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Exploring the Subjective Experience of Everyday Surveillance: The Case of Smartphone Devices as Means of Facilitating "Seductive" Surveillance

Thesis

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Exploring the subjective experience of everyday surveillance;

the case of smartphone devices as means of facilitating

"seductive" surveillance

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Abstract

In western societies, the dependence on Information and Communication technologies (ICTs) is rapidly increasing. Smartphones, in particular, seem to be the most popular digital devices as they are an all-in-one digital gadget that due to Internet connection serves a wide range of purposes. However, in the context of neoliberal capitalism where the traditionally distinct spheres of security and marketing have merged, data generated through these personal devices can also be used for state and market purposes raising serious societal concerns. The present study contributes to the call for the understanding of the subjective experience of everyday surveillance operating through personal digital devices.

Focusing on smartphones as a consumption product, the study draws mainly upon design technology and consumer research literature to suggest the theoretical framework of seductive surveillance in order to shed light on the reasons why individuals 'willingly' participate to their surveillance. The discourse analysis of thirteen focus groups - conducted amongst students in British universities - and follow up emails showed that participants have developed a dependent relationship with their smartphones based on notions of security, gamification, immediacy and neophilia.

These discursive patterns reveal participants' seduction to smartphones and consequently to surveillance. This seduced position sheds light on the three 'resistant'/power diagnostic discourses emanating from the analysis: resignation, avoidance and responsibilization, all being negotiation strategies with surveillance as form of power which unfold in different ways and enabled the person to remain seduced. Surveillance met different resistance, as power diagnostic discourse, depending on the acknowledgement of the 'face' of the surveillant Other. These findings have theoretical and practical implications. A methodological contribution is also made using visual vignettes to raise discussion on the issue in question.

Acknowledgements

«Σα βγεις στον πηγαιμό για την Ιθάκη, να εύχεσαι να είναι μακρύς ο δρόμος, γεμάτος περιπέτειες, γεμάτος γνώσεις» Καβάφης, Ιθάκη

"As you set out for Ithaka, wish your journey to be a long one, full of adventure, full of knowledge"
Cavafy, Ithaka

The PhD journey was certainly a long one for me. Looking back, I realise it started much earlier than my PhD registration date. To acknowledge all the people and experiences that contributed to this -full of adventure and knowledge- journey that shaped both myself and my thesis would be probably too long of a story to share here. So, I will limit my reference to the main 'stops' and sources of inspiration. It needs to be read then in a rather chronological order.

I would like to pay my respect and gratitude to my parents who even though are not highly educated and have been hard workers from an early stage of their lives, they always invested in my education and gave me the opportunity to make this journey true in both a metaphorical and literal level. Allow me to write a few words in Greek dedicated to them: Μαμά, μπαμπά, σας ευχαριστώ για όλες τις αξίες που μου δώσατε, για όλες τις θυσίες σας που μου επέτρεψαν να εξελιχθώ σαν άνθρωπος και να φτάσω εδώ που είμαι. Ένα ευχαριστώ δεν είναι αρκετό. Σας χρωστώ την ύπαρξή μου.

I would also like to thank my sisters who keep me grounded and remind me that there is always another aspect of reality equally important to the one of academia. My thesis is dedicated to my nephew who was born in the same year I started my PhD and who let me see the world through his eyes in times of distress.

I will always be grateful to Prof. Maria Kousis who was the first one to believe in my academic competence and encouraged me to leave Greece and follow my dreams. My sincere thanks to Prof. Juliet Lodge, University of Leeds, who offered me my first academic post as a research assistant at the EU fp7 project 'ICT ethics' introducing me to the 'world' of surveillance studies. Her retirement might have interrupted my studies then, but was the motivation for me to reflect on my research and apply for a scholarship. This gave me the chance to work with Prof. Kirstie Ball at the Open University.

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1   Introduction

> The state and corporate cultural apparatuses now collude to socialize everyone into a surveillance regime, even as personal information is willingly given over to social media and other corporate-based sites as people move across multiple screens and digital apparatuses. It is no longer possible to address the violations committed by the surveillance state without also analysing this broader regime of security and commodification.
>
> (Giroux, 2015: 108)

1.1   Research Background

The mobile phone can be seen as "a swiss army knife", especially since Internet connection was enabled on the device. It is a powerful tool in the hands of its user as it can be used to communicate, entertain, inform, locate; at the same time, generated data through these activities can also make it a powerful tool for the market, what Giroux (2015) calls "corporate cultural apparatus", and the state making it a powerful tool for these institutions too. This paradox –the fact that a device that user has literally in their hands can generate data to be used remotely by different agents too- is the reason why the articulation of the use of smartphones attracted my research attention from a surveillance studies perspective. The increased use of mobile devices in everyday life has prompted a great deal of research into mobile media (see, for example, Goggin, 2008, 2010, 2013; Fortunati, 2002; Katz, 2008) that are in the "core of today's technological innovation in the field of information and communication technologies (ICTs)" (Fortunati, 2014: 21).

This major body of research has mainly explored mobile media as a social phenomenon from a cultural studies perspective, looking at them as technological artefacts, relational objects, technologies-in-practice and socio-technical systems (Fortunati, 2014: 22). Mobile phones

have been explored as "a form of media" since at least the early 2000s (Goggin, 2010: 2), with researchers "focusing on their impact on society and social relations" (Contarello, Fortunati and Sarrica, 2007: 16). Agar (2013) in his book *Constant Touch: A Global History of the Mobile Phone* argues that what people carry in their pockets, reveals their cultural values. Offering the example of the pocket watch, he discusses how new technologies can transform power relations. The pocket watch, he argues to have enabled people to break free from religious and political institutions in terms of access to the time, as they did not have to depend anymore on the town clock or the church bell. However, this did not mean that they freed themselves from the system, as they still had to follow the rules defining the universal time system.

Similarly to pocket watches, mobile phones were launched as very expensive, exclusive devices, but nowadays there are billions of mobile phone subscriptions globally. This means that billions of people carry a mobile phone in their pockets. The question then is, whether and how mobile phone carriers articulate a change in power relations? Mobile phones are considered an important focus of study for two reasons: "it is both the most representative of this family [mobile media] and the most studied" (Fortunati, 2014: 21). Furthermore, mobile phones are not just mobile, accompanying the user, but "they are wearable; they assimilate with the aura of the human body and harmonize with outfits" (Fortunati, 2014: 22).

As mobile phones have become partly an accessory, it can be argued that they are not considered merely as a communication tool, but rather as a commodity. Therefore, as I shall argue, consumption process needs to be a key focus when exploring mobile phones from a

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surveillance studies perspective. Aguado and Martinez (2008: 2) understand consumption as "a meaning negotiation process between institutional and non-institutional discourses [that] asks for a kind of "common language" by means of which they represent - and thus recognize - each other". This means that the institutional discourses produced by the stakeholders of the mobile phone technology, such as manufacturers and advertisers, seek to find a way to effectively communicate their messages to the potential users. As users are not interested in technology, but what technology offers to them, the focus of marketing companies is not the product just as a technological advancement, but the experience it offers to the user. Aguado and Martinez (2008) suggest that the discourse produced by the advertisements for mobile phones, and users' discourse about their everyday use is coherent. They argue that users and cultural industries construct in collaboration the "cultural imaginary of the mobile phone" (Aguado and Martinez, 2008: 10). According to their study, people believe that advertisements reproduce and represent the values of the society rather than creating them, which is a very relevant statement for surveillance studies and especially, in the context of subjective experience of everyday surveillance.

Mobile media studies have focused mainly on young generation as, according to Goggin (2013: 84), "many researchers thought there was an intimate connection between mobiles and youth," as mobile phones "offered new possibilities for the reconfiguration of relationships with their intimates, friendship groups, peers and families". Scholars such as boyd (2014, 2008) have extensively explored the relationship of both youth and minors with social networking platforms. Regarding the mobile technologies as such though, there has not

been adequate work on "what kinds of consumption and use, media practices, and meanings are emerging for youth" (Goggin, 2013: 85).

Very few studies have explored the surveillant aspects of mobile phones and how young users engage with them. Goggin (2013: 84) briefly refers to the surveillant aspects of mobile phones, limiting them to the parental context. From a surveillance studies perspective, though, it has been argued that "[t]he ubiquity of smartphones has given the mobile carriers a wealth of marketable data since smartphones are personalized devices that know more about their owners than any other product on the market" (Rose, 2012:190). The collection of location and communications data from mobile devices has raised a series of concerns regarding surveillance, privacy and social control. Even though there has been extensive research on social networking platforms (Trottier, 2016; Fuchs, et. al., 2013; Marwick, 2012; Tokunaga, 2011; Albrechtslund, 2008), there has not been similarly extensive research on the mobile devices.

Surveillance and critical theory scholars have addressed the issues of surveillance within the context of the state (see for example Zureik and Salter, 2013; Gandy, 2007; Lyon 2014, 2007, 2004; Andrejevic, 2012; Ball and Webster, 2003; Graham and Wood, 2003; Taylor, 2002; Bennett and Regan, 2002), the market (see for example Sandoval, 2012; Zurawski, 2011; Pridmore; 2008; Andrejevic, 2007; Samatas, 2004), the workplace (see for example Ball, 2010, 2001; Allen et al., 2007; Introna, 2002), schools (see for example Taylor and Rooney, 2016; Hope, 2009, 2005; Taylor, 2013; Gallagher, 2010; Piro 2008), the mega events (see for

example Bennett and Haggerty, 2014; Fussey and Coaffee, 2012, 2011; Giulianotti and Klauser, 2011; Samatas, 2011, 2007; Boyle and Haggerty, 2009) and public and private spaces.

This study develops and applies the theoretical framework of seductive surveillance to explore and understand everyday surveillance occurring through digital personal devices such as mobile phones. Seductive surveillance draws upon literatures of design, consumer research and organizational studies, along with the writings of Bauman (2000) on Liquid modernity and situating the phenomenon in question within Foucault's theorization of neoliberalism. Katz (2008: 441) argues that the use of technology has an "irresistible sweetness" and that "over time people become inured to such practices". Thus, the theoretical framework of seductive surveillance aims to examine how mobile phones become irresistible, shaping the users' relations with the device in such a way that they come to embrace the surveillance practices inherent within it. The study does not focus on the mobile phones from a technological perspective, but rather the discourses around the devices and how participants articulate their relationship with them.

Surveillance is conceived as a form of power that goes hand in hand with resistance (Foucault, 1978). Subjective experience of surveillance is a key element within the study of resistance to surveillance, as the experience of surveillance on an individual level has not been adequately addressed (Ball, 2009). Resistance is understood in the present study as a "diagnostic of power" (Abu-Lughod, 1990: 41; Cresswell, 2000) meaning that resistance indicates the different forms of power relations. This understanding of resistance follows Foucault's (1982) suggestion of exploring power relations taking as a starting point the forms of resistance.

Thus, the present study also enacts as a type of critical 'diagnostic' analysis exploring the power relations and forms of resistance to 'seductive surveillance' occurring through personal digital gadgets. In this sense, resistance will be explored here on a subjective level and not within the traditional formation through collective actions, for example.

The research questions are as follows:

1. How do young smartphone users living in the UK articulate the relationship with their devices?

2. To what extent does awareness of these devices being used as means of facilitating surveillance, alter their previous discourses and enable possibilities of resistance?

1.2   Contribution of the Research

Following the discussion on the research background, it becomes evident that there is an increasing interest in the impact of the use of Internet on everyday life, especially with the rise of mobile digital technologies. Thus, the present study developed and empirically explored the concept of seductive surveillance. The empirical data were collected through focus groups and follow-up email interviews with young smartphone users, exploring their relationship with their devices. Using visual vignettes, participants were presented different aspects of smartphone devices including their surveillant aspects. The data analysis showed that the way in which this relationship was articulated indicated a degree of seduction, shaping a dependent relationship which even exposed features of addiction. The relationship with their devices defined their reactions to surveillance as the seduced position was one

which was hard won. Exploring resistance in their negotiations with surveillance power, participants articulated discourses of resignation, avoidance, and responsibilisation, revealing the seductive form of power relations in this case.

The findings have subsequent theoretical implications for surveillance, mobile media and consumer research studies exploring resistance to everyday surveillance drawing upon the framework of seductive surveillance, and practical implications for policy makers and educators, providing insights on young users' views towards surveillance practices. Furthermore, a methodological contribution is also made suggesting the use of video stimuli - visual vignettes - to explore complex social phenomena such as surveillance.

1.3   Introducing the Researcher

Having introduced the research topic of the study, it is only fair to introduce the researcher behind it, or, as Watson (1994: 86) puts it "reveal the hand of the puppeteer". From a social constructivist perspective, which is the ontological and epistemological underpinning of the study (discussed in detail in Chapter 5), it would be a remiss to overlook the impact of the researcher on the research. The involvement of the researcher in the study begins already with the choice of the topic and the lenses through which it will be explored. Thus, it is important for the reader to know what drives the researcher's interest to study a particular phenomenon from a particular perspective as this is going to be "one part of the story among many others that could be told", (Fletcher, 1999: 8), the researcher's story. The researcher not only sets the limits of the study, but also designs the research, collects and interprets the data and composes the story. Every stage of the project echoes the researcher's voice and

approach to the world. This is definitely a limitation of any qualitative study without undermining its value and contribution to the body of knowledge, as the researcher puts their own piece in this puzzle that is called reality and we aim to understand. Fineman (1993: 222) embraces this unavoidable involvement on the part of the researcher arguing that "the investigator is part of the account. […] The challenge of subjectivity research is to acknowledge and humour this intermingling".

Introducing myself as the researcher of the study, then, I will start with my nationality as it has certainly influenced my interest in, and perception of the research topic. Having been born and raised in Greece, I grew up honouring the students who were killed during demonstrations against the military junta on 17th November 1973. Participating in memorial events from an early stage of my life surely shaped my beliefs in rejecting the regime. During university, I belonged to the socialist youth political party where human rights and values of democracy, such as freedom of expression became central to my beliefs. The Greek universities, though, have another distinctive characteristic that influenced my future research interests: Greek universities are places that guarantee academic asylum safeguarding values such as freedom of expression and exchange of ideas. This means that security agencies, private or public, are not allowed to enter a university unless they obtain approval.

Thus, when I came to study at a British university, the sight of CCTV cameras on the campus struck me. For this reason, as part of an MA in Communications Studies, I undertook empirical research for an essay on public opinion exploring the students' perceptions of CCTV cameras.

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The students' wide acceptance of the cameras for security reasons made me realize that not all people hold the same views, even in matters that to me were fundamental. Intrigued by the means of surveillance and following the directive on biometric passports, I decided to explore in my MA dissertation how Greek newspapers framed their introduction. It is also worth mentioning that my first degree was in Philosophy and Social Studies and my first master's degree in Bioethics. My prior academic education is relevant as it was predicated on the discovery of, and belief in one universal truth to explore systems of ethics that could give a clear answer not only as to what is good and what is bad, but how things should be. The shift of focus on social sciences and the adoption of a constructivist epistemological stance as a researcher was both challenging and interesting and took time for me to address.

My initial interest in surveillance studies aimed to reveal the risks of surveillance practices on fundamental values for democratic societies based on my readings and the stories of the military junta. Samatas (2005), a Greek sociologist who writes on issues of mass surveillance, describes the challenges of studying surveillance in Greece, but also how the sociocultural background of the military regime raises challenges for the researchers themselves. The engagement with readings on social constructivism and poststructuralism, though, changed my ideas, beliefs and consequently my discourse. Recognizing and taking into account my constructions of reality in regard to surveillance, I aimed to limit my prejudice, listen to participants' discourses and understand how they experience and articulate surveillance. Furthermore, I was 31 years old when collecting the data and I am a female researcher, which could have had an impact on how participants related to me when articulating their discourses. Having taught at the university and having practised journalism in the past, I have

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also gained communication skills that seemed to allow participants to be expressive and join the conversation.

1.4 Thesis Overview

The thesis consists of eight chapters that are briefly described here, offering the reader a broad guide and the rationale behind the structure. Following the introductory chapter defining the subjective experience of surveillant aspects of mobile phones as the focus of the study, Chapter 2 discusses the concept of surveillance. Surveillance has received many approaches, ranging from positive as parental monitoring, to neutral, focusing on who uses the mechanism and how, and negative, stressing the asymmetry in power relations and the societal impact as a result of these relations. It is important then to explore the definition of surveillance and the emergence of Surveillance Society in the beginning of the study in order for the reader to understand the stance of the researcher. The approach that the study adopts towards surveillance is a critical one, stressing the power relations served by the mechanism in a neoliberal modernity. This is the reason why the question of subjective resistance to surveillance becomes a crucial one.

Following the discussion on surveillance in Western societies, the study argues on the gap regarding the theorization of everyday surveillance emerging from the use of personal digital technologies. Thus, Chapter 3 introduces and develops the theoretical framework of seductive surveillance. Looking at the personal digital gadgets as products of consumption, the chapter draws on design, consumer culture theory and organizational studies to explore the concept of seduction and how this can offer theoretical underpinnings to further

understand everyday surveillance. In this chapter, the case of smartphones is also presented, which is the focus of the study, as a type of digital gadget through which surveillance occurs.

Chapter 4 discusses seductive surveillance as a form of power that constructs specific subject positions serving the purposes of both the state and the market. Exploring the construction of seduced subject drawing on the Foucauldian theorization of power, the possibilities of resistance are also discussed. The chapter presents the understanding of resistance within power relations not as collective actions but as 'diagnostic of power' on a subjective level, which is an underexplored topic in surveillance studies.

Subsequently, Chapter 5 presents and discusses the ontological and methodological underpinnings of the study consistent with the understanding of power and resistance discussed in the previous chapters. The epistemological stance informs the method tools for data collection and data analysis employed in the study. The discussion on limitations and the challenges met by the researcher are also included here, giving consideration to ethical issues addressed in the empirical part of the study.

The next two chapters, Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, present the analysis of the data collected. Chapter 6 explores how participants of the study articulated their relationship with their smartphone devices. Constructing notions of security, gamification, immediacy and neophilia around their devices, they show the subjugation to the seductive process that results in what they described as a dependent relationship. The analysis of this relationship informs the

following chapter, Chapter 7, which presents the participants' negotiations with the exposure to the surveillant aspects of smartphone devices. The analysis presents the emerging negotiation strategies that participants described – resignation, avoidance and responsibilization – offering insights as to the complexity of subjectivity within everyday surveillance.

The concluding chapter, Chapter 8, offers initially a review of the literature that informed the research questions and the research design of the study. Then, it discusses the research questions, followed by the reflections and limitations of the thesis. It continues by presenting the contributions of the study stating that at a theoretical level it offers a conceptualization of everyday surveillance that can be used as an analytical tool to further explore the phenomenon and understand the reasons why people participate in their surveillance. Within an empirical context, visual vignettes are suggested as a methodological tool that can be valuable when exploring the subjective experience of surveillance. Finally, it is argued that the findings emanating from the study offer valuable insights for policy makers to inform legislation in regard to surveillance practices, and educators who need to construct an alternative discourse about the use digital devices in everyday life, including educational purposes. Concluding, suggestions for future research on the topic of the subjective experience of everyday surveillance are put forward.

2   Surveillance: A Critical Literature Review

2.1   Introduction

Digital Surveillance[1] (Graham and Wood, 2003) as a social phenomenon and its social, ethical and legal implications has been increasingly the subject of debate among academics from multiple fields, such as sociology, law, organization, media and security studies. Recently though, surveillance, has received a wide array of uses both in different disciplines and in the interdisciplinary field of surveillance studies losing its strong critical stance. Surveillance practices have also received varied treatment by the media. Barnard-Wills (2011), based on a discursive analysis of UK newspapers, found that surveillance practices are represented within two discursive patterns: *appropriate* surveillance, which is evaluated within discourses of crime prevention, counter-terrorism and national security; and *inappropriate* surveillance, which is evaluated within discourses of privacy, Big Brother and personal liberty. This evaluation of surveillance practices by media suggests binary understanding of surveillance. This means that surveillance can be understood either as an appropriate means for national and individual security purposes, or inappropriate one abusing privacy and personal freedoms.

