SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, SURVEILLANCE AND ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE: ANATOMY OF STRUGGLE IN THE DIGITAL AGE

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Abstract

Recently, it is thought that social movements have been negatively affected by the developments in artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies. In the study, social movements are evaluated from a critical position, different from the mainstream. This critical approach is not subject-oriented but focused on social developments and processes. It is argued that artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies have a determining, dominating and monotonizing effect in the qualitative change and transformation processes that social movements have entered. It is thought that company monopolies in related fields are supportive of this change and transformation. It is claimed that social control practices are intensifying because of this transformation process that social movements have entered. Thus, it is argued that the participants of social movements are made passive. The work is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on the discussion of the conceptual framework, and the second part focuses on the analysis process. As a method, it was considered proper to subject the selected news texts to content analysis in the light of the determined keywords.

Keywords: Social Movements, Surveillance, Artificial Intelligence, Political Struggle, Digitalization

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Introduction

The concepts discussed today, such as the politics of waiting, contrapoder, marronage, slowness movement, pirate parties, non-growth, inclusive and exclusive discourse, re-enclosure, basic income and interpassivity are the harbingers of a new political discourse. It can be said that social movements are also affected by this change and transformation process. Do developments in artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies affect social movements? If the answer is positive, what is the nature of this effect? In this study, answers to these questions are looked for. It is thought that social movements are negatively affected by developments in artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies. It is argued that this effect will lead to some monotonizing effects on critical thinking eventually. In this context, in the conceptual framework part of the study, first, what is understood from the concept of social movements and the validity of the old and new social movements distinctions are questioned. After the definition of social movements, a position on how this phenomenon is approached will be determined.

The developments in artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies have been progressing in the last period. As these technologies develop, they enter the field of social sciences increasingly. It is mentioned that artificial intelligence affects every aspect of society, but the idea of a relationship, if any, between artificial intelligence and social movements is ignored. The increasing dominance of surveillance technologies and the unethical political use of personal data obtained because of surveillance are known with the Cambridge Analytica scandal (Couldry & Mejias, 2022: 163). Both artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies are thought to be highly effective in shaping social movements. It is argued that the effect of artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies on social movements is not a quantitative but a qualitative effect. Thus, it can be said that the current developments have led to some transformations about the structure of social movements.

In the first part of the article, there is a conceptual framework in which social movements, artificial intelligence, surveillance technologies and related concepts are discussed. The second part is devoted to the analysis in which the change-transformation process that activism has entered in the digital age is discussed. In the study, content analysis method based on secondary data is used to analyse the news about the spread of artificial intelligence and surveillance applications. Content analysis can be defined as a technique that provides a methodical, systematic, objective and, if possible, quantitative analysis of the content of various texts to classify and interpret the basic elements that do not directly lend itself to naive reading (Bilgin, 2006: 2).

Social Movements, Artificial Intelligence, Surveillance Technologies, and Mutual Effects

Social movements can be defined as "a formation group that proposes innovation and is based on the success of transforming social partnership into an action group" (Işık, 2011: 6). Social movements are individuals and/or organizations associated with social conflict, based on a shared collective identity, appearing with an organizational form that incorporates many contradictions (Işık, 2011: 6). The fact that a group acts together in long- or short-time units around a certain goal and the construction of a common identity causes social movements to affect democratic developments (Sanlı, 2005: 12). Social movements can occur with many different motives. Social movements can come together for varied reasons such as changing an element of the social structure and a form of social relationship or preserving these elements and forms (Kurtbaş, 2017: 35).

Social movements are not uniform: they are often divided in the literature into old and new. Therefore, the characteristics of social movements have been examined according to this distinction. Social movements, known as the old, were accepted as "the popular movement against the sovereign power and as a result, causing the system to change" (Işık, 2011: 33). In this context, old social movements are evaluated based on socialist parties and unions based on system change. While based on grand narratives such as class struggle, nationalism, and nation building, old social movements deal with "issues such as economic growth, income distribution, military and social security, and social control" (Işık, 2011: 35).

