DOI: https://doi.org/10.63056/jllsa.2.11.2026.434

Journal of Language, Literature & Social Affairs

journal homepage: https://scholarclub.org/index.php/jllsa

# Hypervisibility, Digital Labor, and Surveillance Capitalism: A Zuboffian Reading of Dave Eggers' The Circle

**Zeeshan Khalid*[a], Khalid Mehmood Ahmad[b], Muhammad Salal Shahid[c]**

a. Lecturer, Department of English Language and Literature, The University of Lahore, Lahore, Pakistan.
b. Lecturer, Department of English Language and Literature, The University of Lahore, Lahore, Pakistan.
c. Lecturer, Department of English Language and Literature, The University of Lahore, Lahore, Pakistan.

**ARTICLE INFO**

**Received:**
September 16, 2026
**Revision Received:**
October 09, 2026
**Accepted:**
October 22, 2026
**Available Online:**
November 04, 2026

**Keywords:**
Hypervisibility, Digital Labor, Surveillance Capitalism

**ABSTRACT**

This study will not only scrutinize Dave Eggers' (2013) *The Circle* as a dystopian novel but also critique ever-increasing power of technology, hypervisibility, and digital labor that causes the erosion of privacy and human's maltreatment in the digital era. The study will delve into the novel through the theoretical framework of Shoshana Zuboff's (2019) concept of surveillance capitalism, focusing on hypervisibility, digital labor, and a manipulative role of Tec-companies as key themes that showcase the threats of technology/AI. Furthermore, the study argues that the portrayal of apparently user-friendly technologies that turn out to be manipulative in the novel, *The Circle,* exposes the ethical and existential costs of technology and digitalization in the contemporary world. Thus, the novel is a warning about the consequences of an uncontrolled technological empire feeding on surveillance capitalism and behavioral exploitation.

## 1. Introduction

The emergence of Tech companies has transformed the way humans primarily behave. Zuboff (2019) analyses a new economic logic based on the exploitation of human experiences as she explains, "Unilaterally claims human experience as free raw material for translation into behavioral data" (p. 8). This data is commodified that shapes future behavior. Additionally, Eggers (2013) also explores these dynamics in detail in *The Circle*. The central tech company in the novel, consisting of Google, Facebook, and Apple, promotes transparency, sharing, and connectivity while compromising personal privacy and individual autonomy. The novel's protagonist, Mae Holland, experiences a personal transformation similar to the internalized forms of control analyzed in Zuboff's (2019) work, *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism*. Thus, this study scrutinizes *The Circle* as a fictive but incisive representation of surveillance capitalism.

## 2. Research Methodology

This research will be qualitative in nature, combining close reading of texts with critical theoretical viewpoints, since it is not based on any numerical values or quantitative studies. The main text of this research is *The Circle* by Eggers (2013). The theoretical grounding is primarily drawn from Zuboff's (2019) *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism*. In addition to, the study will investigate the characters, dialogue and narrative structure of the novel as the representations of essential elements of the

* Correspondence to: Lecturer, Department of English Language and Literature, The University of Lahore, Lahore, Pakistan.
E-*mail address:* amzeeshankhalid@gmail.com (Z. Khalid)

3105-4919 & 3105-4927/© 2026 The Authors. Published by Scholar Club. This is an open access article.

phenomenon of surveillance capitalism: including hypervisibility, digitalization and the disguised face of Tec companies. With the use of intertextual references and thematic analysis, the study will showcase how Eggers' (2013) novel integrates to the critical concept of Zuboff (2019).

## 3. Literature Review

The concept of surveillance capitalism has become prevalent in the 21st century, the age of digitalization. Zuboff (2019), an American scholar, social theorist, and author, is well known for work on digitalization, surveillance capitalism and digital labor. Her main argument is that surveillance systems exploit human behavior to extract data without any consent, thus creating a market in behavioral futures as Zuboff (2019) argues, "They take our private experience as their raw material, translate it into data, and then use it to predict our behavior—all for the profit of others" (p. 93). Moreover, a critical reading of Eggers' *The Circle* (2013) through the lens of Zuboff's (2019) concept of surveillance capitalism demands an engagement with the existing critical discourse on both surveillance narrative and the political economy of digitalization. This literature review integrates major scholarly narratives or perspectives on surveillance, digital labour, hypervisibility and the disguised face of Big Tech which connect these frameworks with the Eggers' literary vision and Zuboff's socio-economic critique.

