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# Eyes on the Money: How Realist Economic Policy Facilitates the Modern Surveillance State in the USA and the PRC

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# Eyes on the Money: How Realist Economic Policy Facilitates the Modern Surveillance State in the USA and the PRC

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## Abstract

This paper examines the manner in which the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as the world's leading economic superpowers, pursue a generally realist international relations approach to maintaining and securing their bases of economic power, and how this purpose translates into the development and proliferation of Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) camera networks in major cities as a means of protecting those cities as economic hubs crucial to the national economy. Two research questions guide the paper. First, how does each state demonstrate realist policies in the process of securing economic centers and the overall protection of its economy? Second, how does the use of CCTV contribute to the security and functionality of major economic centers in each state? Through a case comparison, the study examines the two countries on the bases of differences in governmental ideological orientation, justification of continued government-operated CCTV proliferation, and likelihood of altering that proliferation by civic means, ultimately concluding that as the international system retains its competitive atmosphere, surveillance state policies will continue to be the norm as national government purpose to maintain bases of global power.

## Keywords

CCTV, United States, China, Surveillance State, Realism, Economic Policy

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# Eyes on the Money: How Realist Economic Policy Facilitates the Modern Surveillance State in the USA and the PRC

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## Introduction

In this age of increasing global connectedness and the heightened levels of international interaction therewith, the preeminence of historically fundamental bases of power becomes all the more relevant and necessary to understand. Such bases of national power, such as military might, technology and innovation, natural resources, etc., effectively define the modern nation-state's capabilities, and thereby its place in the existent world order. At the root of this delineation lies the most fundamental basis of power: the national economy. Taking into account the fact that economics includes harnessing, managing, maintaining, and utilizing a state's resources, it is not difficult to realize that the national economy serves as the basal linkage and support of each basis of power listed above.

Following this realization is the idea that power, especially as it relates to the international system, is by nature highly competitive, engendering a notable degree of concern and necessitating the national government's concentrated effort to maintain. This fervent effort to attain and retain power, specifically in regard to protecting bases of power, a purpose which has long been the *métier* of national governments, advances in tandem with innovative methods and technology according to the level of purposeful integration. To stand as a world power in the modern era requires a great deal of this purposeful integration, specifically in relation to the protection of the national economic system, which has already been established as the basis of all other manifestations of national power. A common and notable approach to protecting the national economic base adopted by governments of the world powers indeed demonstrates the effective use of innovative technology, that approach being the establishment of the surveillance state. The concept of the surveillance state refers to the installation and utilization of widespread and encompassing technological surveillance capabilities, as carried out by a national government within its own territory.

The United States of America (USA) and the People's Republic of China (PRC) serve as exemplary exhibitions of this concept, not only because of the high levels of state surveillance enacted (which are not necessarily the most concentrated or territorially comprehensive) but because the two states stand as the two dominant world powers, especially in regard to economic success. The USA and PRC stand as the leading economies of the world, with the highest and second-highest gross domestic product measures (\$18.6 trillion and \$11.2 trillion, respectively). Additionally, the two countries serve integral and prominent roles in a wide assortment of international economic associations and unions and have firmly established themselves as key economic entities in the

global system. This coveted economic, and thereby global, status is indeed the subject of each state's efforts for security through the implementation of technology. The U.S. and Chinese governments operate a developed surveillance state, using a myriad of technological components and methods to exert greater control and ensure greater protection upon their constituent economies. The expanse of specific methods utilized by the two powers in this regard are indeed vast, including the broad range of internet, communications, data, and physical activity monitoring capabilities continuously being developed. The governmental purpose of maintaining an economic power base, however, manifests itself in a specific aspect of the broad range of government surveillance practices, that being closed-circuit television (CCTV) networks implemented in urban centers that provide comprehensive observation throughout areas of concentrated population. CCTV networks serve as means for governmental agencies and enforcers to achieve greater levels of control through increased awareness, monitoring, and tracking capabilities. The existence of such networks raises questions in relation to the formation and utilization of such and how they correlate with policies purposed towards maintaining the national economic power base.

For means of comparison, the development of modern CCTV surveillance practices can be juxtaposed in two opposing contexts, those being the traditionally more republicanized and democratic constitutional republic of the USA and the authoritarian state of the PRC. These two countries, while exhibiting a dichotomy in national political function, are very similar in the fact that the two combine to demonstrate a key motivating factor that drives the development of their respective modern surveillance states. The USA and the PRC, as the first and second largest economies in the world, and thereby the two most singularly powerful states in existence, greatly prioritize continued economic integrity and growth as a basis for their power. This research will posit that the surveillance states of the USA and the PRC are demonstrative of a distinctly realist, power-based approach to international relations. It will be conducted through case-study examination of the political economies of the USA and the PRC as they relate to each state's developing urban CCTV networks, which in turn function as a means of protecting and nurturing national economic centers,

The examination of each of the aforementioned states cannot be undertaken in a fully comprehensive manner, and so this paper will approach such an undertaking by means of addressing two specific research questions in reference to each respective case. The first question this research will seek to address is how each state demonstrates generally realist policies in the process of securing economic centers and the overall protection of its economy. Examining this facet of securitization then transitions the discussion into the more specific second question, how the use of CCTV contributes to the security and functionality of major economic centers in each state.