However, once surveillance practices are presented to be employed in the name of security, restrictions on privacy can be minimized as 'side effects' to a crucial issue of modern times, the 'war on terror' (Amoore, 2006). The risk of privacy infringement then appears to be the

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[1] The term digital refers to digitization of surveillance practices owing to the rise of the Internet. This concept will be used interchangeably with 'computer-based surveillance'.

main criticism of surveillance technologies in public discourse produced by the media, even in other Western countries such as Germany (Möllers and Hälterlein, 2013). This tension between security and privacy leads to the argument of 'nothing to hide, nothing to fear' that depicts a "false trade-off between privacy and security" (Solove, 2011). Thus, surveillance studies need to move beyond this trade-off argument (Pavone and Degli Esposti, 2010) that limits the debate about surveillance to privacy concerns. Giroux (2015: 108) underlines the very focus of the commentaries on privacy following Edward Snowden's revelations in 2013 and stresses the importance of moving beyond this debate over privacy, to explore the phenomenon as a product of neoliberal modernity, as I shall explore later in this section.

This binary representation of surveillance not only restricts the discussion around it on issues regarding privacy, but it also produces a very limited knowledge for the public minimising or completely disregarding a series of implications emanating from surveillance systems. From a Foucauldian perspective, surveillance as a form of power can be understood not only as oppressive but also as productive, shaping the interdisciplinary field of surveillance studies. The body of knowledge around surveillance practices informs policymakers, educators and the public, constructing specific views in a similar way to criminology, which reshaped the justice and punitive system (Foucault, 1977). Following Foucault's (1980) theory of power/knowledge, "[p]ower is responsible for creating our social world *and* for the particular ways in which the world is formed and can be talked about, ruling out alternative ways of being and talking" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 14, italics in original). Power in this sense is not exerted over people but also through them. Thus, if surveillance is presented in a positive way in the media but also in critical media studies, reproducing similar discourses to the

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'Information Society' approach, makes alternative ways of creating and understanding the social reality problematic. Constructing a 'neutral' or even a positive concept of surveillance via a particular body of knowledge raises concerns about the potential societal impact, in analogy to Foucault's (1977) discussion on the role of criminology as a body of knowledge regarding the definition of normalities and deviance. For this reason, as I shall argue in this chapter, it is important that the concept of surveillance holds onto its roots as a critique of the digital era. The aim is not to disregard the advantages and opportunities of digital technologies, but rather to discuss an alternative way of thinking about technologies within the context of surveillance on the grounds of neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism as used in this thesis is understood in Foucauldian terms as a "constant push to define and regulate social life through principles of the market" (Gane, 2012: 613). This conceptualization of neoliberalism by no means over-simplifies the complex relationship between the state and the market, in fact, Foucault's lectures on biopolitics at the Collège de France from 1978-79, sitting "between his work on security, territory and the governance of population […] on one hand, and on the ethics of the subject and the self" on the other (Gane 2012: 612), explored precisely this emerging complexity that transmuted the role of state in terms of governance (Gane, 2012). Neoliberal political economy, should not be understood in terms of laissez-faire for "governmental intervention is no less dense, frequent, active, and continuous than in any other system" (Foucault, 2008: 145).

This governmental intervention though does not serve the purpose of regulation between the society and the economic processes any longer, but it rather ensures that competitive

mechanisms take up this role, achieving the "regulation of society by the market" (ibid). Foucault's understanding of neoliberalism does not disregard the role of the state which is often a criticism of his analysis (see Garland, 1997), but in contrary he stresses the importance of understanding the relationship between the state and the market where the state has "a marketized form itself" (Gane, 2012: 628), being grounded on the principles of the market. This account of neoliberalism offers new possibilities of exploring surveillance and the constructed neoliberal subjectivities, for in these terms "both the state and the society […] normalize themselves according to market principles" (Gane, 2012: 632).

This chapter discusses the concept of surveillance and the emergence of surveillance society, and provides the approach adopted by this study.

2.2   The Emergence of Digital Surveillance Society

Surveillance does not constitute a phenomenon of modernity, as surveillance practices have a long history in human societies (Lyon, 2006). From a historical perspective, Weller (2013: 57) emphasizes that "spies, informers and secret agents have long been part of the history of the state". There have always been means for the state to monitor people, identify suspects, prove their guilt and control crime, and, thus, the information-gathering techniques used on populations have been seen as a necessity for state security purposes. State surveillance through the personal communication is not new either for in the context of analogue methods of communication. To offer an example, in East Berlin Stasi agents would steam open letters of suspicious individuals to examine the content so the recipient would not realise that the

letter had been read (Sperling, 2011). Also, the police, in democratic societies, check the mail

exchange of the prisoners to prevent criminal actions[2]. Of course, the two examples cannot

be used as a direct comparison as the first case refers to a totalitarian state, where the second

one is related to the duty of the police to prevent potential crimes by individuals that have

been sentenced. However, the point I am making here is that surveillance methods have been

used in analogue era too but the tools used were different.

The main difference then in digital surveillance lies in the very operating principle of

digitization. Digitization of media information and communication technologies is what

enables different media to communicate with each other, as they are using compatible signal

systems based on the binary code of zeros and ones. From a medium theory perspective

Kittler (1999:1-2) argues that the "digitization of channels and information erases the

differences among individual media. […] And once optical fiber networks turn formerly

distinct data flows into a standardized series of digitized numbers, any medium can be

translated into another." Discussing the future of media in optical fiber frameworks, Kittler

(1999) foresaw the convergence of media in his work, but the most important element for

this study is the convergence of data gathered from different media as most of them have

become 'smart' as to interact with the user operating their 'smartness' by gathering users'

data. In the digital era then any kind of information is actually "translated" into a number and

thus the linkage between devices and databases is technically possible. The interactivity of

networked devices, or in more technical terms interoperability, in the digital era enables the

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[2] https://www.gov.uk/staying-in-touch-with-someone-in-prison/letters-and-telephone-calls

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collection of data produced by various activities and by different platforms making the search

of data, sorting and mining more readily available (Andrejevic, 2012).

As Lyon (1994: viii) argues, in the 1970s and early 1980s, computerized technologies were

applauded amid promises of "new prosperity, new democratic and educational

opportunities". The 'Network Society' (Castells, 1998), a term that is often used

interchangeably with the 'Information Society', focuses on these opportunities and the

empowerment of citizens by the creation of a 'global village'. Telecommunication

technologies within the Information Society were mainly discussed as an opportunity for

individuals around the world to connect, generate knowledge and awareness, cutting out any

intermediaries; thus, computer technology was seen as an "information revolution" (Lyon,

1994: viii). The concept of the 'Surveillance Society' (Gandy, 1989; Lyon, 1994) emerged as a

critique to these celebrations. Critical theorists started questioning this view of new

technologies as the only possible interpretation of the social reality in modern times bringing

forward the concept of 'Surveillance Society'; what seemed to be an opportunity for citizens'

empowerment could also become a means for state oppression.

Drawing mainly on Foucault's work on discipline and punish, scholars focused on the potential

societal risks stemming from technological capacities of automated data collection. These

risks were mainly associated with state surveillance as a form of asymmetrical power

relations. The Orwellian concept of Big Brother and the Foucauldian interpretation of

Bentham's Panopticon[3] were employed by academics and often by the media to shed light on surveillance risks in the digital era.

However, the shift to digital forms of surveillance is not the only distinctive difference of previous methods of offline surveillance. Computer-based surveillance becomes a crucial factor of modernity that is coupled with capitalism (Lyon, 1994; 2003a) and the form of power relations is changing in working place environment too with surveillance techniques being less visible for the workers/employees and more effective for the employer. The coordination of workers that was based on coercion practices before has been replaced by 'management' "to ensure their compliance as a disciplined force" (Lyon, 1994:25) and computer-based technologies such as emailing monitoring (Ball, 2010; Ball and Wilson, 2000; Ball and Margulis, 2011) to assure productivity. In a broader context, the systemic and systematic monitoring, collection and codification of information is a crucial mechanism for western economies assisting in their success (Ball, 2002: 127).

Surveillance then constitutes an essential element of the capital economy and the modern nation-state (Fuchs, 2012). Arguably, computer-based technologies have been transforming society into a 'disciplinary society' (Foucault, discussed in Lyon 1994: 26) where surveillance can be seen as a "political technology of population management" (Ceyhan, 2012: 40). In this

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[3] The panopticon was a utopian prison design. "It had a unique architectural form which sought to maximize the visibility of inmates through the arrangement of space and the play of lighting. Inmates would be isolated in individual cells that circled a central observation tower. Guards in the tower could monitor the inmates while themselves remaining unseen." (Lyon, 2006:25)

sense, rationalization is a key component for society to accept "rules, efficiency and practical results as the right way to approach human affairs, and the construction of a mode of social organization around this notion" (Brey, 2003: 40) emanating from the markertization of the state in the neoliberal context (Gane, 2012). The management of the population then is not exercised solely by the state, but also by any other institution that collects information about people's bodies and movements, but also from the individuals themselves who are subjected to neoliberal rationales. In digital surveillance, the information about people's lives generated both by the state and private organizations is "offered to everybody as material for processing and assessing without limitation, hierarchical order and precise location" (Ceyhan, 2012: 38–39).

2.2.1 Surveillance and Security

Surveillance is closely related to security as presented by Foucault in his lectures on biopolitics (Ceyhan, 2012). While the concept of biopower is of limited use within the context of the thesis, what is of importance regarding the relationship between security and surveillance, is that "contemporary biopower" expands from "the sole control of populations through sexuality and health" to include unique physical characteristics of the body such as biometrics, but also behavioural and consumer patterns, thoughts and beliefs (Ceyhan, 2012:44). This neoliberal rationality of governance is served by surveillance techniques of monitoring, classification and sorting of this information to manage both the market and the population in effectiveness (Ceyhan, 2012: 38). According to Foucault (1982: 783) the "modern state" was not developed

"ignoring what they [individuals] are and even their very existence, but, on the contrary, as a very sophisticated structure, in which individuals can be integrated, under one condition: that this individuality would be shaped in a new form and submitted to a set of very specific patterns. In a way, we can see the state as a modern matrix of individualization or a new form of pastoral power."

This new form of power needs to know everything about the individuals even their "innermost secrets" (Foucault, 1982: 783), which is effectively served through digital surveillance and for example, social network sites and the type of content that people share on online communications.

The pastoral form of power strives for people's "salvation" that "takes on different meanings: health, well-being (that is sufficient wealth, standard of living), security, protection against accidents" (Foucault, 1982: 784). Governance in modernity then seeks to maximize security by predicting the contingent, potential risks (Ceyhan, 2012; Leese, 2015) as security is constructed around the discourse of insecurity, and dangerization (Huysmans, 2006: 2). Security in Foucault's lectures at the Collège de France from 1978-79 is extended from the territorial and sovereignty borders to include "the statistical modelling of dangerous and/or risky behaviour and the normalization that this model generates for populations" (Ceyhan, 2012:40). Security then, is used to manage the populations in order not only to normalize their behaviour but also to define as threats any behaviours that do not comply with these kinds of normalities. In this contextualization, security receives a more complex approach as there is an interplay between discourses of caring and control, concern and coercion.

In neoliberalism, any uncertainty about the future can be perceived in the context of risk or potential danger for the individual and the society that can benefit both the state and the market. The "surveillance-industrial complex" (Ball and Snider, 2013) depicts the synergy between the state and the market enabled by "the 'complimentarities' of government and corporate 'needs', and their mutual and complementary dependence on –and faith in- the limitless capabilities of 'science' –which in turn depended on state and corporate funding" (Ball and Snider, 2013: 2). This became particularly apparent after the tragic events of 9/11, which led to a reliance on surveillance technologies (Lyon, 2002) as a response to the "war on terror" (Amoore, 2006)[4]. Digital technologies facilitating surveillance techniques seemed to be the main tool in the hands of the state to watch individuals and "classify populations according to their degree of threat" (Amoore, 2006: 337). Monitoring, tracking, and profiling are used in the name of national and global security, with the promise that the more information the state has about its population the easier it is to predict potential criminal actions (Zureik and Salter, 2005).

According to De Goede (2008), the 'war on terror' operates on the premise that potential future risks should be anticipated and pre-empted through data. This categorization of members of a population as more or less risky, though, is a socially constructed division that influences the lives of people based on how they are classified, as these judgements are

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[4] While this study was being produced, the terrorist attacks in Paris on 13/11/2015 and in Brussels on 22/03/2016 shocked the world.

"legitimated by complex direct surveillance's claims to objectivity and rationality" (Sewell and Barker 2006 in Sewell, 2012: 307).

The nature of surveillance becomes ubiquitous and more intrusive than ever before as digitization enables automatic data collection by any digital device that people might use in their everyday life. In the same way that CCTV cameras watch the population, smartphone devices and personal computers enable the collection and storage of users' online actions, watching not the physical body but the data collected, what has been called "dividuals" (Deleuze, 1992) or "data doubles" (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000). The monitoring of the population, therefore, is no longer a "primarily visual relation", as the data are now tracked and manipulatable (Simon, 2002: 15). A common example could be data that users upload on social platforms such as Facebook and Twitter, but also digital traces that consumers leave when shopping online, providing their preferences and consumption patterns.

Organizations such as corporate entities collect these data and can use them in their interests. This is what is called 'dataveillance' (Simon, 2002: 15), where data generated by individuals' actions are under surveillance and become more important than the physical bodies. To further explain the point here, in digital surveillance data can be collected from different platforms and linked together, providing more thorough information about an individual than surveillance of the physical body would offer. Data from social network platforms, for example, can be monitored by the police for investigation purposes as with the 2011 Vancouver Stanley Cup riots, where police arrested rioters based on photos uploaded by regular people on Facebook (Trottier, 2012). Even though rioters were not physically under

investigation, based on the photos available online, the police proceeded to their arrest. It was not the police witnessing the rioters' actions, but they became witnesses of these actions through photos taken at the time of the riots.

It is no coincidence that ever more, and new means of surveillance have been introduced to constantly monitor the population. CCTV cameras are used widely, as for example the UK is estimated to have one CCTV camera per 14 people (British Security Industry Authority)[5]. The high number of CCTV cameras operating in the UK can be justified on arguments of crime prevention. As the BSIA report reveals, CCTV cameras are often proved to be a valuable tool in crime detection cases for the police as in "2009 95 per cent of Scotland Yard murder cases used CCTV footage as evidence"[6]. Security body scanners have been gradually introduced in the last several years at airports such as Manchester Airport and Heathrow Terminal 5 in the UK context (Gregoriou and Troullinou, 2012), while e-passports and eIDs have already been launched in many countries such as Germany and Austria (Kubicek and Noack, 2010).

However, the proliferation of security technologies and methods, such as data mining, is unproved to be effective (Solove, 2008; Webb, 2007) and therefore, political decisions based on pre-emption can lead to "new uncertainties and accidents [being] manufactured, including the injustices associated with wrongful arrest and freezing, and the resentment that these 'security actions' engender" (De Goede, 2008: 179). Judgements based on prevention and

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[5] http://www.telegraph.co.uk/technology/10172298/One-surveillance-camera-for-every-11-people-in-Britain-says-CCTV-survey.html
[6] ibid

[32]

pre-emption practices have proved to be rather less than objective than claimed, resulting in 'false positives' that are usually based on 'risky' characteristics constructed about certain groups of the population (De Goede, 2008; Heath-Kelly, 2012). These 'false positives' though are often translated into real costs in terms of human lives, for example, an immigrant misidentified as being involved in the terrorist attempts based on CCTV photos was shot dead by the London Metropolitan Police after the London failed bombings of 7th July 2005[7]. Moreover, risks are emerging through technological failures of such systems as the one of biometric identification, that might lead to both 'false positives' and 'false negatives'. In case of 'false positives', people have to prove against the machine's 'claim' that they are who they say to be (Lodge, 2007), where in 'false negatives' people who are not who they claim to be are allowed entrance raising apart from social, security concerns as well.

Despite these concerns, bureaucratic and paper-based surveillance are replaced by "digital technologies and techniques" (Graham and Wood, 2003:228) enabling not only real time, but also beyond any geographical borders, collection, tracking and storage of any kind of personal data (from CCTV cameras, identification documents, online transactions etc.) allowing "the sorting, identification, prioritization and tracking of bodies, behaviours and characteristics of subject populations" (Graham and Wood, 2003: 228). The promises of new technologies to boost security expands to indviduals who reproduce this discourse, while at the same time putting themselves under the gaze of the market and state surveillance. A prime example of this phenomenon is offered by Steeves' (2012) work on children's surveillance that explores

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[7] http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4175432.stm

[33]

the complicated power relations at work in socialization platforms such as Disney's Club Penguin, where surveillance practices are warmly welcomed by the parents. The paradox here lies in the fact that parents feel more secure that their children are under the company's gaze as a form of protection from the risks from internet use, where at the same time children socialize online to avoid the parental gaze, while the company uses the information collected for their own profit, thus commodifying the children.

2.2.2 Surveillance and Consumers

Companies use new technologies in the workplace context to increase the employees' productivity as seen already. Corporate entities though use consumers' data generated by the digital technologies to also improve their services and enhance "customer value and, as a result, shareholder value" by applying customer relationship management techniques (Payne and Frow, 2005: 167). Such marketing strategies aim at developing services and products by understanding consumer behaviour and preferences. Marketing methods thus, become dependent on an information-gathering process called "consumer surveillance" (Pridmore, 2012). These techniques increase the profit for the companies exploiting though the labour of the users (Andrejevic, 2002, 2011; Fuchs et al., 2013; Murakami Wood and Ball, 2013).

Data generated by users' interactions with technology, online purchases, loyalty cards, even searches online, are used by the companies as marketing tools to target offers and promotions to the customers or potential customers based on their consumer profile. Therefore, within the "consumer surveillance" context, the "consumers and their associated consumption contributes to and is reliant upon the "personal information economy" (Pridmore, 2012: 321). Yet, consumer surveillance can be used to "influence, control and

monitor consumer choices, guiding certain consumers towards products and practices that are of value to corporations" (Pridmore, 2012: 321). If a company knows of one's preferences and even future plans, e.g. for example if people are looking for travel tickets and destinations online, then they can direct the user–consumer to certain products or create offers that are targeted to their profile. This particular point will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3 in the context of seductive surveillance.

This section explored the rise of a digital surveillance society through the widespread use of digital technologies as a systemic information gathering mechanism that enables the monitoring, collection, storage and sorting of individuals' data. It addressed the use of surveillance techniques by the state and the market in a neoliberal context raising ethical and social implications as personal data generated via online activities can be "processed, manipulated, traded and used to influence us and to affect our life chances" (Lyon 2001: 108). Information gathering and processing can operate in favour of the population as for example digital health records can contribute to cost cuts for the government and doctors can be aware of the history of the patient at any given time (Fisher and Monahan, 2008; Monahan and Wall, 2002). Thus, the study by no means aims to underestimate the benefits that individuals enjoy using ICTs.

However, surveillance should be seen as a critical concept of the capabilities of digital technologies in accumulating power over the population in a certain political context. The above case for example could be explored in the context of surveillance examining the risk of patients' data being misused such as being sold to third parties, or for the government to

make discriminatory decisions over the population based on these records. To conclude on the study's approach to surveillance as a concept, a critical review on the different approaches follows in the next section.

2.3   Different Approaches to the Concept of Surveillance

The celebratory entrance of digital technologies in everyday lives urged the need of their systematic study from a surveillance approach. The definition of surveillance though is still ambiguous in academia (Allmer, 2011; Fuchs, 2011). This ambiguity and contested nature of the definition can result in different interpretations among academics exploring the issues surrounding surveillance practices. Contributing to the body of knowledge in surveillance studies, it is necessary to firstly explore how surveillance is understood and used in the field. Surveillance as a concept is often interchangeably used with monitoring, which, compared to surveillance, has a more positive or neutral connotation (Ball, 2010), lacking the political context within which surveillance is discussed in the present study. Thus, this section presents and discusses different approaches to surveillance to conclude that it should sustain its criticality in order to reveal the asymmetry in power relations and the resulting risks for the society.

