

"Horizontal surveillance: Everybody watching everybody else"

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Classic surveillance is top-down, from the more powerful to the less powerful. Top-down surveillance has increased in the past decades, largely due to technological developments in a) personal data generation, b) the ability to collect this data and c) the ability to store and process this data meaningfully. In order to distinguish activities that are purposeful for surveillance (like following a person, or installing a 'bug' in a room) from activities that are carried out for other purposes (like selling a mobile phone or controlling car tolls) but generate data that allows surveillance by machines (Müller 2009), some people have used the term Data Surveillance, or Dataveillance (Clarke 1988). The current culmination of dataveillance is an 'Überveillance' (Clarke 2010), what used to be called 'total information awareness', where we get the impression that pretty much all data on everyone is surveilled by someone (e.g. Schneier 2013b). Top-down surveillance in its various forms and aspects is the subject of classical surveillance and privacy studies. We want to take a different perspective.

It is now sometimes suggested that the asymmetric information flow of classical surveillance can be countered by surveillance from the bottom up - sousveillance (Mann 2013, Bakis 2013). Sousveillance makes use of sensors on people, e.g. portable cameras and wearable computing to control state agents, to bring surveillance to our attention (Zuckerman 2013, Schneeberger 2013) and assure freedom of information (in the same vein as 'Wikileaks'). Our working hypothesis is that surveillance and sousveillance will be joined by what we propose to call "horizontal surveillance", i.e. the surveillance from one agent to another on the same power level. This might be from one corporation to another, e.g. industrial espionage, or from one person to another. The three major factors (data production, data access, data analysis) that have pushed surveillance and, to a lesser extent, sousveillance, will now also push horizontal surveillance. Overall, we are heading towards a society of total surveillance of all by all, a panopticum in which not only the guards see the prisoners (surveillance), and the prisoners see the guard (sousveillance) but also the prisoners see the other prisoners (horizontal surveillance).