Surveillance and Popular Culture II
The New Surveillance in Visual Imagery

Oh say can you see....

Francis Scott Key

It's too bad for us 'literary' enthusiasts, but it's the truth nevertheless - pictures tell any story more effectively than words.

W. Marston Moulton, Creator of Wonder Woman and Pioneer Inventor of the Polygraph

This chapter continues considerations of popular culture and surveillance by looking at images and ideas seen in humor, illustrations, advertisements and art. It concludes with a consideration of some broader implications of surveillance messages. Some images are shown in the text and still others are at http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/surv_images.htm and in the supplementary material on children (Ch. 8) at http://press.uchicago.edu/sites/marx/

Humor

Every joke is a small revolution.

George Orwell

I identify four types of surveillance humor: *accommodation, machine-human frame breaks, dystopias,* and *reversals*. The accommodation theme involves routinizing and folding into everyday activities new (and sometimes shocking) devices. The technology is domesticated and made familiar through its association with commonplace activities. It may serve as a functional alternative to traditional means with the cartoon for "Joe's" in chapter 2 which offers various forms of assessment (loyalty, cholesterol) are at the familiar drive-thru business.

With machine-human frame breaks technologies, humans, or animals "act" like each other and cross the boundaries of what is conventionally expected of their type. The humor lies in the juxtaposition of things we "know" that don't go together. For example a man puts his feet up on his desk, and a sign appears on his computer monitor reading, "Take your feet off the desk."

The third type of surveillance humor is "1984 dystopia," in which the image maker intends to shock us through satire. This says, it's all-powerful, it's everywhere, it's inhuman, it's crazy, and this is what it could/will logically lead to. This also suggests the question, where will

it end? Consider the computer screen of a data-entry worker that reads, "Faster! Faster! You're working 12% slower than the person next to you." Next to her, also entering data into a computer is a robot with smoke pouring out of its head from working so fast. Or consider a widely circulated image that appeared with concerns about NSA listening:
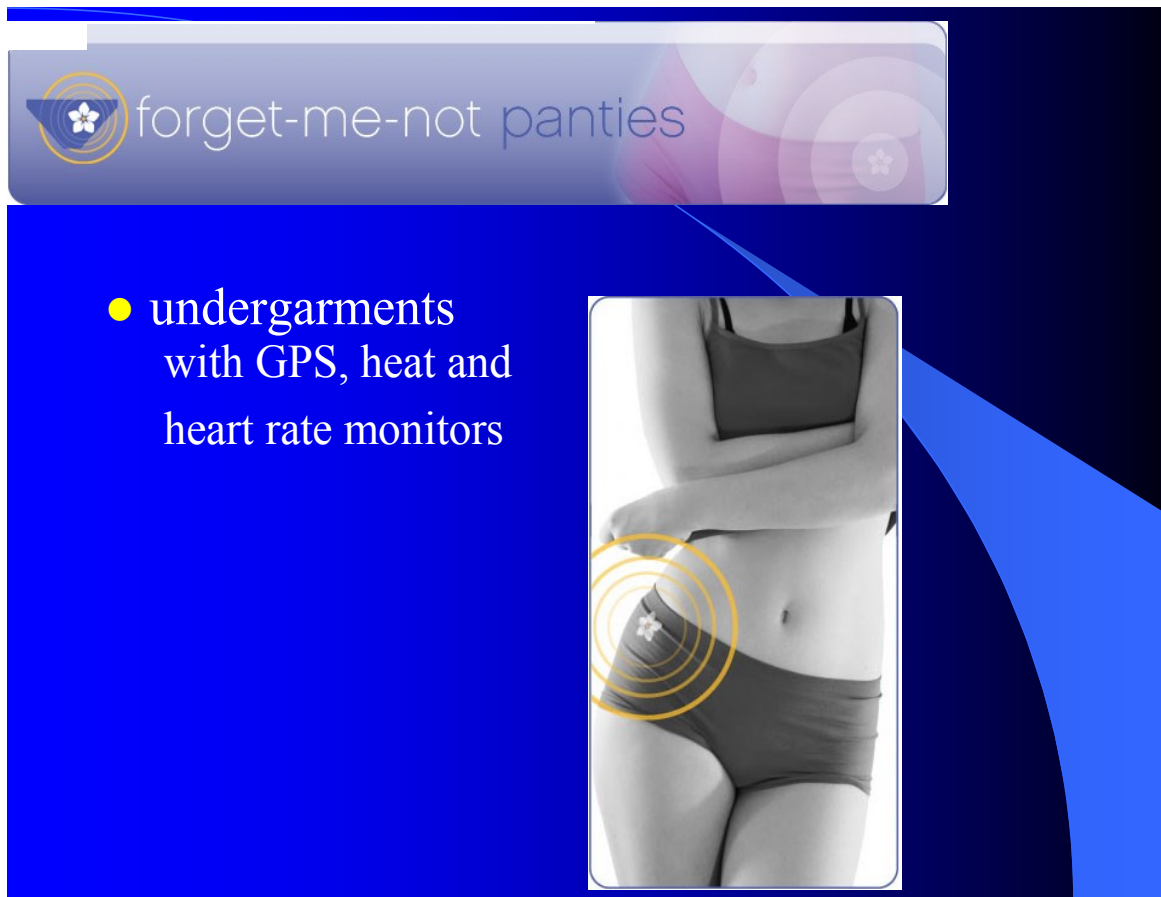

A fourth form of surveillance humor involves "reversals." Here an action may have unexpected and unwanted consequences. Actors may be hoisted by their own petards. The usual surveillance subjects may even have the last laugh or revenge, reversing the power relations enhanced by the technology. For example a couple at home is watching a politician on television giving a campaign speech. A lie-detection device is attached to their television set. The man says, "According to the voice-stress analyzer, he is not going to lower taxes."

Surveillance humor is not restricted to drawings. Consider the specious offer of "forget-me-not panties" that appeared on the web (http://pantyraiders.org/forgetmenotpanties/) It asks,

Ever worry about your wife cheating? Want to know where your daughter is late at night? Need to know when your girlfriend's temperature is rising? This amazing device will answer all of your questions! These panties can give you her location, and even her temperature and heart rate, and she will never even know it's there! Unlike the cumbersome and uncomfortable chastity belts of the past, these panties are 100% cotton, and use cutting-edge technology to help you protect what matters most. Make sure you will never be forgotten. Forget-me-not panties™ have built-in GPS and unique sensor technology giving you the forget-me-not advantage."

This spoof, created as an art project, was taken seriously by millions of people and received over 300 requests from distributors. Among the fan letters "This idea has a lot of potential, but you will sell a MUCH larger amount of this product...fear needs to be your

motivator...think about changing the name; ie., keepyourchildrensafe.com or preventkidnapping.com. Other letters asked the company to create similar boxers for men or expressed indignation --"this product, I would like to remind you, helps no one: those who buy these undergarments are being robbed of the bond of trust between partners and family members, having it replaced with chains of technology."

©: info@pantyraiders.org

"The Eyes Have It": Illustrations

In magazine and newspapers a variety of conventionalized visual cues are used to illustrate the topic. The best-known is the eye, followed by the ear. This reflects the centrality of sight and hearing to surveillance relative to the other senses. The emblem of the Pinkerton National Detective Agency--a simple eye with the slogan "We Never Sleep"--is a good illustration. It suggests both the agency's dedication to duty and its omnipresence.

Picking up on the "we never sleep" theme the Gruman team's BSTS (Boost Surveillance and Tracking System) boasts that "it never blinks".

A public service poster from the MIT Campus Police shows a large computer-drawn eye made up of many visible dots and includes this message: "Counting your eyes, there are about 18,000 eyes on our campus. There are only 52 in the MIT Campus Police Department. If you see something suspicious, give us a call."