As seen already, Lyon (2001), one of the prominent figures in surveillance studies, argues that the automatic tracking, collection, storage and interlinkage of data enabled by the digitization of informational systems have led to modern society being characterized as a 'Surveillance Society'. Lyon (2001: 2) defines surveillance as "any collection and processing of personal data, whether identifiable or not, for the purposes of influencing or managing those whose

data have been garnered". This definition has been the most influential in surveillance studies, focusing on the potential influence and management of the population through the generated data, following partly Foucault's ideas of disciplinary society through a new form of surveillance that is not appeared as oppressive. However, this definition is also very broad and allows surveillance to be understood within a positive, neutral or negative frame, as the intentions of influence appear vague, relative and open to interpretation. The way that data can be used to influence and manage the data subjects is the key element in regard to the debate on surveillance.

On the definition of surveillance, Fuchs (2011a) makes a distinction between neutral and negative concepts, whereas Allmer (2011) more crudely cleaves approaches to surveillance under the general categories of panoptic and non-panoptic within the academic debate. Even though such categorizations are rather generic reducing academic arguments to a binary understanding of the complex concept of surveillance, both scholars stress the need to explore modern surveillance based on the political economy context as that identifies and defines the purposes of the systemic and systematic data collection. According to Allmer (2011), non-panoptic understandings attribute a more neutral and general meaning to surveillance. These approaches explore surveillance as "a plural technical process" (Allmer, 2011: 569) that may have different effects. They focus on the administrative role of information gathering not explicitly or necessarily related to concepts such as spying. Fuchs (2011a: 110–1) understands neutral concepts of surveillance similarly to non-panoptic approaches, as attributing to surveillance "an ontological quality of all societies or all modern societies and identifying besides negative aspects also actual or potential qualities of

surveillance". In contrast, panoptic understandings, and what Fuchs (2011a: 110-1) calls negative concepts of surveillance link this mechanism to characteristics of domination and violence. For Fuchs, violence is not considered to be just physical but can include among other components the abuse of human and civil rights.

Fuchs lists a number of scholars who define surveillance within the administration and organization context of modern states (such as Dandeker, 1990; Giddens, 1987) and argue that surveillance is a fundamental factor for modern states to operate, attributing a more general and neutral approach to the concept. There are other scholars though who argue on positive aspects of surveillance process along with negative ones. According to Marx (2009: 47), for example, surveillance can have potential positive results for the society, as he argues that "surveillance can serve goals of protection, administration, rule compliance, documentation and strategy, as well as goals involving inappropriate manipulation, restricted life opportunities, social control and spying". Similarly, Hadjimatheou (2013), recognizing the importance of surveillance in terms of securitization, aims to address concerns over human rights such as discrimination, introducing the concept of "blanket surveillance". This concept suggests untargeted surveillance as it is considered "to be least costly morally and most efficient when used as a means of enforcing the rules of a specific activity or institution" (Hadjimatheou, 2013: 187). If an entire population is subject to surveillance then it could be argued that no particular group is targeted, so there is no risk of discrimination while surveillance holds onto the positive attribute of securitization supporting the arguments of some scholars that this kind of methods contribute towards a more democratizing surveillance. However, the concept of "blanket surveillance" seems utopian in a political

environment of neoliberalism as seen in the previous section where the population is rated in terms of threat risk in the context of securitization and further segmentations in terms of the market resulting to "governing through crime" (Simon, 2007).

Surveillance scholars such as Ball, Fuchs and Allmer, among others, argue that the quality of surveillance does not depend on the technological capacities of the systems as Marx's quote above suggests, but rather on the political context and emphasize that surveillance can only be defined acknowledging and exploring this factor. Surveillance, for example, can enable the population in underdeveloped countries to receive state benefits, as is the case with the Indian ID system (Lyon, 2008), which might not be possible if there were no documentation. Other scholars, though, contextualize surveillance, arguing that it is not *a priori* unethical, relating this mechanism to parental monitoring, in which case it can be justified once consent is granted and surveillance occurs in terms of parental care (Allen, 2008; Macnish, 2011[8]). This approach though apart from adopting the discourses of pastoral form of power, takes also for granted that parental surveillance is considered ethical a priori disregarding in this way the abuse of parental power over children and the complexity of this relationship. Studies such as boyd's (2014) and Steeves (2012), discussed earlier, show teenagers' resistance to parental surveillance. Furthermore, consent is another key concept in such approaches to surveillance which, as I will discuss in details within the framework of seductive surveillance, is questionable.

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[8] http://www.iep.utm.edu/surv-eth/

Macnish (2014: 142) argues that the employment of surveillance in regard to ethics should be evaluated on the grounds of "the reason for the surveillance, the authority of the surveillant, whether or not there has been a declaration of intent, whether surveillance is an act of last resort, what is the likelihood of success of the operation and whether surveillance is a proportionate response". However, this kind of evaluation regarding the justification of surveillance mechanism cannot be applied to the context of everyday surveillance (Lyon, 2001) discussed in the study, where surveillance is ubiquitous, not directed and occurs through personal digital gadgets. Thus, the political context becomes urgent to be explored as it defines the purpose of digital technologies and information monitoring mechanism resulting to surveillance.

In this context, the surveilled subject is not always aware they are under surveillance, as the means of surveillance are not always explicit and the ways their data can be used are often unclear. Haggerty and Ericson (2000: 610) exploring the modern surveillance process introduced the concept of "surveillant assemblage", according to which surveillance "is driven by a desire to bring systems together, to combine practices and technologies and integrate them into a larger whole". The question raised then is whose desire (or agenda) drives the surveillance process. In Western societies that this study focuses on, it will be noted that the preferences of the population are directed by the market as an institution, operating as an ideological apparatus (Andrejevic, 2013). This is further explained in the context of seductive surveillance, which I discuss in the following chapter. It is especially applied to the everyday digital gadgets that are used as means of surveillance by both state and the market. Thus, the

ideology of the market supported by marketing techniques "creates the assumption that the interests of the consumer and the organization align" (Murakami Wood and Ball, 2013: 4).

The present study argues that surveillance in Western societies should be seen in terms of neoliberalism (Murakami Wood and Ball, 2013) as defined and discussed in the section 2.1. In a surveillance society, the distinction between different institutions is no longer solid for as Lyon (2010: 325) argues "the old, relatively solid institutions of marketing or crime control have softened, becoming malleable and rapidly adaptive in a world of software and networks". Data can be garnered from different devices, different geographical spaces, different purposes, and different institutions. Based on these characteristics of liquidity, Bauman and Lyon (2012) coined the term of "Liquid Surveillance" to describe the modern society. In fact, as Andrejevic (2012: 91) claims, "we are living in a time when more information is gathered, collected, sorted and stored about the everyday activities of more people in the world than at any other time in human history".

2.4 Defining Surveillance in the Thesis

The discussion on the approaches to surveillance in the preceding paragraphs argued that new technologies are employed to enable easy data collection, storage, analysis and process underpinned by the interests of either commerce or governance. Sewell and Barker (2001: 195), evaluating workplace surveillance from an ethical perspective, conclude that surveillance can be "neither good, nor bad, but dangerous" paraphrasing Foucault's (1980) influential conceptualization of power. They argue that in modern societies digital technologies are employed by technocrats who impose their authority on the public and

[41]

make decisions on their behalf, raising serious concerns over liberty and privacy. This danger comes from the asymmetry of power in regard to surveillance and its legitimacy. Following from the previous sections, it is clear that any definition of surveillance cannot downgrade the political context within which it is employed and that the deployment of surveillance can never be neutral for it is always a political act.

Haggerty and Ericson (2006: 3) underline the purpose of surveillance defining it as the "collection and analysis of information about populations in order to govern their activity". In addition, Ball (2010) stresses the implication of the process of information gathering on the surveilled subjects and distinguishes surveillance from monitoring in the political and social implications that information-gathering practices may have. This is the approach of the present study towards surveillance, highlighting the accumulative power that can be excercised over individuals. Writing on digital surveillance, or "new surveillance" Marx (2005)[9] proposes the following:

> The new surveillance relative to traditional surveillance has low visibility, or is invisible. Manipulation as against direct coercion has become more prominent. Monitoring may be purposefully disguised as with a video camera hidden in a teddy bear or a clock. Or it may simply come to be routinized and taken for granted as data collection is integrated into everyday activities (e.g. use of a credit card for purchases automatically conveys information about consumption, time and location).

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[9] 'Surveillance and Society', *Encyclopedia of Social Theory*, 2005.
http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/surandsoc.html

The above quote addresses two characteristics of surveillance that are of great importance; the element of (in)visibility and the replacement of coercion with manipulation raising great social and ethical concerns. Therefore, surveillance in the present study is used as a critical concept in order to unpack the potential risks that the surveillance mechanism holds for the population. The lack of consent can be seen in relation to lack of transparency and accountability on the part of companies and the state that make use of the data through the neoliberal rationality that align their interests to the interests of the population. Consent is inherently linked to privacy providing people's control over their data which presupposes a meaningful consent over how the data are treated (Kerr et al., 2006). Thus, it can be argued that surveillance is dangerous for democracy abusing human rights such as privacy and autonomy, but it also raises issues such as social sorting and profiling in new ways, through the construction and reproduction of a society based on the principles of the market.

The importance of the appropriate use of one's personal data is stressed in the European Union legal framework. As stated in Section I, Article 6 of the EU Data Protection Directive 95/46/EC, "personal data must be collected for specified, explicit and legitimate purposes […] and not be further processed in a way incompatible with those purposes". However, this provision only relates to personal data, i.e. personally identifiable data as defined by the data protection act, and it does not include data which have been shared with consent, or data created via the linkage of different databases. This raises two major concerns, as the act is very weak in defining what personal data is and, second, that data collected with the consent of the data subject could be potentially used for multiple purposes. For example, the consumption pattern is not considered as personal data as it is seemingly anonymized data,

not explicitly related to the data subject, and for this reason can be used by corporate entities for marketing purposes. Lodge (2010: 12), referring to disproportionality of the use of biometric data, introduces the term "mission creep", to explain how a technological application that is used in a certain context can be used in a different one without the prior consent of the data subject, but most importantly without "further reference to public/parliamentary scrutiny" and thus is unethical.

Therefore, surveillance is here approached as a process that entails domination and violence and assumes hierarchy (Fuchs, 2011a) since not everybody has access to data bases and not everybody can collect the same amount of information, so there is an asymmetry in both visibility, and also availability. Asymmetry in visibility means that the population becomes more visible to whoever has an interest in collecting data whether it is the market or the state, but the methods used, become more invisible. This can lead to what Lyon (2003b) refers to as "social sorting" meaning that people can be categorized in groups or classifications based on the data collected, and as a result these techniques can influence their life chances. Lyon refers to the discrimination against people with 'Muslim' or 'Arab' backgrounds at the airports as an example following the terrorist attacks of 9/11, whereby statistical model constructs those groups as a potential threat. The potential risk of social sorting and discrimination has also been underlined by Norris and Armstrong (1999), who found that CCTV operators would particularly focus their 'watching' on young people of ethnic minorities. Monahan (2011: 498), on the discussion about the potential social risks of surveillance techniques, argues that "[s]ocial sorting characterizes just about all contemporary surveillance systems, the net result being the amplification of many social inequalities".

Asymmetry in availability means that data collected are not equally distributed to everybody. The state for example has access to more personal data over the population than the population has over the state, which results in transparency and accountability abuse. In the era of Big Data, then, these concerns become even bigger with the prospect of "reliance on algorithm-based analytics" (Ball et al., 2016: 61), resulting a "shift away from segmenting or profiling an abstraction of individual characteristics into groups and a move towards predictive analytics, the use of continually adjusted quantitative models to predict human behaviour on an individual level" (ibid.). In this context, surveillance does not operate based on the past and present information over individuals, but even more so on the prediction of future behaviour that can influence people's lives. Paraphrasing then Lodge's (2007) argument, individuals have to prove to be not only who they say they are, but who they will be in the future.

Drawing on the Foucauldian concept of governmentality, Murakami Wood (2013) argues that "the modern panoptic surveillance […] is also the era of nationally based liberal capitalism, which required the subjects who were willing to work and increasingly desirous of the products of capitalist production". Governmentality entails individuals' self-discipline "through the dividing practices of normalizing judgments and techniques of individualization. These techniques turn subjects in on themselves so that they come to depend on their own identities for a sense of social significance" (Foucault, 1982; 1991 cited in Clarke and Knights, 2015: 1898). Subjects then, in this form of power relations are formulated though the

dependence on the production/consumption circle and the construction of their identity around consumption.

Therefore, David Lyon argues that (1994: 225) "contemporary surveillance must be understood in the light of changed circumstances, especially the growing centrality of consumption and the adoption of information technologies". Colossal multinational companies such as Google, Amazon, Siemens among many, hold the software programmes and the devices to capture, collect, store and manipulate users' data. CCTV cameras, body scanners, ID cards, computers, laptops, tablets, smartphones and the software programmes necessary to operate these devices do not belong to the state but to private companies. Governments buy the technologies from those companies or they even outsource "key aspects of security and surveillance policy and practice to the private sector" resulting to a complex interdependent relationship between the state and the industry (Hayes, 2012: 167). Private companies provide governments the means of facilitating surveillance while at the same time even databases that collect data from devices not explicitly for security purposes such as smartphones, can be accessed by other agencies such as police. This is where surveillance as a process becomes even more complex. Who collects the data, where are they stored, who has access to databases, and for what purposes are they used? Is the individual aware of this process, the complexity and the potential consequences?

Surveillance as discussed earlier can be seen as a positive process by scholars, emphasizing the "transparency, accountability, participation and power equalization among social groups and institutions" (Monahan, 2010), and can also be used for purposes of care and control as

well (Lyon, 2007). However, this study argues that the above qualities could be coined as monitoring or information society which does not carry the heavily critical and political connotations of surveillance mechanism as explained above. This is by no means to say that surveillance as a concept operates as anathema to digital technologies, attributing to them evil meaning. It is seen, though, as a critical concept that underlines the potential risks of new technologies and information-gathering processes to society and individuals, as an alternative approach to the normalization of surveillance techniques in a neoliberal context.

2.5 Conclusion

The preceding paragraphs explored the emergence of surveillance and its employment in modern society. Surveillance as a concept has been used in various fields, from epidemiology to urban studies, organization studies and sociology. Thus, the attributes given to the concept vary significantly. In social sciences context, surveillance as a process of systematic information gathering and classification of population has emerged to assist the organization of institutions such as state adopting the principles of market in a neoliberal context that is the focus of the present study. In this context, monitoring of the population is argued to enable the state to operate more efficiently and cost effectively.

From a corporate perspective, private organizations are becoming dependent on existing and potential customers' data for advertising their products efficiently, with lower cost. Furthermore, based on these data, they can tailor their products and services to customers' particular needs and preferences, leading people's choices as well as increasing their profit. It is important to mention here that this study does not address how private organizations

use surveillance to monitor their employees. The focus of this study is how corporations use the personal data that consumers'provide on their platforms.

The following chapter explores how ICTs, used in everyday practices can facilitate ubiquitous surveillance. This study focuses on surveillance operating through electronic 'smart' devices. With devices, such as smartphones, the user actually provides data that can be used for purposes other than the ones they originally consented to, or thought they were consenting to. This is what I briefly refer to in this study as "seductive" surveillance, which I discuss in detail in the next chapter. The user is seduced by discourses of convenience, efficiency and entertainment into handing over personal data, and thus being transformed into a subject of surveillance. Marx (2007) terms this as 'soft surveillance', regarding the means that make the data collection more intrusive or controversial "when couched in particular languages and a particular media and culture climate" (Ball,2009: 649). However, 'soft surveillance' does not capture the intrusiveness and pervasiveness of this process in the digital era, and neither explains the process through which it operates. Instead, using the concept 'seductive surveillance' operating via 'smart' devices, I aim to explore and understand and the reasons why individuals assist in their surveillance in Bauman's (2000) 'liquid modernity' informed by Foucault's writings on power and in which ways they come to terms with this form of power relations.

3   Seductive Surveillance as a Theoretical Framework

3.1   Introduction

Chapter 2 set out the approach of this study to the concept of surveillance arguing on the elimination of the boundaries between the state and the market resulting on the "Liquid Surveillance" (Bauman and Lyon, 2012). The transition from analogue to digital era was briefly discussed emphasizing the increased asymmetry in power relations between the watchers and the watched due to the technological developments of surveillance methods and tools in the specific political context of neoliberalism. In the digital era where users provide personal data daily to the World Wide Web, the control over one's data has been controversial as the state and the market may have access to individuals' data generated by different devices and platforms, spanning from biometric identifiers on national passports to personal information uploaded on social networking sites, but also consumer behaviour via the use of loyalty cards.

However, the use of new technologies in everyday life such as laptops, smartphones and tablets is widespread (Ofcom, 2013) as their digitization and mobility offer great advances and offer a range of capabilities from information and entertainment to socialization, consumption, and any kind of online transactions. The recent Ofcom[10] reports show the extensive dependency on the Internet and the use of digital devices in the UK society, which is the focus of this study, as the percentage of households having access to the Internet remains high at 80 percent while the ways that people choose to connect are changing, with

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[10] Ofcom is the UK's communication regulator
https://www.ofcom.org.uk/

users accessing the web via multiple digital gadgets (Ofcom, 2013). Therefore, this Chapter develops the concept of seductive surveillance to explore and understand the reason why people contribute to their own surveillance, providing personal information through their everyday interaction with digital devices from contactless cards to smartphones and wearable technology. Everyday surveillance remains an underexplored phenomenon in surveillance studies literature that has mainly so far focused on specific terrains of explicit surveillance such as the state, workplace, airports and big events such as the Olympics or specific social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter.

Drawing mainly upon Bauman's writings on Liquid Modernity (2000) alongside Foucault's conceptualizations of power, I suggest the concept of seductive surveillance as a theoretical framework to shed light on the phenomenon of what is often called participatory surveillance (Albrechtslund, 2008), which suggests an active participation of individuals to the surveillance system. According to Bauman (1987: 168), consumer seduction substitutes repression mechanisms in a more effective way as the "conduct is made manageable, predictable and hence non-threatening, by a multiplication of needs rather than by a tightening of norms''. Information and communication technologies (ICTs)[11] and in particular digital gadgets that is the main focus of this study, are primarily means of consumption and for this reason seduction is discussed within the context of a consumer society. Focusing mainly on design technology and consumer research literature I explore the way that consumption products

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[11] ICTs might be used interchangeably with digital gadgets in this study. Information and communication technologies is a much broader category that includes all digital devices that might be used, such as desktops at a workplace. This study focuses on digital gadgets that consumers choose to purchase and use.

such as ICTs, through specific discourses, seduce users into participating in their own surveillance by providing personal data, without which "reproduction of this [surveillance] apparatus would be impossible" (Murakami Wood and Ball, 2013: 48). Exploring the process of seduction from an organizational studies perspective I portray the ways in which employees align their interests to the ones of the companies' expanding their working hours without coercion. The last chapter explained that neoliberal ideas project market values into non-market spheres such as the state. In this chapter, I explore how they expand into everyday surveillance. The study responds to Lyon's (2010) long-standing inquiry about the way that seduction operates in the context of surveillance, developing his concept of "categorical seduction" that as he noted needs further explanation.