Contrary to the old social movements, the new social movements represent the opposite/alternative of a situation where the working-class movement is dissolved, shaped around the conflicts of interest groups, and generally centralized, bureaucratic, with secret-open power demand, inflexible and hierarchical features, in which social movements cannot produce a solution or become massive (Işık, 2015: 3). New social movements are often associated with the postmodern era. It is said that new social movements are built on the new paradigm brought by technological developments and economic growth (Coşkun, 2020: 109). New social movements, which are related to the social and political changes created by globalization, focus on pluralizing social subjects, and aspire to be the spokesperson of their demands (Coşkun, 2020: 111). However, in this study, it is argued that the distinction between old and new social movements is out of date and that there is a continuity, not a break, between these two different traditions (Coşkun, 2020: 21). Therefore, in this study, social movements are evaluated in the context of social developments, not subject-oriented.

After reaching a minimum definition of the definition of social movements and taking a position on the traditional "old-new" distinction, some common features of social movements can be mentioned. Social movements can be said to have seven common characteristics: 1) A new perspective to see things differently, 2) Group loyalty, 3) Commitment to action, 4) Disorganized leadership(s), 5) Clear goals, 6) Adaptive organizations and 7) A unifying ideology (Işık, 2011: 8). In this context, lines of social movements aiming at a change-transformation in different ranges, such as transformative, reformist and liberationist, appear (Kurtbaş, 2017: 72). One of the key features of social movements related to this study is the relationship they establish with communication. The birth of social movements is based on their communication with the media and society. The spread of social movements and their acceptance by the society is based on a continuous communication activity (Işık, 2015: 4).

There are different approaches to social movements. These approaches diverge into two mainstream lines. The first of these is the School of Mass Society and Collective Behaviour, while the second is the School of Mobilization of Resources. The Collective Behaviour school was an accepted theory in the 1950s and 60s. The Collective Behaviour claims that "social movements are the result of individuals being damaged by modernization and reflects social movements as an irrational, exceptional, hysterical reaction to the structural tensions that emerged in the modernization process" (Kurtbaş, 2017: 14). According to Mobilization of Resources, "social movements, like other organizations, come together, operate, and often seek to gain power by consuming resources. These resources include tools such as money, members, votes, information, trust, business, and image and is used to gain influence. Resource mobilization theorists assume that the participants of the movements use the decision-making mechanism just like the representatives of the state" (Sanlı, 2005: 53). However, in this study, a critical position is chosen outside of these two mainstream lines. This critical perspective establishes itself by focusing on the shortcomings of some features of mainstream approaches. First, it is seen that these mainstream approaches lead to the ignoring of the social contradictions that lead to them by placing the internal mechanisms and social/demographic composition of these movements (Saraçoğlu, 2017: 48). The second criticism, in connection with the first, is that these mainstream approaches do not take a political stance against the social movements they aim to examine (Saraçoğlu, 2017: 50). Therefore, this study approaches social movements from a critical perspective and highlights the class, social and economic determinants that affect social movements.

In its most basic form, artificial intelligence can be defined as "the science that examines how we can make artificial systems (with bodies if necessary) perform every cognitive activity (whether intelligent or not) that natural systems can do at even higher performance levels" (Say, 2021: 83). The concept of artificial intelligence, which has been used since 1955, is also defined as the intelligence exhibited by machines, unlike the natural intelligence exhibited by humans in computer science (Özalp, 2020: 11). Artificial intelligence aims to produce systems that can be called "intelligent" when made by human subjects (Doğan, 2021: 86). Two different AIs are mentioned: limited AI and general AI. "Limited AI is the ability of a computer to solve a certain type of problem or do a certain job" (Reese, 2020: 77). General artificial intelligence, on the other hand, is the concept used to describe artificial intelligence

that can perfect effectively in different areas or the ability to transfer what it has learned from one area to another (Dyer-Witheford, Kjøsen & Steinhoff, 2022: 22).