Other versions are below. The eye in the U.S. map suggests spatial breadth. The surveillance devices within the eye of the agent offer windows into the soul of the subject. The disembodied eyeball floating freely seems to have a life of its own disconnected from the usual physical restraints of the world. The eye from above looking down in a 1934 poster from IBM's German subsidiary promises to see "everything with Hollerith punch cards", including identifying those destined for concentration camps. The eye in the television set is prescient in anticipating that sensors can monitoring viewing behavior and also is sort of a pun being within the set. They eye in the keyhole trope is again easily understood as spying through the closed door. Many examples involve this joining of elements that are not supposed to, or can't occur together or suggest a red flag if they do.
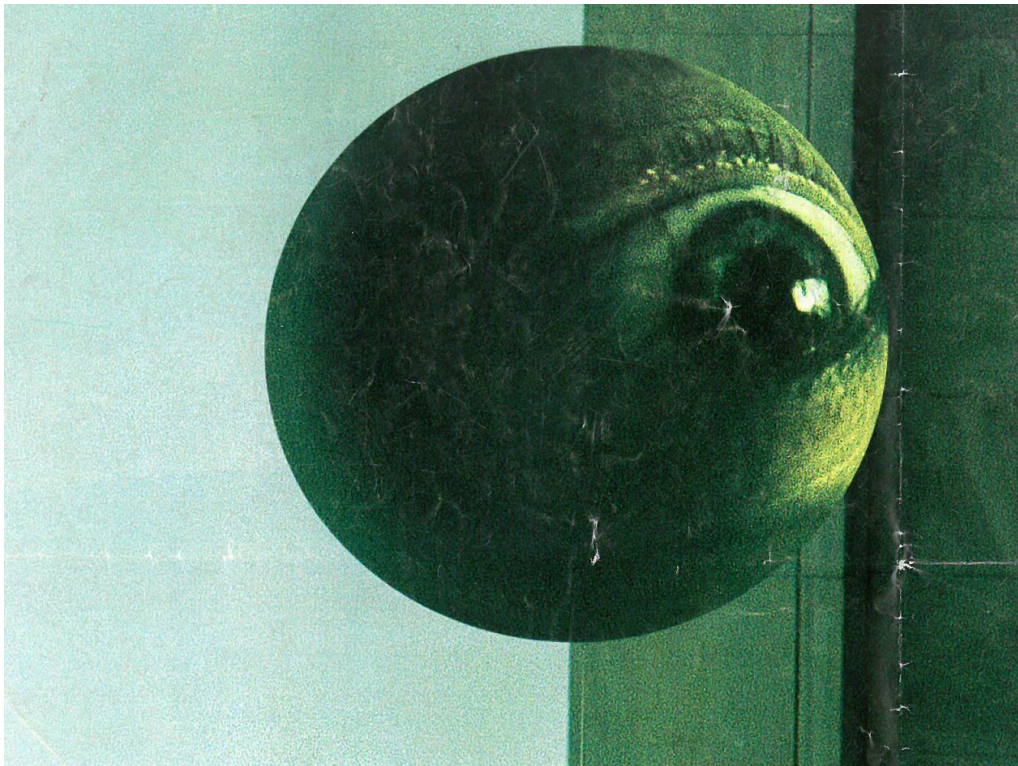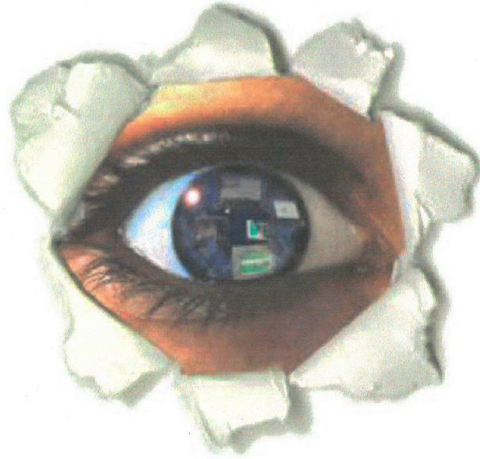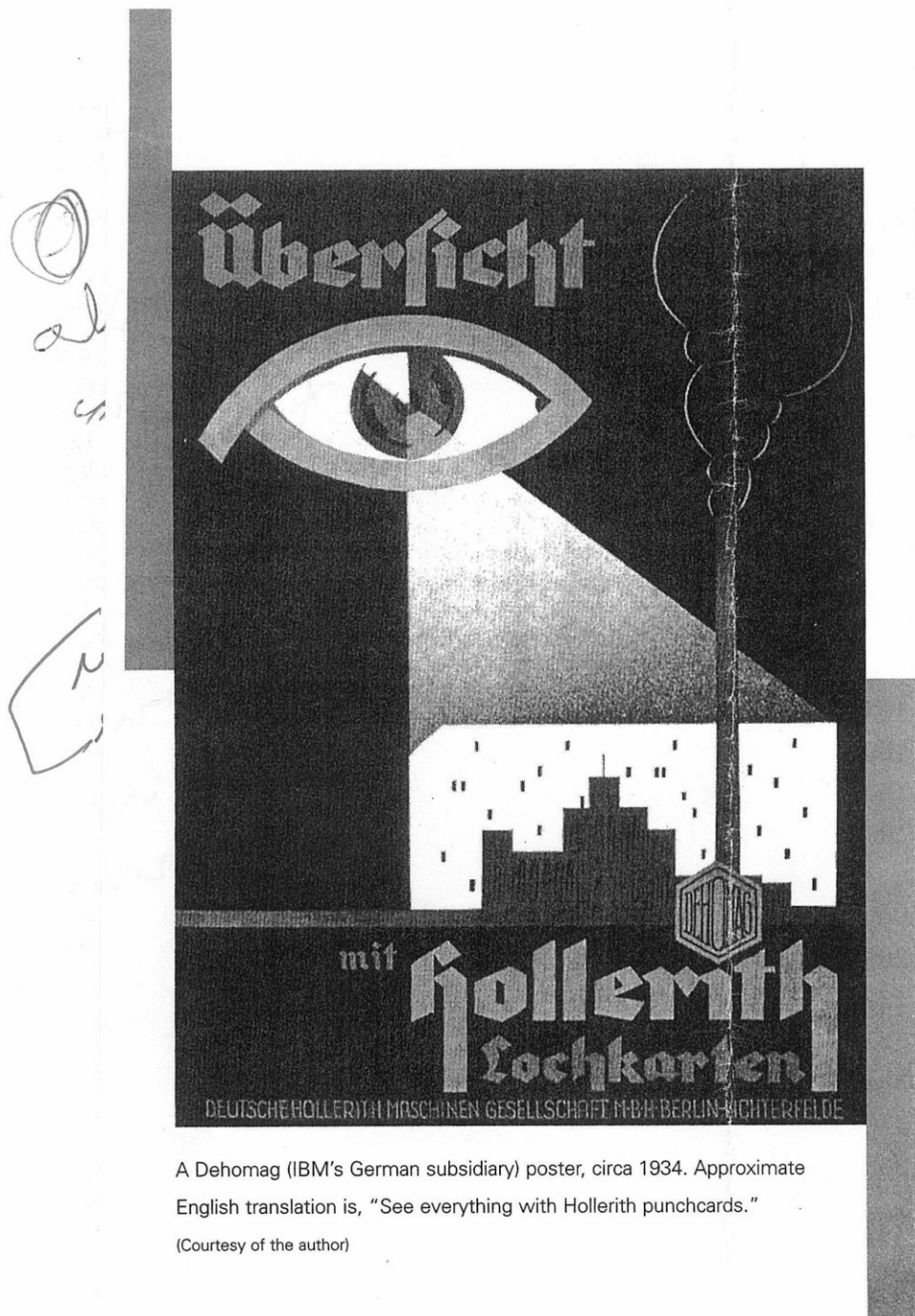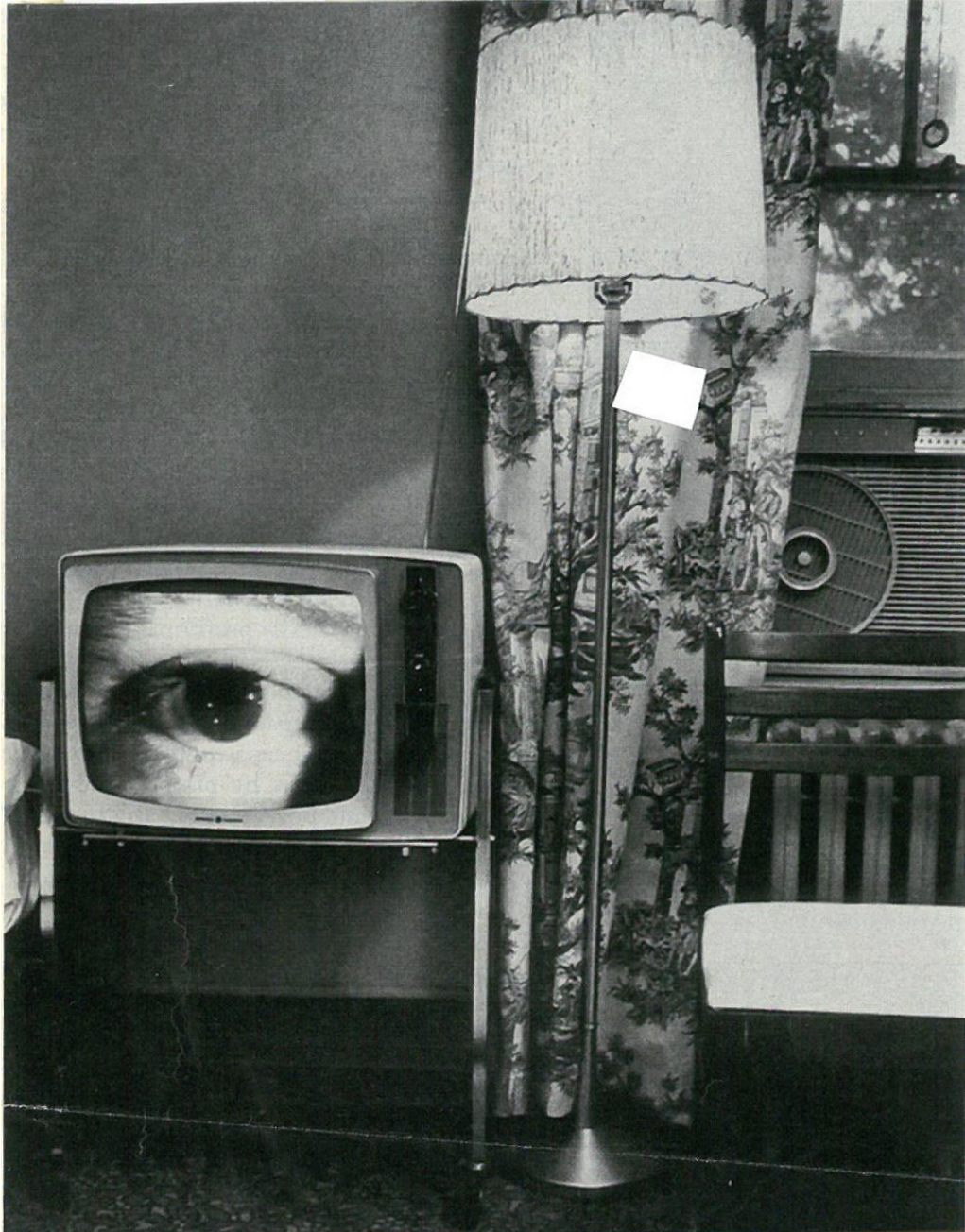
A Dehomag (IBM's German subsidiary) poster, circa 1934. Approximate English translation is, "See everything with Hollerith punchcards." (Courtesy of the author)

Image above is from *The NAZI Census Identification and Control in the Third Reich.* G. Aly and K. Roth. Temple Univ. Press. 2000.

Common to many illustrations is the breaking of frames as with the eye in the TV set above. Things that are not usually together, or could never be together, in the real world are joined. Many surveillance-themed illustrations involve the grafting of two discrete elements together with a transfer of meaning (whether reciprocal or one-way) between objects. As with much linguistic communication, something new comes to be understood by reference to something already known. The familiar informs or offers a new way to think about the unfamiliar --whether the things it can do or its spatial and temporal locations.

Consider the iconic image of the cowboy on horse back watching cattle. In the image below, the cow is electronically branded and his identification is determined by the chip.

The technique of illuminating something new by reference to something known can be seen in an illustration depicting a DNA identification card. This shows a double helix and some numbers that would be meaningless to most people, yet by making these part of a familiar id card the meaning is clearer.
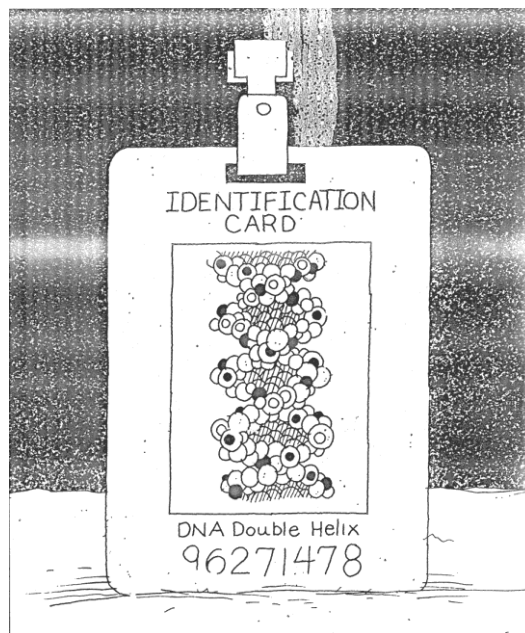
In a common frame break the human and the nonhuman are merged. Eyes, ears, and technologies for enhancing seeing and hearing (magnifying glasses, binoculars, telescopes, microphones) are joined to elements that they can not be joined to in reality. See below the wings of the American eagle converted into elongated ears or a microphone in the raised arm and binoculars added to the eyes of the Statue of Liberty; an eye inside an ear with a tiny person standing on the ear; or an eye inside of a fingerprint.
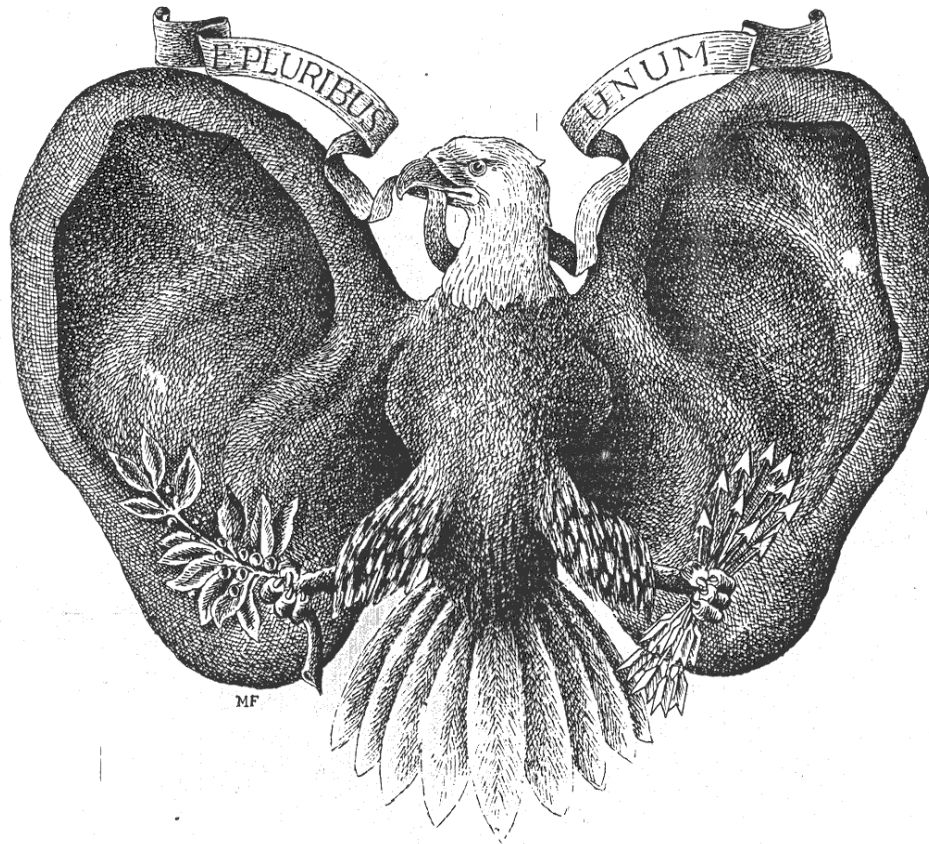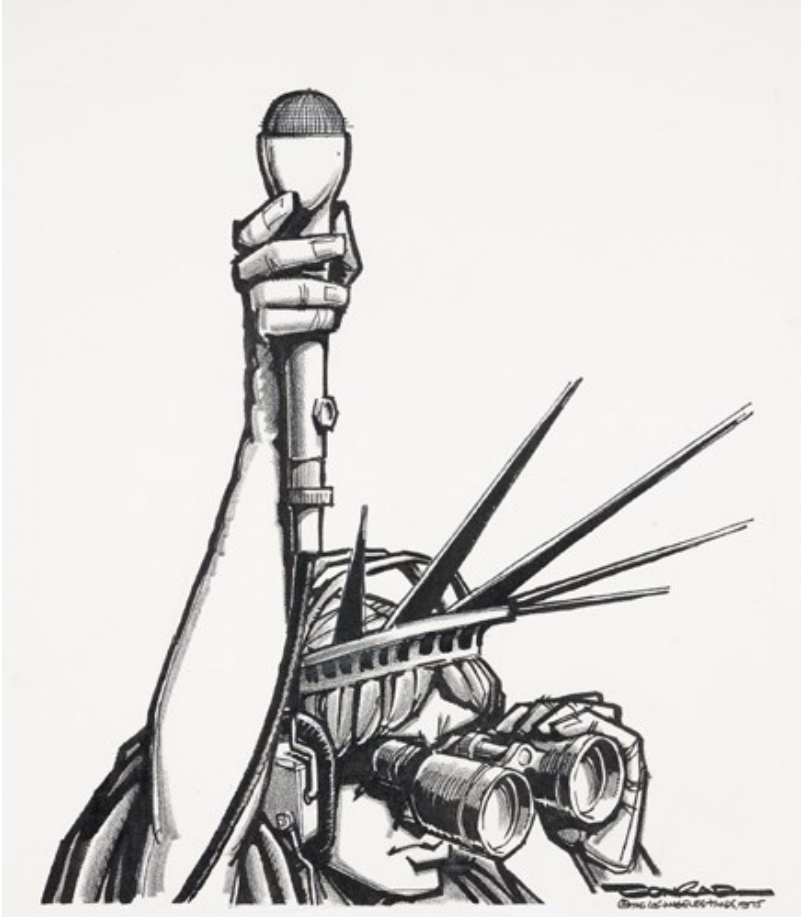
BIOMETRICS TODAY

