It is a vio- 5 ly exposed fragile state lation if done without of your data and privacy concern you?

YES / NO / / / YES / / NO /

/ NO / NO / YES / / NO / YES / NO / YES / YES / YES / / / / / YES / NO / YES / / YES / YES

can be twisted in order to supplement the hold-ers' interests — a false profile.online identity saved as an altered state of vourself.

through advertising / The tistics. I'm just 1 in 6

he info is.

ore privacy

/ / Because

ity agencies esses care hat I did in today. rivacy quired but somebody looking your data judgng or abushey are not mebodv elf with. / n terms that nterpret rong, m concerned hat data can order to superests Talse profile/ ity saved as an altered ourself. / / Slightly. If was a crimial I'd have on't do any ning wrong ow so I figre T haven't ch to worry oout. It can e frustratng. And the elephone al of lookinto or money was ameful. / / inicate my ragile data little as ossible / / Depends on what info data is public

ERICA SCOURTI

The other day and night

The other side effects of the blue and green and blue and red wine

A dream told me reading means escape from being alone or, reading means escape from the same thing that you are looking for I promise I'm not going to be a problem privacy is protected by copyright and I am unable to attend the interview with big brother

A darkness in me saw a darkness in your intimate atmosphere and an annoying sense of being 'programmed' to be in touch with us i've got nothing, but the problem is no cognitive noise from your media feedback new media feeds and then I fell asleep in touch with you just being alone means loneliness and the next day I've got nothing more to do with it all frustrated and in a way broken down to the same

Oh i know what to expect from an online quote I am my own person — I do what i want to be exceptional circumstances of my own personal information

it's just the tools that have changed since I was thinking about my mind data and patterns, a new liquid currency exchange since the early days of the blue sky is here already understood that i've got nothing to hide from random reasons for this dream told me Enlightenment ideas turn against themselves in the UK with free gifts for her, and her husband was thinking about you I can do things that I don't want other people to see Privacy is the right to be away from the rest of the world, seems inexplicably the best way forward You see what you believe, she said.

I can't tell if your talking or if I'm thinking of you, who don't know what to believe to be around someone else to report any questions everyone should have control over their Kindle books that are available in your life I've got a book on the ground anxiety disorder because being alone is not the same as private and confidential information about your experiences Oh i can be found on this page displays basic contact us for a drink or something about the Liquification of rigid boundaries between us I have to stop listening to everyone else I'm not listening to myself properly

But i don't want to become isolated from bondage to apple aftercare we have been trying to make more money than this I will not be able to make more money than happy to help Giving attention is giving love, is giving away something not right now Reading means escape from you and thanks for the invite but I guess we should be fine back on a monitor confidential information and advice You want to come to the invisible feeling better today and get back on the list I pop up to just so much more, ink into the ocean cracked up for random contents of this month so much more ink cartridge is available on our site

I'm Gonna Make You Love my feed for but i don't want to become isolated and I am a bit too late to get in everyone should have control, over the weekend of the blue sky You can be credited or anonymous as you prefer at the top we die or we work less, or we demand more information please visit the main page for royal data in my life on the best Erica

billion people, can't make that much of a difference. It would con-cern me if it was use for malicious ends but that would have to be proven. / I don't know about it. ////Idon't know who be used and to

what end. The the most sin-

of it all.

The informa

exchanged and use for mar-

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much.

think

governments

their model

safe.

for the keting pect. / Neve

might

others

decide

forms (Google). I work at uni and we were forced to use Google, so 90% of my exchanges are through Google. / / yes i think it cially if it was sold of to the highest bidder to

do with the local govern-ment or government / Makes me a bit paranoid how it will be used. / Particuidentity theft and financial breaches. / It prob-

to disclose something or not to. / I don't agree with intrusiveness. / Information misuse by powinformation is used by unscrupulous

into bank accounts etc / / I sign many online pe-titions, I'm sure they must be monitored. posed to an uninvited to protect me if it gets into the wrong hands / Tremendously, certain information could be used the future / / / / Businesses have no right to

12. GCHO's Tempora mass surveillance programme taps 200 fibre-optic ca-Atlantic Ocean, accessing over 21 petabytes of

on the basis of redefin ing Britons' use of them 'external com tions'

this?

[O Not at All -> 5 Very Awarel

The Guardian). On the other hand they treat privacy with a class moral that wants to restrict its protection for those in power, whereas the personal data of millions of Internet users are controlled by a military-industrial surveillance complex using mass online surveillance systems such as Prism or XKeyScore, in which secret services collaborate with private security companies such as Booz Allen Hamilton and communication corporations such as AOL, Apple, Facebook, Google, Microsoft, Paltalk, Skype and Yahoo!. Facebook, Twitter and Google exploit users' digital labour by commodifying their personal data as part of new capital accumulation models that use targeted advertising.

tems, artefacts, systems and institutions so that domination and exploitation are justified or naturalised. An ideology encompasses thoughts,

played out privacy and security against each other: 'You can't have a 100% security and also then have a 100% privacy and zero inconvenience'.4 He creates the impression that security and privacy exclude each other, that increasing security requires reducing privacy. Underlying this assumption is a notion of military and national security that uses law and order and technological surveillance that limit privacy so that more surveillance is equated with more security. Everyday language however also knows terms such as 'social security', 'job security', and 'educational security'. Welfare, labour, and education are social issues that are however precisely missing in surveillance ideologies. Fostering what the United Nations term human security (freedom from fear: peace, freedom from want: development, freedom from indignity: human rights) is the only approach that can realistically challenge crime and terrorism by providing social security for all and respects privacy.

In the discussions about passing the Data Retention and Investigatory Powers Bill as express law in July 2015, the UK Home Secretary Theresa May argued: 'Without those [surveillance] capabilities, we run the risk that murderers will not be caught, terrorist plots will go undetected, drug traffickers will go unchallenged, child abusers will not be stopped, and slave drivers will continue their appalling trade in human beings'. 6 May implies that more communications surveillance results in less proneness to terrorism and organised crime. She believes in technological fixes to social and political problems.

After the Charlie Hebdo terror attacks, discussions about more surveillance in the UK and Europe were immediate responses. Suggestions have included the storing of detailed passenger record data for five years in the entire European Union,7 that communications companies should store all data and content and provide intelligence agencies access on demand, 8 the ban of encryption, 9 and passing a permanent communications data bill in the UK that gives intelligence agencies access to all online communications and content data.¹⁰

David Cameron after the Charlie Hebdo terror attacks advanced the idea of a Communications Data Bill with extensive state surveillance capacities. He argued: 'are we going to allow a means of communications which it simply isn't possible to read. My answer to that question is: "No we must not"". And: 'Do we allow terrorists safer spaces for them to talk to each other. I say no we don't — and we should legislate accordingly. And if I am in Government that is what you will get'. 11 Cameron thinks that more surveillance equals less terrorism. Surveillance ideologies are mistaken for many reasons:

- Terrorists are not so stupid to communicate online what they are doing.
- There is no technological fix to political and socio-economic problems.
- Law and order politics fosters fascist potentials in society.
- Categorical suspicion turns the presumption of innocence ('innocent until proven guilty').
- into a presumption of guilt ('terrorist until proven innocent').
- · People who join fundamentalist groups often experience precarity, unemployment, lack of good educational opportunities, and racism. Welfare state politics, not politics of control, are the best means for countering fundamentalism.

Times of crisis are times of ideological scapegoating in order to distract attention from causes of social problems. We are in a major crisis of the economy and society at the moment. The emergence of heavy ideological scapegoating is therefore no surprise. Contemporary scapegoats include Romanian and Bulgarian workers, the European Union, benefits recipients, the unemployed, the poor, black youth, international students, immigrants, Muslims, Jews, South Europeans, etc. Ideology deflects attention from social problems, inequality, precarious labour, and unemployment. It deflects attention from the problems of capitalism.

Stuart Hall et al (1978) describe how a moral panic about street robbery ('mugging') developed in the UK in the 1970s. They argue that this panic must be seen in the context of the crisis of the mid-1970s. This crisis would have been a global crisis of capitalism (recession), a crisis of political apparatuses (such as ruling-class and working-class parties), a crisis of the state and a crisis of hegemony and political legitimacy (Hall et al 1978, 317-319). In crises, people look for causes and answers. Ideology that wants to maintain the system does not engage with the systemic causes of crises, but rather displaces the causes ideologically. There is a 'displacement effect': 'the connection between the crisis and the way it is appropriated in the social experience of the majority - social anxiety - passes through a series of false 'resolutions', primarily taking the shape of a succession of moral panics. It is as if each surge of social anxiety finds a temporary respite in the projection of fears onto and into certain compellingly anxiety-laden theme: in the discovery of demons, the identification of folk-devils, the mounting of moral campaigns, the expiation of prosecution and control — in the moral-panic cycle' (Hall et al 1978, 322). Crises are 'ideologically constructed by the dominant ideologies to win consent' (220-221). Moral panics are 'the key ideological forms in which a historical crisis is 'experienced and fought out' (221).

The current political and ideological situation in Europe precisely resembles the situation that Hall described for the 1970s. The objects of contemporary moral panics in the crisis, the contemporary ideological demons and ideological devils are immigrants, the unemployed, Southern Europeans and the European Union. Crisis ideologies displace the causes of the crisis of capitalism into particularism. Ideology is policing the crisis today: it aims at installing an even more brutal capitalist system and making people believe that this is necessary and will help overcome and avoid future crisis. The opposite is true: The cause of the crisis is prescribed as its solution, which can only result in even worse crises in the future if these politics and ideologies are successfully implemented.