## **Literature Review**

### **International Relations Theory**

In order to properly engage in an examination of how the world's economic superpowers demonstrate similar approaches to international relations in the protection of their respective urban centers, it is necessary to further delineate what those approaches are. International relations scholars Andrew Moravcsik and John Mearsheimer explain these approaches in their works, with Moravcsik addressing liberalism and Mearsheimer realism. Moravcsik (1997) describes liberalism as "the relationship between states and the surrounding domestic and transnational society in which they are embedded" (pg. 516) and explains that this relationship "critically shapes state behavior by influencing the social purposes underlying state preference." He

further denotes that liberalism relies on three “core assumptions,” namely the “Primacy of Societal Actors,” “Representation and State Preferences,” and “Interdependence and the International System” (“The configuration of interdependent state preferences determines state behavior”). This approach emphasizes the accession of power by means of a healthy sphere of cooperation, which applies directly to world powers that achieved their position through capitalist networking and international diplomatic goodwill. In contrast, Mearsheimer (2001) describes realism as the belief that “power is the currency of international politics” (pg. 72) and thus “Great powers, the main actors in the realists’ account, pay careful attention to how much economic and military power they have relative to each other.” This approach greatly emphasizes the competitive nature of international relations, and thereby points to the overarching goal of international cooperation, that being the betterment of one’s own nation. In this context, liberalist international policies of the USA and the PRC exist because cooperation is necessary for improving the national economic situation, an ultimately realist goal. While liberalist policies may be the norm among modern developed nations, the USA and the PRC ultimately use such policies for realist means. Having addressed what scholars delineate as prevailing international relations theories, the discussion naturally turns toward how government surveillance links to these ideologies to practice.

Surveillance policy scholars Ball and Wood’s (2013) *Surveillance and Society* article “Political Economies of Surveillance” kicks off this discussion with the important observation that government surveillance practices cannot be considered in and of themselves and must be contextualized in terms of related politics and economics, the ideology and goals of the government, and the implementation therewith. The authors explain that “we seek to secure our homeland precisely so that we can enjoy the full benefits- economic and otherwise” (pg. 2). Ball and Wood point to the proliferation of public CCTV surveillance systems in the USA as demonstrative of a desire for greater protection against terrorist activity in the post 9/11 world but highlight the importance of considering “the way in which surveillance works in and for government,” especially in regard to the national economy. This also applies to the PRC, as is seen in government surveillance scholar David Wood’s (2017) “The Global Turn to Authoritarianism and After.” The PRC has not suffered a terrorist attack of the same magnitude as September 11th, 2001, but as Wood explains, it demonstrates authoritarian behavior in that its surveillance policy is geared towards gathering data from the connotation of “what is necessary or potentially useful to ensure the persistence of the state and its control” (pg. 362). Having achieved continued economic success, the government of the PRC seeks also to achieve greater protection and by definition control over its society in order to preserve that success.

## **CCTV Implementation and Application**

Having examined the idea that government surveillance results from a primary wish to protect economic interests, the next portion of the discussion addresses the more practical question of how CCTV surveillance networks actually serve means of protecting urban centers, those being crucial factors in national economic success. McCahill, Norris, and Wood (2002), in their published work for *Surveillance and Society* on the growth of CCTV surveillance from a global perspective, outline the four stages of development in the proliferation of CCTV networks. They define those stages as “Private Diffusion” (pg. 119) wherein CCTV first becomes popular in the private business sector, “Institutional Diffusion” into the public sector that involves the installation of CCTV networks in areas of “public infrastructure” (schools, transportation hubs, etc.), “Limited Diffusion” into public zones in general, including urban centers and city streets (often justified on a basis of crime prevention), and “Towards Ubiquity” of surveillance involving more comprehensive and extensive systems that cover an entire city. They posit in their research that the most significant factor that drives this process in the USA is the “heightened security concern following the September 11, 2001

terrorist attacks” that has “led to rapid diffusion of CCTV” (pg. 114) in urban centers. In discussion of the PRC, the authors examine the Communist Party’s Golden Shield Project and note how it is “leading to the deployment of video surveillance cameras on an unprecedented scale” (pg. 116) with the simple justification of “to deter crime and maintain social order.” This corresponds with what Zhang and Huang, two Chinese surveillance policy experts, (2016) write in regard to the PRC’s surveillance policy, describing how the overarching goal remains the creation of more “safe cities” and “smart cities” and how to the Chinese government, “issues of public security have become much more important” (pg. 6). Overall, the trend in this context appears to be that the PRC is well into stage three and possibly already into stage four, with its Golden Shield Project goals of comprehensive monitoring systems throughout urban centers, while the USA may only be at stage two or working through stage three, with a greater emphasis for current CCTV development being placed mainly upon key economic centers that have been jeopardized in recent history, such as Washington D.C. and New York City. The U.S. Government Accountability Office report (2003) on Federal surveillance practices in the US, specifically in the nation’s capital, correlated to this trend in its statement that the “District of Columbia’s CCTV system was implemented... to facilitate crowd management during large demonstrations; however, officials indicated that the system could also be used to help combat terrorism” (pg. 2), further stating that the purpose of the D.C. CCTV network “is to facilitate crowd management and allocate police resources during major public events and demonstrations with the intended purpose of deterring crime such as destruction of property” (pg. 3). The report also indicated that “The system is also used to coordinate traffic control on an as-needed basis,” demonstrating that CCTV networks are being implemented as a means of protection for important national economic centers, be it in the form of law enforcement, crowd management, or simple traffic control.