Artificial intelligence is increasingly involved in people's lives day by day (Çağal, 2021: 464). Artificial intelligence is used in every aspect of daily life related to health transactions, economic transactions, citizenship information, companies, and consumer behaviour (Narin, 2017: 329). These usage areas are moving towards complicated areas such as nanotechnology, bioengineering and genetic engineering (Berrat, 2020: 172). The spread of artificial intelligence in every field has begun to have decisive and dominating effects on social, economic, and political processes (Han, 2022: 7). Artificial intelligence is also associated with big data. The more data artificial intelligence has, the better it becomes (Aslan, 2022: 40). The idea that artificial intelligence can learn from data and increase its performance over time is known as machine learning (Walsh, 2020: 20). Thanks to machine learning, artificial intelligence has succeeded in "producing usable vision, speech and translation, question-answer systems" (New Scientist, 2021: 39). The data used in machine learning is the data that companies obtain through surveillance (O'Shea, 2021: 41). There are some cases where artificial intelligence is abused: Google's racist autocomplete, bots spreading fake news, far-right groups and filter bubbles are some of these examples (Sumpter, 2022: 17).

Surveillance is defined as "the method that gains mental power over the mind" (Mattelart, 2012: 13). The idea of surveillance is primarily based on the work of Jeremy Bentham and Michel Foucault. In his book The Birth of the Prison, Foucault proposes a disciplinary society based on the panopticon idea put forward by Bentham (Mattelart, 2012: 14-16). This proposition of Foucault led to the foundation of a critical surveillance theory (Fuchs, 2021: 232). Foucault states that hierarchical, continuous, and functional surveillance is a new power mechanism (Foucault, 1992: 222). Surveillance is related to employment and management as well as policing and security (Lyon, 1997: 10). Administrative control through surveillance devices is increasing (Dyer-Witheford, 2004: 78). The intensification of devices and technologies (cloud, Bluetooth and wireless etc.) evolves surveillance practices into a regime (Polat, Ergün, Stickynan & Arıöz, 2022: 132). Shoshana Zuboff calls this regime "surveillance capitalism" and lists its features as follows:

> "1. A new economic order that treats human experience as a free raw material for hidden business practices of data extraction, forecasting and selling; 2. A parasitic economic logic in which the production of goods and services is subjected to a new global architecture of behavioural change. 3. A malignant mutation of capitalism, unprecedented in human history, determined by the concentration of wealth, knowledge, and power. 4. Basic framework of surveillance economy. 5. A remarkable threat to human nature in the twenty-first century as industrial capitalism posed to the natural world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. 6. The origin of a new instrumental power that dominates society and poses staggering challenges to market democracy. 7. A movement aimed at the absolute implementation of a new collective order. 8. Violation of critical human rights, best understood as a coup from above: the overthrow of popular sovereignty" (Zuboff, 2021: 11).

Surveillance functions as a control tool everywhere, including "social media, smartphones, call history and credit cards" (Mongomery & bergman, 2022: 144). Especially new communication technologies increase the rate of surveillance (Öztan, Özkaplan & Ruben, 2017: 97). With new communication technologies, surveillance no longer takes place directly but indirectly (de Gaulejac, 2013: 94). Thus, surveillance technologies cause ethical privacy problems (Güngör, 2020: 171). However, the problems in the development of surveillance technologies are not limited to privacy. Some examples of this new type of surveillance include the US national and international surveillance disclosures by Wikileaks and Edward Snowden (Dyer-Witheford, 2019: 206). It is seen through such disclosures that surveillance becomes used for social control purposes (Aydın, 2021: 89). These control and discipline practices, which run through surveillance, lead to "the theme of ritualized behaviour, which is always an increasing authority formation" (Zerzan, 2013: 42). The adaptation of surveillance with new communication

technologies culminates with the example of big data (Fuchs & Chandler, 2021: 17). Surveillance through big data tends to evolve with artificial intelligence (Nadella, 2019: 10).