Surveillance studies emerged as a critical response to anxieties about the proliferating control of technologies in every sphere of life. Michel Foucault discussed the basic theory of panopticism, first posited in *Discipline and Punish* (1977), is still relevant. As Foucault (1977) argued that modern power is not exercised through suppression explicitly, but rather through knowledge or discipline in its disguised form. This constitutes internalized surveillance that compels individuals to regulate their own behavior by making them believe that they are persistently under surveillance. Moreover, Mark Andrejevic (2007) and David Lyon (2001) have expanded this framework to the digital age which critiques that modern surveillance is formulated by the users' participation and commercial exploitation. The idea of the digital enclosure (Andrejevic, 2007) is especially similar to *The Circle*. They discuss that people deliberately give away their personal data to the digital platforms, thereby constraining themselves into privately owned spaces that excerpt value from their behavior. In the same way, Lyon's (2001) idea of surveillance as social sorting also postulates that surveillance technologies categorize and manage populations according to commercial necessities as Zuboff (2019) argues throughout *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism* that the collecting of behavioral surplus is more than simply a disciplinary technique, but rather a new economic logic. Unlike the panopticon, where the watcher is known and visible, Zuboff's (2019) "Big Other" is the manifestation of an invisible, algorithmically, driven system of surveillance. Hence, *The Circle* is a literary representation of this transition, where people knowingly subject themselves to surveillance to gain social capital and this compliance is moralized.

The idea of transparency has been subject to critical scrutiny in various ways. Claire Birchall (2011: 9) writes that the transparency turn in governance and digital culture is a call for openness that can become tools of control rather than accountability. Transparency, she argues, has become "a fetish" in the service of conformity and the undermining of dissent. In a similar way, Gina Neff and Dawn Nafus (2016) in their study of self-tracking, deconstruct how people install surveillance by using devices and platforms to inspect themselves, turning personal data into a form of currency. Literary critics have read *The Circle* as a story about the dangers of enforced transparency. Sarah Brouillette (2015) characterizes Eggers' novel (2013) as an assault on the neoliberal subject, the always available, always performing, always optimizing subject. Mae's journey is a representation of a subject who mistakes surveillance for solidarity and visibility for value. Similarly, Zuboff (2019) criticises the ideology of transparency as an essential ideology of surveillance capitalism. The system is based on the idea that "if you have nothing to hide, you have nothing to fear" – an argument used to justify ever more invasive intrusions into people's lives (Zuboff, 2019, p. 382). What *The Circle* shows, and what Zuboff argues, is that hypervisibility robs people of not just privacy but unpredictability, which is ultimately the essence of human freedom.

The digital labour theory, especially as proposed by Christian Fuchs (2014), Tiziana Terranova (2000), and Trebor Scholz (2013), offers significant insights into the political economy undergirding platforms like The Circle. According to Fuchs (2014) the users of social media and other digital platforms are involved in unpaid labour when they produce content, interact with each other and share personal data, all of which create value for corporations. Terranova (2000) described the digital economy as a space where emotional, affective and cognitive capacities are commodified as free labour. Mae's job in The Circle is much more than what's in her described role as an employee. She is to attend parties, to chat constantly on the company's social platform, and to monitor her engagement metrics. In fact, this idea integrates with Scholz's (2013) idea of "platform capitalism", where work is fragmented, affective and often unpaid.

Furthermore, Zuboff (2019) gives a more insightful structural analysis that links this labor to what she labels Behavioral Surplus. Traditional labor ends at the point of production, but digital labor does not. Instead, all the excess data created by every interaction is processed and monetized. Zuboff (2019) differentiates between digital instruments that are for the benefit of the user, and surveillance capital that is for the benefit of the corporation using the user. The technologies in Eggers' (2013)

novel, *The Circle*, are seemingly friendly but manipulative helpful. Moreover, Scholars like Jathan Sadowski (2019) analyzed this model and termed it as an automated inequality, a system in which data-driven insights reaffirm structural hierarchies.