The Journal of Experimental Criminology contributors Piza, Gilchrist, Caplan, Kennedy, and O’Hara’s (2016) work furthers the discussion on the practicality of CCTV networks for providing greater safety for urban environments by examining in detail the financial implications of “proactive CCTV monitoring” (pg. 403). They concluded that CCTV networks are financially practical, in that the “direct costs of the intervention inputs were completely offset by the benefits generated by the crime reduction” (pg. 420), meaning that the cost of utilizing CCTV networks as a primary source of law enforcement and crime reduction actually creates a net benefit in cost when the overall cost of crime is considered. Justice Quarterly contributing scholars Welsh and Farrington (2009) conducted a similar study that focused on urban law enforcement and CCTV crime reduction in car parks, finding similarly that such networks are beneficial as a law enforcement tool. They stated in their conclusion that “the potential benefit of CCTV in reducing crime by deterring offenders from committing an illegal activity may be much lower on its list of priorities than the apprehension of suspects who were caught on camera committing a crime” (pg. 739), which makes an important point as to the chronological particulars of crime prevention (deterring perpetrators vs. tracking them down for punishment later), though with the same end result of reducing crime rates. Surveillance policy scholars Norris and Armstrong’s (1999) book covers a great deal of the history of CCTV implementation, and further point to this trend by pointing out that CCTV technology companies first introduced the technology “into the retail sector primarily as a means of deterring and apprehending shoplifters” (pg. 18). Not only does this statement resonate with the theme of CCTV for urban protection, but also corresponds to the previously-outlined four-step proliferation process laid out by McCahill, Norris and Wood. Norris and Armstrong also highlight the importance of recognizing that “technologies of mass surveillance can be harnessed to encourage participation rather than exclusion, strengthen personhood rather than diminish it” (pg. 230). In essence, surveillance for the sake of security should not create a society where people are afraid to behave as individuals and live to their fullest potential within

that society. That important point transitions to the next phase of the discussion in the literature, that being the question of the social and moral viability of CCTV surveillance.

### Constitutional and Legal Implications

Emory Law Journal expert Levinson-Waldman (2017) writes that “Civilians and law enforcement alike benefit from the steady innovation of new technologies and new applications” (pg. 614), and yet “There is a growing judicial consensus that this state of affairs profoundly implicates the Fourth Amendment protections that are fundamental to Americans’ individual rights, including the right to some modicum of privacy and the right to associate, to speak, and to protest.” Especially in the USA, where the government has a history of much more significant levels of accountability to the public than in the PRC, there is a significant concern over whether or not public CCTV networks by nature violate the right to privacy, as Levinson-Waldman discusses in the analysis of the future implications for the Fourth Amendment. Surveillance policy researchers Sousa and Madensen (2016) conducted a related study for Criminal Justice Studies, researching the public sentiment in regard to the public CCTV network in Las Vegas, Nevada. They explain in their study that although “the perception of increased safety along Fremont Street (a studied area of Las Vegas where CCTV cameras were installed) has accompanied an overall revitalization of the downtown Las Vegas area since the initiative began in 2007” (pg. 51), there was still a portion of the population in that area that expressed continuing displeasure with the fact that public activity could be easily monitored by law enforcement officials at all hours of the day. Legal scholar Jeremy Brown’s (2008) study points to this problem in much greater detail, highlighting the “inadequacy of judicial regulation” (pg. 755) in that sphere, and describing how “Courts have recognized some limits on the use of video surveillance. But those limits—many of which are found in the dicta of cases addressing other forms of surveillance—are hazily defined and largely untested” (pg. 756). He continues on to offer suggestions as to how local and national governmental regulations could be implemented or better-adjusted to protect Constitutional rights, in regard to both current surveillance practices and whatever may come in the future as technology advances. Surveillance technology and policy scholars Introna and Wood’s (2004) work offer an example of what sort of problems advancing technology poses for privacy rights, focusing upon the implications of facial recognition systems (FRSs) employed by law enforcement as a software for analyzing data collected through CCTV cameras. They detail the dangers of discrimination involved in using such technology, in that “it emphasizes that surveillance at root is founded on sorting and categorization not on vision” (pg. 195). As the article explains, looking for certain types of facial structures or other aspects of personal appearance may quickly lead to profiling and targeting individuals for surveillance based on legally unjustifiable and legally indefensible criteria. This is also the focus of legal scholar Olivia Greer’s (2012) study, which involves conditions of profiling in relation to the New York City CCTV network. Greer finds that “oversight policies are vague and unenforceable” (pg. 626), and that discrimination and profiling remain as serious downsides of a system of surveillance that he deems to be founded on “legitimate security concerns-both local and national-that offer compelling reasons for the use of video surveillance programs.”

