

who are physically or electronically excluded or bypassed by automated surveillance. The third part illustrates these points through three examples: algorithmic video surveillance; digital prioritization in transport and communications; and, finally, electronic patient records and genetic research. Finally, in part four, we reflect on the policy challenges raised by the spread of digital surveillance.

Digital surveillance: making a difference?

Digital encoding works by reducing information to the minimum necessary for accurate reconstruction: the binary code of 1s and 0s. In contrast, analogue forms aim at perfect reproduction of the original. Digital surveillance thus makes the information more amenable to storage, transmission and computation. But is it sufficiently different from analogue forms to merit rethinking and retheorization?

Michel Foucault's (1975) concept of 'panopticism'¹ (the tendency towards a disciplinary state based on direct surveillance) is still a dominant metaphor. However, Poster claims that digitization requires a re-evaluation of this concept because Foucault failed to notice that late 20th-century technological and infrastructural developments were qualitatively different from the earlier examples he studied:

Today's circuits of communication and the databases they generate constitute a *Supergpanopticon*, a system of surveillance without walls, windows, towers or guards. The quantitative advances in the technologies of surveillance result in a qualitative change in the microphysics of power. (Poster, 1990: 93)

Oscar Gandy argues that information age capitalism operates through a panoptic sort (the processes by which people are categorized and valued on the basis of information contained in databases), claiming:

it is only the locational constraints, the notion of separation by space, occasioned by the initial conceptualisation of the panoptic system as a building and by the surveillance as visual that limits Foucault's construct. But in an age of electronic networks, virtual memory, and remote access to distributed intelligence and data, disciplinary surveillance is no longer limited to single buildings, and observations no longer limited to line of sight. (Gandy, 1993: 23)

Digital sorting results in the creation of subjects through databases that do not replicate or imitate the original subject, but create a

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