3.2   Exploring Seduction

Seduction operates at multiple levels, from technology to marketing discourses and governance as defined in the broader spectrum of society's organization. This study, focusing on surveillance through digital devices that users purchase, such as smartphones, explores these gadgets and the relationship developed with the users as consumer products. This approach provides a new framework for surveillance studies, informed mainly by business studies literature regarding the underexplored phenomenon of everyday surveillance. Thus, seductive surveillance in this study builds on the conceptualization of seduction in the fields of design, organizational and consumer research including marketing studies. In marketing literature, seduction has received sexual connotations as the consumers' relationship with the brands has been explored within a "human relations model" (Newman, 2001: 418). Marketing uses the language of "courtship and seduction" (Newman, 2001: 419) to build a strong, loyal relationship between the product and the consumer. Conducting a critical

analysis of marketing rhetoric, Fischer and Bristor (1994) argue on the construction of exchange relationships of marketers and consumers around notions of patriarchy and seduction without further explaining the concept of seduction though. Therefore, the focus here is the conceptualization of seduction that often goes underexamined in academic works.

In a capitalist context, consumerism is a key feature that drives not only the production of consumption[12] goods and services, but the production of consumers as well (Bauman, 2000). This means that the luxuries of the past become today's necessities, creating a bigger market. The development of technology leads towards ever more mobile and multifunctional devices to be used by broader demographic and age segmentations (Bauman, 2000). For example, owning a mobile phone, when they were first launched, was related almost exclusively to business people, and the price of the devices was considerably high. However, nowadays, a vast majority of the population at least in Western countries owns a mobile phone device, which is seen as a necessity for everyday life. In a consumer society, according to Bauman (2000), consumers satisfy not just their needs through consumption, but mainly their desires which is part of the seduction process linking consumption to self-expression and identity, as the products that one owns represent certain characteristics of oneself, such as social status. Baudrillard (1998) argues that consumers do not consume the product itself, but the product is rather used to show the affiliation to a group or the alienation of another one, so it has a

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[12] In this study, the term "use" in regard to digital gadgets is used as equivalent to consumption. So, "to use", is equivalent "to consume" as the way we consume digital devices is by using them.

[52]

"power element of social control" that operates on the roots of consumer individualism (ibid.: 84). Consumers perceive the choice over a range of products as a freedom, while at the same time they cannot escape the circle of consumption[13]. Freedom is also central to Foucault's conceptualization of neoliberalism, as freedom and "disciplinary techniques are completely bound up with each other" (2008:63) not because neoliberalism allows more freedoms to individuals but because as Gane (2012:617) explains, it "works to produce the possibility of freedom, which, as a governmental form it then proceeds to consume". In this sense, individuals subjugated to neoliberal discourses reproduce the principles of the market as a form of freedom. Bauman (2000), from a different theoretical perspective, argues that individuals are given the freedom of choice but in a consumer society life around consumption is driven by seduction. No norms are needed, as Bauman illustrates how seduction operates to *create* new needs in a consumer society where the only limit is the sky, meaning that there are ever more desires created to be fulfilled through further consumption.

Within this context, technology is always considered to be a positive force, empowering the individuals as it reduces and alters the meaning and relationship of time and space (Bauman, 2000). To take a very basic example, a letter would take quite a long time to reach the recipient, and the response even longer. In contrast, emails reduce the time of written communication. Face calls through smartphone devices and computer-based software programmes such as the popular Skype are an even better example to demonstrate the

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[13] This argument of course has limitations and refers mainly to the Western lifestyle. Furthermore, I am not arguing that there are not consumers who pursue a different way of living following specific consumption choices. The identities of these consumers will be discussed in the next chapter. However, here I refer to the dominant ideology which is the consumption.

catalytic erosion of time and space in the digital era. Individuals are able to see the person on the other end of the call even if they are in a great geographical distance from each other. However, even though digital devices are built on the latest advancements of technology to support ever newer capabilities, the users focus on the final product as they do not need to have any technical knowledge of the systems operating behind their screens to enjoy the service of the product.

As Katz (2015: xxii) notes, discussing the history of designers in Silicon Valley, "people do not buy printed circuit boards or lithium-ion battery packs or LED panels; they buy tablet computers and automobiles and televisions […] that have been rendered more or less useful and enjoyable by design". The point Katz is making here is that people do not buy the product as technological advancement but the design of it that is firmly created to attract the consumer. The focus of a seductive product needs to be on the characteristics that will make it desired. Khaslavsky and Shedroff (1999: 46) argue that designing a seductive product entails more than visual or functional characteristics; it "involves a promise and a connection with the audience or users' goals and emotions". In this sense, seduction works when the product does not just appear as a product to the consumer, but involves an experience that creates strong correlations to what a "person wants to have or to be" (ibid.). Digital devices such as smartphones, for example, are designed not just as a mobile phone device, but promise a whole new experience to the user. Smartphone users cannot only make calls and send texts as in the case of the first mobile phones, but connect to the Internet through their handy devices as they would do through their desktops and laptops, take high-quality pictures as they would do with a camera, and play games as they would do with their consoles. Following

then on Bauman's (2000) ideas, technology is presented as empowering the user providing capabilities that did not exist before.

The design of a product needs to integrate in the early stages of development the key principles of seduction, such as empowerment, as discussed earlier. Agostini and De Michelis (2000) termed their approach to designing computer-based systems "seductive design" for seduction is "both asymmetric and reciprocal" (ibid.: 235), as both parts are involved in this procedure, but usually only one is being seduced, revealing the power relations already being created at the design level. They underline the fact that seduction is a process through which a special relation is being created, and this process takes time while the seducer is making the seduced feel different and better than before, listening to their needs and wills revealing a humanised model of romantic relations as seen in the marketing literature earlier (see Newman, 2001). Following this process, the opposition of the user (seduced) becomes an opportunity for the designers to alter and adjust the design of the product and make it even more attractive. This opposition can be seen as resistance to the process of consumption, that can be exploited to empower the seduction process as it will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Seduction is a reciprocal relationship in the sense that it does not exist if one of the parties, the seducer and the seduced, are not involved. The main concern here is the unequal relationship developed, as the motivations and purposes of each party are different, and herein lies the nature of seduction. Seducer aims to make the products more attractive and tempting so that the seduced will develop the desire to experience them and will get into the

circle of endless consumption that is based on desire (Belk, Ger and Askegaard, 2003)[14].

However, both the seducer – in this case designers – and the seduced are part of the

consumer society that is driven by seduction, thus in this process both parties are seduced.

Seduction follows also a vicious circle in accordance to consumption created in the rise of

capitalism (Flew, 2013: 54) whereby users feel they need ever newer products to fulfill their

never-ending desires, and designers want to produce newer products meeting people's

desires, and of course creating new ones. The time distance between these two ends, the

consumption and the production is shrinked as "[l]ongevity of use tends to be shortened and

the incidents of rejection and disposal tend to become ever more frequent the faster the

objects' capacity to satisfy (and thus to remain desired) is used up" (Bauman and Donskis,

2013: 15). Therefore, it could be argued that both designers and consumers are seduced by

and mutually locked into neoliberal discourses demanding constant production to gain

constant consumption.

The satisfaction people get out of the use of an object is fleeting and seems to end with the

appearance of a new object that creates new desires. This desire for ever new consumption

products is called neophilia (Campbell, 1992) for which marketing and advertising play a

significant role. Flew (2013: 61), reviewing Baudrillard's work, explains that through

advertisements, consumers do not primarily and only receive information about the

advertised product or service, but instead, it is the signs attributing the social meaning to the

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[14] Here it might be useful to make a distinction between consumption as a process in culture and biology, such as consumption of food and water, and consumption as the dominant ideology in Western capitalism (Slater, 1997: 8).

products and services that are consumed by the consumers. The iPhone 5s, for example, is advertised as "forward thinking" with Apple claiming on their website that "It's not just a product of what's technologically possible. But what's technologically useful. It's not just what's next. But what should be next"[15]. The slogan though was best fulfilled not by the design of iPhone 5s, but that of iPhone 7 that removed the headphone jack leading its users no choice but to purchase wireless headphones with little resistance or without irritation, as its sales demosntrated. The discourse around its advertisement seem to dictate the direction for society, regarding technology. Seduction in this context creates the belief that users will secure a particular kind of identity as part of the technological era instead of being left behind this idea of 'progress'.

Advertising campaigns of digital gadgets, though, not only present the products as a necessity, but they promote the development of feelings towards them. In this respect, seduction is even more obvious as the process that originally referred to humans, now expands towards devices. In the official advertisement below (Image 1), the marketing language "Loving it is easy" makes this point clear. In a consumer society, feelings of love usually reserved for humans or animals, that may develop similar feelings in return, are also directed to technological devices. The marketing discourse promoting a dependant relationship on technology based on usefulness, expands to include emotional affection as well.

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[15] http://www.apple.com/uk/pr/library/2013/09/10Apple-Announces-iPhone-5s-The-Most-Forward-Thinking-Smartphone-in-the-World.html

Image 1 Official Apple advert as displayed on one of the major telecommunication companies' websites in the UK.

Hoch (2002), writing from a consumer research approach, provides another aspect of seduction: that of experience. According to Hoch (2002), learning from experience is more seductive than educational learning; therefore, consumers show more trust in their own experiences. However, he claims that consumers misinterpret familiarity as product knowledge, and this means that consumers, based on the fact that they have been using a product for some time, believe that they understand the product as such. For example, using a television as a device, we get to know how to adjust the volume or the brightness and so on, but this does not mean that we know how the television operates beyond its functionalities as most of us do not have that level of technical knowledge. Hoch (2002: 452) argues that "experience often proceeds as seduction" in four ways. First, because of the engaging nature of experience, consumers feel they learn first-hand from experience as it is more lively than the didactic educational process. Second, 'the nonpartisan nature of experience leads consumer to let her or his guard down" (ibid.) and be less resistant to new

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experiences. Another important element of experience as seduction is what Hoch calls pseudodiagnosticity, for the information that the user gathers from the experience is ambiguous, leading them to make the decision based on their personal interests, drawing "the consumer in as a willing partner in the seduction" (Hoch 2002: 450). The interpretation of the information though relies on consumers who then become part of the process; thus, it is personalized. Hoch (2002: 452) argues that this is the point at which "the consumer begins a partnership with product experience in her or his own seduction" assisted by marketing discourses. The final point that he makes about the seductive nature of experience is endogeneity (2002: 451) arguing that despite experience being encoded while it unfolds, it is also "interpreted as decisions are rationalized".

This rationalization of product experience is interpreted within a neoliberal context as subjugation to market values. Consumers seem to ignore negative attributes such as the surveillant aspects of the smartphones and concentrate on the ones of neophilia and competition for example. In this sense, the term pseudodiagnosticity can be understood here within a political analysis of neoliberalism, rather than a psychoanalytical feature. It is the neoliberal rationality through which individuals interpret the information given about a product in a specific way, the one preferred by the market. In this sense, this rationalization of the product experience will be explored as diagnostic of power in the next chapter. Questioning the sustainability of seduction, Hoch suggests that further research is needed, but he hypothesizes that the reason why consumers are happy with their seduction is because either they are "oblivious to the fact they were seduced" or "despite knowing that they have been seduced, accept the fact that they enjoyed it" (Hoch, 2002: 452). However, Hoch's

hypothesis shows a lack of political analysis in his approach to seduction, and thus falls short of responding to the reasons why consumers are participating in their own seduction.

Studies in consumer research have also addressed the concept of seduction in terms of exchange relationships, which is based on the element of pseudodiagnosticity, discussed mostly from a psychoanalytical approach. The additional elements provided in this context that can add value to the understanding of seduction are those of "ambiguity" and "social consensus" (Deighton and Grayson, 1995). Ambiguity refers to marketing language that aims to attract consumers (Deighton and Grayson, 1995) being intentionally open to different interpretations (Hoch, 2002). This element of ambiguity assists in the seductiveness of the experience as it "[a]llows people to lock onto one meaning without it ever occurring to them that another meaning could be sustained with a slightly different reading" (ibid.: 448). This is a seductive process as it allows the individual 'freedom' to decide on the interpretation of the information and once again it comes down to individual responsibility as a 'free' consumer with choice. In the case of digital gadgets, the user is seduced by the ambiguous language of the adverts and the relevant discourses in public debates that can "lock onto" the meaning of entertainment factor of these technologies and just disregard any negative connotation in a broad acceptance of technology as empowerment that is promoted in a neoliberal society driven by market discourses.

Seduction according to Deighton and Grayson (1995: 666) "involves the construction of a new consensus. […] The customer must be moved, usually in stages, from old agreements to new". This gradual transition is highly relevant to digital gadgets that were expanded gradually in

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everyday life from analogue to digital and hence the "consensus" to all the subsequent changes did not appear to be a dilemma for the consumers. Technology moves forward and thus individuals adapt to new circumstances consenting to what seems to have an added value for them, for example, handwritten letters have been replaced by emails in the digital era fulfilling the desire of speed and convenience without an explicit correlation with new surveillance methods through the digitization of technology.

The process of seduction is also explored from an organizational studies approach exploring the ways that organizations seek to secure loyalty and commitment that are not different to those of consumerism. In a neoliberalism context, the fallacy of free choice is central, so that the power relations to meet less resistance. Through seduction, employees appear to choose to work more hours for the companies and maximize their productivity as this is a way to secure their identity, aligning the company's values with theirs as explored through neoliberalism where human affairs are regulated by the principles of the market. Seduction is seen as a "socialization process involved in developing commitment because it suggests the subtle less-than-rational nature of the influence process" (Lewicki, 1981: 6).

The seduction process differs from commitment, operating on the basis of rewards that make the choice both justifiable and tempting for the individual(ibid.), and driven by another key market value that governs everyday life; competition. Furthermore, seduction entails the characteristic of enticement, which "makes use of promises and opportunities, not threats or coercion" (ibid.: 6). Any seduction process can also relate to corruption, where the seduced subject is moved away from their values or principles, adopting the ones of the company

(ibid.) in the same way that consumers' desires are aligned with the market's interests driven by neoliberalism (Andrejevic, 2013). The fourth and final key element of seduction, according to Lewicki, is that of "free choice", which gives the opportunity to seduced subjects to reject seduction. However, he argues that individuals usually do not exercise this choice as "the offer is impressive enough" (ibid.). Again, this kind of interpretation fails to explain why individuals are participating in their own seduction, because it lacks a political analysis.

Following, Foucault's (1988) exploration of neoliberal governmentality, "government refers to a continuum, which extends from political government right through to forms of self-regulation, namely 'technologies of the self'" (Lemke, 2001: 201). The state reshaped in neoliberalism has developed new strategies of intervention 'rendering individual subjects 'responsible'" (ibid.) even for societal issues and thus, reconstructing those problems of 'self-care' (ibid.). As Lemke (2001: 201) nicely explains Foucault's conceptualization of 'technologies of the self' "[t]he key feature of neo-liberal rationality is the congruence it endeavours to achieve between a responsible and moral individual and an economic-rational actor". This subject then will be assessing their actions based on a rational calculation of costs and benefits. However, in neoliberal terms where individuals are called to make their own decisions in a manner of expression of free will then "the consequences of the actions are borne by the subject alone, who is also solely responsible for them" (ibid.). A detailed analysis of the concept is out of the scope of this study but its importance lies in relation to the framework of seductive surveillance, in the ways by which seduced subjects are constituted through power normalizing these tools within the dominant discourses of the market.

Consumers are free to make their decisions regarding the use of the digital gadgets and thus, they are considered responsible for the consequences of a surveillant society.

The preceding paragraphs have explored seduction in consumer society from a sociological perspective. Furthermore, drawing upon design technology and consumer research literature, it is argued that the seduction process is deployed to tempt consumers into purchasing and using digital gadgets, whereas organizational studies shed light on the neoliberal discourses of enticement rather than enforcement. These seduction elements are communicated to individuals via the use of language that, according to poststructuralism, does not reflect "an independent reality, [rather] language constitutes meanings" (Weedon, 1987, cited in Fischer and Bristor, 1994: 320). This section also showed a lack of political analysis in the approach taken regarding seduction in the literature, which results in a very limited, and not convincing, understanding of why consumers participate in their seduction.

3.3   Conceptualizing Seductive Surveillance

Lodge (2012: 316), referring to the possibilities of abuse of new technologies and more importantly the abuse of data generated by online activities, claims:

> Within the nebula of the discourse about the benign impact of ICTs and their claimed benefits to boosting citizens' participation lurks the dust of mixed-purpose use, the abrogation of the precautionary principle, the lie of disembodied information, the reality of unobservable data mining, the erosion of the principle of consent as the levels of application criss-cross leisure, pleasure, domestic convenience and bureaucratic efficiency fields.

This passage nicely summarizes the argument that ICTs are presented as tools in the hands of the users to enhance their participation to decision making process at a societal level and their everyday life at an individual level, eschewing the risks of their use in the context of liquid surveillance. Means of surveillance are articulated within discourses of convenience, efficiency and pleasure creating the belief that people make use of technology on their benefits, thus have control over it (Van der Laan, 2004). This perception of people controlling technology simply because they use it is one of the key promises that the market, both from design and marketing perspectives, employs in the seduction process. Therefore, the reasoning that I aim to develop in this section is as follows: If people are seduced into digital gadgets' consumption and digital gadgets are used as means of surveillance, then consumers (users) of digital gadgets are seduced in their own surveillance.

In the process of seduction as discussed earlier it is important for the seduced party to sustain the fallacy of free choice, to believe they make the choice freely and therefore feel empowered. In the context of digital gadgets, the passage from analogue to digital era has changed traditional social relations and the way people receive information as individuals are not limited to the role of passive consumers any longer, but act as producers as well, receiving the term prosumers, meaning that the distinction between producers and consumers is progressively blurring (Toffler, 1980). Citizens, for example, do not just consume the news from the mainstream media as they are able to upload on the web in real time what they witness and consider as newsworthy, supplementing the work of traditional journalists, what is called citizen journalism (Allan, 2007; Deuze, Allan and Thorsen, 2009; Carpenter, 2010).

[64]

The Arab Spring, to offer an example, gave a new perspective on the role that social media and the Internet in general can have in the political debates and how they can empower citizens to communicate their opinions across the globe and raise their voice (Howard et al., 2011). These celebratory aspects of digital technologies are used in support of the arguments regarding empowerment of freedom of expression, inclusion and ultimately democracy constructing people's views on digital technologies. However, the talk of technology solely within discourses of efficiency and empowerment disregards, or at least minimizes the political context within which these technologies are used, and consequently the societal risks emerging through the use of their data for different purposes and by differet agents. To provide an example, when users share particular information with their online friends on social platforms such as Facebook, they intend to share the information within this circle of friends whereas in practice any kind of information uploaded on the web could be used in different contexts, such as by state authorities or for targeted advertisement. boyd (2008: 18) argues that:

> In an era of convergence culture, it is easy to celebrate the shifts brought forth by media and technological convergence. […] Media and technological convergence are introducing new practices and opportunities. Yet, as a direct result of these structural changes, another form of convergence is emerging: social convergence.

She argues that within the context of social convergence the control over our data is lost as the data can be used in different contexts than the one we originally intended. As it has been briefly discussed earlier, this social convergence that boyd describes has further societal implications as the borders of different institutions have merged, resulting in Liquid

[65]

Surveillance (Bauman and Lyon, 2012). Corporations and the state monitor, track, store and manipulate individuals' data generated from the same technologies, such as smartphones and laptops, for marketing and security purposes, but these risks are not equally discussed in relation to digital technologies.

The means of information production are used in neoliberalism as means of surveillance as people use their smartphone devices to communicate with their friends or surf on the Internet (perceived as 'means of information'), when at the same time the data generated by these devices might be collected and stored by other agents for surveillance purposes (perceived as 'means of surveillance'). Information and communication devices that users interact with for information, entertainment and communication purposes can be accessed by the state and the market. The leak by the US National Security Agency (NSA) whistle-blower Edward Snowden in the summer of 2013 proves this argument; according to Snowden, National Security Agency programme PRISM enables direct access to the systems of Google, Facebook and Apple among others. Furthermore, it was revealed that NSA operates an even more intrusive surveillance programme, 'XKeyscore' which, according to its developers, can track "nearly everything a typical user does on the internet". This programme allows "analysts to search with no prior authorization through vast databases containing emails, online chats and the browsing histories of millions of individuals" (The *Guardian*, 2013)[16].