This depth of this issue is made clear by human rights researcher Heather Cameron (2002), who in her writing on the possibilities of preventing discrimination, profiling, and morally unjustifiable surveillance concludes that “Choosing to address the problems of surveillance through technological fixes opens up some strategic options and shuts down others...Each approach focuses in on a few elements, distorts others and pushes still others into invisibility outside its frame” (pg. 143). In other words, there is no simple solution, no means of simply adjusting parameters to rule out improper surveillance practices. It becomes apparent, then, that the trade-off between individual rights and the protection of society must somehow be juxtaposed, an action performed in

the work of surveillance policy expert Sun-ha Hong. Sun-ha (2017) addresses human rights, privacy, and the nature of their derivation in the context of government surveillance, and advocates for a “positive” approach to justifying state surveillance by considering alternate forms of surveillance (that are not as morally offensive), as opposed to the “negative” approach of criticizing it for simply existing. The problem that the literature has here discussed at length is summarized succinctly when Sun-ha explains that “The current dynamic, in which citizens are funneled into a rigged bargain while surveillance is justified through secret and indeterminate proofs, risks becoming particularly dangerous in times when government fails to safeguard its own institutional and moral standards” (pg. 199). Stated thusly, this problem is only a problem in the context of a government that has committed to such institutional and moral standards, though the issue of human rights can certainly be extended in some form to include citizens of authoritarian states.

## **Future Outlook**

While the literature covered thus far has focused on developmental and current implications of the surveillance state, a final and crucial facet of this discussion focuses upon the future outlook for surveillance policy in the world’s leading economic powers. International relations scholar and International Affairs contributor Jinghan Zeng (2016) writes on this subject in regard to the PRC, and discusses the implications of large-scale data gathering as it relates to a more authoritarian governmental style. The work describes how in the PRC, “cutting-edge ‘big data’ technology could be used to construct the most sophisticated electronic police state on the planet” in the near future, with widespread and comprehensive data collection being the norm. It also relates how for an authoritarian state, that level of domestic legibility would seem to be a huge boon to its management practices, but also explains that there are certain risks to this sort of surveillance. Chiefly, Zeng states that “When data is highly concentrated in the hands of a few powerful individuals or agencies, it may be sufficiently destructive to damage the entire authoritarian regime if used in the interests of competing actors in power struggles” (pg. 1444). In other words, the greater the power that a government wields, the more disastrous the fallout when that power is internally or externally abused. Public security policy scholar Brendan McQuade’s (2016) work addresses the future outlook in the USA, calling the existing American surveillance state a “complex interaction among technology, individual agents and institutional actors” (pg. 15). His work is similar to Ball and Wood’s theme that government surveillance practices cannot be examined in a vacuum and posits that the context of a highly bureaucratic system creates a situation in which it is difficult to change, especially prevent, the onset of the incipient surveillance state. He notes that “Technology is designed not only to perform a material function...but also to express and collectively reinforce beliefs about the differential allocation of power, prestige and wealth in a society” (pg. 7). In this case, his work implies that if surveillance technology still commands enough support from related parties to justify its continued existence, then the USA is facing a future of a surveillance state that retains its autonomy by default because of the indirect nature of the bureaucratic authority being exercised upon it. Whatever policy and ideology-related predictions may be tentatively offered, the outlook of the Chinese and American surveillance apparatuses can also be summarized and predicted in a much more quantifiable fashion. The October 2017 PRN report details the projected economic conditions for the CCTV industry throughout the world, and predicts based on existing business projections that the USA will actually be at the forefront of the CCTV camera market over the next several years, and that Eastern Asia as a whole is expected to see a 14.6% growth in the CCTV market, in both cases clearly denotative of an increasing demand for CCTV technology. As such, this report would indicate that the proliferation of CCTV surveillance in those countries will see nothing but net growth, a sign that the prevalence of public surveillance as a national policy will continue to receive support as well.

In summary, the reviewed literature supports the conception that the realist goal of safeguarding the national economy by means of increased surveillance, and thereby protection of urban centers that by definition serve as economic hubs stands, stands as the paramount policy objective for the USA and the PRC.

### **Case #1: The United States of America**

The USA, perhaps more so than any other country that could be studied, stands to lose a great deal should it fall from its current position of economic power. As the largest economy in the world with a gross domestic product of over \$18.6 trillion (Trading Economics, 2018), the USA has held a position of dominance in the world market since the formation of the newer international system post-World War II. The USA performed instrumental work in and ultimately guided the creation of a number of international economic organizations in the latter part of the 20th century and into the current one, notably the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and a host of trade deals with specific countries or with various blocs, including the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation, and to a degree the Association of South East Asian Nations. In short, the USA succeeded in linking its economic machine to most of the developed and developing world, and has since created for itself a niche at the apex of the world economic system.