And Silicon Valley has been often seen as a place of innovation, fairness and progress. But many scholars have challenged these ideas. For example, Evgeny Morozov (2013) warns us not to Believe in technology as a solution to all social problems. He calls this idea "solutionism". Fred Turner (2006) refers to the counterculture of 1960s as the origin of the ideal of a perfect world by means of technology. According to him, in the contemporary worlds, the tech companies have taken on both the optimistic ideas and controlling behaviors. Astra Taylor (2018) also adds to this critical perspective that Eggers' (2013) novel *the Circle* is a direct response to these appraisals. The company depicts itself as a generous force, committed to eradicating crimes, enhancing civic engagement and improving health care. But this benevolence functions as a hunger for surveillance as Mae's speeches start sounding more and more like tech manifestos, full of catchwords about connection, efficiency, and access.

Zuboff's (2019) analysis supports this critique of the economic imperatives driving such utopian rhetoric. She states surveillance capitalism "stakes claim to private human experience in an effort to translate it into behavioral data" (Zuboff, 2019, p. 94). This is not a neutral or inadvertent process, but rather an intentional strategy of enclosure. Just as commons were privatized in the insertions of early capitalism, our inner lives are being controlled and commodified. In the novel, the company's intent to be the only interface for all social and civic activity is an example of what Zuboff (2019) calls the "extraction imperative. Once the data extraction starts, it must continue to grow to keep productivity up. Thus, as Eggers (2013) states, the accumulation logic that supports surveillance capitalism is.

In addition, Eggers' (2013) *The Circle* is part of a long line of dystopian literature dealing with surveillance and control. The most cited literature is George Orwell's *1984* with its idea of pervasive monitoring and authoritarian rule. While scholars like Thomas Pynchon (2006) and Margaret Atwood (2003) have looked at different forms of surveillance in which power is spread and internalized. The Circle is sympathetic, collaborative and panoramic unlike Orwell's Big Brother. Mae's submission is won by attraction, not by fear, This is consistent with Zuboff's (2019) idea of instrumentarian power which works not by disciplining the body, but by changing behavior. The intention is not totalitarianism, but "behavioral modification at scale" (Zuboff, 2019, p. 376). In addition to, Critics like Jessica Yakeley (2018) have also examined the psychological dimensions of surveillance in literature and contend that characters in such novels tend to undergo a disintegration of the self. In The Circle Mae's profile merges with her identity. Her feelings are only validated when they are mirrored back to her in likes and smiles and rankings. Empirical correspondents to this fictional representation do exist. Additionally, in the perspective of Sherry Turkle's (2011) critique the constant immersion in digital media could result in mitigated empathic and superficial affect.

In addition to, the feminist scholars have also scrutinized the gendered dimensions of surveillance that shows how technologies tend to sustain patriarchal norms. Scholars such as Sarah Banet-Weiser (2018) have taken Laura Mulvey's (1975) theory of the "male gaze" into the digital realm which questions the impartiality of online visibility and its construction by power. In *The Circle*, transparency is presented as empowerment, but it also means Mae is constantly under surveillance. Moreover, Lisa Nakamura (2015) has also shown digital labor is often radicalized and feminized. In the Circle's world, emotional labor, such as smiling and responding, becomes a primary form of labor, particularly for women. Mae's upward mobility in the company depends on her ability to provide affective labor with devotion. This is part of a larger trend in tech companies where engagement is often per formative diversity within systems that are structurally unequal. With these insights Zuboff's (2019) argument intervenes. While her emphasis is not explicitly on gender, her emphasis on the appropriation of experiences from intimate life has clear gendered implications.

The existing doctrine on surveillance, digital labor and platform capitalism provides a resilient framework for reading the novel, *The Circle*, as a literary as well as a socio-political text. From Foucault's disciplinary power to Zuboff's (2019) behavioral surplus, from feminist critiques of visibility to economic analyses of digital labour, the critical literature insists on one insight: the digital economy is not just a technological shift but a significant reordering of human subjectivity, autonomy and social relations. Hence, Eggers' (2013) novel introduces these themes through the presentation of a world in which the desire for data supersedes the importance of freedom. Scrutinized through the lenses of Zuboff (2019), *The Circle* is not merely a dystopian novel but a warning against the logics of control that gradually shape our lives.