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[16] While this study was being written the 'Snooper's charter' bill became a law requiring the internet and telecommunication companies to store their clients' web histories for a year that would be accessible by the police, security and other official agencies
https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jul/31/nsa-top-secret-program-online-data
https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/nov/29/snoopers-charter-bill-becomes-law-extending-uk-state-surveillance

In the consumer surveillance context, companies make use of people's online activities increasing their profit tailoring and personalising their marketing techniques, products and services (Pridmore, 2012). The exploitation of digital labour is an established argument in surveillance and critical media studies exploring users as labourers in their surveillance (Andrejevic, 2002, 2011; Fuchs, 2013; Murakami Wood and Ball, 2013), in contrast to the mainstream media coverage of technology where societal issues emerging from digital surveillance are limited to privacy (Pavone and Degli Esposti, 2010, Barnard-Wills 2011, Möllers and Hälterlein, 2013).

Marketing companies redesign their market research techniques from the online data, available to use with significantly less cost. Ball et al., (2016: 61) argue that especially "in marketing settings, the object is to leverage insight about consumers gleaned from data in order to 'persuade' (or manipulate) them into buying a product or using a service and to target marketing effects more efficiently". In the case of digital technologies, these new marketing techniques attempt to trigger consumers into a vicious circle of buying new products or services. Moreover, some of the applications consumers purchase, enable further data collection, resulting in more effective and personalized marketing information to mine.

Surveillance is becoming ubiquitous as "our whole way of life in the contemporary world is suffused with surveillance" (Lyon, 2007: 25). But are consumers so passive that they do not see at least certain aspects of surveillance? In many cases for example, it is clear that data are collected for marketing purposes, as personalized offerings reach consumers' email accounts.

[67]

Furthermore, publicity of leaks such as Snowden's raises the awareness of state surveillance via communication technologies. The question emanating from this is 'why do individuals willingly participate in this process?' Following the literature on seduction, it can be argued that individuals do not just voluntarily participate in their own surveillance, but rather are seduced into it. Abe (2009), exploring the introduction of the celebratory aspects of the Internet in Japan, argues that even if the surveillant aspect of new media is acknowledged, the seductive element of interactivity tempts users to engage with them. In particular, he argues that it is "fair to say that we have been fascinated by myths that tell us of the coming new era […] a more liberating and empowering one" (ibid.: 74) and so interactivity promises further liberation and empowerment but at the same time more engagement and more personal data.

Technological developments distract users' attention from the surveillant aspects of the devices. Lyon (2002: 244) underlines users' focus on "convenience and efficiency" that technologies offer rather than the "surveillance aspects of these technologies", and he explains, this is a result of the "disappearing body" as people can do more things remotely. People can do things electronically without the need to physically be present for these actions. For example, instant messages or the exchange of emails take place via technological devices, so people involved are not aware of who else might have access to their interaction. In contrast, if people hold a conversation in a private space, they are able to monitor the surrounding environment and they would be aware of it, as they can see who is around and in what proximity.

The fact that people are not able to see what happens with their data generated by different devices makes surveillance invisible and as Ball (2009: 641) argues individuals may seem ambivalent as the 'watcher' is not identifiable. The 'watcher' becomes an unidentifiable, unknown Other not embodied but rather algorithms that do not specifically watch a certain individual. Knights et al., (2001: 313, italics in original) provide the conceptualisation of the Other based on Luhmann's (1979) "thought experiment with a totally unstructured, shapeless and entropic imaginary world as the Other, against which the *real* world with its evident stabilities can be contrasted". In this mass surveillance operated by machines and algorithms, individuals gain a confidence that their data are not abused or remain anonymous in this huge pool of data. Furthermore, users enjoy the illusion of control over their identity on the Internet and the fluidity they attribute to it, which is characterized as an additional seductive trait of Internet use (Leung, 2003).

The user in a convergence era, though, loses any control over their data (boyd, 2008). Once the data are translated into the computer's language of zeros and ones, users cannot control the communication between the databases. Furthermore, the users do not have a comprehensive understanding of the process of their data into the devices. Users can interact with their smartphones, but they do not see what happens behind the screen and the surveillance process becomes unobservable, thus unobtrusive. Privacy policies, though, enforce companies to inform users on the data flow, the ways they are collected, where they are stored and in what way they are sorted. However, the fact that the relevant policies are so impenetrable discourages users from reading them, but even if they do so it is difficult to fully comprehend their content due to highly technical language.

As Lyon (2001: 108) suggests, "the world of electronic connectivity works both ways", and the surveillance society is the reverse image of the information society. Could it be that individuals lack of awareness, that they are exposed to surveillance when using digital information technologies, the reason why they hand over more data? Or do they comply with surveillance aspects as inseparable elements of digital information technologies? Just because we control our devices does not mean that we can have absolute control over our data. Digital technologies are becoming increasingly more handy, mobile and user-friendly, as the user can carry their device everywhere and have direct access to the Internet. As Ball (2009: 644) argues "the means of surveillance is now (unequally) distributed throughout the industrial–state complex, and individual recording and reporting of their realities using (for example) hand-held devices are widespread".

Seductive surveillance operating via ICTs is not explicit, but it has become a masked process because of the dominant ideology that the interests of the market and consumer align as discussed already. Language plays a crucial role in the seduction process, being the intermediary of seductive practices such as engagement and commitment to the new technologies regarding the promises they make to the users. At the same time, though, language is also a form of seduction as it carries certain ideology itself and in a neoliberal context, ICTs are perceived as purely tools in the hands of the users and as means that enable

users to enjoy new experiences[17]. Thus, the discourses surrounding these technologies impose on the users precisely this ideology. Smartphone advertisements use slogans such as "more than your eyes can see" (Nokia's advert for the Lumia 925)[18] or "forward thinking" (Apple's advert for the iPhone 5s). In this way, they promise that the gadget offers "all in one" experience such as taking photos with great analysis, listening to music, watching videos, playing games and connecting to the Internet in addition to the typical phone calls and texts exchange.

Such discourses, it is argued, 'hails' the individual's ability to "define themselves as modern and tech-savvy and have a mobile lifestyle" (Fuchs, 2013)[19] in accordance to Althusser's theory of interpellation (2006). Interpellation is a process through which individuals are constructed as subjects via the ruling ideology served by socio-political institutions. However, such an approach imposes a more coercive role for the state, has been reshaped in a neoliberal context within the discourses of the market, where freedom is a requirement for it to operate This thesis adopts the position that subjects are not hailed, but seduced to the rules and principles imposed by the market and promoted by the state. CCTV (closed-circuit television) cameras, for example, are explicit means of security operating via 'watching' the population, and individuals in most cases are aware (or should be made aware by law) of the presence of CCTV and are aware they are being watched. The accompanying signs inform the individuals that they are being watched for their own safety and security, consequently

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[17] Primary ideas on the employment of language as a tool of the surveillance ideology were first presented in a joint paper "The ideological packaging of ICTs" at the 4th ICTs & Society Conference in Uppsale, Sweden, May 2012.

[18] http://www.wpcentral.com/nokia-shows-off-lumia-925-india

[19] http://fuchs.uti.at/952/

[71]

creating the feeling of security in people without revealing whether they are indeed effective in crime prevention (Norris et al., 2002). Following the discussion on how digital gadgets can be seen as means of surveillance, though, it is evident that this cannot be the only reality of the use of digital technology in a neoliberal context although it seems to be the dominant one.

Lyon (2003a: 26) suggests surveillance is on a spectrum "from hard, centralized, panoptic control to soft, dispersed, persuasion and influence". As he explains, at one end of the spectrum lies the "categorical suspicion" which he attributes to policing and on the other the "categorical seduction" that is attributed to consumption (ibid.). Hier (2003: 408) explains "categorical seduction" as "involving participatory forms of surveillance where more and more personal information is offered up by consumers who are seduced by consumer convenience and rewards" and following Lyon's (2003) writings contrasts it to that of "categorical suspicion" "which entails profiling of any number of socially perceived dangerous groups". Hier (2003), seems though to explore the two extreme positions of the surveillance spectrum in a binary manner, where seduction sits on one end only with consumption practices and is built around the notions of convenience and rewards. In a neoliberal environment as explored earlier, security and consumerism are not separated, as they follow the rationalization of neoliberalism served by surveillance methods. Furthermore, surveillance as a concept entails categorical suspicion regardless of the levels of pervasiveness or enforcement. The very mechanism of surveillance operates on the basis of categorization, profiling and sorting, be it for marketing or security purposes. Raw data are of no use to either the market or the state, thus, data need to be categorized to offer valuable information.

From the above, it is evident that seduction is a process that individuals are constantly exposed to by the rationalization of neoliberal governmentality, the consequent modern lifestyle, the design process of the product, the marketing process and, finally, the use of the product. In the context of digital gadgets, as this study argues, consumers are seduced into using the devices and all the relevant applications, which demand uploading ever more personal information. The users might believe that the price to be paid for enjoying the benefits that their devices offer is the cost of the device and the tariff for phone calls, texts and Internet. However, the personal data generated by this interaction are also of high value to the organizations and of great worth to the "personal information economy" (Pridmore, 2012).

3.4   The Case of Smartphones

In an increasingly mobile world, technologies that connect people limiting the boundaries of distance and time have been integrated in our modern world, as Elliott and Urry (2006) describe in their book "Mobile lives" with digital gadgets becoming increasingly popular. However, the mobile technology that has been getting ever more popularity within recent years is the smartphone. A smartphone is defined as "a cell phone with advanced capabilities, which executes an identifiable operating system allowing users to extend its functionality with third party applications that are available from an application repository" (Theoharidou et al., 2012: 444-445). Following this definition, a smartphone combines "advanced processing capabilities", "fast connectivity capabilities" and "adequately limited screen sizes" (ibid.). The combination of telephony and computing applications have been attempted as early as in the 1970s (Islam and Want, 2014). The first prototypes that included some applications useful for

the public were launched in the early 1990s but they were very slow and the interface was not user friendly (quite small) (ibid). The i-mode system was introduced in 1999 by a Japanese company that allowed users to access Internet services. Blackberry seemed to be a well-established telecommunication company but its audience was "limited to enterprise customers" (Islam and Want, 2014: 89).

A turning point for the smartphones was the deployment of 3G networks that allowed "increasing speeds and the reach of high-speed data" (ibid). The increasing speeds (with the deployment of 4G even today) for access to the Internet made smartphones ever more popular as users could practically use their phone devices as their personal computers. This is the reason why this study focuses on this particular digital gadget. According to recent reports, UK adults increasingly spend more time on their smartphones than any other digital device with Internet connection (eMarketer, 2015[20]). As an Ofcom research (2013b) reveals, the absolute majority of young people (aged 16–24) "would miss their mobile phone more than any other medium. And adults with a smartphone (irrespective of age) are as likely to miss their mobile phone as their television (30 percent) – this is unchanged since 2011". Consequently, it is clear that the use of smartphone devices has been naturalized in everyday practices. A recent Ofcom report of 2015 is even more apocalyptic, disclosing that fully 90 percent of people aged 19–24 use smartphones, making the UK a society obsessed with smartphones.

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[20] http://www.emarketer.com/Article/UK-Adults-Spend-More-Time-on-Mobile-Devices-than-on-PCs/1012356

The smartphone's usage as an inseparable part of everyday life is a key element in the process of seduction. New generations become addicted to smartphones in the UK (Ofcom, 2011) and access to the Internet via these devices has increased rapidly (from 36 percent in 2012 to 49 percent; Ofcom, 2013). The percentages regarding the ownership of smartphones are interestingly high, with just over three-quarters of respondents (77 percent) aged 16–24 reported owning one (Ofcom, 2013). Additionally, in the overall population, "[f]ifty-one percent of UK adults now own a smartphone. Smartphone sales made up three-quarters (74 percent) of all handset sales […] and overall take-up rose to 51 percent in the same period. However, among mobile Internet users' take-up is even higher, with 96 percent of users owning a smartphone" (Ofcom, 2013). People seem to use their smartphone devices everywhere, "from the dining table to the bathroom and bedroom" (Ofcom, 2011). An important difference in the way that populations use new technologies while watching TV is that of 'media stacking' (Ofcom, 2013), meaning that they are on other devices at the same time with half of the people using smartphones (Ofcom, 2013), showing the obsession with them.

The market take-up on digital gadgets and in particular smartphones is impressive, as Figure 1 below reveals. In times of recession sales of smartphones do increase and people seem to be ready to invest a serious amount of money to get the latest models of their favourite smartphone company. A characteristic example of this is sales of Apple's iPhones 5s and 5c reaching 9m in a record weekend[21]. At the same time, the ecommerce sales from

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[21] http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2013/sep/23/iphone-5s-5c-apple-record-nine-million

smartphones are impressively growing according to eMarketer report arguing that "[i]n 2016, total mcommerce sales will account for £25.2 billion, an increase of more than 25% on the previous year"[22].

Undoubtedly, smartphones have become part of our everyday lives presented as a device that boosts participation, security and convenience dismissing the potential surveillance risks. Therefore, smartphones are chosen to be the focal case to explore the phenomenon of everyday surveillance.
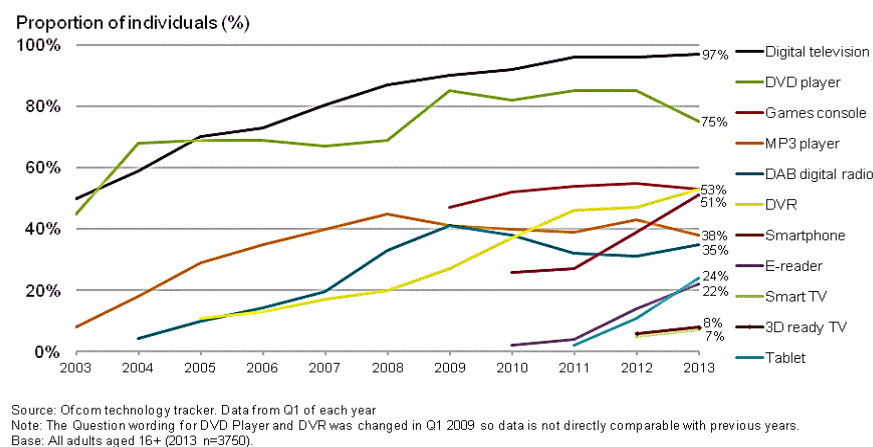
Figure 1: Household take-up of digital communications/AV devices

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter drawing mainly upon literature from design technology, consumer research and organizational studies explored the concept of seduction as a process to get consumers involved in the vicious circle of consumption in a neoliberal context. As Holt and Sly (2002:

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[22] https://www.emarketer.com/Article/Smartphone-Shopping-Driving-UK-Retail-Ecommerce-Sales/1014137

71) claim the "[o]mnipotent corporations use sophisticated marketing techniques to seduce consumers to participate in a system of commodified meanings embedded in brands" and products altogether. However, corporations are not an entity isolated from the broader societal organization and thus, seduction processes are integrated in a neoliberal governmentality of the society. The meanings assigned to digital gadgets are related to security, convenience and participation disregarding the risks of surveillance that has been shifted from coercion to enticement (as discussed in Chapter 2), operating through personal digital devices thus becoming seductive.

In his book *Postmodernity and its Discontents*, Bauman (1997: 14) talks about 'flawed consumers' arguing that

> people are unable to respond to the enticements of the consumer market because they lack the required resources. They are the new "impure", who do not fit into the new scheme of purity. Looked at from the now dominant perspective of the consumer market, they are redundant – truly "objects out of place"

It is evident that, especially in times of recession, there are many people who do not have the means to get involved in the consumer culture and they might feel marginalized, left out or 'flawed' as this culture expands. However, this same point can have a different interpretation from a surveillant perspective. Individuals are not only seduced by the "dominant perspective of the consumer market" into actively participating in the culture of consumption but also of surveillance. Individuals in modern societies strive not to display any 'flaws' as they are ''haunted by the spectre of exclusion'' (Bauman 2004:47). However, in this attempt not to be left out of the consumption circle, consumers are seduced to their surveillance. They become

surveilled subjects participating to further scrutiny, but whether they consciously comply with the surveillance process or they are seduced by the gadgets of surveillance is a question that this study aims to explore.

The focus of the markets on Big Data (Ball, et al., 2016) shows that consumers are of high value for companies, as through data mining techniques and relevant algorithms these consumers can maximize profits for the market and support state surveillance practices raising great concerns over these societal implications. Thus, everyday surveillance occurring through personal digital gadgets needs to gain more academic attention. Crucially, in a neoliberal context "[w]e are tempted and seduced in particular to do just that: abandon all critical reflection and judgement" (van der Laan, 2004: 511). The question then is what are the possibilities of resistance for the seduced subject? The next chapter explores seductive surveillance as power and the potential resistance it might meet. Developing a theoretical framework of the seduced subject and the potential actions of resistance will support the analysis of the empirical findings.

4 Resistance to Seductive Surveillance

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter set out the theoretical framework of seductive surveillance as an analytic tool to assist the understanding of everyday surveillance and individuals' (in this study we refer to them as consumers' and users') 'willing' participation in this mechanism. Surveillance, as discussed in Chapter 2, is performed through discourse of neoliberalism to organize society and the market, based on the principles of effectiveness and cost-efficiency. In neoliberalism, every action is an outcome of autonomous decisions in an environment of freedom thus the subjects are responsible and accountable for the decisions they make (Lemke, 2001). This new form of 'pastoral power' is targeted at people's 'salvation', for which the new tools of surveillance are of great importance, as they collect and sort information about citizens[23] and their behaviour. As this form of power strives for people's well-being, notions of discipline and coercion seem irrelevant, developing a compex interplay between care and control, safety and surveillance.

Thus, surveillance can be viewed in itself as form of power from the Foucauldian perspective. In terms of theoretical conceptualization, this study focuses on systemic surveillance through institutions, namely the state and the market, and not on peer-to-peer surveillance. Surveillance between users such as colleagues, friends, parents and so on can surely have implications in users' lives, however, this study is interested in systemic mass surveillance.

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[23] In this study, citizens are seen as consumers–users through the consumption/use of digital gadgets.

Mass surveillance is performed by institutions that have access to different, and merging, databases. Furthermore, this type of surveillance is based on the surveillance - industrial complex between the state and the market. The companies build, promote and sell the technology through which surveillance operates for both civilian uses (the case of smartphone, Fitbit) and state ones (body scanners, biometric passports). Following Snowden's revelations, the extent of this complex collaboration and exchange of personal information by different institutions has become evident.

This chapter explores seductive surveillance as a form of power, and the resulting subjugation of the users. Furthermore, following the Foucauldian (1982) conceptualization of power according to which power goes hand in hand with resistance, the concept of resistance will be discussed. Even though it is argued that technology's 'sweetness' is irresistible (Katz, 2008: 441) the study aims to explore how people articulate the 'bitterness' of technology's surveillant aspects. The study of resistance that had been mainly examined through collective movements as emancipation (Abu-Lughod, 1990) has shifted to an individual level to include less radical actions in everyday practices (Contu, 2008). Some scholars argue that everyday forms of resistance can provide a better understanding of power relations and the ways they are established seeing resistance as a 'diagnostic of power' (Abu-Lughod,1990: 41). This theorization of resistance reveals the ways that power operates based on the forms of resistance that it meets, following Foucault's (1982: 780) metaphor of resistance as "a chemical catalyst so as to bring to light power relations".

This approach to resistance has received criticism as 'decaf resistance' (Contu, 2008: 4) arguing that it has disconnected resistance from its roots of radical actions on changing power relations, grounding the objections on the conceptualization of power. However, this criticism usually comes from the conceptualization of power- as -possession, as I will argue in this chapter, and does not allow for the study of the dynamic nature of power relations in the context of everyday life. Thus, this study employs resistance as a 'diagnostic of power' to understand the power relations of seductive surveillance and shed light on people's participation through the use of personal digital gadgets.