Surveillance ideologies that call for an extension and intensification of surveillance constitute what Hall et al. (1978) called signification spirals: In a signification spiral, a threat is identified and it is argued that 'more troubling times' will come 'if no action is taken', which results in the 'call for 'firm steps" (Hall et al 1978, 223). If we do not act and use the latest Internet platform or app, the contemporary ideologues tell us, society cannot be saved and we will become the victims of criminals, terrorists, paedophiles, deviants, extremists and our own non-knowledge that can only be, as they want to tell us, technologically controlled. Today there are many Internet signification spirals, where the Internet is seen as cause of and/or solution to evils in the world.

In a moral panic, a 'control culture' (such as police discourses about crime or terrorism) and a 'signification culture' (like criminal hyperbole created by tabloid media) often act together (Hall et al 1978, 76). The media, just like the police, then act as 'an apparatus of the control process itself - an 'ideological state apparatus' (Hall et al 1978, 76). The Internet as a relatively new medium of information, communication and collaboration is inserted into contemporary moral panics in a different way than the mainstream media that simply tend to

GO TO PAGE 9

SURVEILLANCE AND RIGHT-WING IDEOLOGY Ideology is a semiotic level of domination and exploitation. It produces and spreads information and meanings in the form of ideas, belief syspractices, ideas, words, concepts, phrases, sentences, texts, belief systems, meanings, representations, artefacts, institutions, systems or combinations thereof that represent and justify one group's or individual's domination or exploitation of other groups or individuals (Fuchs 2015). Public discourses about surveillance exhibit high levels of ideology. Typical surveillance ideologies are: 'If you've got nothing to hide, then you've got nothing to fear', 'For security we need to compromise some privacy', 'Surveillance will stop crime and terrorism'. High level right-wing politicians often refer to surveillance ideologies when discussing security and privacy. So for example Barack Obama

hout this veillance rogramme? this make

ummary: That people feel that hese online website are away from government are free to speak freely that general people area

est Words. people (11) privacy (9) feel (7)

everyone as tial for our privaortable. / It breaks privacy, right we should /iolation of privacy / It is inmakes people feel thev re not free to post / do whatthevfeel good. / / The system is partially roblemthis procould eek predaterrorists also ompromises again mind oever is looking at what I'm doing doesn't or some-thing / Re-

in all aspects of life. ful about what I broadcast, but not so thought-ful about what I write on privately owned plat-

wil:

afte

to try and sell you commodities over the tel-ephone or internet or use it about your medical details especially your state of mined nobodies business except for I realise. Truthfully I pay little attention to this. I don't tend to alily moderated or manipulated. / but it is I that gives it out the information in the first place. I

be drawn from being monitored in this way. I don'tlike big corporations **7** my life. / / / telling me what i might like! / Social media will will have "social wars".

gets to see it. / If it's used to alter or control promised freedom of expression. // It's maybe the most serious threat I face. / / It is a con-

not intermingling the rights of all in response / Some information being used is ok. eg. shoppping habits. favourite things to enable push service is

cebook, Twitter, YouTube and Google user in the ntry, and beyon if there is no suspicion that the user has commitrecently ruled as legal,

Untrusted, criminalised. / / Violated. / An obvious breech of privacv right. Yes, could driven by algorithms. Unsafe. Worried. / Really

is this even allowed? It's rude. No suspicion should mean no access it's like break into a warrant if not it's a / / Shocking!

being set up

for crimes they haven't

control pe

not sure it

proble

Mayb

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be compromising. / is impossible to filter and assumes every one is quilty, it keeps the population in fear. Intrusion of privacy/ safety - extremes I know but none the less how I feel! / It's the ma-

abused. / On the one hand it is an invasion of ones personal domain. On the other hand we all need security in the current climate. / Democratic freedom costs benefit

they are. Disturbing. / No one has any privacy -I don't want to know what vile things other peo-Abused and invaded also it is secretive. / / Vul-

financial crisis. British officials could obtain real-time readings of calls made by targeted persons and read their emails without notice.

tions without great obstacles.

impact (6) information (4)

> ict. / uite 1 underhand d breeds misrust, but could lso be a good deerrent. oses risks for onfrontation / My mpact is great. / a large impact ecurity and all. Britain at that ime. It can jeopardise it to some extent although it eems like those states with eco-nomic power exerise these interreat obstacles. / very sort of in-ormation can be sed as a weapon gainst any or-anisation. / All nformation is acessible, ifferent just levls of investigaon. / Riots, you n watch everyone reat people like ats they will reel against it. / Too many peoare paranoid. This is unfair as gives one side other. But then gain, if there is is conductillegal mful activity, en they should caught, exposed disposed. feel it would not

vironment of mistrust and suspicion. I imagine the info was used to gain a positive bias. / Huge impact, loss of trust, anger and retaliation events Ruin diplomancy and cre ate a culture of spving / Again as above, intru sion of privacy but at the same time an act of security. / World domination. / Snooping has always gone on advansought. / Breakdown in cooperation, misin-formation and the use of the same measures by others... / I don't think it is unexpected or has ever been any different. / / I suppose diplomacy has always been about acting in a way that produces a desired outcome based our best possible information.
This is like chess, but knowing the other's intention. / Promotes mis-trust. / They must have a great impact (which would justify the cost of surveillance invested). / / i didn't know this with the question above but if it stops the public being killed we need this kind of surveillance i also think we needs this not only international secu rity but national like government and local authorities should also be looked at as well as the general public and companies and statu-tory services / Pos-sibly a weakens it but it's all part of the game and if I was a delegate I'd expect to be being watched. / The end result is an increase in

yet clear whether this

rill be positive. / It is

likely to create an en-

ed against. This makes it almost impossible to have an honest exchange at a national/international level. / It is manipulative it's another way of controlling the masses and gaining and manipulating things for your own gain. / / good move. / / Greater mistrust between allies. It will weaken commu nications and cause political stigma. / only justification would be if all countries were doing the same thing / Leads to lack of trust and openness - should be a level playing field / / by what they do and say / People who have ill intentions for countries and communities can find out how to target them. / They aim to make it stronger / Every one would be concerned about who knew what like poker with some hands exposed to view. / / they have a negative effect on the exchange of ideas. / / /
Suspicion without necessary reason — suspi-cion of everyone, which in turns breeds suspicion, etc. / / / Profound and frightening. ots, people rebelling. / don't know. it's a new has long existed. / / For security purposes you have a job that inprotect the secret youself / Negative impact place / They cannot aid the building of trust between an individual / their country and ours. / / They weaken standing. / / / Is this true? / / minimal mostly

15. last

last year into the mur-

der of Fusi-lier Lee Rig-

lier Lee Rig-by in London concluded that Face-book failed to pass on informa-tion that could have prevented his death, and that the website is a 'safe haven for terror-

website is a 'safe haven for terrorists'.

Do you agree with this conclusion? (0 Not at all > 5 Strongly)

EVEN KIERKEGAARD SAID YOU CAN'T SEE YOUR WAY INSIDE LOVE

please don't tell my wife, she's always listening in i tell her

to come away from the window; her eyesight's bad she's always watching people come and go i read her emails i know it's bad no-one understands i need

someone to talk to about her maybe not her always but sometimes i feel like if someone could just see

they'd know i'm in a box, with no escape route just a box, you know, and if no-one sees me come and go and no-one watches me through their window coming

going i really don't know what she'd do you know she said one time if you don't speak to me right now i will set fire to my hair don't tell anyone i told you that does anyone know

about the time we said we'd kill ourselves together when we were drunk in the adelphi and your mum died and i said

my mum died when i was at school one day i can't remember her eyes her hair her smile i really think if i could just see you it would make sense

of course no-one saw me leave that night there's no real point in asking me you know when i leave here each morning i want to vomit round the corner from my house i think about

people seeing us together it gives me a thrill but also i know i'd die hand in hand but no-one notices we look right together has anyone seen these emails

are you sure you didn't tell her she's so cold, and she would blow us out i'm telling you i keep the password hid do you or am i just

one of many really you might be seeing someone else a man a woman how do i know i'm alone do you lie in bed with your legs wrapped around someone else's legs i am alone every night do you understand

she sits by the window in the dark says she can see the moon can see jupiter stars saturn she sees nothing she never looks me in the eye i never look at her now it's like

if anyone knew she'd defenestrate she'd drown herself you know i love no-one else i loved her but now it's like breathing water

treading water in my dreams they come through the front door those battering rams you know those guns those tasers those attitudes black ops they find us together you know i have to wonder what's the point when

they always catch us out and i forget what colour your dress was just from

having to wash you from my mind they can't flush you from my world but they try to don't they you

don't know what i mean forget it are you sure no-one knows the password maybe he saw you leaving in a cab maybe he smells me on you or maybe i'm paranoid you always say i smoke too much weed my wife she can't tolerate the smell can't tolerate me being on the phone she says

they tap the phone lines always says they read my messages makes me think she knows more than she possibly could but i have to think straight you drive me crazy i will see you next tuesday you need to call me if anything happens

i can't believe i live with someone so paranoid it makes me think of telekinesis or something i'm unsettled you know you don't care or else you go quiet and when i see myself in the mirror i'm a

shadow of my former self as drug addicts say so eloquently on channel four at midnight in summer when there's no sleep and nothing to do but see my own reflection in the tv squint god knows

everything you said i can't believe you even said it no-one cares about us no-one cares if you don't go home the rivers will still flow and the birds will still annoy the shit out of me from the eaves each morning when i'm hungover

trying to find a cure for you so leave the key where you normally leave it i'll come quietly do you know you can buy software that filters that shit out come into my heart my love no-one will ever know it is so so very safe in there