As such, the USA possesses a notable history of protecting this economic status, even to a degree that might be labelled aggressive, and would most certainly fit the qualifications of a realist approach to international relations. A notable example of this presents itself in the actions of the USA in regard to its oil interests in the Middle East. Crude oil, from whence a host of important products are derived, demonstrates the direct relation of economic influence extending to global power. Crude oil is a primary component in every major economy, as it makes available certain products that are crucial in almost every level of economic activity. As such, U.S. foreign policy in regard to the Middle East, which is historically a major source of oil for the USA and to an extent remains so in the modern era with an estimated 636 million barrels imported each year from the Persian Gulf alone (USEIA, 2018), demonstrates a level of inclination toward protecting access to petroleum resources. One economist explained the comments of an insider oil industry analyst by stating that "Prior to the 2003 invasion and occupation of Iraq, U.S. and other western oil companies were all but completely shut out of Iraq's oil market, but thanks to the invasion and occupation, the companies are now back inside Iraq and producing oil there for the first time since being forced out of the country in 1973" (MacEwan, 2017). This statement highlights the prevalence of U.S. economic interests, even in the broader mix of complicated Middle Eastern foreign policy.

An additional and more extensive example presents itself in the manner in which the USA protected its established sphere of economic influence during the Cold War in the latter half of the 20th century. The Cold War in itself prominently embodies the nature of competitive economic policy in the international system, with the USA actively squaring off against the USSR in a multi-decade struggle to prove the economic supremacy of either capitalism (in the USA) or communism (in the USSR). One aspect of this drawn-out competition manifested in attempts to establish and protect economic zones and partnerships, a goal that often played a major role in the proliferation of proxy wars, conflicts in which the USA and USSR each backed a contender in a foreign conflict in an attempt to institute an allied governing regime that would adopt their sponsor's propagated system of government and economics, or at the very least act as a partner in preventing the proliferation of the opposing system of government and economics. A number of these proxy wars

occurred across the world, beginning after World War II in Korea, then extending to Vietnam and Southeast Asia, and even stretching into Latin America during the Carter and Reagan administrations with the trade embargo and committed military and CIA backing of the anti-Sandinista (Marxist revolutionaries that came to power in Nicaragua) rebel group known as the Contras. Put simply, the USA spent the latter half of the century going to great and aggressive lengths to prevent the expansion of the Soviet economic sphere of influence, demonstrating a preeminence of purpose in protecting and expanding its own sphere of influence.

This preeminence extends even to the current policies of President Donald Trump, whose rhetoric on the condition of the U.S. economy places his policies well into the zone of the realist, zero-sum-game approach to world power economics. He outlines such thinking in his political statements regularly, referencing “the disaster called NAFTA” (Time Magazine Staff, 2016) and “China’s entry into the World Trade Organization,” which he claims is “the great job theft in the history of our country,” and even stating that losses in U.S. economic influence are the result of “a leadership class that worships globalism over Americanism,” a critique of liberalist policies and a stark defense of realism that will likely continue to exhibit itself in the President’s international trade policies. Examining the efforts of the United States government to protect its economics interests through foreign policy naturally leads to a discussion of how this sentiment manifests in domestic policy.

## **CCTV and Government Surveillance Policy**

In conjunction with the trend of government surveillance in general, CCTV networks increased in popularity in the USA as a means of domestic security in the wake of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in Washington D.C. and New York City. In fact, the attacks drove home the point of the need for greater domestic security as a means of protecting economic interests in the most tragically spectacular fashion by destroying the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, resulting in thousands of civilian deaths and the destruction of the physical and symbolic manifestation of United States economic power. In response to and in realization of that fact, the U.S. government passed the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USAPATRIOT) Act of 2001, implementing programs that in effect “led to the rapid diffusion of CCTV” in those two cities, directly citing the “heightened security concern following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks” (McCahill, Norris, and Wood, 2002).

In Washington D.C. and New York City, there now exist formidable CCTV networks as a means of addressing the aforementioned “heightened security concern.” In Washington D.C., the United States Park Police and Metropolitan Police Department of the District of Columbia both operate extensive CCTV networks throughout the D.C. area, with the Park Police focusing upon the central area of the National Mall monuments and buildings (including the White House and Capitol) and the MPDC monitoring the wider scope of the city (GAO, 2003). In New York City, the Lower Manhattan Security Initiative (LMSI), implemented in 2007, guides the continued use of a large network of government-owned and privately-contracted CCTV systems, which includes license plate reading-capable technology. In addition, the complementary program Midtown Manhattan Security Initiative (MMSI) was implemented in 2010. The MMSI functions in tandem with the LMSI and serves to highlight the continued expansion of CCTV networks as the government (in this case, the NYPD Counter-terrorism Bureau) senses the need to impose more comprehensive security (Greer, 2012). In this perceived need for more comprehensive CCTV networks, there arises the matter of justification and of effectiveness. A wide range of studies have been conducted and are certainly still being conducted in this line of research, examining aspects of security from crime reduction to perceived safety of the populace in those areas.