4.2   Seductive Surveillance as Power

Power remains a complex concept in academia particularly because it has been addressed by a range of disciplines such as sociology, political science and organization and management studies receiving different interpretations as I shall briefly discuss in this chapter. This section does not offer an exhaustive review of the existing literature, rather the aim is to shed light on the ways that seductive surveillance is understood as a form of power. The common elements of power are the characteristics of hierarchy and domination, implying that "power significantly represents a particular type of social relations" (Bloom, 2013: 223), such that power is exercised through individuals (Foucault, 1982) in order to persuade and influence their decisions and actions (Bloom, 2013: 223). Foucault (1982: 784) exploring the form of power in neoliberal times argues on a shift of its objective as it promises to ensure effective management of the population and the market, driving its conceptualization away from the traditional Marxist view of power as possession that is imposed on people by coercion. Following the discussion from the previous chapters these are the promises of surveillance as

presented by the industrial complex of the state and the market articulating technology as the means to these ends thus always positive ignoring the dangerous aspect of power. In this form of power people's interests appear to align with those of the market that directs the decisions of the individuals regarding what is good and what their needs are (Andrejevic, 2013).

Power is often discussed though as something obscure and not visible in many cases (Lorenzi, 2006) sustaining the influential dyadic conceptualization of power between the powerful and submissive parties. The dyadic conceptualization of power restricts power relations in an apriori fixed and static "set of (probably unacknowledged) value assumptions which predetermine the range of its empirical application" (Lukes, 2005: 30). In an attempt to overcome these challenges Lukes suggests that power has the ability to form certain "perceptions, cognitions and preferences" in order to avoid any opposition (Lorenzi, 2006: 92). Lukes (1974: 22) argues that it is not the individual acts alone that assist the system to be sustained "but also, most importantly, by the socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour of groups, and practices of institutions, which may indeed be manifested by individuals' inaction". This argument is related to Althusser's interpellation theory, according to which individuals are always already subjects to power and they are aware of this condition acting though as if they have freely decided to follow the rules of power.

Scott (2008) makes a further distinction of power as domination, between thick and thin sense of acquiescence to power; "the thick sense where people actively believe the values which oppress them and the thin where they merely resigned to them" (Dowding, 2006: 137).

[82]

In his influential work on "everyday forms of resistance", Scott suggests that subordinates understand the rationale behind the social hierarchy and the asymmetry in power relations and therefore they consciously choose not to actively resist their position under the gaze of the dominant whereas they engage to forms of "everyday resistance" as "symbolically acts" against them (Kollmeyer, 2007: 48). In the conceptualization of power as possession assuming a clear distinction between the dominant and the submissive, the existence of power is pre-existing as separate and autonomous to the society determining the social structures.

The approach of power "as a finite commodity" and possession limits the empirical research (Hardy, 2014:321) to questions on how the powerful secure and maintain the compliance of the dominated, and more particularly their *willing* compliance (Lorenzi, 2006: 87). Furthermore, it excludes the analysis of power as "a productive network, which runs through the whole social body" (Foucault, 1980: 119) that provides insights on the ways that power relations are shaped and reproduced. These approaches furthermore often present the subordinate as conscious of the power positions which cannot explain forms of power like seductive surveillance when power relations are not clear as consumers purchase digital gadgets ignoring or disregarding the surveillant aspects of their devices (Harper et al., 2013; Zurawski, 2011). In this respect, digital gadgets are not seen as an authority such as an employer or the state watching them, not even as explicit means of surveillance such as CCTV cameras. Following this approach to power, subjects should be aware of the power relations exercised on them, thus resisting the subject position, complying or accepting the exercise of power over them. Such a theorization of power cannot adequately explain why subjects would actively adopt the values of the dominant or the conditions within which they would

accept this subject position. In the case of seductive surveillance, this would mean that users first of all perceive digital gadgets as a form of power and either actively, with their full consent, adopt the values of the market or passively accept it. Seductive surveillance as power, in contrast, gains the compliance of subjects who participate in this process in a participatory form without making the power relations clear but focusing on the technology and its benefits.

Foucault's (1979: 93 cited in Howarth, 2010: 316) approach on power, even though more complicated, can further explain the different power relations infused in society as he conceptualizes power not as a possession but rather as a process that "is everywhere: not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere. […] Power is not an institution, nor a structure, nor a possession. It is the name we give to a complex strategic situation in a particular society". Furthermore, it is central in his conceptualization of power that it is not just excercised over people but rather through them as "its capillary form of existence […] reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives" (1980: 39). Power for Foucault is inherently related to the subjects of power, as without subjugation power cannot be exercised.

Therefore, seductive surveillance is understood in this approach as a process that intervenes into subjects' attitudes and beliefs, so consumers being subjected to seductive surveillance do not correlate consuming products and everyday practices such as loyalty cards and similarly smartphones, with surveillance practices (Zurawski, 2011). Subjects of seductive

surveillance then become part of this process exercised on them and through them, due to their participation. Therefore, "surveillance under consumerist conditions is not something external or optional but rather is a feature of consumption without the overarching (negative) discourses of control, power, or totalitarianism" (Zurawski, 2011: 522). Additionally, Murakami Wood and Ball (2013), following similar arguments in surveillance studies (Gandy, 2007), stress that marketing practices such as customer-relationship management support the dominant ideology of the normalization of consumers' data collection, as a necessary process for the market to secure market offerings.

Surveillance and especially everyday surveillance is performed through technology as seen in Chapter 3, where the main perception is that users have control over it, and not that it is used as means of control. Thus, in a Foucauldian approach, it can be argued that seductive surveillance as a form of power tempts consumers into purchasing the devices and uploading ever more personal data, extending from name and location to health conditions and consumer behaviour. Through this seductive process, users learn to rely on technology, reproducing the ruling ideology that technology serves the users. Surveillance as a form of power, then, is normalized into the very everyday practices (Murakami Wood and Ball, 2013). Thus, Foucault's understanding of power as relations is more appropriate to understanding the subjugation of the users as seduced surveilled subjects. Taking a dyadic perception of power such as a Marxist perspective and the resulting interpellation of Althusser would limit the exploration of the participation of users in their surveillance and the nature of surveillance as power. Within such a framework, the beliefs that individuals adopt would be simply imposed by the dominant, meaning there is a clear conflict of interests with the submissive.

In Marxist terms this could be framed as an allusion to false consciousness. However, such conceptualization implies that once the subjects realize their subjugation they would resist domination. Studies in everyday surveillance, though, have shown otherwise (Zurawski, 2011; Harper et al., 2013; Lee and Cook, 2015), as the power relations seem more complex. Managerial studies drawing upon Foucault argue that power adopts methods of commitment instead of control (Knights and Willmott, 1989), thus power relations gain the compliance of the subjects. To understand the reasons why consumers, comply with these power relations operated through everyday surveillance mechanisms, the concept of seduced subject needs to be firstly explored.

4.3   The Seduced Surveilled Subject

In a consumer society where digital devices are ubiquitous, data are provided by millions of individuals making them *a priori*, subjects of surveillance[24] (Ball, et al., 2016). Following the framework of seductive surveillance users are not only 'surveilled' but seduced surveilled subjects and this section explores the concept of subjugation in order to explore the possibilities of resistance to such form of power. I will firstly assess how the power as possession approach would explain subjugation to conclude that the formulation of a subject position through a form of power such as seductive surveillance is more complex and could be further explained with Foucauldian analysis.

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[24] McCahill and Finn (2014) have coined the subject of surveillance as surveillance subject which in this study is called surveilled subject.

The ruling ideology of the market employed and served through seductive surveillance and the individuals' response to that process could be argued that from a Marxist perspective is understood through the concept of commodity fetishism according to which people in market trade "come to understand their social relations as relations between the products of their labor – relations between things, rather than relations between people" (Hudson and Hudson, 2003: 413). This means that people focus on the economic value of the product disregarding the labor relations in the production process which Marx ascribes to ignorance as he argues that "we are not aware of this, nevertheless we do it"[25]. Regarding the price of a product on the time of the exchange process for example, buyers disregard the labour time that has been translated into money. Consumers pay the price of the product without thinking about the production process. Similarly, in the context of smartphone devices, it could be argued that consumers are not aware, or do not directly think at the time of the purchase, that they bring labour time (of various kinds and amounts such as designer's, engineers', users' digital labour etc.) to be equivalent with the value of the product. Furthermore, within the surveillance context they are not aware how they participate in, and contribute to their own surveillance focusing on the benefits of the product and not what lies beyond it.

In contrast to Marxist theory, Žižek (1989:32) brings forward the argument that "[t]hey know very well how things really are, but still they are doing it as if they did not know" and he explains his thesis giving an example on the idea of freedom arguing that people know that "their idea of Freedom is masking a particular form of exploitation, but they still continue to

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[25] Moore and Aveling's translation of Marx *Capital*, volume one: A critique of political economy, 2012, p.85

follow this idea of Freedom" (ibid.:33). This is a very interesting thesis in the case of seductive surveillance as paraphrasing Žižek it could be argued that people know very well that their idea of empowerment through technology is masking the risks of surveillance but they continue to follow this idea of empowerment.

In the context of commodity fetishism Žižek argues that when people use money in their everyday life they know "there are relations between people behind the relations between things" but he illustrates how people act "as if money, in its material reality, is the immediate embodiment of wealth as such" (ibid.:31). In terms of digital gadgets' consumption, this could be interpreted as individuals being aware of the whole production process and the power relations that occur through their use, but they choose to focus on the positive attributes and benefits of them. Following Žižek, it could be argued that users know very well that they are under surveillance and their data are exploited, but yet they insist in participating to their surveillance pretending they do not know.

However, as discussed already the risks of surveillance practices are neither simple nor obvious and the relationship between the state and the market surveillance is a complex one promoting technology within discourses of empowerment and security. Žižek argues that people know how things are disregarding the assymetry in power relations that creates the knowledge of reality, meanings and thus subject positions (Foucault, 1980). Furthermore, even in cases where an alternative view of technology as surveillance is more obvious such as targeted advertising, it is just a particular surveillance sight that does not disclose the complexity of liquid surveillance and the subject in neoliberalism assessing its action based

on the costs and benefits decides that the benefits are more. Even in thisneoliberal rationality of thinking, is the subject informed of all the costs resulting from its surveillance? This means that even though users might be aware of consumer surveillance through targeted marketing, this does not necessarily equal awareness of surveillance as a form of power that results from greater societal risks. Surveillance sights cannot be distinguished as data produced by different activities, let them be as a consumer, a citizen, a patient, an employee and so on, can be accumulated or be exchanged through different institutions.

So, users of digital devices might not know that other agencies such as police may have access to the same data as marketing companies, or even that other companies such as insurance ones might use their data for other purposes than marketing. Users might not have the knowledge to reflect on the neoliberal governmentality and the certain subject positions created resulting in exclusion, discrimination, social profiling and so on for populations management purposes. Both Marx's and Žižek's arguments fall in dualism, understanding power as a possession and therefore, there is always a dominant and a submissive party so that the subject positions are fixed disregarding the complexity of social phenomena such as surveillance and the different power/knowledge relations. Both of them argue on the universal knowledge or absence of it dismissing the different levels of knowledge by different people and in different contexts. How can the knowledge of different views of social reality play a role in subjectivity and thus resistance?

If power forms the way we know and talk about the social world and thus our social existence, then it is important to understand how subjectivity is constructed. Questions of subjectivity

[89]

have been extensiveley explored in organization studies literature addressing power - resistance relations. Knights and Willmott (1989: 554), following a Foucauldian approach, reject the "essentialist view of human nature" and they argue that "subjectivity is understood as a product of disciplinary mechanisms, techniques of surveillance and power/knowledge strategies". Individuals are subjected to power relations and thus they are co-constructed as subjects through the socialization process. On the contrary, Mumby (2005: 28) argues that research on power-resistance relation fails to "theorize the possibilities for human agency at the level of everyday organizing". Drawing on Giddens' work, he claims that agency as the ability to act in alternative ways "is frequently absent from these studies" (ibid.) which is a misinterpretation of Foucauldian conceptualization of power-resistance relations as such an approach does not make grand theories, but in contrast builds in specific cases exploring the subject and its role in specific contexts.

Exploring the subordinates' consent to power, Clegg (1989: 221) argues that subordinates often seem to be 'ignorant' on the process of power. Thus, "it is not that they do not know the rules of the game; they might not recognize the game, let alone the rules" (Clegg, 1989: 221) falling to similar generalizations to Žižek's argument, that subordinates might know too well what they are doing, having calculated in advance the costs of resistance that are "far in excess of the probability of either achieving the outcome, or, if achieved, the benefits so obtained" (1989: 222). Newton (1998) holding a critical stance towards Foucauldian work regarding the exploration of subjectivity and organization argues that such work has difficulties when it comes to theorization of agency and the relation between self and discourse. Drawing upon the work of Smith and Thomson (1992) and Thomson and Ackroyd

(1995), he argues that Foucauldian analysis lacks political orientation and thus it is not able to offer us the tools to explore resistance, struggle and change underestimating the role of agency as forming social structure (Newton 1998: 416). However, this is a distortion of Foucault that falls into Althusser's 'interpellated subject' conceptualization according to which the subject is already created by the dominant ideology within the fallacy that they have freely chosen to participate in, and thus reproduce it.

In contrast to Marxist conceptualization of power as a possession of certain social classes, Foucault as discussed already sees power as power relations where individuals do not have only one subject position that is related just to their class but different subject positions that can even come to clash in certain contexts. Power relations according to Foucault (1982) are spread throughout society and run across any social relation, from family, to organizations and so on. Therefore, it is indeed more difficult to explore power relations from a Foucauldian perspective. The research on power relations needs to be contextualized and explore the process of subjugation. This kind of holistic approaches presented above fail to acknowledge the specific context in which power is excercised and the forms it takes. Furthermore, they assume people's awareness (or absence of it) of power relations as something external to them. Following the conceptualization of seduction as form of power, the seduced subject could be aware of their seduction and willing participants to it but the question remains as to the ways that people construct their subjectivity within the power relations of seductive surveillance. The question then is not limited to whether people know too well or too little, deciding on their actions, but rather how people get to acquire specific knowledge that is

informing their actions, why specific discourses are perceived as 'common knowledge' and what this means for peoples' subjugation?

Digital devices users construct their subjection to consumption practices but the power relations of surveillance occuring through the devices might remain unacknowledged, or minimized thus constructing the seduced subject. Therefore, empirical analysis could identify, explore and understand the subject positions of 'digital natives' (Prensky, 2001) within power relations of seductive surveillance. The term 'digital natives' refers to individuals who have been born in the digital era and have grown up using digital technologies implying that young generations are "native speakers" of the digital language of computers, video games and the Internet" (Prensky, 2001: 1). Even though this generation has received different labels, such as Generation Y, referring to users born between 1982 and 2000 (Huntley, 2006: 189), this study adopts the term digital natives just as a more recognizable term among the public as well.

Regardless of the label given to the generation born in the digital era, the common ground is the recognition of an extensive familiarity with digital technologies in comparison to the previous generations. This characteristic can be very relevant for the exploration of the seduced subject given that the learning process by experience has been discussed as a seductive element (see Chapter 3). Young users are considered to be 'native speakers' of the digital era, nevertheless it is not clear how 'digitally literate' they are. They might know how to speak the language by experience, but how well do they know the grammar rules of this language? Digital natives grew up in the digital era, which can be argued has made them more

familiar with the surveillance practices as well[26]. So, what the language is that 'native speakers' have learnt in this digital era remains to be explored as this results different subject positions as subjectivity is not created independently to the operation of power but rather through it (Heron, 2005: 347).

Therefore, users are not seen as "cultural dopes" (Garfinkel, 1964) rather seductive power is explored within the Foucauldian approach, and the aim is to understand the ways that users are seduced into the surveilled subject position and how they come to terms with it. As Knights and Willmott (1989: 550) argue "[s]ubjugation occurs where the freedom of a subject is directed narrowly, and in a self-disciplined fashion, towards participation in practices which are known to provide the individual with a sense of security and belonging." For power to operate then freedom of choice is a preposition but directed towards practices that reproduce the dominant discourses in order to sustain specific power relations.

In the case of seductive surveillance then, the individuals are directed by the seduction mechanism towards their participation to their surveillance through the digital gadgets that provide them with a sense of security from the potential threats and belonging to modernity and their era. Furthermore, Knights and Willmott (ibid.) argue that the driving force for human agency is the desire which is created through discourses in order to develop and sustain a secure identity. Following the discussion on consumerism then individuals aim at

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[26] There are studies suggesting that age is just one out of the many factors that can influence the interaction with ICTs where education and gender can be more significant (Helsper and Eynon, 2010).

securing their identity through consumption. The desire of having the latest smartphone technology in order to belong to the modern society and define oneself through is a method of seduction which according to Bauman and Donskis (2013: 21) draws people into their "enslavement" in a consumerist society. Using social networks may serve this need for security and belonging, as individuals do not want to feel left out in an on-going changing environment.

Thompson and Ackroyd (1995: 627) appear critical to Foucauldian approach, according to which "workers are not disciplined by the market but by their own identity and subjectivity" (Newton 1998: 422). However, this argument sees the market as something external to the creation of identity and subjectivity. According to Foucault, the power/knowledge relations shape one's own identity and subjectivity, which cannot be considered as something 'outside' the society, for identity is always something in relation to the environment one lives in which is supported by empirical work in organizational and surveillance studies (see for example Clarke, Knights and Javis, 2012). Furthermore, managerial literature argues that there is a shift "from control to commitment", following Walton's (1985) argument, according to which the "traditional strategy [which proved to be self-defeating] to 'impose control' is replaced by "a new strategy based on 'eliciting commitment'" (Roberts, 2005: 622) which is more effective. Seduction in organizations operates exactly on this basis, as workers and similarly seduced subjects are not disciplined through control but through commitment (Fleming and Spicer, 2003; Fleming and Sewell, 2002), participating in their own subjection and surveillance. This commitment is constructed based on the neoliberal power relations.

Clarke, Knights and Jarvis (2012), writing from an organizational perspective observe that academics work over hours, as their identity aligns with the values of their profession, so that they tie their identity to their occupation, they work harder to secure their identities as academics, but at the same time they end up working more for the organization. Similarly, following the desires that the market creates for individuals in a consumerist environment, and sustaining the ideology that technology is always to users' benefits, individuals strive to secure their identity through the discourses of modernity which is a self-defeating project as identity is never fixed constructed within power relations. Young people aim to gain the acceptance and respect of their fellows thus the sense of belonging purchasing the latest technological device and the use its applications, for as Roberts (2005: 636) argues "Other's recognition has the power of life and death over us".

In contrast, though, Giddens (1991: 175) argues that "human agents never passively accept external conditions of action, but more or less continuously reflect upon them and reconstitute them in the light of their particular circumstances". His theory on human agency implies that individuals are informed of conditions that are external to them falling into a dualism of an external to the individuals, world. Subjectivity according to Foucault (1982) though is not argued to take a passive role, but power is infused based on the discourses that subjects reproduce. There is not such a thing as an external world in a Foucauldian approach but a co-constructed social world based on power relations. Newton (1998: 432), following his critical analysis, admits that it is undeniable that "new liberal programmes have reduced the 'power' of both workplace collective struggle and employee resistance and urges for a theoretical framework that can explain "how self agentially relates to power/knowledge, how

in thought and practice people accept, resist and play with discursive practices" (Newton, 1998: 434). The possible ways of negotiation and resistance to seductive surveillance are discussed in the following section, looking first at the concept of resistance in general.

4.4   Resisting to 'Seductive Surveillance'

Foucault (1982:781) writing on the power relations that are never fixed and consequently neither the subject positions argues that "there are three types of struggles: either against forms of domination (ethnic, social, and religious); against forms of exploitation which separate individuals from what they produce; or against that which ties the individual to himself and submits him to others in this way (struggles against subjection, against forms of subjectivity and submission". In the context of surveillance as form of power all three types of struggles could be met; social groups for example experience surveillance as domination in places such as airports and public spaces, individuals exploit their labour through consumer surveillance and workers are subjected to their employees.