"The Big Brother" by Turhan Selcuk
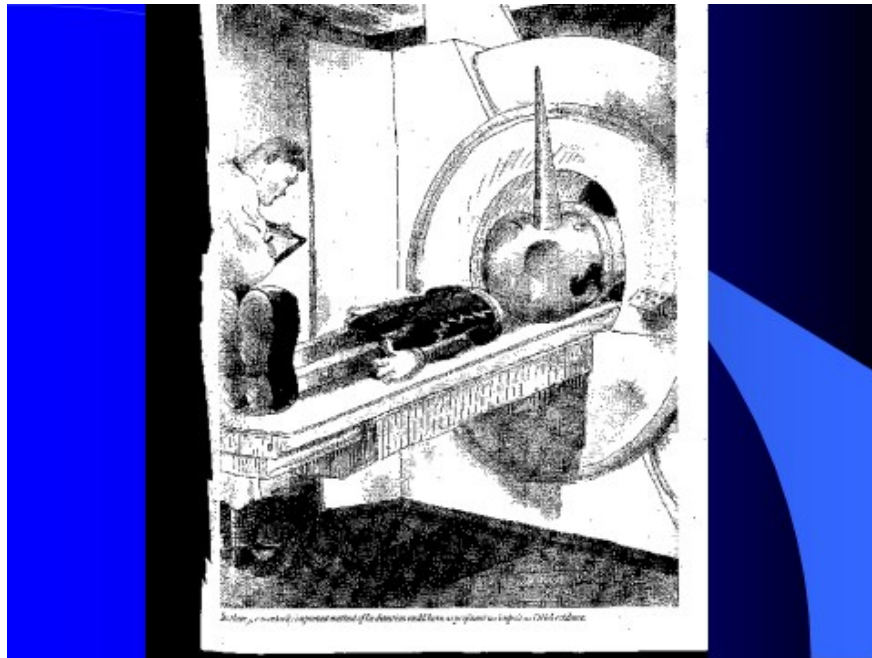
The image above illustrated a story about brain imaging claimed to detect lying.

A politician skewered on the antenna of his cordless phone offers a figurative rendering of the damage done. He was overheard talking to his mistress, and when this information became public, it damaged his political career.
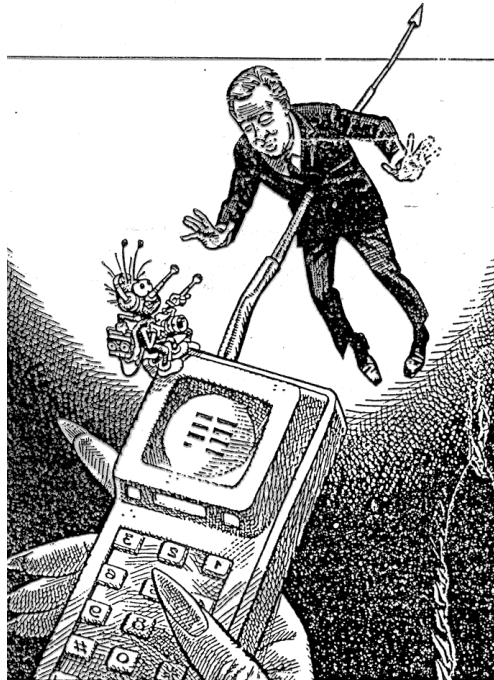
A drawing accompanying a story about caller ID shows a telephone earpiece containing a hidden eye. Looking through a keyhole or a one way mirror as in the images that follow do double duty in both revealing that the surveillance is covert and showing the breaking through of borders presumed to be protecting information, in this case by a Uncle Sam.
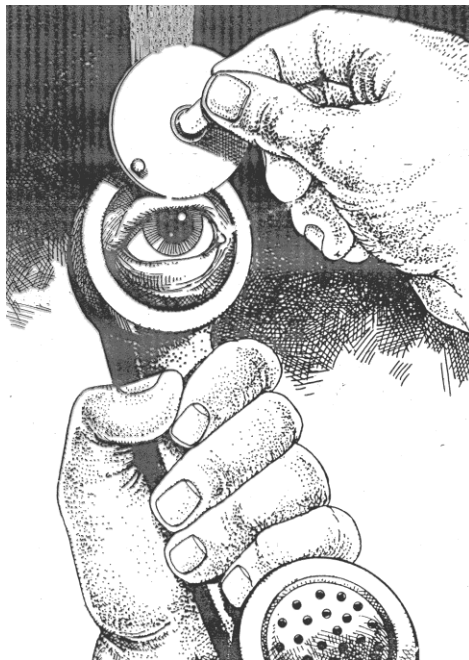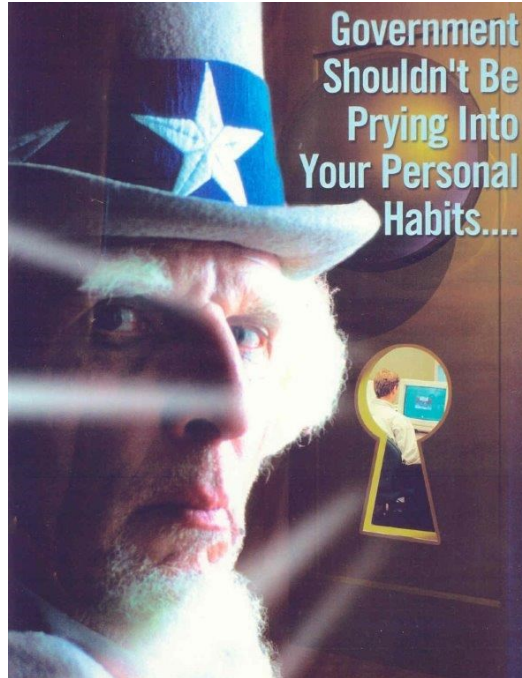
Parallels may also be drawn with words. Thus in the image below a computer security system is compared to a pack of snarling and sniffing Dobermans, but also does much more.

The monitoring of commerce has come a long way since the state of the art monitoring system shown in a 1929 *Business Week* ad that promised, "a *finger on every department* of your business". Contrast that system, which mostly looked internally at data flows, with the more intense monitoring of the worker seen in the 1980s and of the consumer in the decades that followed.

A *finger on every department* of your business

A system of day-to-day control that keeps you posted on every trend

THE busy-looking office . . . the busy-looking factory . . . enthusiastic verbal reports from department heads—none of these necessarily mean that business is making profits.

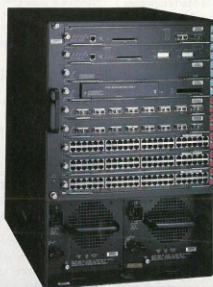No matter how prosperous the scenery may look, it is the cold, hard figures from every department—compiled every day—that tell the true story of your trend.

When an executive has all the vital facts and figures before him, posted up-to-date each day, he has his fingers on the safest index upon which to base decisions and to chart future operations.

Elliott-Fisher enables you to base decisions on information that is right up to the minute. The records of every department are compiled every day and summarized in a simple, concise report. This is placed on your desk every morning, and even before you open your morning mail, you know exactly where you stood the day before.

Without interfering with your present accounting methods or adding a single man to your payroll,

Elliott-Fisher combines many operations into a simple, unified plan of control. Thousands of executives depend on Elliott-Fisher.

We should like to tell you about the part that Elliott-Fisher fact-finding machinery plays in the successful management of many well-known firms. Let us send you full information. Use the coupon below.

The Elliott-Fisher flat surface accounting-writing machine
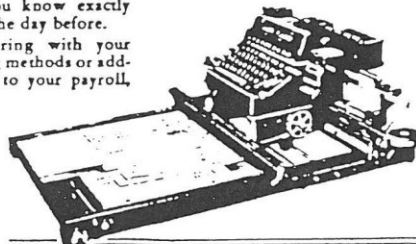
Elliott-Fisher

Flat Surface Accounting-Writing Machines

GENERAL OFFICE EQUIPMENT CORPORATION

Division of Underwood Elliott Fisher Company

342 Madison Avenue, New York City

"Underwood Elliott Fisher, Sundstrand, Speed the World's

General Office Equipment Corporation
342 Madison Avenue, New York City
Gentlemen: Kindly tell me how Elliott-Fisher can give me closer control of my business.

Name _____

FIGURE 17

'... Company lie detector tests, company urine tests, I swear, where's it all gonna end?.'

Compare how benign these techniques are relative to those discussed in Chapter 7 on the Omniscient Organization.

A computer printout coming from a man's chest while he holds a shopping bag and TV set, illustrates market research that joins television ad-watching with shopping

The Battle to Wire the Consumer
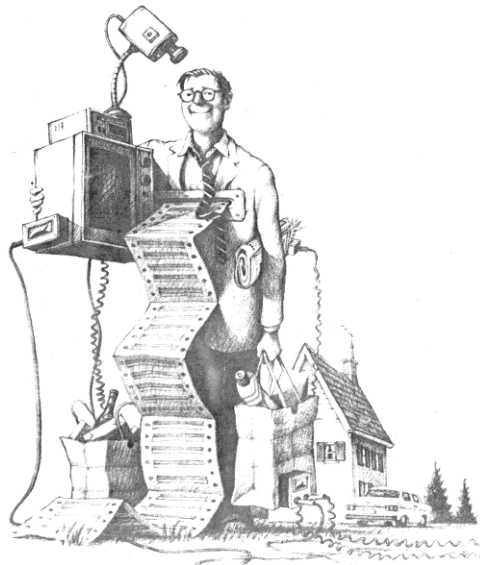
Verbal clichés are commonly seen in an illustration. Consider a drawing of a wall with eyes and ears ("the walls have ears") or a police agent holding up a spider's web with a gun in the center to illustrate a story about stings involving illegal weapons.
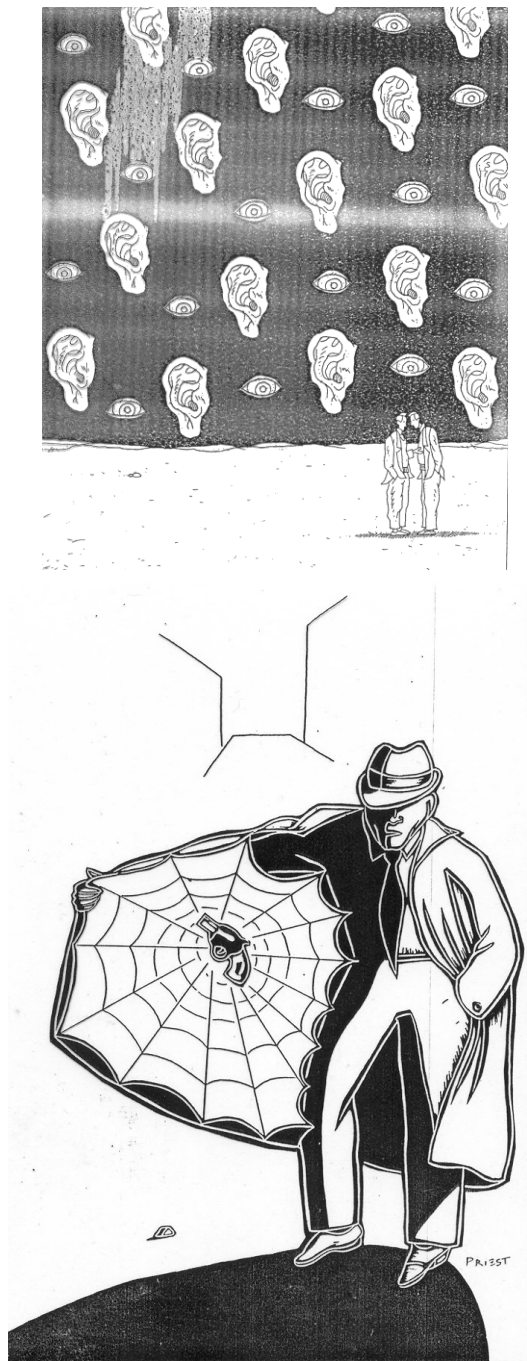
    Another set of images relates to the idea of the "data shadow" or "data image"--illustrated by showing a person alongside of another image with his body inscribed with the kinds of personal data stored in computers. Seeing the person revealed in this way suggests new meanings of the self or personhood.