The GAO report speaks directly to the subject of the effectivity of CCTV networks in the nation's capital. The report admits that "Measuring CCTV effectiveness is difficult...because it is often used in tandem with other law enforcement tools" (pg. 31), but also explains that CCTV networks remain an important part of the securitization process. Furthermore, speaking to the existence of CCTV networks in major cities throughout the country, the official government report also found that the installation of CCTV networks increases the crime rate, but that "increased crime rates are not bad because it may mean more crimes are being reported that had previously gone undetected" (pg. 30). Similarly, Piza, Gilchrist, Caplan, Kennedy, and O'Hara defended government spending on CCTV network installation, finding that the "direct costs of the intervention inputs were completely offset by the benefits generated by the crime reduction" (pg. 420). Put simply, the utilization of CCTV networks by government agencies leads to a greater ability to monitor and react to criminal and terrorist activity, a crucial and effective process within the larger goal of protecting economic centers such as Washington, D.C. and New York City. Overall, the U.S. government operates CCTV networks totaling over 30 million (BBC, 2017) individual cameras, which means that there is approximately one camera for every twelve citizens in the USA.

## Public Reaction

It is this effectiveness that causes controversy among constituent citizens of the USA. As an indirect democracy, the rights of the citizens of the USA are protected under the Federal Constitution and its amendments, and the people elect officials to the various levels of government and therefore have a means of influencing public policy. Enumerated within that Constitution is the Bill of Rights, a series of amendments that protect the rights to free speech and to privacy in the First and Fourth Amendments respectively. As such, citizens commonly voice opposition (as protected under the First Amendment) to increased CCTV networks and government surveillance, citing the Fourth Amendment and claiming that such comprehensive government monitoring violates the individual's right to privacy. CCTV surveillance has not necessarily brought about the climax of this debate, as the 1967 U.S. Supreme Court Case *Katz v. United States* demonstrated. The court found that Fourth Amendment protections against unreasonable government search and seizure only applied to areas wherein an individual citizen could claim a "reasonable expectation of privacy," and as such state surveillance has been allowed to continue in the USA because urban centers and open public areas are difficult to classify as private areas.

Despite the continuing debate on the subject, many find themselves in support of government surveillance. Scholars such as Norris and Armstrong believe that "technologies of mass surveillance can be harnessed to encourage participation rather than exclusion, strengthen personhood rather than diminish it" (pg. 230), defending the idea that state surveillance is practiced in order to protect individuality, to make safe society so that individuals may live to their fullest potential. The sentiment of total trust in the federal government on behalf of the constituent citizens is not strong in the USA, but when put to the test most citizens would most likely favor security over complete invisibility. This idea is demonstrated by Sousa and Madensen's study of urban reaction to recent CCTV installations, wherein they found that many people actually felt safer knowing that law enforcement officials had urban areas under surveillance.

An important point to note on this subject is the fact that however the majority of the population orients itself in favor of or against the proliferation of government-operated CCTV networks, a substantial decline in the use of those networks could occur. The USA is rated in the 86th percentile for individual freedom (including civic rights and freedom of opportunity) by the Freedom House publishers, indicating that there is always the possibility of reversing the proliferation of government-operated CCTV networks in the USA. However, given the above discussion on security

vs. privacy, it seems unlikely that after less than twenty years since the September 11, 2001 attacks a majority of citizens will feel both secure against domestic threats and violated enough to ubiquitously advocate for a reduction in government protection. Thus, within the foreseeable future, the USA will most likely continue its domestic program of CCTV surveillance.

## **Case #2: The People's Republic of China**

The PRC stands as the world's other most prominent economic power, second only to the USA with a GDP of more than \$11.2 trillion and an astonishing GDP growth of almost 7% in the last year (Trading Economics, 2018). Admittedly, statistics are in this case questionably analyzed and published by the national government, but the simple fact of the PRC's place in the world as an economic power and continued growth speaks for itself on the world market. Similarly to the USA, the PRC helped to found and currently holds an important post in a number of international trade organizations, including large blocs such as ASEAN, the Asia Cooperation Dialogue (ACD), the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum, BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa, powerful emerging economies), and the East Asia Summit (AES). Thus, in a manner similar to the USA, the PRC has a well-founded interest in protecting its economic position and seeking to facilitate its future success.