Analysis: Social Movements in the Digital Age

The sample to be used in the content analysis was determined by the random sampling method. The date range for the selection of the news was determined as from January 2022 to May 2023. There was no geographical limitation, and no specific language/region limitation was applied in the determination of the news. The analysed news was accessed through the Google search engine, and searches were made through the incognito window to avoid personalized algorithms. The keywords "artificial intelligence", "surveillance", "artificial intelligence", "AI" and "surveillance" were used in the searches. Thousands of results were found in searches. 39 of these results were discussed. The news covered were selected by looking at their content and discourse. The news analysed according to the method applied are shaped around two themes: positive approach and negative approach to artificial intelligence/surveillance technologies. The purpose of using this method is to question how aware social movements are of the development of artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies and whether they are prepared for it. Likewise, positive, or negative perception towards artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies is thought to be a precursor to this awareness. At this point, there is an important reason for examining the news:

> "News, in general, is a report of something timely, an event, a hastily written literature, and the history of tomorrow. News is an information transfer operation. News is the information people need to determine, organize, and direct their own lives and their position in society.
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> …
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> While the news and information are presented, the dominant culture and ideology are also presented, and individuals learn the information and news that are considered important within the framework of the dominant culture and ideology. 'The oppositions in the news are based on a fundamental opposition, the opposition of ideologies.' But the so-called news uses this relationship in the name of the oppressor and to persuade the oppressed" (İnceoğlu & Çoban, 2016: 13).

As it should be noted, news texts have a direct impact on the perception of today and the future. The fact that the news texts give the ideological narrative of today is directly effective in the construction of the future. Considering this study, the positive presentation of artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies says that the relevant applications will have a positive position in the future. Conversely, the negative presentation focuses on the future dangers of related technologies. It is thought that the affirmation of the spread of artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies is close to the "transhumanist" perspectives, while its negation is close to the "posthumanist" perspectives. Transhumanism corresponds to the overcoming of humanism, which is subject-centred thought. "First used by J. Huxley in his New Bottles for New Wine-1957, transhumanism was defined as a scientific and cultural movement aimed at improving the human condition, especially by increasing human intelligence, physical and psychological abilities, and using technology that destroys old age. Transhumanism epitomizes the power and possibility of modern science and technology, and the tempting promise of immortality or prolongation of life, the achievement of transcendent human efforts rather than a divine being. It has been influenced by the beliefs in religious and gnostic cultures that the new human and new order will exist" (Dağ, 2022: 21). Transhumanist theses, such as the defeat of diseases, the abolition of unhappiness, and the abolition of death, advance the limits of biological intervention in a way that even fascism cannot manifest (Dağ, 2022: 90). Posthumanism is a concept that is intertwined with advances in science and technology, such as cloning, genetic engineering, artificial intelligence, and the development of cyborgs (Badmington, 2004: i). Posthumanism, which re-evaluates anthropocentrism, argues that what is considered natural is socially constructed, enables the

understanding of renewed identities in an ever-changing world (Ağın, 2020: 2-3). In this context, it can be said that posthumanism is the opposite of transhumanism (Wolfe, 2009: xv).

In this study, a position close to the posthumanist perspective is taken. The main reason for these binary oppositions (positive-negative) mentioned is that transhumanism corresponds to the thesis that technological developments will lead to the overcoming of humanity, that is, the dominant ideological narrative, while posthumanism corresponds to the human-technology partnership, that is, to an alternative ideological narrative. Therefore, the thesis of changing the quality of social movements, which is the main claim of the study, draws attention not to an opposition to technology, but to the abuse of technology. The abuse of technology, on the other hand, corresponds to transhumanism as mentioned. At this point, it should be noted that a discussion of technological determinism is not entered.