## 4. Discussion

### 4.1. Hypervisibility as Moral Virtue: Transparency and the Erasure of Privacy

Transparency is a more than just a corporate objective in The Circle. It has become an imperative of culture and morality. The company's slogans are "Secrets are lies", "Sharing is caring" and "Privacy is theft", all of which are repeated throughout the novel as the realization of the employees and users. Such slogans are verbiage and phrases; they build a new power narrative and epistemology. This phenomenon is attributed to Zuboff's (2019) account of instrumentarian power which is power that operates on data to transform human behaviors. The novel's focus on transparency exemplifies Zuboff's (2019) concept of the

“epistemic coup”, a new type of sovereignty that gives the control to corporate actors over what is known, what is decided, and who decides to make the decision.

The novel's protagonist, Mae Holland, evolves from a wary newcomer to a born-and-bred believer and The Circle's evangelist of the doctrine of transparency, demonstrating the power of hypervisibility. Mae's choice to wear a camera on her body (SeeChange) is an admission of living in perpetual surveillance, not just as an operator at work but as a citizen and citizen of good conscience. “Eggers, 2013, p. 303” says, in her speech of public disclosure, “Everything that happens must be known.” It is a moment which indicates a turning point in the novel. Mae starts to view surveillance as a means of legitimacy and a moral responsibility instead of an invasion. This language is similar to that used by Zuboff (2019) when he warns of the inevitability narrative, which posits that surveillance is needed, and even desirable, the next step in society. Mae's personal relationships are also evident examples of the control of such constant surveillance. Her parents are not sure of the SeeChange cameras initially being placed in their home, particularly since her mother is getting treatment. Eggers (2013, p. 343) indicates that Mae has picked up the epistemology of the Circle: "Why shouldn't you want to be part of this? The novel critiques technological utopianism, for she cannot grasp their desire for privacy, in which connection is always good and the private self is no more. It is the right of being left alone, having one's life not observed and not modified, in other words, the right to be left alone, which is what Zuboff (2019) refers to as the loss of the 'right to sanctuary'. Surveillance capitalism wants to automate us, to get us to behave according to predictable patterns (Zuboff, 2019, p. 376). Mae's becoming transparent doesn't liberate her; it is a surrender, a surrender of her autonomy to the tech company, surveillance capitalism.

### 4.2. Digital Labor: The Gamification and Psychologization of Work

Mae’s work at the Circle blurs the line between professional responsibility and personal identity. Unlike traditional labour models, her productivity is determined not only by what she is able to do, but by her “PartiRank” (Participation Rank), how often and how enthusiastically she interacts, and how many “zings” and “smiles” she produces. This gamification of labor intervenes with Zuboff’s (2019) theory of behavioral surplus. Every interaction, every gesture is a data point and an asset respectively. Christian Fuchs (2014) stresses that digital capitalism is based on unpaid digital labour, where users produce content and meta data which is commodified by tech-companies. In this way, Mae’s work is exemplary of digital labour. She is constantly talking to the customers, reviewing products, taking surveys, updating her social profile, all under the impression that this is voluntary. In fact she is subjected to performance reviews chastising her for not participating enough. At one point, she is punished for missing a weekend party and not engaging with a colleague’s post. Her manager reminds her that "Your presence in the social sphere is not optional" (Eggers, 2013, p. 185).

This demonstrates Zuboff’s (2019) idea of the division of learning in society. Surveillance capitalists stockpile the surplus of human experience, but the insights generated from these data are not shared with users. They are instead used to predict and shape future behaviours. Zuboff (2019) describes this condition as a radical asymmetry of knowledge and power.

Also, the Circle is a framework that blurs the personal fulfillment line between. Each time she fails to meet her required criteria in some way, Mae internalises guilt. Engagement levels—are what Zuboff (2019) refers to as “psychic numbing”, the acceptance of Lack of continuity in one's life as commonplace and even salutary. The perfect Circle employee is a person who is proud to be commodified, who embraces all transparency and lives in a feedback loop of constant validation. Mae starts to feel a sense of belonging as she starts to do well in PartiRank. She felt like she was part of something grand (Eggers, 2013, p. 216), and meaning: “She was certain that her work was contributing to something magnificent” (Eggers, 2013, p. 216). A sense of emotional alignment with the corporation's objectives is an example of Zuboff's (2019) description of a state of "emotional alignment with the goals of the corporation. Surveillance capitalism works not by suppressing but by seducing and psychologically capturing.