The realist trend in Chinese economic policy appears quite visibly in the form of its pursuit of the propagated Belt and Road Initiative, which entails wide-sweeping efforts to expand avenues of maritime trade throughout Southern Asia and into Eastern Africa and as far as the Mediterranean and Europe, as well as shoring up and enlarging overland trade routes and economic supply systems (such as pipelines, roads, etc.) across central Asia and into Europe. This extensive effort also includes and accounts for a key component of the PRC's expansion into the South China Sea, a controversial process in which the various nations of SE Asia are currently vying for control of the contested waterway. By means of constructing artificial islands (in an attempt to justify claims of coastal territorial waters) and aggressive patrolling practices on the part of the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN), the PRC holds a dominant position over the South China Sea, a position from which the PRC's economy stands to gain a great deal. That particular waterway serves as a main trade artery for Southern and Eastern Asia, with an estimated \$5.3 trillion in trade goods passing through it each year (CSIS, 2018). Achieving economy superiority in Asia depends greatly on the PRC's ability to control that and similar crucial trade zones, and so the current government's foreign policy directive is likely to continue.

To further exemplify this policy, President Xi Jinping, the current leader of the PRC, spoke of the Belt and Road Initiative as a means of "enhancing infrastructure, trade, and financial connectivity" (Xi, 2017), with the direct implication that the PRC will serve as the main hub of this newly-connected Asia. He also spoke of the great need for "common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security" in order to protect the efforts of the Initiative. This endeavor, should it succeed in the long term, provides the PRC with a direct opportunity to establish itself as the primary economic partner of most of the eastern hemisphere and a significant portion of the world's population, a position that Chinese governments historically held and certainly purpose to hold again.

## **CCTV and Government Surveillance Policy, Public Reaction**

CCTV networks in the PRC actualized in a dissimilar manner to the USA, at least in terms of cited reasons for proliferation. The PRC has not suffered a terrorist attack or equivalent catastrophic event, and so the initiative for CCTV network development derives primarily from authoritarian-like policies of the ruling Communist Party of China (CPC). The official policy of the

CPC points toward the ultimate goal of “safe” and “smart cities” (Zhang, 2016), cities in which the economic processes necessary for proliferation of the Chinese zone of influence may proceed unhindered, be it from foreign threats or from domestic dissent. This policy is exemplified most obviously in the Golden Shield project, a comprehensive security measure enacted near the turn of the century that includes the infamous “Great Firewall of China,” a nation-wide internet censorship program, and also facilitates the installation of blanket CCTV networks equipped with the most advanced facial recognition software and movement tracking capabilities throughout most of urban mainland China. The effectiveness of this system was put to the test in an experiment by the BBC and national government in 2017. In the experiment, BBC reporter John Sudworth was sent to roam the streets of Guiyang, an inland southwestern urban center, and purposed to avoid being detected and apprehended for as long as possible. According to the BBC and Chinese officials, approximately seven minutes elapsed from the time Sudworth’s photo was given to the local CCTV control and monitoring center to the time of his apprehension by local police (BBC, 2017). The same study reported that the Golden Shield project has already installed over 170 million CCTV cameras (about one camera per eight people) throughout urban mainland China, and projects an additional 400 million-plus being installed by 2020.

This impressive level of efficiency and widespread dissemination of CCTV networks provide significant cause for worry to citizens of the PRC and the world that place a great emphasis on the primacy of the individual. Being a historically Confucian nation, the general populace operates on a much more collectivistic basis and the people are traditionally more accustomed to a higher power distance, but that does not necessarily clear away the fact that the PRC is rated in the 14th percentile in the 2018 Freedom House world ranking, which indicates that civic freedom and individual liberty are not particularly high priorities for the ruling authoritarian party. As such, little chance exists for concerned citizens to effect a change in governmental policy, especially in regard to a means by which said government maintains order and exerts its authority over its own territory. Given that condition, government-operated CCTV networks are likely to proliferate substantially within the near future as indicated above, with little or no inhibition from the citizens of the PRC.

## Analysis

The comparison of economic policy as it relates to CCTV surveillances practices undertaken in this study demonstrates the commonality in orientation between the USA and the PRC, as it points to realist-leaning protection of the national economic power base. As the most prominent economies on the modern global scene, the two states enjoy the benefits of economic supremacy as it translates to greater power in the international system, both through dissemination of trade and the subsequent extension of influence in the global public and private sectors and through the ability to allocate resources to national security (including defense forces, associated technological research, and relevant government and private programs). This study sought, by means of case-by-case examination, to answer two research questions in regard to each country. First, how does each state demonstrate realist policies in the process of securing economic centers and the overall protection of its economy? Second, and more narrowly, how does the use of CCTV contribute to the security and functionality of major economic centers in each state?

In the examination of the USA, it was found that realist policy has historically led the national government to pursue aggressive action in the global theater with the purpose of protecting economic interests and securing its dominance on the world scene. The PRC was found to demonstrate similar tendencies, at least in its intent to reestablish hegemony over its hemisphere, a position it has historically held (until circa 20th century) by means of its economic, cultural, and

geographic centrality in Asia. This motivation, coupled with the rising necessity for adaptation and advancement by national governments in order to maintain traditional standards of international and domestic control, served to facilitate the rise of the modern-day surveillance state.