However, seductive surveillance in contrast to workplace and state surveillance is not employed regardless the will of the surveilled subject, but rather the individuals purchase the digital gadgets and participate to their surveillance. Smartphone devices, similarly to loyalty cards, "are not a malign plan of a totalitarian corporation or state but instead have evolved as part of requirements of businesses and markets" (Zurawski, 2011: 515). Digital gadgets are articulated within the ideology that technology improves our lives but at the same time they are based on the very operating principle of digitization enabling readily available data

collection, storage and manipulation in the interest of the market[27]. Consumers choose to purchase and use their devices and they are not coerced into doing so. Following Foucauldian approach to power, though, power relations even in neoliberalism operate on the basis of freedom narrowly directed though as discussed earlier. Howarth (2013: 191–2), discussing Foucault's conceptualization of domination, power, discourse and freedom, offers an in-depth understanding of power arguing that for Foucault, power relations are structured within systems of control where freedom is limited. Power relations in such systems are asymmetrical, thus "confining [subject] to sedimented positions within a social structure" (Howarth, 2013: 191). In the case of seductive surveillance as power, then, the resulting question is how the subjects participating in power relations freely, even with restricted liberty, can reflect on their subject position and resist domination that is not enforced and visible. This is exactly where Foucault's understanding of power and consequently subjectivity and resistance becomes so relevant to the exploration of everyday surveillance.

Literature on power that follows a Foucauldian approach suggests that power is interconnected with resistance and, moreover, they shape each other (Ball, 2002; Ball and Margulis, 2011; Collinson, 1994; Fleming and Spicer, 2007, 2008; Mumby, 2005). In Foucauldian terms (1978: 95–96) "where there is power, there is resistance". For Foucault, power is not opposed to resistance but resistance is power itself so that power "works on and through resistance, which comes from within rather than outside existing power relations" (Hardy and Thomas, 2014: 325). In this sense, the forms of resistance can be used as a

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[27] By 'market', the study refers to the major socio-political institutions including corporations and the state which depend on the surveillance process to reinforce power and control the system.

"diagnostic of power" (Abu-Lughod, 1990: 41) meaning that the exploration of resistance actions can shed light onto how power relations are understood by the subjects within different contexts as resistance aims at producing "different effects" of the power relations (Nealon, 2008: 24). As Howarth (2013: 192) explains Foucault's approach to power "posits a certain degree of freedom for social agents both to maintain systems of domination and to propose counter strategies of resistance". Seduction as a mechanism of power then could be argued to aim at overcoming resistance actions, as subjects are seduced into maintaining and reproducing the power relatons and consequently their subject positions that enable them to "secure their sense of meaning, identity and reality" (Knights, 2002: 582). Consequently, individuals do not want to "'break free' of this power, which is not 'bad in itself', but to 'acquire the rules of law, the management techniques and also the morality, the *ethos*, the practice of the self that will allow us to play these games with as little domination as possible**'** (Foucault, 1997:298 cited in Clarke and Knights, 2015: 1875).

Individuals are not just restrained by power as a property view of power would suggest, but rather power is also productive of subjectivity. Thus, subjects do not resist power as such but the subject position that occurs by the relations of power. However, in terms of everyday surveillance there is not adequate evidence of the perceptions of the surveilled subject position (McCahill and Finn, 2014). State and the market evidently use these power relations through surveillance to serve their purposes as discussed already, but what the resistance is that they meet is still to be explored. The usage of smartphone devices is rather perceived by the users as part of social and cultural practice in accordance with consumption and thus, "disregards concerns about data protection and consumer surveillance" (Zurawski, 2011:

518). Therefore, it is important to explore users' articulation of their relationship with smartphone devices as a diagnostic analysis to understand how they experience everyday surveillance. The subjective experience of surveillance will enrich the academic debate on resistance to surveillance as it will shed light on whether there are possibilities of everyday resistance in this context, which is of increasing interest in the circles of academia (Gilliom and Monahan, 2012; McCahill and Finn, 2014) and policy making. Research on resistance to surveillance is still in primary stages and mainly focuses on employees' resistance to organization surveillance (Ball, 2005; Ball and Wilson, 2000), thus it is suggested that further research on subjective resistance is needed (Ball, 2009; Harper et al., 2013;McCahill and Finn, 2014; Lee and Cook, 2015).

Like the concept of power, resistance seems problematic to define as Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 533) stress that, even though there has been "a rapid proliferation of scholarship on resistance" there is not a definite consensus on its definition. The authors argue that resistance has a wide usage that differs significantly from study to study and is used in different contexts with different interpretations from revolutions to hairstyles (Bloom, 2013; Hollander and Einwohner, 2004: 534). The core elements in common to almost all the different uses of the term, though are "a sense of action" even "broadly conceived" (active behaviour—verbal, cognitive or physical) and "a sense of opposition" where there is not an agreement on the elements of "recognition" and "intent" (Hollander and Einwohner, 2004: 539), meaning that some authors argue that resistance can be traced even if acts of resistance are not obvious or recognized as such by resistant subjects and/or others that lack of an ideological background. Everyday acts of resistance as opposed to collective, organized forms

of resistance can be seen as an act of resistance that lacks recognition but can affect power relations (Gilliom and Monahan, 2012; Scott, 2008). In this context, the cynical stance has been explored as act of resistance where employees experiencing the power relations as form of domination hold "cynicism as a tactic of transgression" (Fleming and Spicer, 2003: 159). However, even though this form of resistance action is intended by the employees as a way to resist domination, it reproduces the existing power relations (ibid.).

Fleming and Spicer (2007) suggest four faces of power – power as coercion; power as manipulation; power as domination; and power as subjugation – with each of those pointing to a corresponding dimension of resistance: refusal; voice; escape; and creation. They claim that all different definitions of resistance acknowledge a certain perception of a particular relationship with power. Power to which subjects resist is recognized as the dominant 'actor' in this relationship, with the subject resisting power assumed to be the subordinate 'actor'. As the relationship between power and resistance is complex and dynamic, the roles of subordinate and dominant can also change depending on the circumstances. Thus, they suggest the Foucauldian term 'struggle' to capture the complex nature of this relationship depicting it as an "interconnected dynamic". The social element is very important in this context as a collective and communicative interaction. Struggle is seen as a social engagement that "entails political change, communication and categorisation, constitutive self-consciousness and creativity" (Fleming and Spicer, 2008: 306). However, resistance to subjugation needs the awareness of the subject position, which in a consumer society appears to be problematic. At this point, it is useful to gain insights from the literature of anti-

consumption, as digital gadgets are consumption products thus, such these studies can offer further insights on resistance within the seductive surveillance context.

The complexity of resistance, apart from the different interpretations of the definition, results also from the ambivalence of the outcomes of this process, as in many cases resistance can be exploited in order to be used to increase domination (Cherrier, 2009) or to lead to what Žižek (2000: 252) calls a 'deadly mutual embrace', according to which we are actually more attached to that which we originally resist. For example, following the debates on privacy in regard to Facebook, the company presented new privacy settings to create a sense of security so more users would join and the existing ones would be happy as they would be reassured that their resistance had proved to be fruitful. In the same context, when the body scanners were introduced to the public, there was strong opposition regarding health, privacy and religious issues, so technology was converted to allay these concerns (Georgiou and Troullinou, 2012).

Reshaping the technology made it easier for the public to accept the technological infrastructures, but whether the changes were adequate to meet the requirements of human rights is still debatable. The changes to privacy settings, or the adjustment to body scanners, disclose that power relations are not established a priori. Individuals did not resist, for example, the existence of a platform that they like (Facebook), but they are opposed to the abuse of their privacy. The unintended outcome of such resistant actions might have been further loyalty to the company, which is what Foucault refers to as assymetrical system of controls of power. Nevertheless, these actions against the company's practices can be seen

as a diagnostic tool of power to understand users' perception of privacy but also the power dynamics between the company and the customers, as the company had to adjust the privacy settings following users' reactions.

However, when the matter at stake is not as tangible as the example above, how can subjects react within a dominant ideology such as consumption that "provides comfort, satisfies physical needs and ultimately contributes to the construction of one's self and the communication to the others" (Cherrier, 2009: 181)? According to literature on anti-consumption, there are two types of consumer or resistant identities according (Cherrier, 2009); the hero identity and the project identity (Cherrier 2009: 182). The hero identity is claimed to be engaged with social and environmental threats and it is against well-defined systems of domination, whereas consumers who adopt the project identity aim to reposition themselves in society and resist domination by developing a more authentic space. Within the context of surveillance, could this analysis help to understand resistance? Could we consider that one who resists surveillance as a mechanism in regard to social values and human rights would be categorized as a hero identity, where the individuals resisting by repositioning themselves in society would be categorized as a project identity? This type of categorization of resistant identities seems somewhat artificial and falls to an unhelpful dualism about 'types' of identity, assuming an external knowledge of the world and the consequences of their actions. This kind of resistant actions though could be explored within the context of alternative discourses to the dominant consumption under the relationship between knowledge and power.

So, the question is what can drive consumers to resist consumption, to which Lee et al., (2009) give a different perspective discussing brand avoidance. They claim that there are three types of brand avoidance: experiential, identity and moral. Experiential type of avoidance refers to consumers who had a negative experience themselves, which is interesting from a surveillance point of view. Similarly, Wells and Wills (2009) suggest, individuals resist as a "reaction to specific risks and costs caused by surveillance" and not to the surveillance as such (Wells and Wills, 2009: 273), thus suggesting that a negative experience revealing the surveillant aspects of their devices and the potential risks such as being victims of identity fraud may lead them to resist specific technologies. Paraphrasing then Hoch's (2002) argument that product experience is seductive, it could be argued that a negative product experience could disrupt the seduction process,. However, in cases like the above, subjects do not resist surveillance as a mechanism but rather particular means or aspects of surveillance based on certain negative experiences. The identity type of avoidance refers to users who avoid brands whose image does not comply with the individual's identity which in terms of seductive surveillance, could be rather problematic as no matter which brand users might choose to go for, all digital devices operate on the very same system. The third type of brand avoidance, the moral, is related more directly to ideological beliefs and it is related to associations with negative impact that a certain brand might have on society.

The ideological beliefs of the individual seem to be important within the context of surveillance studies as well, as Ball and Margulis (2011: 120) acknowledge that the importance of personal beliefs in terms of employee monitoring can determine their "compliance or resistance". Consequently, individuals who have a prior negative attitude

regarding monitoring will possibly resist the mechanism as a whole. However, the authors argue that attitudes towards monitoring can shift to be more positive following some strategies, such as "social relations, better task design, and by the nature of the organizational culture" (Ball and Margulis, 2011: 120). Collinson's (1994) work on workplace resistance based on two case studies identifies two additional possible strategies of resistance. First, he introduces the "resistance through distance" according to which workers resist by "restricting information from managers" (1994: 28) which as he argues is a limited strategy. Second, he refers to "resistance through persistence", which is described as a "converse strategy of extracting information from management" (ibid.). He suggests that the second strategy is more viable and effective as the workers gain more information in order to challenge the decision making. In terms of the phenomenon in question in the context of the present study, the first strategy would mean that users could disrupt the surveillance process by not providing their data or handing over false information.

However, the extensive usage of digital technologies in particular for professional purposes, makes this almost impossible. According to the second strategy, users could get informed about how surveillance processes work in order to challenge the gathering of personal information. This could lead to possible demands on a political level for their protection, which falls into the category of sousveillance (see for example Mann et al., 2002) which is a more organised, collective form of resistance that usually demands high technical skills.

The individual identity and personal beliefs nevertheless seem to be key in terms of resistance along with the concept of power as they co-shape each other as discussed. Bloom (2013)

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argues that resistance to power can enable this feeling of security that Knights and Willmott (1989) attribute to subjugation. Subjects recognising themselves as 'resistance' provides them a way to position themselves in the cultural world. As Bloom (2013: 231) argues, "a 'safe' resistance provides individuals with an appealing ontological security" returning to the idea of securing one's own identity (Knights, 2002) that is "bounded, ego-indexed habit of fixing and capitalizing on one's own selfhood" (Braidotti, 2011: Location 129). Thus, "resistance also serves as a force for imprisoning individuals in an identity" (Bloom, 2013: 235). However, Bloom (2013: 236) responds to possible criticism of pessimism and determinism, drawing upon Foucauldian theory concluding that "[f]reedom then can often mean 'breaking free' from 'safe resistances'", and urges us to perceive resistance not only to power but also to resistance as it should serve 'permanent provocation' (ibid.) in accordance with Foucault's suggestion that resistance is also a form of power as it does not allow subjects to feel comfortable in their subjectivities.

Consequently research needs to shed light on the experience of the surveilled subject (Ball 2009) and explore discourses of resistance in terms of seduction. Ball (2009) suggested the notion of 'exposure' as central to this research area, drawing upon organizational, new media and surveillance theory suggesting that a multidisciplinary approach is essential. The fact that there is no continuous resistance to surveillance does not necessarily mean that there is a universal consensus on it, or that individuals accept it with no question (Ball, 2009: 652). A recent study on young Internet users argues that "exposure is often framed as good for business interests (for example, marketing and manufacturing), and for the public's welfare through the monitoring of national security, public health and occupational safety" (Lee and

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Cook, 2015: 680) which potentially has an impact on how exposure on the web is articulated by the users. As studies on subjective experience of surveillance argue (Ball,2009; McCahill and Finn, 2014), different means of surveillance will meet different levels of compliance or resistance, possibly different identities of the self. As discussed in this section, the power/knowledge relation is a key element on the formation of subjectivity and crucial in such forms of power as seductive surveillance. Recent studies have shown that resistance actions to surveillance such as 'management of the digital self' require specific technical skills and knowledge (McCahill and Finn, 2014: 177). Furthermore, it is not only the knowledge on relevant laws and technical skills that are crucial on forms of resistance actions, but to initiate these actions, the surveilled subject needs to know its surveilled position as empirical research shows that more privileged social groups might appear 'immune' to forms of pubic surveillance (ibid.). Thus, it is central to see resistance as diagnostic tool of seductive surveillance as power.

4.5   Conclusion

Seductive surveillance is not an explicit, observable form of power as it is conducted through personal digital gadgets thus on the basis of voluntary participation, where the surveilled subject can be seen as a consumer who participates in sociocultural practices focusing on discourses of convenience and efficiency rather than on the surveillant aspects of the digital gadgets. The surveilled subject dismissing its surveilled position focuses on its subjugation as a consumer therefore resisting the power relations within the consumption and not surveillance practice. The 'exposure', then, the crucial point where the surveilled subject experiences the intrusiveness of the surveillance process and on which the market relies to

gather 'authentic' information (Ball, 2009), seems to occur at different times for the 'watcher' and the 'watched'.

The 'watcher' desires to capture the 'truth of the moment' of exposure where the subject does not resist this process but willingly participates to its surveillance, while the 'watched' does not always experience the exposure. This happens mainly because of the ubiquity and invisibility of the surveillance mechanism, but also due to the correlation of surveillance to crime prevention constructing a division between 'good' versus 'bad' data subjects, 'Us' the innocent citizens versus 'Them' potential criminals (McCahill and Finn, 2014: 176). This means that surveillance over 'bad' data subjects is justified, whereas 'good' data subjects are 'immune' to it (ibid.). Thus, it is key to explore in the empirical part of this study whether the realization of exposure on the part of the 'watched' could meet actions of resistance.

Power/knowledge relation is a key point as the body of knowledge about the operation of surveillance, the policy around it and the technical skills raise different actions of resistance (McCahill and Finn, 2014). The exposure to seductive surveillance might not create the same subject positions as explicit state or organizational surveillance that occurs through enforcement, and the risks can be more direct for the surveilled subject. It is important though to explore the experience of exposure to everyday surveillance to also shed light on everyday resistance which as Gilliom and Monahan (2012: 408) argue, can be "an important and productive dimension of anti-surveillance" politics adding to which Fleming and Spicer (2008) call for the need to extend resistance in order to include everyday engagements with power.

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Lyon's (2007: 164) argument on how forms of everyday resistance can influence the surveillance power relations can be read as a summary of the the key points of this chapter:

> We tend to take for granted certain kinds of surveillance. […] People key in their PINS, use their passes, scan their RFID entry cards, give out their Social Insurance numbers, swipe their loyalty cards, make cell-phone calls, present their passports, surf the Internet, take breathalyzer tests, submit to face iris scans and walk openly past CCTV cameras in routine ways.[…] If people did hesitate, let alone withdraw willing cooperation, everyday social life as we know it today would break down.

Some techniques of surveillance can meet with more immediate and clear actions of resistance. For example, individuals might decide not to upload information about themselves on online platforms, use encrypted software programmes to exchange emails and so on. State surveillance or workplace surveillance though can make this process more difficult. However, this study focuses on everyday surveillance where users could withdraw participation in different ways. The ways that users come to terms with exposure, as Ball (2009) suggests, will shed light on the power relations occurring through everyday practices of surveillance and will also contribute to the academic body of knowledge regarding the ways that users experience surveillance. Thus, it will be valuable for policy makers, educators, computer scientists and designers.

As Harper et al. (2013: 187) argue, subjectivity has not received yet extended attention in surveillance studies even though crucial concerns about surveillance practices are inevitably related to it. Thus, it becomes urgent to explore the subjective experience of surveillance to

understand whether first the subject relates the everyday practices of smartphone usage to surveillance methods, and second whether they feel exposed and vulnerable to surveillance (Ball, 2009; Harper et al., 2012). Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore whether digital devices users indeed take for granted certain kinds of surveillance and in particular what is called seductive surveillance, how they experience this process and finally whether the awareness would bring forward possibilities of everyday resistance on a subjective level.

5 Research Methods and Design

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the methodological and empirical research design of the study that explores whether smartphone users are subjected to seductive surveillance by looking at their experiences and views on their relationship with their devices and how they respond to their surveilled position. This is the empirical contribution of the study in surveillance studies, as subjectivity has not been adequately addressed, especially employing a qualitative approach (Ball, 2009; Harper et al., 2013). Previous studies have mainly focused on people's attitudes to surveillance practices in contexts such as the workplace, airports and schools (e.g. Ball and Wilson, 2000; Sarpong and Rees, 2014; Taylor, 2013) and in relation to explicit means of surveillance, such as CCTV cameras and body scanners (e.g. Brands, Schwanen and van Aalst, 2016; Mitchener-Nissen, Bowers and Chetty, 2012; Sousa and Madensen, 2016).

The way that individuals perceive surveillance occurring through devices embedded in their everyday sociocultural practices, meaning activities that have been normalized in their sociocultural environment, has not been a central topic of research (Gilliom, 2006; Harper et al., 2013). Lyon et al. (2012: 4) suggest that "the public has enthusiastically or resignedly accepted such technologies", while Harper et al. (2013: 187) argue that such "acceptance of surveillance technologies may actually be much more complex". Therefore, the empirical analysis contributes to a better understanding of the complex nature of individuals' engagement with digital gadgets that can also serve as means of surveillance. Privacy concerns over surveillance practices have been extensively discussed, especially in the post

Snowden era (see, for example, Lyon, 2014; Lyon et al., 2012; Parsons et al., 2015; Zureik and Salter, 2013). However, the way that people articulate their relationship with digital gadgets and come to terms with the surveilant aspects inherent in them has not been adequately examined.

The study focuses on a single case of everyday surveillance, that of smartphones to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon conducting a discursive analysis of students' (aged 18–24[28]) articulation of their relationship with their devices. This research focuses on young users who are perceived as more dependent on ICTs. Furthermore, this age group is more familiar with these technologies which is part of their everyday life (Huntley, 2006; McCrindle, 2003). As Lee and Cook (2014: 2) concluded though, there is not adequate research conducted to explore whether the heavy engagement with the technology results also as "a 'technical savviness' that makes them more aware of and resistant to surveillance strategies".