A majority of images show surveillance agents (or their tools) rather than subjects, even as there are implied warnings and a hint of dire consequences. But images of victims also abound. An example of such an illustration is a man holding up a hand to block a spotlight shining down on him.
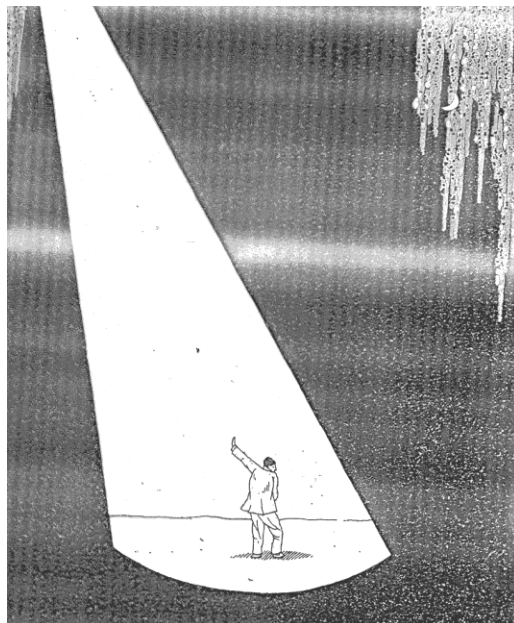
Note a drawing of a person cowering inside a home under the glare of an unfriendly surveillance eye.
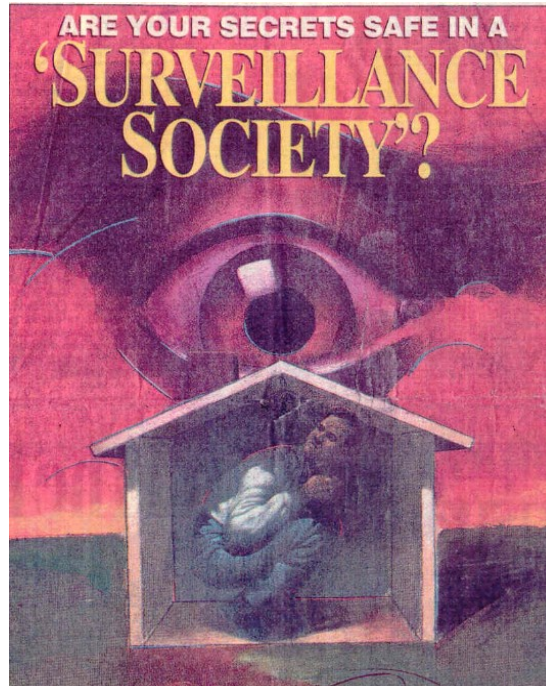
Or check out an individual standing under the lens of a giant microscope or under a magnifying glass intended to illustrate DNA testing.
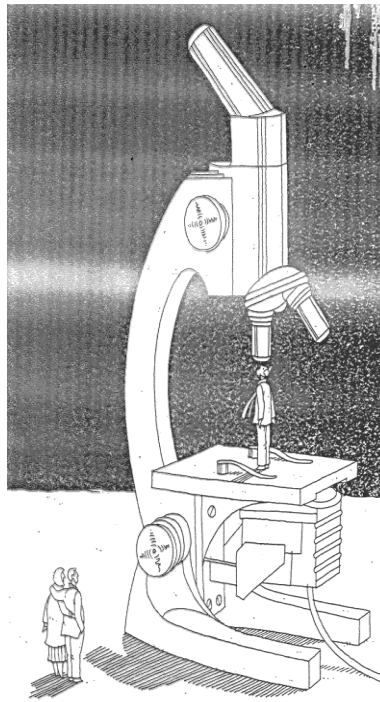
A Dutch social movement concerned with data protection shows a person's face overlapping a bar code.

STICHTING WAAKZAAMHEID PERSOONSREGISTRA

Advertisements of Several Kinds

Messages are where they are, whether on subway walls and tenement halls, t-shirts, bumper and other stickers, yard signs, t-shirts, lapel pins, cups, key chains, wedding passes or via sky-writing.

The messages about video surveillance vary from the softer efforts that advise "SMILE You're on Camera", and "You look gorgeous" to "Warning ...by entering you agree to be audio & video recorded", to pleas to "please respect our private property". In contrast there are the more direct "WARNING Security Cameras in use", often prefaced by "For Your Protection". Some

have fuller disclosure regarding "Hidden and Visible Cameras Video Surveillance for Owner's Protection Only". It would be interesting to see locations these are associated with and whether the softer tone creates greater compliance than the more threatening tone.

There are also satirical protest messages as on bumper stickers that read, "WARNING the NSA has Wiretapped your Mother for your Protection"; "U.S. Dept. of Homeland Insecurity" or simply, "i wasn't using my civil liberties anyway" None of Your BUSINESS" and "The Government knows you've been reading this sticker".
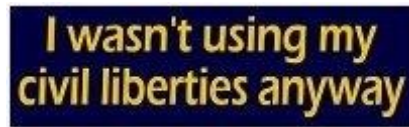
Bumper Stickers

   There are many more T-shirts protesting surveillance than directly supporting it or wanting to see it increased. Perhaps this is because there is already so much surveillance and in one sense those favoring it have prevailed. Activists seeking to roll it back are in the position of being the challengers. Slogans such as, "You may not know a lot about computers, but they know a lot about you, "DON'T SPY ON ME, BRO", "One nation under surveillance", "DON'T TREAD ON MY DATA" and a variety of other satirical offerings such as the word OBEY above an eye and "YOU ARE UNDER SURVEILLANCE" or "WE NEED MORE GOVERNMENT SURVEILLANCE" (whether or not this is satire is in the eye of the viewer).
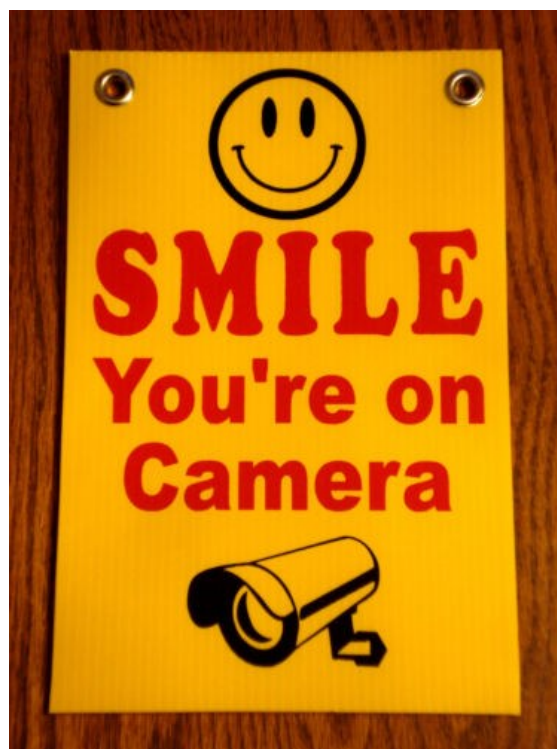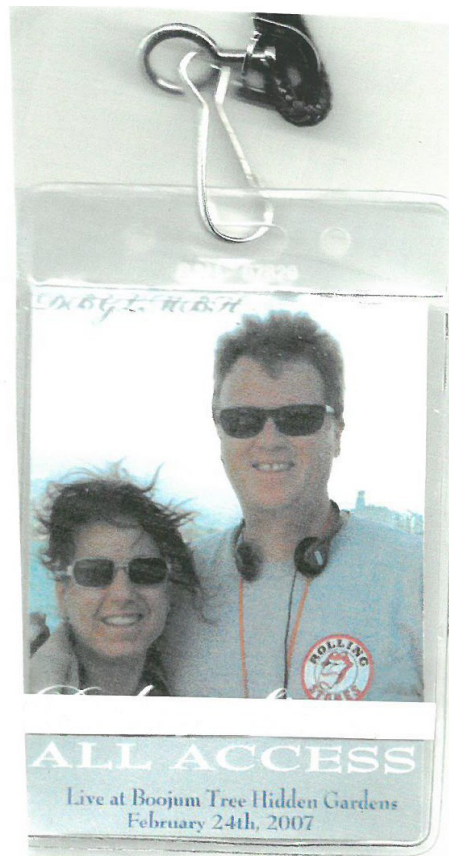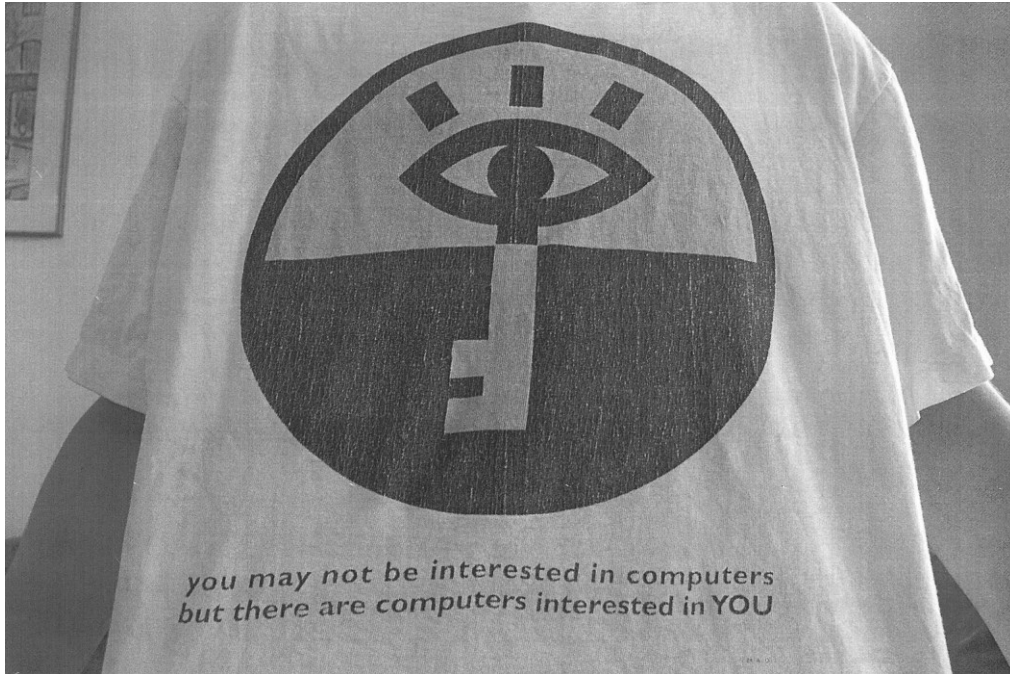
**Surveillance in popular culture.
An ALL ACCESS card for wedding
guests**

Messages about surveillance commonly aim to shape the surveillance related behavior of subjects and agents as citizens and consumers. Messaging is a central part of surveillance as deterrence and the message in informing subjects is, as with the British ad against spitting in public, "you can't get away with it".

The "see something, say something" ads, encourage citizens to act as agents in watching others. New tools become the locus for old messages. Below we see an appeal to cell-phone carrying citizens to act as agents in reporting single drivers in a lane reserved for car pools. Informing is advertised as a heroic act rather than that of the tattle tale. Equivalent messages deal with littering and in some communities even warn those who fail to scoop the poop that their identity can be determined through the dog's DNA.

THANKS
FOR BEING
A HERO!

REPORT
FAST LANE
VIOLATORS
764-HERO

Washington State
Department of
Transportation

From the dawn of our history, internal law
and order has had to depend, in greater or less
measure on the informer.

Police Manual

The traditional reward poster is another passive form of surveillance urging citizens as potential agents to inform authorities of the identity or whereabouts of a suspect. Consider signs with a surveillance photo which read "$1000 Reward. This individual robbed the Washington Mutual Bank on Aug. 4. If you can identify him, call RAT on a Rat. 1-800-552-7595. And if your call lead to an indictment, we'll pay you $1000. Don't worry about getting involved. All we want is his identity, not yours."