Consider the following table:

Table: Comparing Powers and Policy		
	USA	PRC
GDP, World Ranking	\$18.6 trillion, 1st	\$11.2 trillion, 2nd
Government Orientation and Freedom	Limited Democracy (citizens influence national policy)	Communist Authoritarian
	(citizens have little influence over national policy)	
Primary CCTV Proliferation Catalyst	Terrorism threat	CPC policy of domestic security and control
Freedom House Index (2018)	86th percentile	14th percentile
Level of Surveillance State Development	Limited Diffusion	Towards Ubiquity
Approximate # of CCTV Cameras in Use	30 million	170 million
Approximate ratio of citizens/camera	12	8
Market Predictions for CCTV Technology	Growth	Growth

The findings here summarize a number of important points. First, the USA and the PRC are the two largest economies in the world and therefore likely to continue to utilize CCTV networks as a part of the domestic securitization process. Second, even though the USA operates a relatively democratic system and the PRC remains highly authoritarian, as is demonstrated by Freedom House rankings and government system delineation, both states have a well-developed surveillance state, indicating that the surveillance state is in fact driven by the onset of the modern international system.

These findings may, however, show that differing governmental systems could have an effect upon the rate of surveillance state development. The USA is noticeably behind the PRC in regard to total numbers of CCTV cameras being employed. This may be due to the fact that the Golden Shield project and related state security initiatives in the PRC were and are being carried out at the behest of the CPC government as per its own policy, and thereby accelerates according to the designs of CPC officials, whereas the domestic securitization process in the USA, being a government more subject to its constituent citizens, required a large-scale catastrophic event (in this case, the World Trade Center attacks) to galvanize policymakers and rally constituents behind the idea of increasing the scope of government surveillance. Thus, while both states are increasing government surveillance presence, the USA remains at the level of “institutional diffusion,” while the PRC has advanced into the “towards ubiquity” stage of comprehensive surveillance (see McCahill, Norris and Wood).

A final aspect of state-run CCTV network proliferation is the danger that expansive government surveillance can actually be harmful to the state institution itself. As stated earlier, some scholars argue that the surveillance state in the USA runs the danger of eventually undermining the fundamentals of the civil government in relation to the idea that the constituent citizens will no

longer have any control over surveillance practices when bureaucratic allocation essentially creates an autonomous and indirect surveillance state (McQuade, 2016). Such an entity, existing in an autonomous fashion, by nature holds an immense level of power over the population about which it registers a high level of legibility. This condition of unchecked influence threatens the checks and balances parameters built into the national government, and by this fact embodies an entity that possesses the ability to alter the power structure at the national level to the point that the system cannot accommodate the imbalance. The resultant shift in governability and power dispensation could easily prove fatal to the existent federal state.

## Conclusion

In the case of the PRC, some scholars believe that excessive data harvesting, i.e. 'Big Data' practices, will threaten the stability of the ruling regime in relation to the idea that "When data is highly concentrated in the hands of a few powerful individuals or agencies, it may be sufficiently destructive to damage the entire authoritarian regime if used in the interests of competing actors in power struggles" (Zeng, 2016, pg. 1444). Similarly to the American governmental system, the CPC government faces a serious internal threat given the implications of an expanding surveillance state. In an authoritarian governmental system that allows little flexibility in regard to power struggles and exercises few systemic checks and balances within the governmental structure, the danger to the system from information-based power and influence manifests itself not in institutional form, as with the USA, but in the form of individual actors. Too much power and influence exercised by individual actors that as a part of their agenda target other actors within the governing institutions may lead directly to debilitating instability and render existing governmental structures effete. It would certainly be ironic to see the two most powerful states in the global system weaken and topple themselves by the very means through which they sought to assure their own domestic security.

## Further Avenues of Research

In the process of examining the questions addressed in this study, it becomes readily apparent that there is a great deal of parallel and associated material that merits study as well. The most obvious avenue for further or expanded research presents itself in the topic of government surveillance practices and methodology. As a means of limiting the scope of this study to a more sizeable portion, government surveillance was examined only in relation to CCTV networks. As stated in the introduction, CCTV surveillance is only a solitary facet of the greater prism of surveillance strategies, and by nature necessitates parallel and associated means of surveillance for effective security practices. This includes (and is not limited to) monitoring social media and interactive internet services, wiretapping, archival investigation, and civic data collection in general. The operationalization of these surveillance methods also necessitates a subset population of legality and policy-compatibility experts, which in terms of further research present not only an intriguing academic field but also an important echelon within the greater governmental system itself, providing the opportunity for niche-like expertise and crucial public service. Further research opportunities also become apparent in the realm of technology improvement. As technology becomes more sophisticated, the need arises for a greater understanding of the design, production, and capabilities of the various software and hardware aspects of surveillance technology. Higher quality imaging, facial recognition and data-analysis software, and patterns of installation all demonstrate the promise of extended avenues of examination. In closing, it seems logical that further research in relation to this subject will proliferate in tandem with national government

policy that continues to expand the use of CCTV networks. As globalization leads to a more connected world, national governments will seek to retain the scope of their particular zones of economic influence, a policy that translates domestically to shoring up and protecting national economic hubs. In a context where capital is paramount, competitively-minded governments will certainly not miss the importance of keeping an eye on their own resource bases.

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