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STATE SURVEILLANCE AS A THREAT TO PERSONAL SECURITY OF INDIVIDUALS

Preface

There are two explanations for the chronic inability to understand the concept of even the most critical dynamics of the particular era (Beniger 1986, p. 2). Firstly, the important social changes are rarely the result of a single, specific events, although later, historians do much to deduce changes from such events. Humanity is evolving in a gradual manner, usually unrecognizable, at least from the point of view of successive generations of individuals. Secondly, the contemporary basic social transformation is overridden by a more dramatic and immediate trends that have an impact but smaller than thought. For example, a few people that lived in the early 1940s, was unaware of the ongoing World War I, but few who noted the scientific and technological products of the ongoing conflict, which later gave the name of this era – the era of atomic or cosmic or computer.

In the current phase of capitalism development, surveillance, like selective globalization of trade and capital, information, violence and weapons, crime and terror, is one of unplanned side effects of “negative globalization”. All of the above processes and phenomena do not respect national borders or the principle of territorial sovereignty (Bauman 2008, p. 7).

Social control in modernity

Life is inevitably connected with control, which applies to both single cells and organisms, as well as national economies and all targeted systems (Beniger 1986, p. vi). Zygmunt Bauman, as Tony Blackshaw notes (2005 p. 117), “theorizes the relationship between power-knowledge and social control anew, resolving that understand social control in the present rather than in the past”. Society of producers, the main permanent social model (solid) phase of modernity, was focused primarily on ensuring security. This

goal was to be achieved by the desire to create a reliable, orderly, transparent world, which was to be strong, resistant and safe time. Life strategies era of mass factories and mass armies were associated with subordination to the rules, and bureaucratic and pan-optical domination, whose aim was to discipline and subordination, based on the routinization behaviour of the individual. The award seemed to be above all related to the long-term safety, the expectation for instant gratification seemed inappropriate and even sinful (Bauman 2007, pp. 29-30).

Jeremy Bentham, the great reformer, who was known as rational and enlightened person in his days, found that for the poor should appeal to coercion, because appealing to their dim intelligence would be ineffective. He proposed to build 500 houses, with 2000 “burdensome poor” located, who had to be constantly kept under surveillance and guided by the absolute power of the governor. Adults and children destitute, beggars, “not in marriage” mothers and other dross of this type were forced to work in such homes. Bentham angrily replied a few of the critics of his idea: “Objection liberty infringed. Answer – liberty of doing mischief” (Cf. Bauman 2005 p. 111). According to Bentham's poor, by their very nature. are not able to make better use of freedom than naughty children. In other words, they can not take care of themselves, they must be managed by others.

This point of view has been largely applied in a variety of twentieth-century forms of propaganda, such as public relations or advertising. “Responsible men”, as identified themselves, they had to deal with increasingly stronger democratic tendencies. The old methods of control, especially physical coercion – although never disappeared – proved insufficient and far ineffective. It became necessary to discipline the minds of the masses, what Walter Lippmann, one of the most respected American commentators before decades of public affairs, described as “a new art in the practice of democracy” (Cf. Chomsky 2002, p. 180).

The belief that we live in a rapidly changing world is one thing, but finding the reasons for this state of affairs is much more difficult. At least since the appearing of the famous book by Marshall McLuhan (1964), one of the most frequently referenced response indicates the media. It seems, however, despite frequently occurring position is putting things on their minds and erroneous understanding of the logic of events. Society undergoing a revolutionary transformation on a global scale.

This does not mean, however, at least according to James R. Beniger, the wave of change is a new or inevitable. Sources of changes can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century, when the control crisis appeared. It resulted from the revolutionary transformations in production and transport. The response to the crisis was a revolution

of controls. At the beginning of the last century only few observers were able to understand these social changes that can be called a revolution of controls in the United States, England, France and Germany.

One of them was Max Weber, head of analysis at a crucial edge control technology of his time – bureaucracy. For half a century after Weber bureaucracy became the most important technology revolution of control. However, after World War II, the control has began to be executed by means of computer technology. Later social change seemed to be accelerating, which largely associated with the development of information processing, communication and control technology and control systems – computer and microprocessors, spreading from the early 1970s, However, the technologies, mentioned above, are not – contrary to popular opinions - causes, but the consequences of social changes, a natural extension of the control revolution, begun in the mid-nineteenth century (Beniger 1986, pp. 6-7).