There are also signs encouraging individuals *not* to act as agents by exercising self-control. Consider signs seen at medical and banking facilities calling for a kind of self-surveillance as a means of regard for others. With respect to decent behavior, here we see the large role played by taken for granted signage and latent, mannerly expectations, beyond law or material rewards. Most persons know that it would be impolite to stand too close or to appear to be attending to the person in front of them, but signs reinforce this. Small repetitive acts and specific messages are likely to have a greater impact than abstract blandishments to follow the golden rule or to respect privacy.

There are also messages directed at potential subjects. Consider notices placed on trash containers in some drug stores warning customers not to throw away any personal health information in a "public" receptacle and those prohibiting cell phone use or warning health personnel in elevators not to discuss patients.

The design of some computers aims to exclude passers-by from reading a screen and, even a piece of paper shielding prior entries into a ledger (such as that used by a notary) physically blocks the observer, but also sends a message with the words "Notary Privacy Guard".
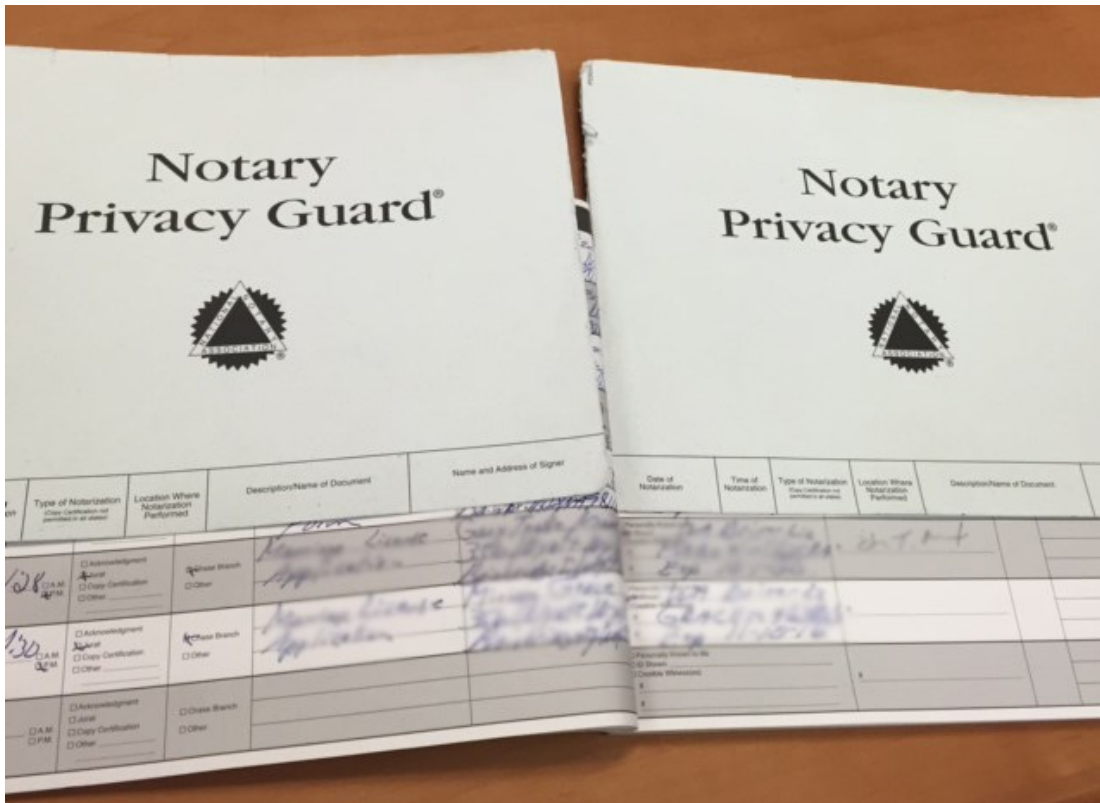
An interesting example of a soft message aimed at a subject's hoped for self-surveillance can be seen in the following sign posted 'To the man who has been taking my Wall Street Journal' (Berkeleyside March 19, 2015, photo by Marty Schiffenbauer)

> **To the Berkeley man who has been taking my Wall Street Journal so many times over so many years:**
>
> We recently installed a video surveillance system around the building and we have a very nice image of you taking the newspaper yesterday March 12th at 7:32:08 AM at 2019 Blake Street.
>
> Here's the deal:
>
> Obviously the Wall Street Journal is important to your life. So, if you'd like, just feel free to borrow it every day as long as you return it around 10 or 11 the same morning.
>
> This offer is contingent upon the newspaper being returned in a relatively crisp state with no coffee stains.
>
> I find the editorial stance of the Wall Street Journal to be reprehensible, but the journalism still justifies the subscription.
>
> However if you are reading the WSJ for its editorial and op-ed positions, I reserve the right to withdraw this offer.
>
> By taking the newspaper today, Friday March 13th, you hereby initiate this contract with no jeopardy to your reputation.
>
> Any stock tips you might have would be greatly appreciated.
>
> *Richard*

Note the joining of surveillance and communication in which the name and photo of an offender appeared in his local newspaper with this message, "On Nov. 1, 2010 I was convicted of child molestation and received a 30 year suspended sentence and 30 years of probation for my crime. If you are a child molester get professional help immediately or you may find your picture and your name in the paper and your life under control of the State. *This ad is being published by order of the Superior Court judge who sentenced me."*

Product Ads

In contrast to illustrations for articles about surveillance in the first section of this chapter, the art in the last section or in ads for films such as Kafka or for interest groups (such as the next two images) commercial ads generally show less creativity and don't break frames. They are more likely to be straight forward, describing a product or service rather than abstract ideas such as surveillance or anonymity. This direct approach is illustrated by an ad that shows a variety of devices and simply asks, "Where can you go to see and hear what your eyes and ears can't?"; another: "Eavesdrop for under $80!" And such a bargain! "You'd expect to pay double for a mini-recorder . . . especially one that's voice-activated". Or consider the case of in an ad for a PLB (personal location device) marketed to skiers and others in remote locations which transmits a powerful distress signal.

Unless they're stopped, the Bells will know more about you than even the IRS.

American Newspaper Publishers Association

Newspapers are conducting a blunt ad campaign against the Bell telephone companies to keep them out of the information-services business.

Jeremy Irons in the title role of the new Steven Soderbergh film, "Kafka," which is at Cinema 2.

Miramax Films

Also in the surveillance as care category is an ad from Samsung that promises help for "a victim of Alzheimer's Disease". This was striking in 1991 when the ad appeared.

Like a small child, a victim of Alzheimer's Disease can get lost and not know the way home. He may not remember his phone number or his name. He may wander

off in the middle of the night or in the dead of winter. He may forget to wear shoes or a coat. The Samsung Group has developed the technology for a computerized monitoring program which will one day make it possible to pinpoint his exact location and direction of travel. Instantly. So when he can't find his way home, home can find its way to him.

SAMSUNG
Technology that works for life.

Deception and lying may be defined in ads as "pretending." Thus, an ad for a call-forwarding device reports that you can be at home and pretend to be at the office, and "best of all, the person calling never knows." Rather than words such as secret, hidden, covert, snoop, or spy, we see "discreet viewing," the possibility of "less conspicuous use," the ability to "unobtrusively snap a photo," or to gather information "unobserved." A telephone conversation recorder "automatically records your conversations for replay so that you can concentrate on your call and later retrieve information without the bother of time-consuming note taking." Unstated are the advantages that a secret recording can offer "without the bother of having to ask permission."

Reference to esteemed sponsors or carriers may be used to sanctify and recommend use by the ordinary person. The technology may be built to "military specifications" or may have been "originally designed for the DEA"; it may be "the same sophisticated technology used by professionals" or "used by U.S. government agencies."

Ads for defensive and discovery products and services may attempt to generate fear and anxiety and then offer a means of coping. An ad for a "memo muncher" asks, what is the cost of a memo seen by "a wrong person"? Is "your competition looking through your garbage at night?" Even absent that, you can't be certain: "People are naturally inquisitive and you can never be quite sure that some private document doesn't end up in the wrong hands." That is, unless of course you spend $300 on their product. An ad in a computer magazine advises "GET DEFENSIVE! YOU CAN'T SEE THEM BUT YOU KNOW THEY'RE THERE. Hackers pose an invisible but serious threat to your information system." An ad for an intrusion detector shows a shadowy burglar breaking in, with the caption "Chances are that your home and both your vehicles don't have security alarms. Your daughter or son, away at college, is probably relatively defenseless as well." But not to worry, the simple Security Monitor will solve all problems.

The ads may draw on a sense of responsibility or obligation, particularly as is the case with children described in chapter 8 (PISHI --Parents Insist on Surveillance Inc). Many ads are shown in the deleted material from chapter 8 on this webpage (e.g., if you really love your child, you have a duty to purchase the product). Thus an ad for Child Guardian shows a smiling child wearing his electronic sensor on a belt, and warns that "the number of child abductions each year grows increasingly alarming." But with Child Guardian, "your active youngster is under a 'watchful eye' every moment." An ad for Guardian Angel includes an idyllic picture of a child playing with this warning: "It can happen anywhere: one moment your child is playing at your side. The next, he or she is gone." Similarly, an ad for a drug-testing system reports that "teenage drug abuse is our #1 problem" and shows a worried mom saying, "Something was wrong with my son but he'd insist things were O.K." Ordering the drug testing kit helped her "find the problem and helped put my family back together."

With respect to gender, the ads and the song lyrics reflect normative patterns in which, if an agent is shown, it is likely to be a man. Few ads involve women as users, and even fewer involve a woman gazing at a man. When a subject is shown it is likely to be a subordinate, such as a child, worker, or prisoner.

When a man and a woman are in an ad, it is more common for a man to be looking at a woman than the reverse. This gendered pattern illustrates what Foucault (1977) calls the male gaze and may reflect erotic curiosity and men's generally greater interest in technology. An implicit link between sex and violence may be seen in some ads that show attractive females within the viewfinder of a camera that could equally be a rifle scope. An ad for a night scope frames a scantily clad woman in its lenses. It is captioned, "The dark holds no secrets with the night penetrator." This is "ideal for discreet viewing or map-reading, nocturnal wild life and life and astronomic observation, or maritime navigation." If that is so, one wonders why the ad shows a woman as the subject of surveillance rather than some other form of nocturnal wild life.

Whether or not the male impetus to look is stronger, it is less socially inhibited.[i] Increased feminist consciousness and sanctions for sexual harassment may further enhance the male market for covert surveillance devices, as the normative boundaries become more restricted. But it may also mean greater equality in the gaze. If so, we might expect more ads showing females as users, with males as objects of surveillance

Visual Art

Well, who you gonna believe? Me or your own eyes?

Chico Marx *Duck Soup*

Apart from the use of the visual to accompany text about surveillance, contemporary artists, in reflecting the material culture and cultural themes of their time, have turned to surveillance media and topics, using the technology to reveal unseen and sometime imaginary elements and to help the observer experience surveillance. The art of surveillance is an expanding cultural as well as applied field. Many of the forms, themes and ideas seen in contemporary work were present in the first contemporary group exhibit dealing with the new surveillance (LACE 1987). This initial show in Los Angeles joins technology and culture and shows how new inventions are quickly put to use beyond those intended by their creators. This expropriation and repurposing of the technology not only involves various applications (e.g., using cell phones as watches, wrapping fish in newspaper) but also offers new subject matter and tools for art to directly engage the viewer in the work.

Although the inert eye, from Dali and Magritte to the engraver of the U.S. dollar bill, has always been a theme in art, digital photography and related technologies offer new possibilities-- particularly for abstract and performance art that directly involves the audience and merges, or at least breaks down, the conventional differences between subject and object and vastly extends the power of the senses. Video art, because of its real-time quality and mixing of images and

sound and the real and the imagined offered as real, is an ideal medium for the artist concerned with surveillance themes. It offers temporal continuity and breadth and hence is more comprehensive than still photography.

Illustrative of the breakdown between art and reality is the work of pioneering artist Julia Scher. (e.g., http://www.adaweb.com/project/secure/corridor/sec1.html) Scher's work illustrates the conflict between the need for protection and the possibility of being victimized by a technology. Her art exemplifies what it seeks to communicate. Unlike fiction, it does not imitate reality. Rather, like cinema verité, it tries to capture something that is there. It reflects and creates reality. In her work in the Los Angeles exhibit, titled "Surveillance," she placed the gallery itself under surveillance. Viewers became part of the spectacle. The viewer's body heat tripped invisibly projected infrared beams at the entrance to the building. This caused flashing lights and an alarm (embedded in a representation of a human torso on the wall) to go off.

In another exhibit, Scher created a mock interrogation room in which subjects enter their names into a computer and then see their images on the screen along with a list of crimes they are (wrongly) accused of committing. Surveillance cameras are set up in various rooms permitting subjects to see themselves and others as they pass through the rooms. Reality and art fuse, as do target and agent. The surveillance cameras are not an invented form that mimics reality. This artist's use differs from "real" surveillance only because of its context and goals. The artist recontextualizes the technology in order to critique and even expose it. Her goal is to use surveillance for education and entertainment. In turn, the viewer experiences video surveillance as both the object who is watched and the subject doing the watching.