> MELISSA LEE-HOUGHTON http://bit.ly/1C7WhTk

protect their own terests. Freedoms can be seriously restrict-/ basically guilty until proven innocent / / There is not enough space to go through this. / It concerns that this could be used control people, feels very 1984 - that we are heading towards a time when thoughts will be illegal. / Like I have a digital shadow/avatar made of data noise. / Snowden's book is on bedside table awaiting a read. I aware my ignorance ars. It is scary. / Abuse the system, media leaks etc Most are pub-lic domain sites and so if information that may harm is put out there then the author should be aware that this can

big problem with it. I can see the security and safety it brings. / It extends power over enormous amounts of people to a generally powerhungry and unaccounta-ble elite. / how can that be used effectively? somebody will the forced into servitude to monitor it. / Worried. / !!! I'm surprised they can effectively monitor all this info. / People feel exposed to 'Big Brother State'. / / 3 if it's to protect us that is ok for anything else i don't think it's ok we should be able to speak if we are doing anything criminal or national security they we have a right to be monitored.

erallyed assessed who decides what freedom means. It would be folly to assume that digital footprints are not maintained within any society. Personal responsi bility can communicate awareness would be more beneficial. / It's a form of control so it makes me feel uncomfortable. Uncomfortable. // security it's got to be done. It gives more power to secret state agencies than is desirable in an open society. I feel compromised by it. / Intimidated, lack of priacy. / Access to data needs to be tightly controlled and requinformation to decide if it is problematic / It is not a true picture of the

person being watched. It

big brother can f*ck off go / / / Guess you don't know who's watching who - slightly umcomfort-able but it's progress - can be used for a good purpose / It is putting innocent people under scrutiny / I'm curious to see what it would reveal about us / / / / It treats everyone as suspect - guilty until
proven innocent / / / / Is this true? / / I don't believe it /

veying of delegates' phone communications at the G20 Summit in 2009. **8** It can jeopardise it to The intent of the surveillance was to gain diplomatic advantage at the meetings, which came

pening
/ Depends if
you're the
one reading
the emails or
having them
read. / They
can understand the decision and

cision and can predict the things.

at some ex

sense of co-

tition

predict things. n be good ome ex-//Cor-ve. No of co-ation.

trying to obtain advantages over others. Lack

of cohesion. / basically

fence which could esca-

late tensions / / This will massively impact

on how national conduct

What impact do you think these kind of interventions by security services have on interna-

some extent although it seems like those states with economic power exercise these interven-

CURT CLONING

WORK

http://images.google.com images?q="curt+cloninger"

EXPLANATION

My uncle and I have the same name. Curt Cloninger. Unlike a more common name like John Smith, our name is specific enough not to include thousands, hundreds, or even dozens of people; yet not specific enough to include just one person. Our name is, to be specific, just specific enough to include precisely two people. Furthermore, my uncle and I are almost equally famous, but for different things. He is an actor who does oneman dramas for Christian Churches. I am a new media artist and theorist. The google image collage that results from a search of our name is simultaneously overlapping and incongruous. A duononymous algorithmic identity.

CURT CLONINGER http://bit.ly/1urBk5X

tions. / It's a power gsme, knowledge is power, power is knowledge. munities, education and breaking down barriers would be preferential. Accountability for this

veillance tackle crime?

> / / / / / NO / / YES / / NO / YES / / YES / YES / YES / NO / / / YES / YES / / YES / / YES / YES / YES / NO / NO / / NO / YES / YES

YES / / YES / NO / YES / / / NO / YES / / / YES / / / YES / NO / / YES / NO / YES / YES / / YES / / / / / NO / NO / NO / YES / YES / NO / / / / / YES / / YES / / YES /

Why?

Summary: It can be if the people are criminal activity on so-

Rest Words: media (15) social (14)

/ / / / / It is probably useful as it will lead to capturing crimi nals who otherwouldn't ished for their ceptable to monicould offer a chance of pre-vention of serious crimes which dealing with it afterwards. / In some cases, cial media be useful as it a highly used source in society many people post on social media threatening but

it seriously / The media is important in the hints at organised crime

should b stopped all costs. think so, it give min and thinking if the peopl criminal ac tivity on s Social medi of 'prevention'! Tar Tar media the right t freely spea will strengthe the argume digita the the pow focuse in the hand ful of cer tain states to stop peo dia to sprea web. / / Mayb

cebook help they don' all activity should be monitored / Yes, because everyone is on it and there are those foolish ugh to think they can get away with posting things and get away with

monitor

enough to expose your-self and admit to wanting to commit a crime on FB, then you should be apprehended by it. / Can be, it's like real life if you notice somevent a crime then that's good and I guess social media is now a part of

If you're stupid

have. Social media is being used by business so can be used by investigation authority. however, there has to be limits with how this powers are used though. only targeting particubulk collection. / potentially, but doing it through spying is un-

creating travel and positioning paths amongst D.E.M. maps to recreate lines of sight for comparisons and re/stimulations. / It can be (of course!) however surveillance should be both suspicion / signed off by an individual suspicion a not just a blanke

> people are sill deals on the Ir ternet. / / pro-files of criminal may give impor-tant informa-tion to preven harm to others. site's responsi bility to monit and report it. Scanning social media may pick those planning t commit crimina acts, however also makes rea 'thoughtcrime'
> to what extent d criminalise people thin ing about thin that are seen dangerous? all comes by crime and who defines this. seen as a short term bes veillance drive the munication other chann It is one of man

tools for which the usefulness to trace and profile dangero

> edia should usefu a11

/ Needs to be used as a other strategies needed. / As I won't use social media I find this diffi-

dia is a public domain so less intrusive as email) ly suspect. / Facebook

ernment places too much

YES / YES / / YES / NO / / YES / YES / / YES / YES / NO / YES / NO / / NO / YES / YES / YES / NO / YES / / YES / YES / NO / YES / NO / / NO / / / YES / YES / / / YES /

/ YES / NO / YES / NO / NO / YES / NO / / / YES / / NO

/ NO / / / NO / YES / YES / / / / YES / YES / / YES

emphasis on surveillance

as a means to tackle ter-

root causes?

life. / Some cases may comfortable / / Surveil-

take place / Criminal intent generally won't be uploaded to social media., / / Because peothe root cause of social problems. It only helps us better understand what is happening. /

to tackle crime before

it manifests. We need to

change our approach to

each other. / There is

so much of it, how can it

possibly be monitored

successfully. / Because

moral panics and moral euphoria.

(Jewkes 2011, 77, 79).

and neoliberalism.

'nullifies itself'.

mation. / People here on

social media forget who

can read their posts etc,

/ Perhaps, but mass sur-

veillance appears rarely

act as ideological control institutions. The Internet and social media act

as arena of ideological projections of fears and hopes that are associated with moral panics - some argue that they are dangerous spaces

that are used by terrorists, rioters, vandals and criminals and there-

fore needs to be policed with the help of Internet surveillance, where-

as others argue that the Internet is a new space of political hope that

is at the heart of demonstrations, rebellions, protests and revolutions

that struggle for more democracy. What both discourses share is a

strong belief in the power of technology independently of society, they

mistake societal phenomena (crime, terror, crises, political transforma-

tions) to be caused and controllable by technology. But societal phenomena merely express themselves in communicative and technologi-

cal spaces; technologies do not cause them. Technological determinism

inscribes power into technology; it reduces power to a technologically

manageable phenomenon and thereby neglects the interaction of tech-

nology and society. The Internet is not like the mainstream mass media

or individuals feel unfairly discriminated (e.g. by racism, classism, sex-

discriminates them. If certain groups or individuals are labeled as ter-

or creation of hate can set in, which can result in the creation or intensi-

fication of the very phenomenon (crime, terror, etc.) that the algorithm,

prevent in the first instance. Cohen (1972/2002, 226), Hall et al. (1978)

and Jewkes (2011) describe this process with the concept of the devi-

disintegration [...] may also result in the target group feeling increas-

other 'opinion leaders' enter the fray, demanding tougher action to con-

trol and punish the 'deviants' [...] Such widespread condemnation may

an increase in their deviant activity [...] The continuing deviancy results

in greater police attention, more arrests and further media coverage'

Žižek (2015) pinpoints this circumstance by saying that a 'renewed Left'

is 'the only way to defeat fundamentalism, to sweep the ground under

its feet'. Syriza's electoral victory in Greece is an important hope for the

Left in Europe, a hope for a world beyond ideology, right wing populism,

THE DIALECTIC OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT TODAY

Whereas the Internet's dominant ideology promises freedom, the reality is that online capitalist and state actors are 'freer' than others, which

shows the actual unfreedom of this space. But at the same time we

can hear protest voices that call for more privacy and Internet free-

dom on behalf of actors such as Anonymous, hacker organisations, the

movement for free software and open access, investigative journalists,

consumer protection organisations, media reform movements such as Free Press or the Media Reform Coalition, human rights organisation,

Enlightenment and liberalism's limits: the practices of data commodi-

fication, capitalist media control, corporate and state surveillance limit

the liberal freedoms of freedoms of thought, speech, press and assem-

bly as well as the security of the people's persons, houses, papers and

effects. When the Internet and 'social' media are, as Horkheimer and

Adorno (2002, 73f) say, 'harnessed to the dominant mode of produc-

tion', the enlightenment that these modes of communication promise.

police violence limited Occupy activists' freedom of opinion and assem-

bly, 12 it strictly affirmed liberal values, but showed at the same time how

state institutions violate liberal values in the land of unlimited 'freedom'.