The environment of the Circle is also geared towards the idea of blurring the boundaries between personal fulfillment and loyalty to the corporations. As Mae absorbs guilt on every failed attempt to reach her level of engagement, she becomes accustomed to interruptions in her life as a form of normalcy and even as something good, a form of psychic numbing that Zuboff (2019) describes as “the acceptance of interruptions to one's life as normal and even beneficial”. The perfect Circle employee is a person who's happy to be treated like a commodity, who accepts all transparency and is in a feedback loop with constant validation. When Mae starts to excel in PartiRank, she feels she is a part of something great: “She felt she was part of something magnificent” (Eggers, 2013, p. 216). This emotional connection to the objective of the company is evidence of Zuboff's (2019) claim that surveillance capitalism works not by bribing but by seducing and psychologically capturing.

### 4.3. Algorithmic Governance: Predictive Policing and the Colonization of Democracy

The Circle gets bigger and starts to assume governmental roles. For instance, in the case of Soul Search, citizens can search for fugitives through crowdsourced data and surveillance feeds. Mae is killed by an aggressive mob while searching for a woman who has evaded capture for years with Soul Search as part of a live stream (p. 395) described by Eggers (2013). This is not the

time to be angry, but it's the time to celebrate technological efficiency. This is a typical example of what Zuboff (2019) is concerned about: predictive governance and automated command. She states that surveillance capitalism's intent is to "substitute the political deliberation with algorithmic certainty and democratic debate with computation" (Zuboff, 2019, p. 524). This is the idea the Circle is pitching: a new civic architecture, founded on complete data integration. Mae's idea of a biometricly verified voting system, called Demoxie, in which citizens can vote using Circle accounts, is welcomed by the public, albeit with democratic autonomy implications. It's easy to see the reasoning, but it's also wrong. Given that technology can prevent fraud and increase participation, why not automate governance?

Egger (2013) analyses the fetishization of efficiency, which describes the wish for a world without friction, the abolition of resistance and the devaluation of those who do not comply. To not participate in the Circle is to be suspect by nature within the Circle. Zuboff's (2019) description of surveillance capitalists as "radically indifferent" to human values when the flow of data can go on is fitting for the Circle's expansionism. The company deaths, privacy breaches and family rifts are not the fault of the company or its leaders, but rather a byproduct of the drive for complete efficiency.

### 4.4. Resistance and the Failure of Dissent

Mae discusses about collaboration; characters like Mercer are resistance. At the beginning, Mercer seems reluctant to be a part of the Circle's platforms. He mocks the ideology and warns Mae of its dangers. "You think you're getting wisdom, but you're getting obedience," he says to her (Eggers, 2013, p. 356). Mae and the larger culture repel his suspicion – they see refusal to share as selfish or mentally ill. Furthermore, Mercer's suicide is a strong critique of the totalizing nature of surveillance culture. He drives off the edge of a bridge to escape entrenched drone surveillance and online persecution. The company responds to his question of the system that made it mandatory to legitimize the technology that enabled his pursuit. Zuboff (2019) argues, "The goal is not to eliminate freedom but to hide its disappearance behind the illusion of choice" (Zuboff, 2019, p. 457). Mercer's tragedy therefore depicts a society where even death is a matter of record and the loss of obscurity is a loss of identity.

Co-founder Ty who secretly criticizes the company's goals recruits Mae to help him take it down from the inside. However, at the end of the novel, Mae seduces him, which confirms the perpetuation of the Circle's doctrine of absolute transparency and strengthens her loyalty to the organization. This last turn illustrates Zuboff's (2019) fear that resistance becomes nearly impossible when the system understands not only our data, but also our desires. So, having fully assimilated with the ideology of the system, Mae sees no reason for insubordination or resistance. The failure of resistance in The Circle therefore lends support to Zuboff's (2019) argument that surveillance capitalism's projections are not only through legitimized authoritarianism but also through the appropriation of the notion of freedom itself. The voluntary act of sharing is normalized as an obligatory requirement and the practice of privacy is reframed as a confrontational challenge to the prevailing culture of transparency. So, The Circle is a cautionary tale about how tech companies can so easily take control away from democratic societies in the name of growth and efficiency.

### 4.5. The Circle as a Totalizing Ideology

Ultimately, the most damaging thing about the Circle's power is its ideology, which is all-encompassing. It wants to define the terms and conditions of human life, not merely to provide services or to harvest data. In this system, nothing is meaningful unless it is visible, recorded, and made assessable. This reflects Zuboff's (2019) critique of the "Big Other", an all-pervasive computational presence that monitors, predicts, and incites human behaviour without overt subjection. "This is not the Big Brother that Orwell imagined," she says. "It is a new form of power that operates through certainty, not terror"(Zuboff, 2019, p. 379).