This self-monitoring is a form of feedback and illustrates one theme of contemporary surveillance societies: the voyeur and the exhibitionist may be merged. For those who are in the gallery, it is participatory art. It can be a mocking form and can involve playacting, as the participant chooses to be there and who to behave and is aware of these choices. But it is not simply pretend. Further mixing elements is the fact that while Scher was doing art, she also ran a company named Safe and Secure, which installed surveillance systems.

Another early surveillance artist Richard Lowenberg used contemporarymilitary and industrial surveillance technology to reveal protected or unseen things, such as an air force satellite communications receiver or invisible heat patterns made by dancers. Absent technical supports, these images would be unseen because of distance, darkness, or barriers such as walls and skin. But Lowenberg's unobtrusive night work uses darkness-illuminating technologies, with no telltale flashbulbs to give it away. Although his photographic art is hidden in darkness, the technology he uses pierces a barrier that for most of human history has protected information. The image intensifier (or night scope) amplifies starlight 20,000 times, and FLIR (forward-looking infrared) systems need no light at all. The FLIR uses infrared sensors to provide a high-resolution thermal video display. It makes visible what we would experience (if we were aware of it at all) only as temperature variations, even though the infrared spectrum is omnipresent. Thus, the FLIR offers a shifting window into an ever- present thermodynamic world unaffected by light or darkness. This technology permits us to see in the dark and to see things that for normal communications purposes are not really (or at least practically) there.

For Lowenberg, thermal patterns serve as a kind of invisible ink. He produces temperature prints using a heat-reflective screen so that we see variations in temperature rather than light; the darker the color, the warmer the area. In one example, using the FLIR imager, he

videotaped a dance performance that occurred in complete darkness. Dancers dipped their hands in water and finger-painted on a blank wall. As the temperature of the water gradually changes, amazing patterns appear on the wall, even though neither the audience nor the dancers could see this absent the conversion of heat variations to light and dark hues.

In another example of using technologies to surface the unseen (but not purposefully hidden), Nina Sobel offers a visual representation of ever-present, but rarely seen, brain waves. Her Encephalographic Video Drawings record brain waves on video. In a unique example of self-monitoring, individuals confront their own previously unseen "mediated images." What is reflected is "real," even though what is shown is not literally a reproduction of what it represents.[ii]

Given a free market and the double-edged, multiple-use potential of any technology, the usual workings of surveillance from the more to the less powerful can be highlighted and reversed. Paul Ryan and Michael Shamberg use video technology to watch the watchers--to catch them in the act, so to speak. In a 1969 video called *Supermarket*, they document a video surveillance system in a Safeway store, recording a large sign that says, "Smile, you are on photo-scan TV." The store manager tells them to stop and that it is illegal to shoot images in the store, to which they respond, "You're taking pictures of us, so why can't we take pictures of you?" This of course raises the first question of social analysis: Says who?

Another example of using technology to survey the surveyors can be seen in the film *Red Squad,* based on a New York collective following and interviewing members of a secret police intelligence unit. This following was reciprocal as the New York collective members were subjects of the red squad's gaze as well. In related work, artist Lewis Stein took pictures of surveillance equipment. Rick Preliner, in an audio-scanning installation called Listening Post, permitted the gallery-goer to eavesdrop on airwaves used by federal agents and local police in the Los Angeles area. This work takes advantage of the potential spill over/seepage/data-leakage problem faced by many data gathering and communication tools (briefly discussed in the concluding chapter).

Another form of artistic expression does not focus directly on surveillors as subjects, but intercepts the data they collect on others. This represents an ectarian sharing of the data or, in Susan Sontag's (1977) words, the "democratization of the evidence." Here the artist, like the control agent, invades the private space of the subject, but with a different purpose--to demythologize, authenticate, or question. We are shown what authorities see and hear about others.

Maria Kramer's video installation goes straight to the source. "Jean Seberg/The FBI/The Media" uses FBI documents to report on the U.S. counter-surveillance activities directed at the actress. By enlarging and then displaying the documents, Kramer exposes (in both meanings of the term) the surveillance activities that may have shortened Seberg's life.

Michael Klier's *Der Reece* ("the giant") uses images from video surveillance cameras in a variety of urban settings to create a composite work. Louis Hock's *The Mexican Tapes: A Chronicle of Life Outside the Law* is a video narrative using night-vision technology applied to three Mexican illegal immigrant families.

In *Abscam (Framed)*, Chip Lord mixes real surveillance data with fictional material. He plays a whispering newsman who returns to the scene and thus adds "fake" material. But given the fact that *Abscam* itself was, to a large degree, an artifact of the agents' intervention (creating a

fake setting with some very attractive unrealistic inducements), such work raises deeper questions about just what real means. The ability to retouch or to create photo images digitally (e.g., as when National Geographic altered the size of a pyramid to fit its cover) raises related questions about the veracity of surveillance data.

Gary Lloyd's *Radio Painting* (1983) is a canvas with a low-power FM radio transmitter embedded in it, so that anyone speaking within the presence of the work has his or her voice transmitted within a five-block range. Here the artist exercises some control over the "critic" by enforcing publicity and broadening the number of critics. The artist is in a position to hear the remarks made in front of the painting.

More than thirty years later, the content (based in part on Edward Snowden actions) expanded significantly, but similar forms of expression surfacing the unseen and often unknown were in Laura Poitras' 2016 exhibit "Astro Noise" dealing with the art of surveillance. (New York Times, Jan. 31, 2016)

Pleasing displays may also be functional. Thus note the "Truth.Seeker" which in measuring modulations in the voice might indicate something about truthfulness.
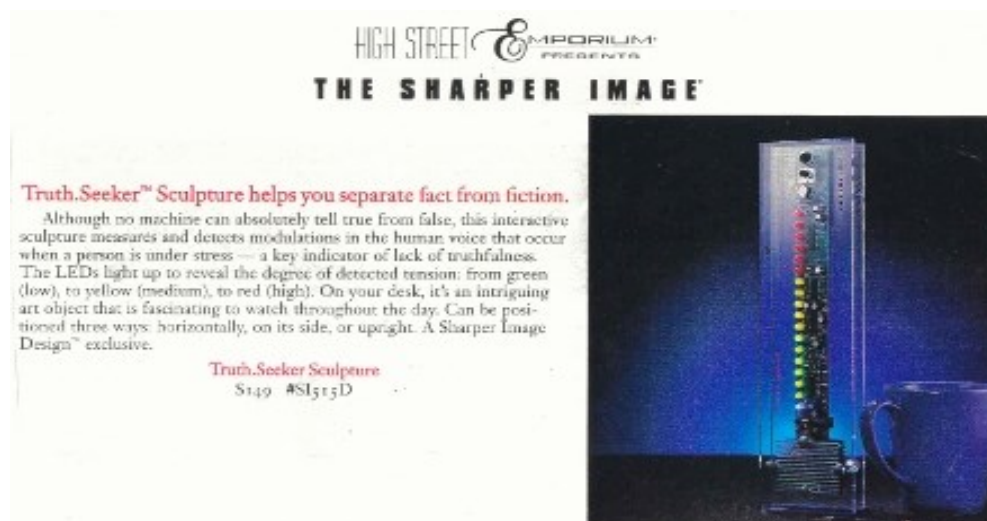
Artists also use more conventional tools to invade privacy and make public what is usually not recorded. Photographers traditionally have done this. Walker Evans used a concealed Leica camera for his famous series of New York subway photos.

French photographer and conceptual artist Sophie Calle has done a number of similar things. She once randomly picked a man from a crowd and followed him to Venice, where she photographed him and kept notes of his activities. She took a job as a hotel maid and photographed the possessions and interiors of the same room over a three-week period as different persons stayed there. She invited strangers to her own apartment and photographed them while they slept. Once, she had her mother hire a private detective to follow and photograph her on a particular day. The detective did not know that the artist knew about and had arranged the surveillance. She recorded her feelings and imaginings as she went about the day-- knowing she was being recorded and watched, but not when, where, or by whom. The resulting

artwork juxtaposes the surveillance photos with Calle's own conjectures and artificially manufactured emotions. This powerfully conveys her experiences of suspicion and paranoia, as the detective could have been anyone she saw that day.

Some Implications of Popular Culture for Understanding Surveillance

We didn't have any answers, but at least we brought up the questions.

David of Crosby, Sills and Nash

In the first instance, the material in this and the previous chapter literally or symbolically speak for themselves. For some observers shining too bright and probing a scholarly beam on art detracting and profaning. Yet, it has meaning beyond the individual consumer. Social scientists need not play a Philistine card in treating art (as broadly defined by the examples in this and the previous chapter) as data. Cultural materials can be approached from the standpoint of the sociology of knowledge which asks how the message relates to the context, the creator and the experience of the audience and to its broader prior correlates and consequences. Rather than deductively straining these materials through varieties of available explanatory theory, I will proceed inductively and indicate some implications for understanding surveillance and society. Among topics discussed: surveillance art can reflect life in bringing the news, life can reflect art as the cultural materials create the news, the fusion or blurring of the lines between life and art and some broader implications with respect to impacts.

Art Can Bring the News

Popular culture --whether through music, television, cinema, cartoons or literature--can help "see" and understand (whether emotionally or cognitively) new developments in surveillance. Visual and auditory artistic expressions offer an alternative way of knowing relative to words and a tool for understanding novel phenomena that have no conventional meaning and lack immediate cultural referents or are unavailable to the unaided senses. For example, a cartoon image that shows a human form that is nothing more than credit card transactions and identifying numbers conveys the idea that there is another "you" out there, in many ways beyond your knowledge and control that others have access to and even own and which reduces you to an incomprehensible (to non-specialists) and impersonal bar code. This conveys in simple form an idea more densely offered by scholars of the written word about the changing meaning of personhood considered and the new ways of constructing and presenting the self (data image, shadow self, data double --Laudon, 1986; Clarke, 1994; Lyon 1994 and Poster considered in chapter 4). Microscopic DNA sequences and the merging of the human and the nonhuman through implants are more readily understood when they are transformed into images through artistic representations or metaphorically linked to things that are understood. The cognitive tools these depictions offer give visibility to the unseen. They draw on imagination to surface new realities inadequately reflected by language and the unaided senses.

Even when any given technology is understandable, its links to other factors may be better grasped through artistic expressions. The meaning of technocracy, authoritarianism, repression, domination, intolerance, and spying is likely to be different when experienced vicariously through seeing and hearing, as against reading and quantifying. Examples considered in the book such as the New Yorker cartoon "Joe's Drive-Thru Testing Center" (f or Jill Scott's song "Watching Me" or Judas Priest's "Electronic Eye" in bringing together so many different aspects, can help us grasp the omnipresence, scale, totality, comprehensiveness, and simultaneity of the new forms of surveillance across multiple dimensions. In a film example, Charlie Chaplin in *Modern Times* communicates the intimate links between the human and the machine and efforts to engineer assembly line behavior. The film offers a warning of what can happen as Chaplin is literally drawn into the machine.
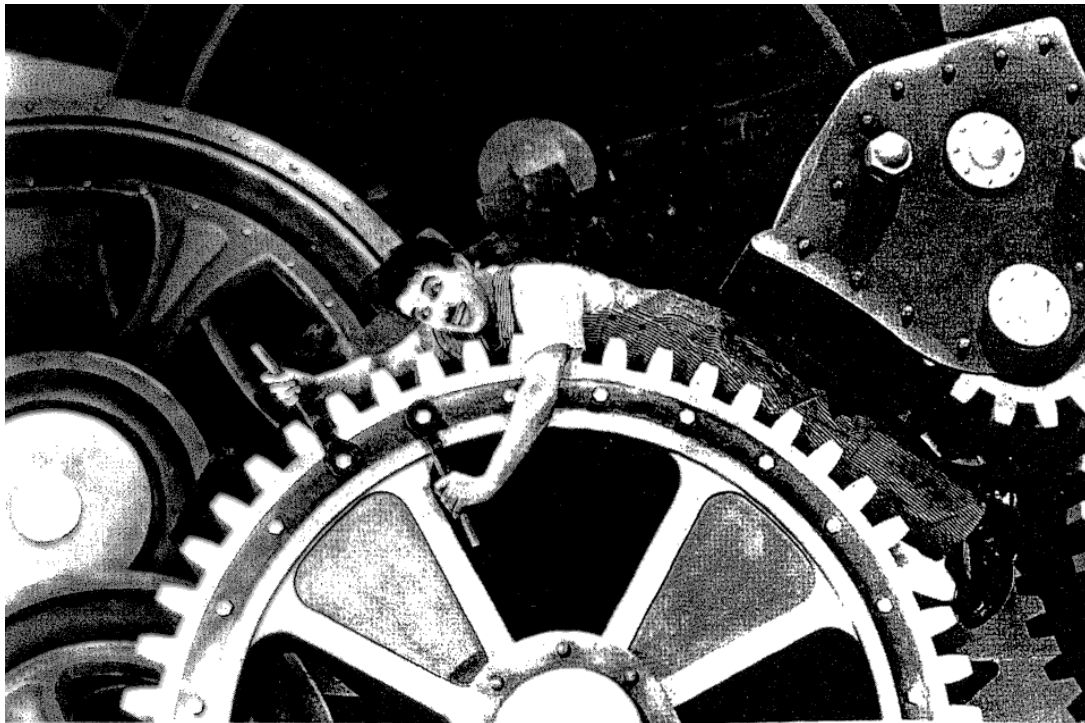
The communication may depict actual events and uses. A cartoon recalls the case in Palm Beach, Florida in which a black congressional aide was prohibited from entering a gated village where his employer was. Another cartoon illustrates an existing work monitoring system that tells employees how they are doing relative to the person next to them (although in this case it was a robot).