A liberal critique of the unfreedom implied by the control systems that

liberalism has created is however insufficient. A comprehensive system

of participatory democracy is needed to overcome the limits of free-

So when for example the Anonymous movement guestioned how

These actors illustrate the negative reality of the dialectic of

pirate parties, watchdog organisations and WikiLeaks.

their own stupidity!Q / It's too vast / /

dom cause by capitalist and state control of the media, the attention economy, power, reputation structures and the public. **GO TO PAGE 14**

terest rveilwith ackling

> ords: surveil-(14) root (7)

an ideological actor, but rather an object of ideological signification in Moral panics that call for more surveillance and scapegoat certain groups can amplify and result in more terrorism and crime: If groups treats ism, scapegoating, etc.), they may react to this circumstance with an eryone intensification of hatred against those whom they perceive hates and susrorists or criminals or denied certain possibilities (such as entering a ourages n-down certain country, area or building), there is the risk that an intensification surveillance technology, ideology, law and order policy, etc. wanted to ng with ancy amplification spiral. A 'moral discourse' that collective demonizes argin-'the perceived wrong-doers as a source of moral decline and social ommuniingly alienated, particularly when - as often happens - politicians and asier to eal with lead the group to feel more persecuted and marginalized, resulting in than he root urveil-The European protests and rejections of austerity, neoliberalism and capitalism are the only reasonable voices in the crisis discourse. Slavoj

attempt esolve use, tead of 'pre-venting' / Evething fight ersus orism is safe Because ey are stat

try bv making illuon of cause

> about ev're

rools

surveillance Searching for the roots among countries. /

FROM THE BIRD-MEN OF THE FAR HILL

Out on the hill wearing black like the light carrying torches as they cross the ridge towards the houses and into the valley's flicker and break, into the spasm of flashes triggering the moon into darkness,

they are watching the river's pendulous hook against the rust of the landmass hoping for endings and clods of soil to fall sharp into the felt of the sea.

They are out on the hill, predatory. They carry heavy stones in their pockets cold against their legs. and are looking for strangers, unknowns, tornedos, in the back of next door's shed in the alimpse of your eve.

They gabble. Scribe symbols into the mud by the golf course to break open your breath, Their bodies swell at the thought of your quietness. They want to flatten your thighs. They want to emit all their hurt. They want you to take them until you are as barren as the winter ground or as pock-marked as the muddy field.

> FLEANOR REES http://bit.ly/1Aitmi6

that aren't easy to gauge. the sheer number ful for anything other of users makes this dif-ficult too / Its as usethan identifying idiots and looking at photos of people and cats. / / ful as it would be to follow every person on the street / It tells Tracking GPS and times of positions, com how people think and cations of associates,

be subject to scrutiny its place, but there are

/ / / / Evidential-

dating about pointless

sed as a a heads up. / / only if an it has 9 obvious threat is made.

They're paying all this money to watch us instead of opening new shops for more jobs. Most crime is commitey - that's the problem, not the internet. / / / Education should feature more. / It's a bit of both. Terrorism is out there, so it must be fought. The root causes are also difficult to define and are subjective. / / Surveillance evidence. Reduces false prosecution of inthe root cause is their forsight policy way of shifting the blame to society at large / I am not sure about it. // Terror-ism can result from the radicalisation of individuals who are in povertous situations. / maybe, but tackling roots attacks / / They use this issue to gain interest for elections. The real issues and scale is kept secret, we know it's happening. / It's easier to show they're doing surveillance than to help end poverty and make the better more harmonious place. / / / As terror-ist counter surveillance proficiency increases and unidentifiable Surveillance pacifier. More novel and unpredictable, small-er unplanned terrorist methods will flourish in a new environment for swarm behaviour. / Yes defo! / The root causes are often very difficult to address especially by a western society if looking at Is-lamic fundamentalism / / need a balance. / It's control in every which

ism against

tions or Gov

rorism is ex-

the countries

is flawed an

very random

they are no

would remo

ist drive t

ism. / It's

cheaper re-source than

traditional

intelligenc

gathering

/ The 'state of...'' (Saskia

as a mean t

It is oppor

/ no i don's

not only d

they should

that

should

tunistic.

think

Sassen)

tivated

Becaus

way that

terror

terror-

policy...

ernments charge, the messages to are young impressionable young-sters education starts in schools about toleration to all whether it's skin, or religious belief .their gender

want. treat terrorists as treason. hanging is too good for murderers. / Creates hysteria otential terrorism and provides something obvious and short ing problems, takes public attention away from the 'left' and how these problems might actually veillance can be abused for other purposes.

/ Because it is easier to invade the fear of terrorists than it is to reduce social inequality / / I think surveillance is a very useful tool, however root causes also net on which users cannot be easily tracked and monitored. Silk Road 2.0 was 'brought down' by US and British Police last November, including the arrest of a 20 year old /0//2/0/4/3/0/0

place to sell stuff then there will be illegal activity. / It should be respected because they

cy. / Using the internet

to fulfil illegal activity

vidual behaviour but of-

fences have and always be committed with or without

the internet. The respon-

sibility lies within the user. // It's bad as it's

for the wrong — ie weapons drugs — not for freedom

of info or peace. / / Dark

Web may have positive implications if being ex-

posed for a wider use i.e.

at ordinary users' dis-

people use this right in

good or bad way. / / /
/ As in the real world,

if you are conducting illegal activity, you should be brought to jus-

tice and stopped. Just because you're online does not mean you should

get away with a crime. /
/ The dark web is an exam-

ple of things that should

be maintained. / Crimi-nal activity online mir-

rors offline activity / /

Indifferent / I think its great / In our day to day

life a common man doesn't ome across these things.
believe it's only for

high society people. / /

arenas are tackled as

these can genuinely harm

/ not the best idea due

to potentially criminal activity / / The dark web

is the subconscious of the web, the open side of available info. A place

with very little con-trol. free web. / I don't

think that they should

be trading weapons etc, but these exchanges are

19. How do you feel about the 'dark web' and the

i t y , someone

l i n e
anonymity?

Summary:
Using
the internet
to fulfil illegal
activity does
n o t
condone
i ou r
but offences
h a v e
and always be
c o m mitted
with our
the internet.

B e s t
Words:
anonymity (8)
d a r k
(8)
d a r k
(8)
d a r k
(8)
clearly
yhote
yhould
clearly
not exist as

taking place in physiing them than monitoring how the mardescribed as being one of the most

successful online mar-ketplace. think we should have use online anonymity, especially for jour-nalists/ oublishers to use for tions. / / I don't know dark web. / The a result of mass su veillance Don't think that's safe.

We need to be responsible tions. / It is a modmarket. People will ways of ex-

changing in-

there is a need to exchange infor-mation that the Govern-

sure how and across which social and technological registers exactly such a politics of anonymity can be organized. Here, the question of anonymity becomes intimately intertwined with the question of how we approach the transformation of agency within machinic assemblages, of technical systems whose dispositions confront us with forms of agency we are not sure how best to comprehend. But rather than assuming at the outset that forms of agency that cannot be folded into a politics of representation lie beyond the scope of the political, part of thequestion of a politics of anonymity is how we engage the disposition of these new technical systems in ways that acknowledge the actuality of machinic agency.

Anonymity refers to a type of political subjectivity that is not articulated in terms of citizenship, identity, representation. At the same time, anonymity communicates with itself and to the world through, more often than not, commercial infrastructures. This is not insignificant, and it is one reason why anonymity operates differently in algorithmic cultures. At this point we note the intersection between the political economy and territorial mediations of digital infrastructures such as data centres or server farms and the internal operations of anonymity. To be anonymous, in other words, is not to be severed from relations of control. We are not romantics, but questions relating to anonymity and autonomy at the level of infrastructures that have been a core register of net-cultural engagement since the very beginning are also and necessarily a concern of parametric politics, of the creation of interfaces with relations of control that allow us to address whatever effects of subjective constitution these relations establish.

Anonymity is a non-proprietary resource. The refusal to be identified and captured by processes of subjectivation links practices of anonymity to the social production of the common, but also to what we might call the apriori of any politics of rights — what Étienne Balibar has, following Hannah Arendt, referred to as the right to have rights. If there is a right to have rights, there has to be political subjectivity prior to citizenship. Anonymity refers to a type of political subjectivity that is not articulated in terms of citizenship, identity, representation. Part of the politics of anonymity is the ongoing race between those who leave tracks and those who read them. Can we think of infrastructures that allow us to move anonymously? That's where ghosts enter the stage, as they have in the theory of excommunication. Another strategy is to lower the cost of identity. If identity constitutes an economy, and if we believe that something like the common helps articulate alternatives, this includes a commoning of identity.

An exodus is more than a thought experiment: it helps us account for the costs of identity and imagine a subjective economy in which the common is not always already subsumed in the act of its production. At the very least, anonymity reminds us of the depth and scope of the infrastructural registers of identity. At best, it harbors a political promise no republic can match, above and beyond the revolutionary romance of whatever singularities and economies of destitution.

http://bit.ly/1zAFqV1 & http://bit.ly/1MjlBLV

way, /I think it is a use— it goes on. / Those who term as a response. / Sur— Mixed feelings, it's need to be tackled. /// man from Liverpool. ful tool. / People will would be terrorists are veillance can be misin— good because they can / feed people first /

dently have abused the privacy it provides. If

TITLE: PWYLLDREISIO* OR THE PERNICIOUS FEFECTS OF MINDRAPE ON CITY-DWELLERS.

UK-TOP SECRET//SI//NOFORN

What You Wanted to Know

Note that just about all of the accomplishments we are presenting respond to some aspect of SID's strategies for the foreign partner. The few that don't involve those niche partners for whom our strategy is to simply maintain a viable relationship that we can rely on should we need it in the future. And that these are only some of the accomplishments for FY13... there are way too many to address in just an hour. When it comes to discussing the challenges and roadblocks that we believe are going to make it difficult if not impossible to accomplish specific items, the causative factors are divided between NSA and partner budget cuts, legal and policy impediments on the partner side, and in a few cases partner unwillingness to cooperate or meet their obligations to us.