One of the main claims of the study is that the developments in artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies have transformed the quality of social movements. It is stated that some developments, especially in the field of artificial intelligence, have a liberating potential. However, the presence of developments in surveillance technologies is said to undermine this liberating potential (Grill, 2021). In recent years, it has been seen that surveillance practices have focused on social movements (Guariglia, 2020). Members of social movements are exposed to surveillance processes by the state-police, security forces and intelligence agencies (Owen, 2017: 689). Therefore, surveillance technologies are affecting the course of social movements as well as policing practices (Conklin, 2021: 5). In the searches made with the keywords determined within the scope of the study, 39 news related to the subject of the study were examined. In these news, the news related to the use of artificial intelligence technologies in surveillance processes were taken into consideration in the searches made with artificial intelligence keywords. In searches made with surveillance keywords, news related to social movements were looked at. The title of the news that came out because of the search was primarily looked at. Almost all the titles are negative or suggestive of negativity.

Table 1: Examined Negative News Headlines

Artificial Intelligence	Surveillance
Chilling Artificial Intelligence: Dead Woman Answers Her Family's Questions at Her Own Funeral (Kılınç, 2022).	China's Digital Surveillance Technologies Reach Frightening Proportions (Bektaş, 2020).
For The First Time in History, A Robot Discovered Itself (Technopixel, 2022).	Graffiti, Flyers, Word of Mouth: Protesters in China Are Adopting Low-Tech Organizing to Escape Surveillance (Zhou & Tobin, 2022).
Robot CEO Appointed to a Company for The First Time (Independent Türkçe, 2022a).	Revealed: Police Start Monitoring 'Social Justice' Activity After BLM Protests (Barton, 2022).
The Scary and Mysterious Woman Who Appears in The Pictures Made by Artificial Intelligence Is on The Agenda of Social Media (Independent Türkçe, 2022c).	Who is Tommy Robinson? Gardai Closely Watches the Movements of The Far-Right Provocateur (O'Keeff & Hosford, 2023).
Google and Oxford Researchers Evaluated Artificial İntelligence: "It Can Cheat, It Can Eliminate People" (Independent Türkçe, 2022d).	Meet The Activists Who Perfected the Anti-Surveillance Craft (Murphu, 20221).

Oculus Creator Produces Virtual Reality Headset That Can Kill People (Independent Türkçe, 2022e).	Police Surveillance and Facial Recognition: Why Is Data Privacy Imperative for Communities of Colour? (Lee & Chin, 2022).
Relying On Artificial Intelligence in Journalism, MSN's Site Is Full of Fake News (Independent Türkçe, 2022f).	Feds Deliberately Targeted BLM Protesters to Disrupt Movement, According to A Report (NPR, 2021).
Anti-Artificial Intelligence 'Actions' Have Started: Reactions Are Made Not with Banners on The Streets, But with These Posts on Social Media! (Kılınç Ş, 2023).	Being Aware of Visible (And Invisible) Surveillance at Protests (Brown, 2020).
Artificial Intelligence Leads to Wrong Person Arrest: Error Noticed 6 Days Later (Kılınç, 2023).	Hong Kong Protesters Go Offline to Escape China's Digital Surveillance System (Pringe, 2019).
Emma Watson Victims of Artificial Intelligence: Deepfake Produces 'Speech' Out of Nothing Anymore [Video] (Kalelioğlu, 2023).	Megaphone For Social Movements: Campaigning in The Surveillance State (De Ville, 2013).
Artificial Intelligence Is Now Involved in Fraud Business (Sözcü, 2023a).	The US Targeted Black Lives Matter Activists to Disrupt the Movement, According to The Report (NPR, 2021).
His Love with Artificial Intelligence Ended in Frustration: The Man Was Destroyed When the Application Was Updated (Halktv, 2023a).	Social Movements Need Anonymity, But Companies Are Taking I Away (Kopfstein, 2015).
Report: AI Could Replace 300 million Full-Time Jobs (Kısa Dalga, 2023b).	Secret Amazon Reports Expose Company's Surveillance of Workers and Environmental Groups (Gurley, 2020).
AI Confession from Google CEO: We Don't Fully Understand Either (Sözcü, 2023b).	Canada's Surveillance of Indigenous Movements (Crosby & Monaghan, 2018).
A Mother Believed Her Daughter, Whose Voice Was Cloned with Artificial Intelligence, Was Abducted (Akpınar, 2023).	FBI Trawled Facebook to Arrest Protesters For Inciting Riots, Court Records Show (Farivar & Solon, 2020).
Smiley-Faced Robot EVE Could Put Many Workers Out of Work (Sözcü, 2023c).	Drone Surveillance Can Help Hold Governments Accountable—But It Can Also Oppress Us (Choi-Fitzpatrick, 2020).
Tech Investor Ian Hogarth Warns: 'Artificial Intelligence Is Becoming Godlike' (Independent Türkçe, 2023c).	ACLU Finds Social Media Sites Gave Data to Company Tracking Black Protesters (Levin, 2016).
Michael Schumacher's Family Sues Over Fake Artificial Intelligence Interview (Karataş, 2023).	FBI Expands Ability to Collect Cellphone Location Data, Monitor Social Media, Recent Contracts Show (Afsc, 2020).