This transition is brilliantly illustrated by Egger (2013) at the end of the novel when Mae sees her friend Annie lying unconscious in a hospital bed. Mae looks at Annie and wonders what her unconscious friend is thinking, if she is to believe that this too must be accessible and knowable. She believes that "the human mind should be opened and studied" (Eggers, 2013, p. 497). This strange moment reveals that even private thought, culturally considered the ultimate sanctuary of individual autonomy, is now under threat from the systematic control of hypervisibility and surveillance capitalism. This results in Zuboff's (2019) key claim that surveillance capitalism and hypervisibility violate the right to an independent and private future, by reducing individuals to behavioural speculation on the basis of their personal data. The novel, *The Circle*, therefore, warns us that unless we fight this systematic control, we may soon live in a world where everything is under surveillance and nothing is private or furtive.

## 5. Conclusion

In a nut shell, *The Circle* is more than a dystopian novel; it is an advanced expression of surveillance capitalism and hypervisibilty. Through Mae's psychological odyssey and the Circle's oppressive ideology, Eggers (2013) reveals the inner workings of behaviour control, data commodification, and systemic coercion. This study has demonstrated how the conjunction of Zuboff's (2019) theory and Eggers' (2013) narrative reveals that hypervisibility, gamified digital labour, and algorithmic

authority form a world where participation is indistinguishable from submission. Moreover, Zuboff (2019) warns that the story of surveillance capitalism "is not the same as technology; it is a new economic order" (Zuboff, 2019, p. 15). The novel makes this order visible, legible, and terrifyingly recognizable. Eggers' (2013) novel provides a strong cautionary tale in an age of mandatory transparency and defiance as deviance that demands critical consciousness, democratic control, and the recovery of the human right to opacity and self-determination.

## References


Andrejevic, M. (2007). *iSpy: Surveillance and power in the interactive era*. University Press of Kansas.

Atwood, M. (2003). *Oryx and Crake*. McClelland & Stewart.

Banet-Weiser, S. (2018). *Empowered: Popular feminism and popular misogyny*. Duke University Press.

Birchall, C. (2011). Introduction to "Secrecy and Transparency: The Politics of Opacity and Openness." *Theory, Culture & Society*, 28(7–8), 7–25.

Brouillette, S. (2015). Neoliberalism and the Literary Field. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature*. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.013.43

Eggers, D. (2013). *The Circle*. Alfred A. Knopf.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). Vintage Books.

Fuchs, C. (2014). *Social media: A critical introduction*. SAGE Publications.

Lyon, D. (2001). *Surveillance society: Monitoring everyday life*. Open University Press.

Morozov, E. (2013). *To save everything, click here: The folly of technological solutionism*. PublicAffairs.

Mulvey, L. (1975). Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema. *Screen*, 16(3), 6–18.

Nafus, D., & Neff, G. (2016). *Self-tracking*. MIT Press.

Nakamura, L. (2015). *Workers without bodies: Digital labor and the gendered logic of surveillance*. University of Michigan.

Pynchon, T. (2006). *Against the Day*. Penguin Press.

Sadowski, J. (2019). When data is capital: Datafication, accumulation, and extraction. *Big Data & Society*, 6(1), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1177/2053951718820549

Scholz, T. (Ed.). (2013). *Digital labor: The Internet as playground and factory*. Routledge.

Taylor, A. (2018). *The people's platform: Taking back power and culture in the digital age*. Picador.

Terranova, T. (2000). Free labor: Producing culture for the digital economy. *Social Text*, 18(2), 33–58.

Turkle, S. (2011). *Alone together: Why we expect more from technology and less from each other*. Basic Books.

Turner, F. (2006). *From counterculture to cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the rise of digital utopianism*. University of Chicago Press.

Yakeley, J. (2018). *Working the boundaries of the mind: A psychoanalytic exploration of the experience of surveillance*. *British Journal of Psychotherapy*, 34(2), 187–204.

Zuboff, S. (2019). *The age of surveillance capitalism: The fight for a human future at the new frontier of power*. PublicAffairs.