Real world experiences with surveillance are often featured in fiction writing. Written expressions of surveillance and control that bring the news may draw from life experience. George Orwell was a police officer in Burma following in the footsteps of Rudyard Kipling in India. Dashiell Hammett was a private eye. Ian Fleming served in the British Naval Intelligence and based James Bond partly on a real life double agent Dusko Popov with a penchant for advanced technology and living well. They follow a grand tradition of spies turned writers including Christopher Marlowe, Ben Johnson, Daniel Defoe, Graham Greene and Somerset Maugham. Jean Le Carre was in the British Foreign Service in both MI5 and MI6 before turning to writing. What they wrote reflected the tools they used whether ciphers and codes, invisible

ink, informers, or telescopes and fast cars. It is not surprising that computer scientists turned novelists now draw on logarithmic profiles (e.g., Baluja 2011). Surveillance experiences of subjects, rather than of agents also give rise to art expression as in the case of filmmaker Laura Poitras.

Art Can Create the News

Beyond art informing us about "real" life, it may help in creating it as visions from the imagination of the artist later come to exist. Because they are not bound by specific empirical cases, such cultural forms can push conventional boundaries of thought, image and behavior and anticipate what is to come. *Modern Times* again offers a wonderful 1936 example when Chaplin's private reverie smoking a cigarette in the bathroom at work is shattered by the sudden appearance of his boss on a wall-sized video screen gruffly saying, "Hey, quit stalling and get back to work". H. G. Wells, Dick Tracy, Spiderman, Wonder Woman, James Bond and Star Trek are other familiar examples.

"Hey, quit stalling and get back to work."

Charlie Chaplin's boss in 1936 film *Modern Times*

A Spider-Man comic inspired a New Mexico judge to implement the first judicial use of electronic location monitoring equipment.[iii] A 1974 story for children *Danny Dunn, Invisible Boy* (Williams) involves a child who controls a mechanical dragonfly that permits him to see and hear what is going on from a distance. He is the fly on the wall, not unlike contemporary drones.

With respect to the move from imagination to a real device several patterns can be noted. The artist may have superior powers of deduction and inference (as well as imagination) in seeing what is likely to appear (Arthur C. Clarke in writing about space travel)[iv]; the artist may give ideas to inventors and implementers[v]; there may be a self-fulfilling impact in which expecting something to happen, actions are taken that make it more likely; and sometimes there

is may simply a spurious or accidental correlation, with no direct link between the art and the development of the tool.

The artist may also be (or have been) a scientist or inventor. The career of psychologist William Marston reflects a merger of life and art (not to mention a feminist prescience) and their symbiotic relations. Marston's work was central to the creation of the polygraph. He also is the creator of "Wonder Woman," whose golden lasso of truth forced opponents to confess and conform. He anticipated current forms of involuntary revelation as seen in efforts to read emotions and assess truth telling using facial expressions, eye movements and brain wave patterns.

The Entangling of Art and Behavior

One of the more intriguing aspects of contemporary change is the blurring of the lines and the mutual influences between how people behave and artistic depictions. It is frequently not possible to draw a clean line between contemporary newsworthy events involving surveillance data and popular culture, nor between nonfiction and fiction. The widespread availability of digital and wireless technology and the ease of mass communication render the lines between organizational surveillance, the news and entertainment less distinct.

Raw surveillance footage can serve as news and entertainment. What begins as simply entertainment, as with some dramas or music videos (although they may include or be partly inspired by real events), can lead to actual events and become news.

Foucault's emphasis was on the shift of punishment and surveillance *away* from being grand entertainment spectacles in public view. In contrast, the mass communications and public informational expectations (and rights) that appeared simultaneously in the 19th century (and have in many ways been growing since), bring surveillance as spectacle ever more graphically *into* public view. This is nicely symbolized by the surveillance camera which delivers crime and social control events to the six o'clock news. The same electronic means and data serve as surveillance of the individual while delivering mass communication. "Reality" TV programs using overt and covert cameras are a related example.

A real world incident and its mass communication may be sequential (as when a surveillance occasion results in a quasi-fictional treatment or becomes news during a trial), but these may also occur simultaneously as with "live" news helicopter video images of car chases or Web transmissions such as the "Jenny-cam" in which subjects freely broadcast their behavior.

Creators of cultural media draw on the news and their own and others' personal experience in mixing fact and fiction. Real events generate simulated docu-dramas and mocu-dramas that are then offered back (or come to be understood) as "real" representations. Music and video (whether involving studio actors or digital imaging with no literal reflection in the natural world) may be combined with footage from real persons and events. Music videos can be cultural minotaurs, mixing genre, as well as reality and fantasy.

New cultural expressions become intertwined with behavior just as they draw from it. Sting's "Every Breath You Take" was popular with police doing surveillance. Detectives in Boston, and elsewhere, played the song while they tailed organized crime figures (Lehr and

O'Neil 2000). During partying as part of undercover investigations an agent reports playing, "I fought the law and the law won" (Wozencraft 1990).

Criminals get ideas from television and film, whether for styles as in *The Godfather*, or for specific capers and techniques[vi]. Violent conflict between some hip hop artists and between them and authorities reflects threats made in the music, as well as real world shootings subsequently reflected in the music. Graffiti wall art may show equivalent interactions (Ferrell 1996). Consider, as well, participants in reality television shows who later come to "play" themselves in soap operas based on their persona. Pecora (2002) describes one such case.

Surveillance data feed the mass media appetite. This in turn can re-enforce cultural beliefs about crime and control and strengthen public support for surveillance as a result of the need demonstrated by the "news" (Mathiesen 1997; Altheide 2002; Doyle 2003). But documenting surveillance abs may also spark protest.

Surveillance and content are also connected in the tracking systems that measure consumer behavior. Consider the statistical inferences drawn from Nielsen ratings of media use; records from cable and satellite transmissions, internet communication or music purchases. The systems that monitor the consumption of electricity and water are related examples. The medium for delivery that brings entertainment or a service reports back on subjects for billing, marketing and inclusion-exclusion purposes[vii].

Art for Conformity and Resistance

Do these artistic materials support or undermine the established order?

Critical media theorists call attention to the hegemonic character and legitimating intentions of mass communications, while pluralists emphasize the variety of media outlets available to challengers.

Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault and contemporary critical media theorists stress the links between power and culture in noting the status quo-supporting aspects of the mass media. Piper-paying dominant groups have disproportionate control over the means of culture creation and distribution. Glorification, assurances that all is well, spinning, obfuscation, denial, censorship, fear creation, morality tales and escapism are seen as prominent features of the media that keep the customers satisfied and in line, while serving the interests of elites. When a problem is acknowledged solutions are offered --whether in terms of products or politics or calls for citizen cooperation and privatization.

In emphasizing the gravity of the threat, the message may call for sacrifice and justify intrusions that would not be necessary in less threatening times. Government may acknowledge citizens' fear of the threat surveillance poses, but ask for the public's understanding and trust. Private sector messages offer self-help solutions through the purchase of surveillance tools and services.

Another kind of threat is that to would-be violators. Mass media communication about surveillance may serve as a soft means of social control by offering morality tales of what happens to those caught by panoptic mechanisms and by advertising the presence of control. Popular culture in support of the established order may accustom audiences to being watched by

all-powerful authority figures. For example, religious, children's and suspicious male lover's songs promise protection but also can threaten and intimidate. As with warning signs about video and other forms of surveillance the message is, "you are not alone and you can't get away with it". As with the implicit morality of the fairy tale, the authoritative voice in the message knows what the child (or adult) is up (or down) to or can find out. Rewards and punishment from that knowledge (note the "Spit It Out sign) in Chapter 8. Or consider the delightful soft warning to the "man who has been taking my Wall Street Journal" shown above.

Rather than warnings and justifications, the media's beguiling entertainment quality may instead offer comfort in suggesting there is nothing to be concerned over. The spoofing of James Bond types is a continuing mini-industry. Examples include the Get Smart Television series and films such as The Silencers 1966, Our Man Flint 1966 and more recently, The Man Who Knew Too Little 1997, the Austin Powers film series 1997, 1999, 2002, I Spy 2002, Johnny English 2003 and The In-Laws 2003 and an updated Get Smart 2008. Their incompetence and wildly unrealistic technologies are cause for laugher not vigilance." In such films it is not uncommon to see that, "The Teddy Bear has been compromised" as the star of the Nanny Diaries said about a failed spy effort using a video cam hidden in a teddy bear.

If surveillants are portrayed in film or music as simply Keystone Cop bunglers, or have magical and exaggerated powers far beyond what the technology can presently do, then we in the audience have little to worry about. Their incompetence makes them incapable of doing harm, in spite of their technology, or the technology is depicted so unrealistically as to be unworthy of concern. Such films and their music, along with those that simply fold the technology into other themes, hardly inspire vigilance. Such offerings along with other escapist cultural Soma deflect attention away from harsher realities.

In contrast to the impacts suggested by the critical media perspective, the pluralist perspective, while not claiming that all messages or images are equal, observes that a free market economy with civil liberties and technological advances offers opportunities for opposing voices. In spite of fashionable concerns about capitalist cultural hegemony, capitalist irony can also be noted. Whatever the disproportionate influence of the dominants (sounds like the name of a rock group), in determining popular culture, this influence is far from total. Factors undercutting dominant voices can be identified. Given so many ways of communicating, there is space for counter-messages. The Internet, for example, creates vast new opportunities for those previously unable to own a printing press or a radio or television station.

Dominant groups are hardly homogeneous in their interests and values. The ideological hegemony desired by one group of elites may conflict with the profit motive of other elites (consider record companies profiting from selling anti-establishment materials—whether Columbia Records' early endorsement of folk music or the current establishment marketing of rap music with violent and anti-social themes).

Marked discrepancies between the claims of the dominant world view and the observable empirical world may generate critiques and alternative views. Sometimes reality wins. Ideological systems may contain contradictory and inconsistent elements. Belief systems are rarely clearly specified and their inherent ambiguity, particularly as applied to a given case, also supports alternative views.

Rather than directly communicating what a new form is like, art may instead encourage skepticism about the "truth" value of what a technology offers. Is what the senses take in from a new technology a reflection of natural reality? Digital visual media lends itself easily to deception, but also to showing this very deception in ways that words never can. The ease with which data can be distorted and manipulated can be shown as part of a story. The film *Rising Sun,* with a mixture of "real" and nonexistent elements in the story, is illustrative as the audience sees how the computer makes possible the distortion of a face or physical presence.

Skepticism can also be encouraged by seeing a photograph or image of something that we know has never existed (a child riding a sea animal --see the image of aunt Ethel at Catalina Island in 1904 below. Note also the identification badge a colleague made for me at a surveillance conference.

Spoofs make it possible to more easily appreciate the increased possibilities for deception and to question the validity of visual images even when they appear realistic –as with or an Egyptian pyramid of altered proportions that appeared in the National Geographic.

Taking a Ride
at Catalina Island, Calif.

With respect to songs for example, there may be dialectical processes in which a communication calls forth its opposite, which in turn calls forth an opposite in an enduring chain. Woody Guthrie's "This Land Is Your Land" was written in response to "God Bless America." The hegemonic lesson in "I fought the law and the law won" was eventually reversed by the Dead Kennedys "Drinkin' beer in the hot sun I Fought the Law and I Won." In spite of a large number of Viet Nam anti-war songs, the most popular record of the period was "The Ballad of the Green Beret." The abundance of 1960s and 1970s songs criticizing establishment ways, encouraging protest and supporting counter cultural life styles were met by tunes such as Merle Haggard's "An Okie from Muskogee"--"a place where even squares can have a ball …wave Old Glory down at the courthouse. And white lightnin's still the biggest thrill of all …and the kids still respect the college dean".[viii] A Baltimore rap group's music video, "Stop, Stop Snitchin" was responded to by a music video made by police rappers "Keep Talking" which shows footage of the first rappers being arrested.