Hinton, the 'Godfather' Of Artificial Intelligence: I Can Now Talk About the Dangers (Odatv, 2023).	Scholars On Surveillance: How Campus Police Are Using High Technology to Surveillance Students? (Maass, 2021).
Microsoft, Which Spends Billions on Artificial Intelligence, Has Decided Not to Give a Raise to Its Employees This Year! (Uyan, 2023).	

Among the news headlines examined, those related to artificial intelligence are not related to social movements. The news about artificial intelligence is mostly about developing technology and the inclusion of this technology in daily life. Such development of artificial intelligence technologies has been evaluated within the scope of human-technology association. Accordingly, it can be said that the developments in artificial intelligence technology leave an impression that undermines human activity-autonomy. In the searches made on surveillance, it is seen that the relations with social movements are direct. It can be said that all over the world, social movements are seen through social media. However, there are other types of surveillance practices, such as location data, drone use, and tracking digital footprints.

There are some remarkable elements in the analysed news. The first of these is the appointment of an AI CEO. At this point, it is seen that traditional inspection and control applications have been transferred to artificial intelligence. Artificial intelligence, which is self-aware, can paint and chat, use cheats, produce, and spread fake news, has features such as awareness and creativity. In this context, the arrest of the wrong people can lead to mass effects through disinformation as well as creating individual victimization with fraud and Deepfake. At this point, the fact that artificial intelligence developers do not understand how artificial intelligence works brings up the possibility of this technology getting out of control. It is another possibility that artificial intelligence applications developed in Dark Web will reproduce some problems in society such as racism, gender inequality and class inequality. The most basic example that can be given to mass effects is mass unemployment and precarization. Mass unemployment and underemployment are used by political centre and right-wing ideologies to warm up the concern for a robotized future (Frase, 2022: 18). However, there is a correlation between mass unemployment and social movements. The traces of the riots that emerged with the fear of unemployment can be traced back to the Ludist movement in England in 1812 (Ford, 2022: 49). The claim that artificial intelligence-based automation applications will eliminate many professions reinforces this fear (Walsh, 2020: 103). At this point, it can be said that developing artificial intelligence applications have become important tools at the point of social control.

One of the striking points in the news about surveillance practices is that these practices are not only limited to developed countries, but also spread to developing and underdeveloped countries. The social credit system in China is an example of this. In addition to social media, the development of new technologies such as face recognition and drone surveillance are examples of the advancing surveillance system. Surveillance practices in developed countries, which have been shown before, are becoming more widespread. Surveillance practices in the USA, especially towards the Black Lives Matter movement, are one of the examples that can be given to these practices. It is seen that social movements resist digital surveillance practices at some points: Being offline and using low technology can be given as examples of these resistances. One of the practices of resistance to surveillance activities is sousveillance. Sousveillance means surveillance from below and refers to the democratization/massification of surveillance practices (Mann & Ferenbok, 2013: 19). One of the issues that artificial intelligence and surveillance practices have in common is the monopoly of companies operating in this field. Again, it can be said that surveillance practices concentrate more on indigenous movements and other identity movements.