UK-TOP SECRET//SI//NOFORN

What You Wanted to Know

Rewind SID's goblins for this questionnaire. Nozzle that just about all of the aches we are presenting resume to some assent of SID's strengths for the foreign pasta. The few that don't involve those nightmare pastas for whom our strength is to simply maintain a viable remake that we can rely on should we need it in the gal. And that these are only some of the aches for FY13... there are weaver too many to administrator in just an housemaster. When it comes to discussing the chandeliers and robins that we believe are going to make it difficult if not impossible to accomplish specific jaguars, the causative fairylands are divided between NSA and pasta build-up cuts, legal and polygon impostors on the pasta siesta, and in a few castanets pasta unwillingness to cooperate or meet their obstructs to us.

Sweden

has been to trauma this ejaculate to a bilat with the Swedish pasta.

Text From Snowden wikileak passed through Oulipo +1 to +14 Machine Online(www.spoonbill.org). (replaces nouns with n+1 next noun from the dictionary) Generated: 2015-02-02 13:14:26 rhys trimble/Ed Snowden (*Brainwashing)

> RHYS TRIMBLE http://bit.ly/18Zg8dT

relationships with extremists groups in so-ciety especially working with mosques or far right wing organisations and also getting of most negative abusive you tube

needs to be a bigger part of disfunction. / I think that no matter how much you survey something you will never get to the root cause and control it to be able to prevent something from happening - if this makes sense.

offer false answers. / / without education has results / Absolutley, it gets to the roots of everything. / / / / they can't control everything and basic causes need to be addressed / / / Ignores

criminals / but the pri-macy of 'terrorism' may an easier option to deal with / I think we need to use all tools that

are available to help

18. Silk Road 2.0 was an online marketplace for marketplaces and forums for communication located on the 'dark web'

/3//0///0/0/0/0/ 4//5/5/3//0/3// 5/0/0//5/0/4/0/

this? 0 Not at all > 5

it. / / I like the idea of
it, it offers a choice. / / Children and young people often become involved as they can pretend to be whoever they want making them very vulnerable / I'm feel good. / / / I

don't have an opinion re-

ment of the time cannot access. Obviously there Web's use by paedophiles and terror groups .. / the whole web thing has lost its innocence - I feel as

ERICA SCOURTI (CONTINUED)

We will be in touch if you want to be a bit more The unknown is the most sinister aspect of it all goes well with you and your family when you're inside the box below privacy policy terms of reference for buyers and sellers are offering you lots of love

I look up to you in the UK As for me, mind your own business you do not want people to look at it again in touch touching your account after the war her husband and wife team and they are not going anywhere else not only do they have to go to bed now and again

A dream told me that the new year would be great everyone should have control over your head and shoulders above the national average of my friends and family wholesale. Enlightenment ideas turn against The Cloud is making me feel a bit like a plan to be around someone else who might be interested in doing so

I can't wait until the next day UK flower bouquets and the other side effects and I am a beautiful woman, who is secretary of the time quality time with you to the invisible feeling better today or in the year when I am a beautiful person or organisation Who counts as a whole range and then we have been in touch with you to be around someone expressing our shadow energies it's all about context I only post what i would say to someone else who might be interested in doing what you do not want people to look

We die further to our customers with other people it's just the tools that have changed my life and work a tough time and money are safe with us The setting for your email client run in conjunction with the same issues identified as i've got nothing to hide mind your own business you are looking for my eyes and ears I can do it for you who have not been reviewed by mobile phone deals the opportunity of products or other authors of a problem or we can be credited or anonymous as you try to Look up and see What do the stars say

Depends on how much it costs — nothing but the problem is that the company has also been used to work with ideas that turn against themselves

A lifetime supply of my friends, who are you looking for

An annoying sense of being 'programmed' to get to know if you want me big brother is here already, but I guess we will need to see you soon anyway wondering your skinny liquification of rigid boundaries between us

Depends on what you believe in a dream mean escape from being alone means loneliness and I have put together the best I've got nothing to hide the same time you're looking for my eyes open for business trips privacy is the right to be away from the rest of the world seems inexplicably beautiful I was a ghost before you go to bed

No humans bother me now We favour anonymity for non stop at nothing else when you feel like a girl, who counts as a whole

You see what you believe in God bless you all the time

/ indifferent. / It is no ods of organised criminality. You should not / It's a tricky one.. I ould love to think that it was possible but also worry about its potenthere be an actual ethical monitoring? / / i

thoritie

definite

anony

all of us

of

the

and

for

ties. /

There i

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appr

priate

side of hu

difficul

want

it that bu

lik

the us chey are ling in iminal tivity n they initely uld not e online on ym for the lety of lof us / balance favour online onymity dagainst e autorities ibelling pmething subverve'./There nouldn't a hiding place or serius crime.

fear government control but understand the need to tackle serious crime. / / / / Ambiguous. / thing illegal should be stopped. / If you break rules you deserve to be punished / You have a right to anonymity as long as you are operating within the law / /

then fed back to you in the form of options set by the pattern, the op tions reinforce the pattern, the cycle begins again. This process again. This process forces individuals and communities to normalize iour, creating a system where observing affects

21. Do you think your own behaviour is affected? / / / YES / / NO / / NO / YES / / YES / / NO / NO / YES / / / YES / YES / NO /// NO / YES / NO / / / NO / NO / YES / NO / YES / / NO / YES / NO / / YES / / YES / YES / YES / YES / YES / YES / / NO / YES / YES / NO / NO / NO / YES

behaviour (8) patterns (7)

ticing

/ / / Probably affects everyone without no-

not aware of this occuring / I answer without giving too much informations / / I am conscious aware of how informatino is edited. Awareness

/ I try to monitor its effect and contradict it. / / Because I recognise it for what it is, can do and ignore the rest. / And no. We have become oblivious about

Some people behave the same way everyday because they like routine others don't having polbehaviour lets people understand their behavacceptable

their

are law's in

lace to get

hen to take

nd if they

aws their

nev for ex-

quess if

show

it's

rosecute

round us. /

ertain way

thor-

ility

To YouTube, part 2, no stable page. Thank you again little Joy. Oh when with English college now we will say thanks again;

Please call Dover, cross bringing Sinclair with her store chicks and room crutch, of low hue. Oh please call teller after bringing things with performance. When you hear the bell come

We will go meet there Wednesday to uncoil a chequer-room wall. Adamant, I may any time now, I will say my name again. Does Victoria make alarm to call no one? The pleasure of your company at what time I ought to enjoy it, and take the comb, bee, choral pitch.

cube at 22. From my key and young games show me a way; no getting away from markers. Read for Angela? A pleasure, thanks that's lovely, but make it plain and clear you know.

now getting away from my Blue Riviera, with low pressure the loss makes it rain. Your peach, paper and willow failure. William will you please answer the phone?

will gamble deviantly. Little poets and all the others, what a todo, glacial cold tales of ice.

ons etc. I think it is back to the root causes that we need to go. / Scary - very fright-ening. / It should be shut down or monitored / Because of human sin against god we are a fallen people and a symptom of this disease is a propensity to harm oth-

ers we should be pro-

sions between liberty and security. There are eg child protection. / ///bunch o bollocks /

20. Data gathering and surveillance is a pro-cess of sifting and discrimination. Algorithms read what you do and fit your behaviour into a pattern, the pattern is statement? (0 Agree > 5 Strongly)

YES / / / YES / / / NO / / / / / YES / / NO / / / / YES /

WHY and HOW?

However I do not know for sure how these algorithms work filter, its criteria of proper be-

to the department? (0 Don't //YES/NO//YES/// /// Because as a your male I have never felt or beard growth suppliments. / There are lots of different kinds of algo-rithms. We often encoun-

have cautiously when be-

by being conscious of 1

/ Because I don't feature
online a lot/rarely on
Facebook never on others. However, I am an outwhat was out there. / ter ones which are trying 12 to monitories our online habits but not all algorithims can be viewed in

) do generally reinforce

individual and often I would not be aware of It is easy to slip into a rut/habit/routine of accepting the options put someone's suggestions to you. / Not able to give er both the way adverts target viewers/readers of particular media, and the stories/angles used by newspapers and the ef-fect on their readers are two. Although I think I'm very aware of this, certain groups (ie Twitter

every day can be so different for us all as well as organisations don't always fir in regimented type of work. Most ornisations that often fit in patterns and options set by patterns and reinforce these patterns are the arm forces or other statutory agen-cies but then things do change and evolve over time and wars can be dif-ferent, behaviours of individuals change over time and though we need

because we could have

places. / social media minimally. / / You react to what's presented to you? / Group memtality / //// I think carefully about my online presence / / I am constantly thinking over of being watched. I believe it is unhealthy to obsess about it so much so tht constantly moni-/ I prefer 'useful

22. Are you aware of what information surveillance and big data algorithms are recording and how

HELLO, THIS IS A TEST!

The walk alone wrangler rubs on; prone brown lands at end of term where were they when I started to be a pack rider? Oh Margaretta, the colour of the day with Todd I find the same.

let her know everything, letter now, will they think again.

quickly when we will be here again, here, here.

Pitch acquisition hopes bias. Live on 66, love the blue hue. Demo bandsman pro, brother Bob, when you hear the bells come quickly. Awed by every word and phrase, thickset its true, you ordered pizza in High Wycombe, fine cream in Bedford St. Shot off reverend words and Brady checked the bedroom for loose wards judged pure. It had the top of every word or phrase.

The beach withdrew, it's Gordon's pizza pie with ice cream. Stray time now will save on owing or can actually join them with grace. Will I need more empathic crag for Victoria and an interim 3 in redbrick. At the train station the young girl gave no clearer balm.

She called anew one man many times. Rubble born rude laugh celebrate the room, cheek the data from you soon. From you soon, criteria for the words which cue the actor to leave; "Go now, come here later; the end of the month."