The control revolution launched in the late nineteenth century in the United States was unquestionably a dramatic break in a technological sense. During the life of a single generation emerged basic communication technologies, which were used a hundred years later – photography and telegraph (summer 1830) rotary printing (1840), typewriter (1860), the transatlantic cable (1866), telephone (1876), cinema (1894), wireless telegraph (1895), magnetic recording (1899), radio (1906) and television (1923). Changes in the mass media and technological communication also were associated with a restaurant – reinforced the growing centralization – economic and political control, which stopped working at more local levels of society during the industrial revolution. At the beginning the government's and markets control depended on personal relationships and interact face-to-face, later was restored by means of bureaucratic organization, new transport and telecommunications infrastructures, as well as the communication system using the new mass media. Sudden innovations in information technology and control systems, aimed at regaining control over functions previously fill-in at a much lower and more dispersed social levels: it was a true revolution in the control and social control (Beniger 1986, p. 7).

Richard Sennett (2006, p. 2) is paying close attention to the culture of new capitalism, which is aimed at the traditional bureaucracy. The fragmentation of large institutions meant for many people the fragmentation of life in general. Workplace, nowadays, is like railway station, and work has destructive influence on family life. In the new capitalist consumer society there is no fixed point of reference, including sustainable institutions – everything is a process (Abrahamson 2004, p. 171). In this work the virtue of flexibility ousted mutual commitment. It has affected a substantial extent on other

spheres of life. It results in the ongoing conflict between the character and experience, as discontinuous experience of time threatens the ability of individuals to moulding their characters in durable narratives, which best illustrates the principle of ‘no long term’ (Sennett 1998, pp. 31, 22).

In modern liberal states, repeating for Blackshaw (2005, pp. 119-1120), social control has been largely commoditised and privatized. Consumer culture gives hope for freedom lives, challenging the social hierarchies that dominated the permanent modernity. Liquid modernity operates within the system of power and hierarchy, which on the surface seems to contradict the sociological stratification of social class, gender and race. The freedom that embodies liquid modernity, is the freedom to consume – the freedom to live and love without the participation of the society, transgressing the boundaries of class, gender, culture and ethnicity that could hinder personal fulfilment.

Collective unconscious of the masses is no longer tied to social stratification, associated with permanent modernity of modern society manufacturers, but reflects private consumption. In the consumer society, only the “flawed consumers” are still controlled by a work ethic. Inequality is generated above all by the consumer culture, the people are said by the market to have a value. Defective, consumers are deprived not only – and not even primarily – the competence to work, but the ability to be buyers of goods. Liquid modernity outlines the new frontier between social classes, dividing people on happy consumers and those who despite their best efforts, they can not be. Oppression in liquid modernity involves exclusion rather than exploitation. Fragmented society is driven by Freud’s “pleasure principle”. People are aware of this that do not differ from others, and the only thing left to them is to express your individuality.

Beyond Panopticon

Max Weber assumed that the organizers in modern society should have had the freedom to create reasonable living conditions of the rest of society. Ordinary people had to be wheeled gear in the machine, finding themselves in an iron cage – their lives were rationalized, but not free. Weber’s vision of modern rationality was very similar to Bentham’s Panopticon, in which supervisors exercised total control over the prisoners, forcing them into “proper” behaviour (Smith 2004, pp. 105-106).

It would be wrong to say that with the transition from permanent to the liquid phase of modernity panoptical control measures completely lost *raison d’être*. However ceased to be the dominant mode of summoning people to the right, even if this order is now not even based on the needs, desires and cravings but individual consumers. Controlling

others exercise their control over many different and often complex ways, but one of the key methods in their arsenal is – using the Neil Postman formula – an attempt to entertain us to death (Postman 2006). Bauman notes panoptical activity is still present, but on the margins of society, in total institutions (Bauman Lyon, 2013, p. 55).

Didier Bigo, the creator of the “ban-opticon” term, analyzes the discourses – for the least risk and threat levels and internal enemies – architectural structures, legislative and administrative measures. Strategic function of the ban-opticon is profiling minorities as unwanted: “Its three features are exceptional power within liberal societies (states of emergency that become routine), profiling (excluding some groups, proactively excluded categories of people, because of their potential future behaviour) and the normalizing of non-excluded groups (to a belief in the free movement of goods, capital, information and persons). The ban-opticon operates in globalized spaces beyond the nation-state, so the effects of power and resistance are no longer felt merely between state and society” (Bauman, Lyon 2013, pp. 56-57).

Two researchers, Michael McCahill and Rachel L. Finn (2014, pp. 140-141), conducted observations of ban-opticon in practice, following the operation of two shopping centres. They noted the main purpose of the surveillance system is to monitor people who interfere with the commercial image of the mall, including young people who do not buy. Ban-opticon is based on both written and unwritten rules. One of the former is as the person caught for shoplifting may not appear in the shopping centre for the twelve months.