### "He Said", " She Said": Different Forms of Expression

The offerings of popular culture are sometimes part of a broader political struggle over the meaning of surveillance technology and how it ought to be judged. Is surveillance presented as benevolent protection or malevolent domination, as something desired by, and freely chosen by the subject, or as something imposed? The means of expressing a cultural message, as well as its content, may vary depending on whose interests are served. Each side has its preferred outlets and audience.

The image of surveillance theorist Foucault below suggests confusion or at least a lack of clarity, about the murky world of meanings given reality's richness, deception and subjectivity. The "Yes, No, Maybe" image suggests the same thing and illustrates a central idea in the last chapter of the book via the *Perhapicon*

M. FOUCAULT
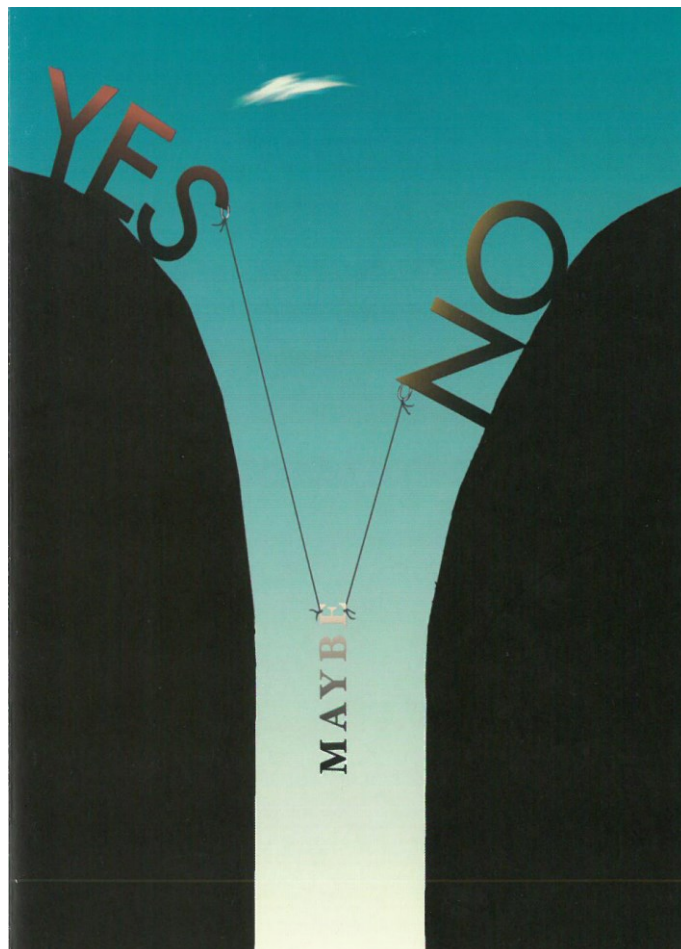
Those favoring surveillance are more likely to make use of print media--speeches, professional publications and advertisements--to express themes of protection, order and security, and to emphasize the dangers of the problem the surveillance claims to address. Employers, manufacturers and surveillance vendors tend to direct their messages to employees or potential consumers through highly specific mailing lists more than to undifferentiated mass audiences.

Artistic media expressing criticism are more likely to be addressed to a mass audience. Views in opposition to surveillance are more likely to appear in popular music, cartoons and on web sites than in television, major studio films or newspapers. But they are certainly as well in the latter.

Plato wanted poets to be controlled by the state--and from an establishment perspective with good reason[ix]. Cartoonists, popular songwriters, and visual artists tend to demystify, expose, and de-legitimate surveillance. They often express a bottom up view in taking the role of the watched, controlled or the victimized.[x] The real and the fanciful may be mixed, and the power of the technology is more likely to be exaggerated than under-estimated (a theme shared with supporters).

The critical artists tend to view technology as the enemy or the problem--as something that profanes from which protection is needed, while control agents and those who provide surveillance resources are more likely to view it as the solution. It is an interesting exercise to fill in the other half of the story. The various means of communications about surveillance are as revealing for what they say, as for what they do not say.

In the case of music for example, there are no songs in defense of drug testing, video surveillance and work monitoring (although in Japan company songs might encourage conformity with the latter two).[xi] There are almost no non-satirical songs honoring government, corporate and employer surveillance in democratic societies, in marked contrast to the blatantly propagandistic communications of some authoritarian societies.

Within environments of contestation and, consistent with their persuasive purpose, advertisements, cartoons and songs tend to be one-sided and to bring a single message in contrast to the richness of social life. This may also reflect the medium's form (in the case of songs for example --limited time, short and repetitive phrases). The form of the single cartoon in a frame or joke also supports a reductionist view.

Impacts

Just whose message gets across most successfully, under what conditions and to what audiences is a topic for quantitative research and goes far beyond the literal content of a work. Frank Zappa observed, "There are more love songs than anything else. If songs could make you do something, we'd all love one another." Humility and tentativeness are required in considering the impact of artistic expression. It should not be assumed that the message (when there is one clearly intended) will be uniformly heard, understood, or believed, or lead to feelings or actions that might be desired by the artist or sponsors.

Of course some images clearly speak louder than others as with Picasso's Guernica or Munch's The Scream. Or consider the concentration camp image updated with a bar code or the torment on the face that seems to be framed by a fingerprint shown below.

Michael Abke, Pinneberg/1985
Farbstift-Zeichnung (547 x 668 mm)

20

IL MONDO 19
FRA DIECI ANNI

But the intention of the creator of an image, (whether ad, cartoon, art or of a song) and the message received/perceived may be at odds. For example, what do the 4 images below say to you? They were designed to honor the technology, but some observers see a different meaning. Does the warm image of hardware at the center of a flower reflect the friendly integration of the human and the machine or is it a subtle effort to soften/deny the harshness of tool and a fundamental opposition between the machine and the life? Is the robotic arm shaking the human hand in a supportive meeting of equals or is it squeezing it in an iron grip? Is the metal arm holding the flowers protecting or strangling them? Is the picture of bar codes on people's heads a protest against the dehumanization wrought by technology or as intended, an advertisement for a hip, youth oriented radio station?

The flower image is from a trade show in Brussels promoting new technologies.

When there are competing messages individuals may retreat from the confusion. The flood of efforts to convince may make for suspicion. In this sense rather than "seeing [or hearing] is believing"-it may mean not believing. In communicating the fragmented and movable quality of

the "realities" we perceive, competing cultural materials may lead to a healthy skepticism-or an immobilizing cynicism.

The messages can bring familiarity and a sense that that's just the way things are. By repetition and accretion the tool may come to be taken for granted as a kind of routinization or normalization takes over. I can still recall the shock and interest I felt in seeing a 1974 advertisement for the film (later a TV program) *Blue Thunder* which featured a Los Angeles Police Department helicopter that could see in the dark and through walls. Long before the century ended the thrill was gone.

Many persons recall the initial shock in seeing the films *Gattaca* or *Minority Report* with their manufactured children, predictive profiles and altered eyes. If you build it and advertise it, they may not come, but they will certainly recognize it and frequently learn to live with it. Particularly when there is no choice.

There is great variety among viewers, listeners, contexts, music and time periods. Images or lyrics for example can be analyzed for their presumed intended meaning (whether by the creator, performer or promoter), or with more confidence, their meaning to a given listener. But in many cases it is a reach from there to broad generalizations about the meaning to mass, highly variegated audiences.

Settings are diverse and fluid. Certainly there are unsavory elites using doubtful means for nefarious ends, as well as more savory types using them for beneficial ends and many places in-between. And as the neutralization chapter illustrated individuals act back, frequently in ways unanticipated by professional soul trainers. The latter themselves have imperfect tools and a variety of (often conflicting) goals. This makes for a messy and un-utopian (if not fully dystopian) society, but one that muddles through

The interweaving of contemporary surveillance methods and popular culture serves as both soul training and resistance training. There is no sole form or impact. Using both hard and soft means, powerful forces may seek to reduce the soul to an object like a shoe sole that is worn down, expendable and interchangeable. But other forces resist and push toward a more soulful view of humans.

In reflecting on the new surveillance in culture in these two chapters I have tried, as singer David Crosby suggests in the epigram that opened this section, to bring the questions and to suggest some possible answers. Whether (and under what conditions) popular culture serves as soul training for compliance or as soulful messages encouraging resistance is a topic for research. More systematic comparisons between music, cinema, jokes, literature, art and advertisements and comparison for different goals and between different communication medium and across societies is needed.

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[i] This may be turned around and exploited. Consider the marketing of "Anne Droid," an attractive department store mannequin with a camera in her eye and a microphone in her nose. This has something of a last-laugh quality to it, as the leering male may himself be observed.

ANNE DROID A MANNEQUIN WITH A TWINKLE IN HER EYE THAT CONCEALS
A CAMERA. SHE ALSO HAS A MICROPHONE CONCEALED IN HER NOSE.

The culture of surveillance may also be transformed back to ads for more conventional products, such as lingerie, swimwear, hosiery and various uplifting devices offered by a company named Agent Provocateur whose motto is "sexy never takes a day off." As with the ad below, this brings cultural meanings rather far from those associated with the term's origin in political surveillance.

UNDERCOVER   APPEAL

FILENE'S

Down to the last detail. Shhh.
Our quiet satin teddy, "Anne" by Barbizon, softly laced with flouncing ruffles here and there: around the neckline, around the shoulders, around the thigh . . . it goes on (never thinking twice). Options: black, raspberry. Of polyester. Sizes P-S-M-L.
$28: "Anne" teddy by Barbizon.
Inticements — Filene's in the Mall at Chestnut Hill.

ii This topic involves deep issues of reality and perception and what is "out there" in the world apart from our apparatus for perceiving that have intrigued students since the Greeks.

iii The creator of Spiderman might in turn have been inspired by the work of an engineer turned social scientist Ralph Switzgable who discussed such a tool in the 1960s.

iv Aware of this the Department of Homeland Security has an advisory group (Sigma) made up of science fiction writers. Their motto is "Science Fiction in the National Interest".

v A satirical ad in the Austin Chronicle in 1986 in response to President Reagan's drug testing program read "Pure Texas Urine/Guaranteed Drug Free $49.95". To the satirist's surprise he received orders. This then led him to chemists and the development and supplying of powered drug free urine. He proudly claims, "we are to urine what Tang is to orange juice." (http://nodrugwar.org/history.html). Note also Abby Hoffman's prescience in describing a makeshift device to deliver drug free urine. This later gave rise to the urinator described in ch. 6.

vi The tv series "The Wire" for example offers some nice illustrations whether involving throw away phones and cops catching up on episodes they missed through using wiretaps of subjects who never missed a show.

vii Regardless of the content pulsing through the medium, the new technologies allow for a previously unimaginable accounting and control of consumer behavior and the provision of individualized information (or at least that based on a profile that differentiates recipients based on their profile). This is rationalized by embedded notions of pay as you go and information as private property. Controversies over "digital rights management" technologies reflect this.

Here the critical concern is not with a governmental large sibling, but with a big corporation controlling what one is "entitled" to" listen to, watch and use and whether it can be copied or altered. With this comes the monitoring of communications behavior to insure conformity with the service provider's rules. Of course one can always just say "no" to the control via computer code and infrastructure offered by means such as cable TV, DVR and internet linked, software dependent songs, games and other purchases also relying on software. But to the extent that these become ever more seductive, available and monopolistic, opting out becomes harder.

viii There is a paper here waiting to be birthed exploring surveillance in country and western music. Such music tends to be more focused on individual troubles and blaming oneself or specific others, rather than a social order seen to be unjust. The watching often involves seeing another man take the singer's woman, dog or truck or police at the scene of some misfortune that has befallen the singer. State surveillance agencies may be mentioned as offering no help in finding one's true love. There are country and western songs about "big brother," but these are always about an elder sibling. Religious themes involving an observant, knowing and justice-dispensing God and watching over a love object also seem more common.

ix In The *Republic* artists were to only depict "virtuous things" and nothing negative or discordant of public order.

x There is of course variation. Within musical genre for example, religious and country and western music are, in general, more supportive, and folk, alternative, and rap music, more critical.

[xi] But contrast the propaganda efforts on behalf of informing seen in the USSR. The young boy who informed on his father's bourgeois sentiments was made a national hero. (ch. 11) Note also efforts to encourage the use of hotlines for reporting everything from littering to bad drivers to suspicious persons increasingly seen in the U.S.