Lovefilm (GM) to groom, it's there restrain the words with

Darker now, we will play that again if you mumble. A live tune

Localise the larynx, if you mumble your picture will crack,

Hello! this is a test. Tell Dover the world knows. Rattle jobs while tailor, to brighten little tattler, night toiler. Hell, if I were to tell the death of wells, now we will tell Will again, tomorrow people, Hush, groaning buckets saying nothing.

This text began with a selection from the Harvard Sentences (a), and then other text referring to voice synthesis and voiceprint analysis was added (b). This collage (a + b) was then read aloud to an Android tablet and converted to a new text using Google speech to text software (c). The new text (c) was then read to the tablet and a second conversion was performed (d). That second resulting text (d) has had punctuation added to produce the text seen here (e).

Harvard Sentences are a corpus of short statements developed for use in testing audio output, stability and consistency in VOIP, telephone and other systems, and have been used to assess the effectiveness of voice synthesis and voice scanning tools. They are equivalent to other standard test models such as the 'Hello, world' programme and the television test card. The installed Google speech to text software in part matches the audio input to words stored on the user's Google account, meaning that familiar proper names and other items may appear in the text conversions.

> MARK LEAHY http://bit.ly/1urzXnH

sitting behind my monitor as I water leave gallons water target carefully the homa drifting on the wall the roots are exposed to the sun, My grandmother is sad Tells me something is wrong psythirizo "scour unhappiness" jibe rubber at home,

go away dust and my grandmother sitting and weeping all shining and the roots will dry out all but now lampounn and my grandmother says, the pchio good love is to know when all this on you that my break and a mess and dig beneath the earth Being such a miracle that it does not pirazei

DYSLEXIA SLIDING VS PANOPTICON

a dream I wrote down (in greek) a few years ago and recently found on my hard-drive. it's was written hastily and contained grammar errors. I translated with google translate and the errors became much more proclaimed making whole chunks incomprehensible. I play with this idea of dream as a message, and translation through psychoanalysis trying to make sense bringing new forms into existence very often far from the initial 'message'. this openness I suggest is a form of fundamental resistance to surveillance. as Lacan puts it however omnipresent the Other his power stems from him concealing his fundamental lack. well

> Φοίβος Δ http://bit.ly/1C6Mcnn

hat I want. / I actively try not to let it be af-Stereotyping, marketing, audience research (work). / / / I online. however I do not know for sure how these know for sure how these __algorithms work filter,

'neu-

ef-

the

but

veys that insist I fit in a box. I think too m they mean. / / / / Onit's criteria of proper
pehaviour. / I try to be
careful
when en-

about questions and what line shopping habits / I have delibiratley bought 'unusual' items when shopping / Google and other media suggest topic for me to read / be in-

I get stroppy with sur-

pletely monitored...when we remember we struggle... but we are locked into the web. / always on a subliminal level. statement above. Their are some people and or-ganisations that the be-haviour fit's in patterns and reinforces patterns but most of us are very

FOR ORDINARY

MORTALS.

this in life and if you watch or participate in something long enough it's bound to effect you. / / I think I know how data is manipulated. / / The process can influence your choices by using your data and feeding it back to you / Sheer weight of informaeven though i do my best to resist this affect! / / IT'S FAR TOO COMPLICATED

/ I try to be aware of this and think through cisions and actions. social media but I selfcensor as I worry thing and like to think of this - but / / Effects

your data is being processed?

(0 Not at all > 5 Very

///2/2/4//1/1//4 /4//1/0/0//3/3/2 ///0/4/2//0/3//3 //5/0/3//5/4//2/ /0/3//0/0/////3/

23. What would you like to

normal political thoughts considered a threat to the government can't believe just written this!) // Everything that concerns

Best Words: information (3) being (3)

/ / / / / / What ways data is drawn from us. / / / / / / Everything. / If I knew then I wouldn't be me. I would become the algorithm. / / / Surveillance systems criteria

these meth ing against The mecha nism the data ar gathered a used step b thev do an to what the ing collect ed and wh / Noth Δ1 what exten lect it an it only can be use woul like to kno of my dat

is be deleted. / ? / / I would study our society. / I'm not sure that I do / / Is it all automated? Where does the data get stored and who has access to it? / What and Who is collecting and why. / I tend to assume everything is tracked and watched but it would be great to see non-processed routes. maybe but life is short. / / what they are doing with it - useful / no find out the informa and my children and also would make sure they had the correct information not the incorrect information on myself and my family. / What is being recorded. / More openness about this would be appreciated. / / / For what purpose. / nothing.
/////I really don't understand what this is and I would like to undermal political thoughts considered a threat to the government (I can't

believe I've just written

this!) / / / Everything that concerns my data. / Who is using it. / F*ck knows. / All of it. / All of it / Everything / onto businesses and vice versa / / / / / how works, where it's headed /

heard of it before /

erence service and mobile

but i still get calls for

money from organisations

privacy on my twitter and

my email addressess / / /
/ I'm not sure ow well it

works really because like

said before you're put-

ting out there and once

if's out you lose all control. / / Doesn't work.

Facebook etc alreadt ig-

nores privacy settings

would consider it under

Yes - but what is it? / It

is priceless and secure!

Not sure, I'll look into

it / Don't know, don't use

websites much v / Yes T

/ not sure / / / Yes, but

/ nothing to hide. /

24. Do you use a privacy policy management system (service that gives you options regarding how much of your data web-

YES / / YES / / / NO / YES / NO / / NO / / YES / YES / / NO / NO / TES / TES / / YES / / / NO / NO / YES / / NO / NO / YES / NO / NO / YES / NO / NO / YES / / NO / YES / YES / YES / YES / YES / / YES / YES / NO / NO / / YES / YES / NO / YES / NO / YES / / NO / / YES / / / NO / / / NO / / / NO / NO / YES / NO / YES / NO / / / / NO / / NO / / / / YES /

If not, would you consider it and why? Or if yes, how well do you think it works?

I would because websites

it would be (to be) the other person.

Also, the fact that the Yahoo software

Unfortunately that a surprising surveillance

to parts of their body to the person show.

without necessarily sending a reciprocal stream

means that it appears sometimes to be used for

girl found in water tank communication

allows more than Yahoo video.

One appears a number of people

Intimate to view a webcam stream

use webcam conversations

or broadcasting pornography.

A means of recording

recorded.

Do we want to allow

which cannot be read?

THE HEAD

ing. / - / / Yes. However I am not sure how effective it is, as I potentially think it could be / NO / I might be, but then I'm not sure I'd trust them after this survey. / circumvented. / yes, not YES / / YES / / YES / NO / NO / / YES / NO / as a low think they work okay, but percentage, maybe 10-15% to hide all data is an il-/ / / YES / We pay our to nice all data is an illusion. / Yes, sounds interesting. / I would consider. / I'm unsure of how well it works. // //YES//NO/Not sure// //YES///Other (please specify) / NO / Compa-Yes, to preserve leak of my private information / nies have responsibility to keep my data safe and / / / / Not sure... / maybe 5050 / / / / It's too far there are penalties for without my frank permisgone. / on the telephone i use the telephone pref-

don't! / NO / / sometimes / / / NO / / NO / / / / maybe /

26. If there was an option for your email Facebook, for example, not example, your data would you us YES / NO?

/ / / / / YES / / YES / YES / / / NO / NO / YES / / YES / / YES / YES

S / YES /

/ /

YES

/ YES /

STEVEN J FOWLER http://bit.ly/1DQSzxv

sonal information in first place. sure (5) consider (5)

websites shouldn't cess personal informa-tion in the first place. / / It could be nice to set you own limits. / / / / / / no, I just don't care what someone sees what I do online. / It doesn't anything. / These management systems aren't well not knowing allows others to know everything! / / /
/ Normally I can judge by looking at the frequency

/ / / / / I would because

of adverts I see when I browse. / / / / / Maybe, seems time consuming. I'm also OK with how the web works because of the benefits I get from it. / question. I would considerit. / Very well / / / No, I'm not very concerned about it / I would consider it, would be great to have better knowledge of

what I'm actually shar-

/ / Maybe but I hardly go online or use computers apart from Adobe. / / / se it has no valu this current governments attitude/ideology / / / to privacy and my identity / / / / / incognito mode when viewing 'dodgy stuff' /

25. Are you happy to pay for services with your data? YES / NO? Other (please specify)

We pay our taxes for se-

Best Words: sure (3) taxes (1)

/ / / NO / / / YES / NO / Not sure I would trust a system that would be overruled by gov legislation. / / / NO / NO / NO / / NO / I don't have a smart phone or pay for WIFI as I don't think it's worth the money for the services it provides. / NO / / YES / As long as I have control and get the bene-

could be easier if the dat help you.

data (9) want (6) privacy (5) / / / / Y

respectively because my personal information probably mation should remain... mine data of my ov we should be allowed

Because the point of Fapeople and should have data. / So T am aware of sonal public research. / / Feel safer. / / I have reasons behind it I cannot write about. / bemy personal info. / / / // I'd just prefer that I was left alone. / I am not sure it depends on what

data we can/can't give. / // / I'm not bothered / sion. / privacy / / To have the choice is good. I am aware that this info could be used against me in the future perhaps in ways I can't perceive. ways I can't perceive.
/ I'd love to opt out, I hate being targeted by companies and adverts appearing depending on what cause I want to be free of I've been commenting on deciding how to disclose 13 / / / Yes, for a sense of privacy. / / Peace of mind that data is secure / / my decision to opt in or out - I feel this is my right.

people will do with my data. / / Because then I would have a choice and at least some control over it. / / no bothered. /
/ / Greater security and privacy. / Yes but it will not come into effect. / To avoid junk email / / / / / / why should they pass on my info / / / / / Aim is to communicate. / I use a fake email so I don't have to go through this. // I am a private person and do not want anyone knowing

share information line, and where does this I think online media (by Facebook) is so new to tell you and seem so like the future people don't want to fall behind - keep