The so-called synopticon (i.e. a situation in which many follow a few, a term coined by Thomas Mathiesen), Bauman argues, is a kind of panopticon to the personal performance (“DIY panopticon”), a form of surveillance, which no longer needs invigilators. Mathiesen had a neologism to capture a more general change that has occurred in managerial philosophy. Managing ceded the need for supervision in the same supervised. Checking in permanent modernity, based on the panoptical pattern, required to impose a monotonous routine – not only on managed, but also on management, generating boredom and threatening to open conflict. Replacement panopticon by synopticon has – from the point of view of conducting power – many advantages.

There is no need to build observation towers and employ countless supervisors, forcing monotonous subordination, which often born anger. Subordinated have to discipline themselves and suffer from physical and psychological supervision costs. The carrot, or at least, its promise, replaced the stick. People have voluntarily apply for being subjected. Effective marketing requires both a ban-opticon and synopticon, as in the consumer world successful elimination those who do not buy is needed. A good examples of this trend are corporation practise using software automatically dividing callers.

The most respected—bringing the highest profits - customers are rapidly connected with an appropriately located high employee of the company, who will try to solve their problems promptly. Worse clients have to wait indefinitely, and if they can demonstrate a high patience, in the end, will be connected to a low rank operator, who may be not able to help (Bauman, Lyon 2013, pp. 65-67).

It is worth mention, at this point, Mark Andrejevic work on reality TV. The digital revolution, like the industrial revolution is driven by the technology, which could be also translated into the field of politics. Howard Rheingold, a tireless promoter of the idea computer networks are functional revive the feeling of community in an increasingly atomized society, argued that the political significance of computer-mediated communication lies in its ability to challenge the monopoly of the political hierarchy on the powerful communication media, revitalizing democracy based on citizenship. Derrick de Kerckhove futurologist went even further, because – in his opinion – in the net society, power passes from the hands of the producer to the consumer, becoming a redistribution of control and power. And therefore fulfilled the Karl Marx dream about tools and means of production in the hands of the workers (Andrejevic 2004, p. 13),

Interactive media, according to Mathiesen, implement Orwellian synthesis of the two forms of surveillance, eg. by the screen of the TV set people watch Big Brother, and Big Brother is watching them. The technology enables synoptic watching TV, ordering and paying for advertised goods and producers of goods panoptically have control over all the audience (Andrejevic 2004, p. 14).

State surveillance

Herbert I. Schiller recalled that, historically speaking, the source communications revolution must be traced back to the cost, which, since World War II began to bear United States. For decades, the country has expensed enormous resources for developing research – pouring into the federal and corporate laboratories and academic institutions and private individuals. Since the mid-fifties to the mid-nineties the US government has spent over a trillion (thousand billion) dollars for research and development of nuclear weapons and other weapons.

Thanks to this unprecedented inflow of money laser guns, spy satellites and meteorological services, precision weapons (so-called. smart missiles), computer chips, in fact, almost all modern aerospace, communications and electronics. were invented, among others, The spread of scientific and technological projects carried out under the tutelage of the army and corporations, created the so-called, Information Society. We

are living now, how frequently is used to said, in the information age. However, main beneficiaries of the possibilities, offered by production, transmission, dissemination of information, are the ones, who initiated it during the Cold War, primarily international companies, security services or government policy-making agendas (Schiller 1996, p. 62).

Computers have played a key role in the Vietnam War and all subsequent wars. Today's drones, to some extent, are the embodiment of decades of major trends in the military. The density of forest and greasy backwoods swamps of Vietnam (Mekong Valley), not to mention the eternal problem of night vision and "elusiveness of the enemy", in the words of General Westmoreland, created a surveillance problems whose solutions were sought in electronic sensors and information technology. Support at the highest level for the implementation and use of electronics and information technology. In a speech Westmoreland of "electronic battlefield", he argues that the aim of finding and destroying the enemy is to find the enemy, it means rather find it in time than space. It is relatively easy to find the enemy in space but not in time – whether it (for Westmoreland it was always "he") would still be there when someone will appear there. The location must be established both in space and in time. The solution to this problem were almost instantaneous communication technologies. Westmoreland went further, saying that for the next field of battle enemy forces will be localized, tracked and tracing almost immediately through chains of data, computer-aided evaluation of intelligence and automated fire control (Giblett 2008, pp. 170-171),

Many developed countries citizens, concerned for the fate of privacy and human rights feared that as a result of the attacks of 11 September 2001, state agencies too closely interfere with the lives of ordinary people. Most of them, however, were shocked by the scale of mass surveillance, which revealed an associate of the National Security Agency (NSA) and the contractor Booz Allen Hamilton, Edward Snowden, the beneficiary of journalists Glenn Greenwald and Laura Poitras.