The data obtained because of the examination should be evaluated within the framework of artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies within the framework of social movements. Artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies shape the emergence and development processes of social movements (UC Davis Humanities Institute, 2021). The concentration of artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies supports the reduction of the field of policy to a passive sport of spectators, which is reduced to reacting to events through digital technologies (Stam, 2021: 315). Therefore, the intensification of artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies disproves the assumption that digital technologies open new political possibilities. In this context, the monitoring and control of social movements by surveillance and artificial intelligence technologies leads to intensification of social control with digitalization. Social movements and their participants, which are constantly controlled and monitored, must be stuck in some ritual practices in the online space. The forms of digital activism, which has recently become a field where demands are "only expressed" -for example, hashtag activism on social media (Gürel & Nazlı, 2019: 192)- when combined with surveillance practices, become one of the key factors that cause the participant to become passive.

Conclusion

Digitalization not only offers important new tools for social movements, but also offers ways to submerge them (Earl, Maher & Pan, 2022: 1). In addition to the support that digital forms of action support social movements, there is also an ongoing process with the effect of censorship, surveillance, and monopolization (Aydoğan & Çetin, 2017: 440). Digitization leads to the intertwining of surveillance and control efforts with social movements. Surveillance technologies supported by artificial intelligence are used to suppress social movements. In this context, it is seen that digital technologies predominate in the scale of control or liberation (Melgaço & Monaghan, 2018: 7).

The work is divided into two main parts. In the first part, the concepts of social movements, artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies are discussed. Artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies are discussed with a descriptive approach. Social movements, on the other hand, is a concept that is managed with many different approaches. In this study, different from the mainstream theories of collective behaviour and resource mobilization, a critical position has been determined. This critical position is at a point that considers class, social and economic developments and transcends the classical old-new distinction. According to the critical position taken in the study, social movements are evaluated in the context of social developments and processes, not subject-oriented.

The second part of the study was subjected to the content analysis of 39 news from an intersecting perspective in the triangle of artificial intelligence, surveillance, and social movements. In this analysis process, the nature of the news content is examined: At this point, a distinction is made between news with positive content and news with negative content. News with positive content was evaluated under the influence of a transhumanist narrative, while negative news was evaluated under the influence of a posthumanist narrative. When evaluated in the light of this analysis, the dominance of the transhumanist narrative can be seen in the correlation of mass unemployment-insecurity-social movements and social control.

Communication processes and communication technologies have always been important for social movements. The main claim of the study is that social movements are directly affected by developments in artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies. This effect is a qualitative effect. This qualitative effect on social movements is developing negatively. The decisive impact of artificial intelligence and surveillance technologies on social movements is developing in a dominating direction. The thesis of changing the nature of social movements means the abuse of technology by monopoly companies and states. As a result of this abuse, traditional audit and control applications have started to give way to artificial intelligence supported surveillance technologies. Technique thus becomes the main starting point of thought. Technique becomes a monopoly on thought. With the dominance of the technique on

thought, an instrumental logic becomes dominant. The quest for freedom gives way to the quest to act rationally. With the advances in technique and technology, life itself becomes countable, measurable, and predictable. Thus, human capacity becomes commodified, and calculation takes the place of thought. These developments, which also affect critical theory, have effects on political discourse.

Two results related to the main claim of the study draw attention: unequal surveillance applied to social movements organized based on Black, Indigenous, women's and LGBT rights, and social movement participants who are margins. According to the first, it can be said that the marginalized segments of the society are more exposed to surveillance practices. In the second result, the surveillance practices they are exposed to cause the social movement participants to become passive. This passivity can be seen in the example of digital activism, where social movements are trapped as a result of surveillance. Digital forms of activism are not the transfer of traditional activism to digital space, but rather a form of activism with new features. This form of activism is based on simple and repetitive rituals, such as hashtag activism. Lars, the artificial intelligence leader of the Synthetic Party in Denmark, can be seen as an important example of a new type of activism with the universal basic income he demands (Halktv, 2022).

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