> Best Words: online (17) media (11) pressure (7)

/ / / Yes - things like Facebook to create an online persona — keep it depends what datas used for and by who / Because it is my data / / / / They updated with the things you do / see. / Yes. This comes from representations of us sharing data sites and posting online and from society m ment so anyone to access ogy for social and other means. / / it is a social evolution. everywhere/ everyone gets closer to-27. Do you think there is increased pressure to-

don't need it and I don't

No, by using these web-

what you decide to share.

day to 'live online' and media and other services feel out of this. here is beause that's it's just a strong t comes from increase technolgy and the the attraction of livws users to elf-design and edit their lives to seem e appealng to a audi e. Celebity culture ncreasin in lepression the need to d microwave nore we use social media, the more brains our brains and endorphin fected. We are a bi-product f our existof our existence — both online and online and reality. / /
Yes, a sign of the times. / I think so s, since the mix or continuous itisation of of dignformation and data. es, and this is due co-culture based rather than ubstance. Media , if nline don't do anypeople days email — mainly / Yes, from vervwhere! with celebity culture so there's an ncrease how-ver I am not pressured. nink online edia (by Faebook) is so o like the n't want to fall behind keep up. / Yes, changing technologies gies, bringing people together and the sense of

TITLE: 'SAFE ['WORD', 'WORLD']S';

prove usage and generally

keeps it free to use. / They are providing a ser-

vice and should have ab-

data to increase their

because I want my emails

to be agreed communica-

tion, not junk. / / / I

would like to have my pri-

vacy. // tes / It's pri-vate. / Because I am law

abiding and value my pri-

vacy and worry about what

commercial position.

TONE: 'To be read in an ['assiduous', 'atonal', 'careful', 'condescending', 'mechanical', 'monochrome', 'neutral', 'officious', 'polite', 'withering'] tone of voice.':

SEARCH: 'Your search has returned more than one result.';

they want to use it for -

in the future, life could

you. However it can be a

nuisance and it mentally

that you are unaware. / It

would reduce junk email

my details being leaked /

/// It depends on which

aspects of my data / / /

I don't want informa-

tion of mine to be used

and controlled by others

LIVERPOOL: 'Do you mean Liverpool, ['Street', 'Station', 'England', 'Illinois', 'Pennsylvania', 'Nova Scotia', 'New South Wales', 'New York', 'Texas']?';

LONDON: 'Do you mean London, ['Bridge', 'Fields', 'City of', 'School of Economics', 'England', 'Ontario', 'Kentucky', 'Ohio', 'West Virginia', 'Jamaica']?';

SORRY1: '['I\'m', 'So', 'We\'re'] sorry, the ['item', 'file number', 'model number', 'page number', 'privacy level', 'payment method', 'service record', 'shipping option', 'video', 'web page', 'person'] you have ['entered', 'indicated', 'requested ', 'selected', 'provided'] is ['not', 'not currently', 'not yet', 'no longer'] available in your ['colour', 'country', 'format', 'language', 'region', 'resolution', 'size'] of ['choice', 'residence', 'origin'].';

GLASGOW: 'Do you mean Glasgow, ['Scotland', 'Nova Scotia', 'Kentucky', 'Missouri'. 'Ontario'. 'Montana'. 'Jamaica'l?':

BERWICK: 'Do you mean Berwick, ['Street', 'Australia', 'Maine', 'Northumberland', 'New Zealand', 'New Brunswick', 'Nova Scotia', 'Ontario', 'Ohio', 'Pennsylvania', 'Washington']?';

SECURE1: 'For your ['safety', 'security'], please ['enter', 'disclose', 'divulge', 'indicate', 'provide', 'request', 'select', 'submit'] the following ['background information', 'banking details', 'biometric profile', 'credit check', 'security questions', 'verification']:';

SECURE2: 'What is your ['mother\'s maiden name', 'father\'s middle name', 'pet\'s name', 'pet name', 'porn star name', 'star sign', 'safe word', 'happy place', 'place of birth', 'date of birth', 'username', 'password', 'memorable information', 'credit card limit', 'interest rate', 'account number']?';

SECURE3: 'Where were you ['born', 'raised', 'educated', 'happiest', 'injured', 'last seen', 'calling from', 'departing from', 'arriving from', 'travelling to', 'when Kennedy was shot']?';

SORRY2: '['I\'m','So','We\'re'] sorry, the ['background information', 'banking details', 'biometric profile', 'credit check', 'security questions', 'verification'] you have ['indicated', 'requested', 'selected', 'entered', 'provided'] can ['not', 'not currently', 'not yet', 'no longer'] be ['completed', 'confirmed', 'copied', 'pasted', 'displayed', 'entered', 'edited', 'erased', 'located', 'printed', 'processed', 'provided', 'saved', 'secured', 'validated', 'verified'] at this ['time', 'location', 'site', 'date', 'session'].';

TRURO: 'Do you mean Truro, ['Cornwall', 'Nova Scotia', 'Massachusetts', 'lowa', 'Illinois', 'Australia']?';

FALMOUTH: 'Do you mean Falmouth, ['Cornwall', 'Nova Scotia', 'Maine', 'Massachusetts', 'Virginia', 'Jamaica', 'Tasmania']?';

LOCATION: 'Not your current location?';

CORRECT: '['Please', 'Kindly'] ['alter', 'change', 'correct', 'modify', 'update'] your ['word', 'world'] ['here', 'now', 'then'].';

DATE: 'Wed Feb 04 2015 13:07:55 GMT+0000 (GMT Standard Time)'

J R CARPENTER http://bit.ly/1C7VMZG

wanting to be involved /

/ / I don't think theres

pressure. I think that

there are still many

benefits to being online

which outweighs the is-

sues with data collec

tion. The internet is

great, lets reclaim it! / Yes. It came with

the IT Revolution where

communication became easy online with lots

of fun. / / A vast num-

ber of young adults use it => peer pressure. Also it is a convenient method through which to maintain contact with presure through conven ience ie. becoming less easy to live w/out online / / yes and no. The use of the internet is a transition of society to a new version of society. Could we ask the same question about the wheel? / Yes! Probably on things. Being at home with two year olds I find touch with friends, stops me being so iso-lated. / Yes it comes from new social media / are a new liquid curing used negatively.

// Yes I am sure there is I just don't use it

that much. / / Commer-

cial needs a greed of

/ / I use it to keep in

touch with family over-

/ The need for validation. / yes, comes from

everyone being online. /

convenience b) services

moving online / Yes, me-

but people only portray

what they want others to

easily ready and available online / / / / As

if we don't keep pace we

risk becoming excluded /

a) a desire for maximu

portant to me. / / /

the online providers

social media, sociinform panies are increasingly offering c line onl wavs of cor fast ing, / Yes, from nies who wan traf their sites. Yes tech ing to sel and tomers as / us all, to 111 not having / Yes bu doubtedly in line wit exponentia. teraction tion. Ther it. / have learn from organi that i shoul carefu what informa tion to give laptop friends do it. / Yes, persuaded b this sure. / Yes definitelv think that i the future w will have will all b Pressur from

that most companies today are trying to move their services online / / Yes. Big corporations media intervention, be-

everyone

sure is

take no no

line.

28. What do we gain from the data we 'pay into' information and communication systems?

Usually a service - eg Facebook. / Not sure. quest of customer / / / //Convenience, more

tailored services and

info. / Nothing / not as

eg/googlemaps/

d by our ability t ing post or messages. connect and communicate / / convenience 14 be read I watched on so-

you might act or think ///NO///YES///

/ YES / YES / / YES / /

/ YES / YES / YES / / /

much as thinking it out

for yourself. / / / Pri-

pretation, but it takes

many forms. / nothing i still don't think it

works properly / / / I think we gain informa-

tion because it feeds

back to us the things we are interested in and

like. / / / no idea. / /

Nothing significant to an

and targeted adverts on my facebook etc. / / / / Information. Con-

nectivity. Engagement. / gain info about people

and what they do. / con-

venience. / / / / / / /

Global knowledge is en-

being "programmed".

An annoying sense of

google inter-

edge

YES / NO

ehaviour (5)

read (4)

peers. / / Worry about consequences of Twit-ter 'trolls' getting arrested etc. / got nothing to hide. / Tn ing more careful what is written, in others mak-

more

ways expecting my work to be read — it concerns

me that it may be mis-

ally but not personal-

ly. I am rather boring,

straight, uncontro-versial! / / sometimes

not that i would do any

usually don't share anything like that. / / / involved in threads as they are usually opinfacts and truth. / / Employees whose employtheir

PATRICIA FARRELL

http://bit.ly/1A5rzLs

(Scribble it out again, if you don't want the Option to publish the actual words.)

Government

with the in England napChat.

dick

Best Words: overnment ree (4)

ersonal

nforma-

apitalist pigs. I am more than number

I am not equal to any of you./Iam consumer,

number target o sell to.