Even the biggest critics of the US authorities – both the radical left and the right wings of the political scene – in their most dark visions did not guessed the surveillance actual range, routinely led the NSA, supported by the services of other countries, especially the British Government Communications Headquarters (GCHQ). The answer to the question: what was the NSA's ambition is simple, though somewhat shocking, control the largest part, and preferably entirely, electronic communication in the world.

When the truth was revealed, it recalled that the totalitarian aspirations of a surveillance is not without precedent. In the early eighties high-ranking military alliance, a high-ranking politicians – including the British Prime Minister Edward Heath and the then

head of the World Bank Robert McNamara, entrepreneurs and technological innovators – contributed to the creation of the International Reporting Information Systems (IRIS). The objective of IRIS was searching and sorting in real time a wide range of information collected around the world about issues such as the price of goods, revolt, political machinations and investment trends. IRIS ambition was to provide government and corporate clients timely information that will be adequate, immediately available and designed for a specific customer. The system gave the promise of maximizing benefits for those who pay for a subscription – it is necessary to know everything, anywhere, at any time, if it might hit the interests of paying bills (Ball, Webster 2003, p. 5).

Snowden's affair, as Lyon notes, drew attention to the large data sets (Big Data), which intensify surveillance of certain trends, associated with the informational technologies and networks to create new, but smooth configurations. This happens mainly in three ways. Firstly, Big Data (including metadata) intensifying surveillance by expanding interconnected data sets and analytical tools. The existing dynamics of influence, risk management and control increases the speed and coverage through new technology, especially analytical predictions.

Secondly, although Big Data seems to relate the size, there is also a qualitative change in the practice of supervision. Still, there are important trends – theme of control, faith in technology, public-private synergies, user involvement – but the future orientation implies a departure from history and memory to explore and discover patterns of behavior, which is associated with unprecedented access to data. Thirdly, the return of ethics becomes an increasingly important mode of criticism (Lyon 2014, p. 1).

When Snowden realized within the national security state range, became seized by fear. Most people, who have the power, feel that fear changes slowly in the submissive, and even, affection. In a few cases fear can lead to anger and ultimately resistance. One can not underestimate the physical fear that accompanies such moral shocks. Given the accusations signalers, brutal treatment of Bradley (now Chelsea) Manning and killings by drones American citizens (justified by the president and his advisers), the dissidents in the United States may think about their country what they thought dissidents in East Germany under the Stasi. It is impossible to doubt that related fear is no stranger to the auditors security apparatus (Bromwich 2013).

Greenwald brilliantly describes the period, journalism entered in the days of the Obama administration. Journalism, perhaps imitating western governments, after 2001 broke with its rules. Many journalists stopped to answer what is the real story, and began – whose side is up side. From their perspective, digital privacy warriors do not differ

from those who want them cut off his head. Such commentators create a zone of darkness, which allegedly hate. They spread their own brand of terror and are advocates of intolerance. For them, truth is always the enemy (O'Hagan 2014).

Conclusion

Surveillance, like the poor in the biblical parable, will always be among us. It's hard to be judged as something bad by its very nature, since it may involve the concern for the welfare of the Other, helping him in a difficult situation. However, it seems, looking back, can be concluded the Sept. 11 unleashed the terrible fury in the minds of America and its allies, which led literally to distraction security agencies and their leaders. They wanted to know, literally, everything (O'Hagan, 2014).

It is hard to deny the truth of Stephen Sedley, a former judge of the British Lord Justice of Appeal, the security apparatus in many democracies rules over the other branches of state – preparing legislation, submitting its interests over the rights of individuals, dominating over the executive power decisions, without being under judicial supervision and acting almost no public oversight (Sedley 2013). To make matters worse, the state "Big Brother" works hand in hand with the corporate "Little Brothers", often charging them with surveillance of an uninformed crowd of the citizens.

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State surveillance as a threat to personal security of individuals

Changes in modern society are crucial to individuals. Article starts with analysis of control in nowadays societies. Then author tries to understand useful categories, as „Panopticon”, „ban-opticon” and „synopticon”. Last part is focused on state surveillance, i.e. surveillance by American National Security Agency.

Keywords – *surveillance, state apparatus, Panopticon, National Security Agency*

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