It's frustrating

like vidual but ultimately I and tiring to put up a fight 24/7 - in the end we all give in a little and that's exactly what they want. A little leads to a lot until we've lost ourselves and become each other. / / There is so much corruption caused by government. Big rich individuals companies ruling society. No community Environmental denial. Heteronormativity dividuals are increasingly feeling they don't fit the 'one size fits all' of individuals. Mental health are widespread. People aren't being helped. Are't free to be themselves. Too much unhappiness in the world! Prejudice and discrim ination! Boooo! Let's make it more positive. / / Ideally I would was them to read any peice of my digitised co should admit that datamining can sometimes surprise by perfectly tailoring ads I actually click on. But this is minor, and loads of ethical and moral issues still in place the contexts of digital surveillance. / Personal conversations, details... anything we want to be hidden from the others. / / Government are dick heads who need to deal with the actual problems in England not f*cking Snap-Chat. 80% of england are below poverty line and all I her is Snapchat they could see it want them to!!!!) / / / Can't think of anything. ///This questionnaire is a violation of my privacy / They should read only about suspicious of people about everyone. Social

media should inform us-

ers how they can use our data. The law should be

more strict on information security. It should be published well so

that it creates aware-

public data will only

allow the people to be more free, it will give

us a better understand-

Profitable global corporations control the Internet and social media. Whereas in Europe there is a tradition of public service broadcasting and of acknowledging public service's importance for the flourishing of democracy, we are so accustomed to Google. Facebook, Apple and Microsoft's control of the Internet and digital media that the idea of a public service Internet seems completely alien to us. At the same time Prism and the continuous public criticisms of Google and Facebook show the need for alternatives. There are just two alternative models among the 100 most accessed web platforms in the world: the BBC's website and the non-commercial online encyclopaedia Wikipedia.

Can save time if our info

is already out there can better attune to an in-

/ / / / / Not much. / / can save time if our info

is already out there can

shopping experiences?

I don't think the user

gains. I think the busi-

Nothing / More secure and privacy about my details. / / potential

marketing etc. services

knowing how to imprve

ness gains. /

dividual's needs.

convenience (3)

information (3)

Rest Words:

It is about time that we start thinking about re-inventing the Internet, decolonising it and transforming it into a true public sphere. Based on Mahatma Gandhi, who when asked what he thinks about Western civilisation answered 'I think it would be a good idea', we can today say: Social media would be a good idea if it were truly free and public. Social media is possible, but for the time being remains a mere potential that has not-yet been realised. 13

http://bit.ly/1AwcUJt

NOTES

- 1 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-20288077
- http://www.theguardian.com/business/shortcuts/2012/ oct/17/boycotting-tax-avoiding-companies
- http://www.theguardian.com/media/2014/oct/22/ facebook-uk-corporation-tax
- http://www.bbc.co.uk/news world-us-canada-22820711
- 5 http://www.unocha.org/humansecurity/human-securityunit/human-security-approach
- 6 http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/ cmhansrd/cm140715/debtext/140715-0002.htm
- 7 http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jan/28/ european-commission-blanket-collection-passenger-data
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- 9 http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/jan/13/ banning-encryption-david-cameron-not-safer
- 10 http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2015/jan/12/ david-cameron-pledges-anti-terror-law-internet-parisattacks-nick-clegg
- 11 http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/internetsecurity/11340621/Spies-should-be-able-to-monitorall-online-messaging-says-David-Cameron.html
- 12 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VgWdyM91hFA
- 13 http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/belief/ 2013/apr/29/frankfurt-school-ernst-bloch-principleof-hope

gather information and

tential for 'being read'

/ / / / / Not huge criminal activity but if i was cheesed of with something i would prop-erly might say something ble to be more carei will regret. / / / Because if you are being watched you ate going to nable to act yourjudging or colconform and be on your ecting your data. / / / / I don't care best behaviour. / / It could have an affect I stay true to myand inhibit your normal behaviour / / It affects elf. No-one can tell our behaviour. / / / The eed (or want) to more you become used to individual. being watched the more I think I'd for-'normal' the behaviour et after a while. / becomes / I wonder when Perhaps, although always think that am signing my petitions who is monitoring me, but I feel passion-ate about what I sign. here is power would nlikely be inter-sted in snooping I hope that this won't change. / / / / yes. self censorship / / / / after other ordi-I may be afraid of / / / I have nothing to hide. / Probably if we're consciously aware of it something Despite that / You will try to change your actions to avoid them from having negadon't know what is cong anymore. / Because some peo-ple are like that you tive consequences / hange how you talk ike how it changes //////not really/ from with friends to 30. Please give us an example from your fa-cebook, twitter, etc conscious f being watched or which you would not oth-erwise have spoken, or self aware and "not even thought, without / I already this platform for 'being act different read'? don't know people create opinions etc and I am aware

I only speak online what I would speak out loud but online allows me double check that everything is factually cor-

Best Words: twitter (4)

of what I want to be online. / Everyone

wants to keep things

rivate and not feel

ecome very aware

of vour own behav-

ead them yourself. /

ometimes. // I will ontinue with the

ame behaviour be-

ause I will defy the

system tries to stop

e. / end up not tell-ng everything / / It

makes you/one more careful about publicis

I've always expected to

cial media. / Providing

have access to my info

/ / Self censorship and

no physical person ca

/ / I only speak online what I would speak out loud - but online allows everything is factually
correct! / / / / I am thing anymore and keeping to myself. / / Don't facebook much :/ / / / Not really. I don't update my status. / Don't have an example. / / /

/ / the whole thing / I

with a person's personcost them their work. / Keeping in contact with would not have kept in touch with / I am careful about the information I share (Black Mirror) / / / There is no exam ple I only post what I would say to someone. / None. Don't do Facebook and Twitter used generally for info exchange m very aware th everthing I write may be used against me am in business. / / I use Twitter to reach a loose community of practise around my professional practise/interest but I don't mind that because I choose what I broadcast. / / get an-gry with organisations that i don't think they regulate properly like NH's should be regulated by cqc nhs monitor nhs England it's frustrates they aren't doing the job properly / / I don't use social media in my opinion it is a vehicle of vitriol. / / I like to put on how I'm feeling I use the smiley icon all the time. / / can't / / / I don't use social media. / / / Don't use these sites / / I dont use social media / use facebook for family and general ideas ter for more political thoughts. / / / / gal matters which privileged. / FB is sh*t and no. / / I do not use Facebook and Twitter. / I don't post anything I wouldn't say out loud to somebody's face. / / /

31. Do you want to allow online communication which cannot be read e.g. Snapchat, Whatsapp or PGP encryption?

////YES///YES/// ///NO////YES/YES //YES///NO/YES// //YES/YES///YES/ / YES / YES / NO / YES / / NO / YES / / YES / YES / NO / / / NO / / / NO / / YES / / YES / YES / YES / NO / YES ///////////YES/

32 Please write some thing you would not want the government or large

ing of ourselves. Ultimately it is very likely that wide connections to large groups will empower people to evolve our society. Government are slow to react to this free growth, which is why the concern with encryption and privacy has been so apparent to politicians over the past few years. Those in power have the most to loose with the free info culure, social so-ciety has the most to gain. The biggest problems the governments use to try and control the flow of information usually relates to something that politicians have done wrong. It would probably be the things that could effect my employability in future, I'm not sure what! I openly speak out against Nestle and boy-cott them as I disagree with their baby milk promotion amongst other things. / / / / / / / xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx Secrets are secrets no matter the medium / / I hope you continue to believe you can change things. Actually I am not sure you can. / / / / / yes to the above question 31 I want the government and large companies to use are data properly not to sell it off to the highest bidder for cash. I this is very irresponsible of them and it makes us the general public not feel safe and ecure and are own identities then are insecure and organisations the public governments can use this in a fraudulent and criminal way. ulent and criminal way.

/ Financial status.

Medical History. Work

History. Political Activity. / / / I wouldn't like the government to publish any of my data or read it. But then again if I'm putting it again If I'm putting it on facebook then I am giving others permis-sion to use it. Because I don't really know where it's going once I have put it out there whether it be a picture or a phrase. Once I publish it I lose all control over it. / / / / Mind your own business! / Independent financing of arms or military espionage. / Something sarcastic, proactive, playing devils advo-cate, ironic that could be misinterpreted / I dont mind what the government accesses. porations matching purchases and suggesting options. / / / / / / / options. / / / / / / /
/ Drafts! Final version is fine. / Government is f*cked up and need to sort out actual problems and not spending time spying on us. / / / / / / / / / KILL ALL ISIS LEADERS BY ANY

33. Comments

MEANS NECESSARY /

Summary:
Data has no physical representation.

Best Words: people (3) been (2) government (2)

/ / / / Data has no physical representation. / / / / / / / / / / / Thanks. / / / / / Thanks. / / / / / / / re encryption: I don't want to stop it. If people re willing / want to use it, that is their choice but people

FURTHER READING

Alan Westin, *Databanks* in a Free Society — Computers, Record Keeping and Privacy (New York: Quadrangle, 1972)

need to learn some... de-

corum (?) I think thiere
is oversharing. But is

it just a modern version

of secret swapping. It's just the tools that have

changed. This ques-

tionaire really made me think am I just practi-

cal on my view of data

and my privacy or should

I be more concerned. /... sorry this is probably

too late to make 5pm but

having been round today

found the Libary fantastic and wanted to fill

going to use our person-

al information. :) ///
/ I am a computer 'dinosaur' I do what I have to

do and no more. I hadn't realised the extent of surveillance out there.

I hope your project is effective for more of us to gain insight / / / / / / / This question-

// // This questionnaire is far too long and isn't fully under-

stand able for non internet people. / / / / / / / / 1) it is not

"the government" it is "our government" 2) on

a recent visit to Moscow

underground I noticed a statue of Stalin which

looked down at the com-

muters had gone and been replaced with a cctv camera / / / / / /

Anne Brunon-Ernst, *Beyond Foucault:* New Perspectives on Bentham's Panopticon (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013)

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CLAUDE MORAES is Labour Member of the European Parliament for London and Chair of the European Parliament's Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs Committee (LIBE) and responsible for the European Parliament's Inquiry and report into the Electronic Mass Surveillance of EU citizens.

NED ROSSITER is Professor of Communication at the Institute for Culture and Society, University of Western Sydney. His forthcoming book is titled Software, Infrastructure, Labor: A Media Theory of Logistical Nightmares. He is coordinating with Brett Neilson the tricontinental research project: Logistical Worlds: Infrastructure, Software, Labour (http://logisticalworlds.org).

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COLOPHON

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