Drawing upon social constructivist and Foucauldian-inspired approaches to discourse theory and analysis (Harper et al., 2013: 178), the study explores the discourses constructed around the use of smartphone devices and more specifically the location-tracking systems they contain. Using the vignettes method, the study aims to identify the discourses with which individuals articulate the relationship with their smartphones. Furthermore, this study aims

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[28] From this point, referred to as 'young users'.

to understand how individuals negotiate the surveillant aspects of the devices acting as a diagnostic analysis of power relations. Thus, the main research questions of the study are:

How do young smartphone users living in the UK articulate the relationship with their devices? To what extent does awareness of these devices being used as means of facilitating surveillance alter their previous discourses and enable possibilities of resistance?

This chapter sets out the ontological and epistemological considerations of the research, as well as detailing the data collection and analysis strategy. To conclude, it evaluates the research design by providing a discussion on its limitations.

5.2 Epistemological Considerations

Marsh and Savigny (2004) emphasize the importance of consistency between the researcher's approach to science and their ontological and epistemological position, and they eloquently argue that an "epistemological position is a skin, not a sweater" (ibid.: 165). Thus, the researcher cannot simply cherry-pick what suits them best on different occasions, as their beliefs inform the nature of their research, the research design and the analysis of the data. To understand the importance of epistemology, we first need to outline what epistemology is. Blaikie (1993: 6-7) defines epistemology as:

> the claims or assumptions made about the ways in which it is possible to gain
> knowledge of this reality, whatever it is understood to be: claims about how what
> exists may be known.

This definition urges the discussion on "what reality is" before we go further onto the epistemological stances of the study. This question is an ontological one that considers the "form and nature of reality" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 108), so it defines what a researcher perceives as a reality.

A very general distinction is typically made between realism on the one end of the spectrum and relativism on the other[29] (Benton and Craib, 2010). Realism generally accepts that a reality exists as a separate entity where the researcher is invited to empirically test pre-set hypotheses in order to discover the "truth" (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 109–110). Positivists whose epistemology is informed by a realist ontology "focus exclusively on the logic of accessing and gaining knowledge about the world *without* inquiring into the ultimate character of things, social relations, and processes" (Howarth, 2013: 94, italics in original). Relativism does not accept the existence of one reality separate from individuals and subsequently there cannot be one 'truth' to be discovered. Instead, it suggests that there are multiple realities that are constructed within specific time and space limits (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Järvensivu and Törnroos, 2010). Social constructivism as an epistemology fitting relativist ontology will be further discussed in this section. The ontological and epistemological positions are rooted in philosophy; thus, their interpretation can be very complex and ambivalent and this has raised an exhaustive and longstanding debate in social sciences that although a very interesting intellectual discussion, it is out of the scope of this

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[29] Distinctions can also be made as Realists and Nominalists (Burrell and Morgan, 1979; Easterby-Smith et al., 2012).

study. Therefore, I will provide a basic outline and justification of the epistemological considerations that inform this research without going into the core of the debate.

There are many studies (see, for example, Degli Esposti, 2014; Mohamed and Ahmad, 2012), research projects and organizations (such as Ofcom, as discussed in the literature) measuring the attitudes and perceptions around information and communication technologies (ICTs), and in particular, in the context of surveillance and privacy concerns. These studies mostly use large-scale surveys or models adopting a positivist approach. As Harper et al. (2013: 176) note "the dependence of surveys on the construct of 'attitude'" can be problematic because participants in such research designs are usually invited to respond to rating scales or closed questions that presuppose their common and shared understanding of concepts such as privacy. These methods also seem to assume participants' interest in, and acknowledgement of, these concepts in their everyday life. For example, if somebody is asked whether they consider their privacy to be important, the concern over privacy is already implied by the question. However, the individual articulation of privacy cannot be explored in this kind of survey as their design necessarily removes "the kind of variability seen in talk" (ibid).

As I will demonstrate, this study illuminates the complex and often contradictory reported findings that result in "'troubling paradoxes" (Miltgen and Peyrat-Guillard, 2014: 15) by focusing on talk relating to the use of smartphones. Large-scale surveys "decontextualised 'attitude' that does not do justice to the complex way in which people negotiate their relationship with topics in talk" (Harper et al., 2013:176). A positivist perspective is often inclined to perceiving data as "natural facts" (Kratochwil, 2008: 88), while a social

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constructivist approach interprets the data as "constructions based on conceptual choices that, therefore, cannot speak for themselves" (Kratochwil, 2008: 87). The purpose is to explore and interpret individuals' understanding of surveillance, whether they are aware of the surveillant aspects of smartphones and how/if they articulate relevant concerns. Thus, this research, while not denying the benefits of a positive perspective, adopts a qualitative, social constructivist research design. This paradigm will generate rich insights into a complex, under-researched social phenomenon such as the subjective experience of everyday surveillance.

Social constructivism does not deny the existence of a physical/natural world per se, as its critics often argue (della Porta and Keating, 2008: 24)[30] but rather considers that the way the physical world is perceived, explored and understood is mentally constructed within specific contexts (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 110). What we know about the world is determined by human conceptualizations of it, so that "[o]ur knowledge of the world should not be treated as objective truth" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 5). The researcher/scientist asks specific questions that inform the way knowledge is created in a given and limited context without dismissing, but acknowledging the historical aspects and process of the phenomenon in question (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 7). The world is not "the product of the imagination of the social scientist; rather, it is he/she who puts order onto it" (della Porta and Keating, 2008: 24). These kinds of categories are the only way that makes reality accessible (ibid.). For example, the classification of the different species is a humanist conceptualization created in

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[30] Scholars refer to this definition of social construction as naïve in opposition to naïve positivism (Easterby-Smith et al., 2012).

an effort to understand and feel that we are in control of the natural world. Without denying the biological differences among species, it can be argued that this is only one way of looking at the natural world decided by humans, for scientists attribute specific characteristics to living organisms to be able to study them, to make sense of them. A biologist will explore the animal in terms of its biological existence for example, whereas a sociologist might explore the role of the animal in a society. The questions asked about the animal are different in different disciplines, thus generating different knowledge on the same object of observation, which in both cases, though, is conceptualized by humans building on previous knowledge.

Writing on social construction, Berger and Luckman (1991: 33) argue that "[t]he world of everyday life is not only taken for granted as reality by the ordinary members of society in the subjectively meaningful conduct of their lives. It is a world that originates in their thoughts and actions, and is maintained as real by these". They emphasize the locality of the reality of everyday life as it is given in a specific historical and socio-political context. The social reality is shared and constructed in interaction with other members of the society. Continuing with the example of the animal, the cow is considered sacred in specific religions and that is a shared 'reality' for the members of that society. In other societies, though, this is not a shared belief, thus the cow is not imbued with similar religious meaning. This anthropocentric reality, created by humans and maintained by them, is called "socially constructed reality" (Berger and Luckman, 1991: 211).

Berger and Luckman (1991: 37) focus on the correspondence of meanings between the members of a society in the creation and maintenance of the so-called 'common sense'

assumptions about the reality of the world, mainly through the deployment of language. Language is used to interpret and communicate personal experiences, while at the same time these experiences are created by the language. Thus, language is politicized and plays a significant role in a social constructivist approach as it produces and reproduces meanings and legitimizes institutions, while being an institution itself. Language therefore does not reflect an existing reality but "is structured in patterns or discourses. [...] These discursive patterns are maintained and transformed in discursive practices" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 12). For this reason, the researcher has to explore how these patterns that formulate 'common-sense' knowledge, are created, shared and maintained by the members of a society. It is therefore pertinent to adopt discourse analysis as a method in this research will.

"The Social Construction of Reality" by Berger and Luckman presented a "general and systematic account of the role of knowledge in society" (1991: 207), responding to positivist approaches in exploring social phenomena. The scientific approach to reality as a social construction opened the doors for social scientists to an interpretation that generated new theories. Social constructivism could be understood as "an umbrella term for a range of theories about culture and society" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 4), and it has also been increasingly related to postmodernism[31] (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009: 23). However, as a general concept, researchers tend to interpret it in different ways, and relate it to different theories and theoretical movements. Berger and Luckman (1991) discuss the role of ideology and power in the formation of certain subjectivities and structures in society. However, the

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[31] Or poststructuralism, according to Howarth (2013).

focus of their work is the primary conceptualization of social constructivism, rather than power relations. In this sense, it can be argued that poststructuralists push the boundaries of "a constructivist position, which deconstructs the truth claims of an objective science by 'showing the radical historical specificity, and so contestability, of every layer of the onion of scientific and technological constructions'" (Haraway, 1988: 578, cited in Springer, 2012: 134).

Poststructuralism strives to destabilize "hierarchies of meanings, labels, knowledges, ideas, categories and classifications, where the purpose is to challenge entrenched assumptions" (Springer, 2012: 140). Howarth (2013: 267), in his book *Poststructuralism and After*, following a systematic evaluation of different interpretations of poststructuralism, suggests "poststructuralist thinking to be a *practice* of reading, interpreting, criticizing, and evaluating. It is thus a particular *way* of doing philosophy and social theory that generates and explores new possibilities" (italics in original). Poststructuralism can be criticized on the grounds of relativity, as it acknowledges the contingency and historicity of social relations (Howarth, 2013: 13). However, these limits of the knowledge are folded "back on to the core of knowledge and on to our settled understanding of the true and good. […] It means that any settled form of knowledge or moral good is made by its limits and cannot be defined independently of them" (Williams, 2014: 2).

Based on these arguments, the researcher should acknowledge their part in the process of creating knowledge, and the power effects knowledge has on them. In the last part of this chapter the research design will be evaluated, setting out the limitations (and limits) of this research and reflecting on the role of the analyst. The data collection and data analysis

strategy are informed by the poststructuralist position of social constructivism, inspired by Foucauldian approaches. The research design will illustrate how data have been "created, collected, constructed, coded, analysed and interpreted" (Bellamy, 2011: 20).

5.3   Data Collection Methodology and Methods

The aim of this research is to explore how young users articulate their relationship with smartphone devices in order to explore whether, and how, they understand surveillance conducted via their devices. The present study is a qualitative and exploratory research as it focuses on the subjective level of surveillance by seeking an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question within the context of the users' experiences and perspectives (Merriam, 2002). This section presents and discusses the methodology employed to collect the data that will allow the identification and interpretation of the discursive patterns around the use of smartphone devices.

5.3.1   Case study approach

This study explores the social phenomenon of subjective everyday experience of surveillance through smartphones, an under-explored topic. Relevant studies conducted so far, such as Harper et al. (2013) and Lee and Cook (2014), have explored subjective awareness of surveillance technologies in general. Different forms of everyday surveillance, though, are likely to be perceived and understood in different ways by individuals. Thus, focusing on single case studies can prove valuable, as in Zurawski's (2011) work on loyalty cards that provided some great insights within the corpus of consumer surveillance. In a similar vein, the present research aims to explore subjective experience of surveillance, focusing on smartphones as they constitute a sociocultural practice in modern Western societies and especially the UK,

which has been recently characterized as a society obsessed with smartphones (Ofcom, 2015). In this section, the aim is to justify why choosing a single case is a legitimate method in qualitative studies and I also wish to clarify what this research defines as a case study approach.

The research was designed to focus on an appropriate unit of analysis (case) to explore the relevant discourses within the broader phenomenon in question. As Foucault (1972: 29–30) argues in *The* Archaeology of Knowledge:

> A provisional division must be adopted as an initial approximation: an initial region the analysis will subsequently demolish and, if necessary, reorganize. But how is such a region to be circumscribed? … [W]e must choose, empirically, a field in which the relations are likely to be numerous, dense, and relatively easy to describe.

The case of smartphone devices has been chosen on the grounds of high popularity and usage among young people in Western countries, as reported (Ofcom, 2015) and held as common knowledge in modern, developed societies that young people have strong connections with these devices. In particular, the capability of the smartphones of internet connection and even more so the use of social networking applications, has been characterized as predicting factors for addiction to the devices (Salehan and Negahban, 2013). The study adopts a rather inclusive definition of the case to serve the purposes of qualitative research, defined as "a phenomenon, or an event, chosen, conceptualized and analysed empirically as a manifestation of a broader class of phenomena or events" (Venneson, 2008: 226). By this token, the study explores the phenomenon of seductive surveillance via smartphones as an indicator of everyday surveillance, without adopting a strict case study research design

[120]

strategy that has not yet met a consensus, especially when employed by a purely qualitative approach (e.g. Venneson, 2008).

Tharenou et al., (2007:78) do not see the case study "as a particular method of data collection" for it can be employed in the process in combination with other methods. The importance of case studies is evaluated not on the grounds of generalizability but the creation of "patterns and linkages of theoretical importance" (Bryman, 1989: 144, drawing upon Yin and Mitchell), which is compatible with qualitative research. Case studies can offer theoretical conceptualizations based on empirical research "into a previously uncharted area" (Bryman, 1989: 145). The case used in the present research is defined as the smartphone users' relationship with their smartphones. Of particular interest are the discursive patterns around the surveillant aspects of smartphones' embedded location-tracking capability.

The study takes place in 21st-century in England and the participants are students at English universities. This sets a specific context of the case under research, outlining also the limits of the study, which will be discussed in detail in the last chapter of the study. The research employs different methods for data collection, a process that runs in two stages over a period of two weeks to explore the participants' attitudes in depth. Thus, even though the research does not study an organization or an institution or its practices, it does meet the main criteria as broadly presented in literature on the case study approach (e.g. Merriam, 2002). The single case study approach has been criticized on the grounds of generalizability elements, however, from a constructivist perspective, it is still a useful approach, because it can be used to generate "concrete, context-dependent knowledge" (Flyvbjerg, 2006:223).

5.3.2 Focus groups

Having formulated the research question of the study and chosen the case of smartphone devices, the decision on the method for data collection proved to be a challenging one. Initially, semi- structured interviews were considered as the most straightforward tool to explore subjective experiences of surveillance, being a popular method in qualitative research. The rationale was that interviews conducted in a "conversational manner" would give an opportunity to the participants "to explore issues they feel are important" (Sedmark and Longhurst, 2010: 103). However, after the probation viva (at the end of the first year of the PhD process) and the discussion with the examiners, I was convinced that interviews might have been a convenient tool, but not the most appropriate to explore users' discursive patterns around the use of smartphone devices in everyday life. Instead, focus groups are argued to be "excellent at providing insights into process rather than outcome" (Barbour, 2007: 30). This stage of the process surrounding the construction of particular discourses is of particular interest to the study as it explores the formation and perception of subjectivity within everyday surveillance. As Foucault (1972: 30) argues:

> But, on the other hand, what better way of grasping in a statement, not the moment
> of its formal structure and laws of construction, but that of its existence and the rules
> that govern its appearance, if not by dealing with relatively unformalized groups of
> discourses, in which the statements do not seem necessarily to be built on the rules
> of pure syntax?

These 'unformalized groups of discourses' created at the moment of the exposure to surveillance in this case, could be identified in the focus groups and the young people's

everyday talk about their devices. But what forms a focus group? In the simplest way "[f]ocus groups are group interviews. A moderator guides the interview while a small group discusses the topics that the interviewer raises" (Morgan, 1997: 1). Focus groups are seen as a data collection method that "locates the interaction in a group discussion as the source of the data", acknowledging the moderator's role in the construction of the discussion (Morgan, 1997: 130). Participants join a focused conversation on a topic relevant to them among people who have similar sociocultural characteristics (Rabiee, 2004). The size of the focus groups is not a query to which researchers have a definite answer for as the requirement for a successful focus group discussion is to allow interaction among the participants and let different voices to be heard (Morgan, 1996). The suggested size is usually as few as 4 to as many as 12 (ibid.), but it is the interaction between the participants that is seen as the most important element of this method. Focus groups are thus a suitable method for studies aiming to explore the "processes of attitude formation and the mechanisms involved in interrogating and modifying views" (Barbour, 2007: 32) as they facilitate the understanding of the way that such views have been formed, and the reasoning behind them (Barbour, 2007).

Focus groups are often combined with other methods, with the most obvious being individual interviews (Morgan, 1996: 133–134). Follow-up interviews are used with individual participants, aiming to "explore specific opinions and experiences in more depth, as well as to produce narratives that address the continuity of personal experiences over time" (Morgan, 1996: 134). To explore any alteration in discourses after reflection on the focus group discussion, this study employs individual interviews as a complimentary method. In

case of alteration in discourses, the research aims to understand the sources of such differences (Morgan, 1993).

5.3.3   Email interviews

In the traditional way, interviews are conducted face to face. However, in an era where technology is advanced and constitutes a popular medium of communication, the researcher has a range of media to use for interviewing participants that offer further benefits as well as limitations. The use of email interviews[32] in social research has expanded (Burns, 2010) as researchers have been using email interviews mainly on the grounds of logistics and the context of the study (Dimond et al., 2012). Considerations such as convenience, cost and time efficiency are important. However, equally important is the context of this study as focusing on digital natives aged 18–24, it makes sense to use digital media, which they heavily use for their everyday communication. Literature on this method suggests that the participants themselves seemed more inclined to use emails to respond to questions (Burns, 2010), something that would be appropriate when interviewing young people. Individual interviews for the purposes of this study are employed to explore participants' reflections on the topic following focus groups' discussions.

Email interviews might offer richer insights than face-to-face ones, as participants are able to respond to the reflective questions in their own time and at their convenience, so this asynchronous component facilitates the reflexivity appropriate for the social constructivist

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[32] This is a form of electronic interviewing. Electronic interviewing in general, though, includes instant messaging as well, which is synchronous. This is why I use the term email interviewing, which is more specific and reflects the method employed in this research.

approach of the study (Morgan and Symon, 2004: 23). Even though the participants have the chance of taking their time to compile their responses, they might provide just short ones which is a limitation of this method. Furthermore, in the case of email interviews, the researcher does not have the chance to ask for clarifications neither to secure the response rates. However, the purpose of the reflective questions is to elicit any alteration in discursive patterns. The key differences of email interviews to face to face ones are the comfort of the participants and the asynchronous, semi-private characteristics (Dimond et al., 2012; Kazmer and Xie, 2008).

Email interviews serve the same purpose as traditional interviews in exploring participants' experiences, allowing the researcher to "understand the meaning(s) participants give to ideas and terms" (Kazmer and Xie, 2008: 258). They also allow participants to make use of their everyday language, preserving more of what is called "contextual naturalness" (Kazmer and Xie, 2008: 259). This 'naturalness' may also be a result of the less intrusive role of the researcher that is argued to "reduce, if not eliminate, some of the problems associated with telephone or face-to-face interviews, such as the interviewer/interviewee effects that might result from visual or nonverbal cues" (Meho, 2006: 1289).

Email interviews come also with limitations, such as that some people are better speakers than writers. Some people, though, are better writers than speakers, which could also be considered a limitation for focus groups or traditional interviews. Email interviews are also a convenient technique for the researcher in terms of transcription, time and cost. The main concern in this case is the participants' commitment to the email correspondence (Kazmer

and Xie, 2008). Participants were informed that they would receive an email with reflective questions after a certain period of time in an effort to potentially increase theresponse rate, something that seemed to work in the study.

5.3.4   Vignettes

The design of the focus group discussions included stimuli material for the discussion, that of visual vignettes. Vignettes as a method in any form, such as scripts or images, have been long used in social sciences (Barbour, 2007) and are also increasingly used in empirical marketing (Wason et al., 2002). Vignettes are defined as "short stories about hypothetical characters in specified circumstances, to whose situation the interviewee is invited to respond" (Finch, 1987:105). They have also been described as "[s]hort scenarios in written or pictorial form, intended to elicit responses to typical scenarios" (Hill, 1997: 177). Usually vignettes are given in a written form, but the visualization of the story might prove to be more engaging for the participants. Studies of human–computer interaction have used visual[33] vignettes in a way where videos represent the two oppositional sides of the same story. This approach has been termed "ContraVision", using mainly fictional, but realistic videos that present the positive and the negative aspects of the same technology in the same scenarios and findings suggest that using representations that can be systematically compared can generate a wide range of reactions (Mancini et al., 2010).

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[33] I prefer using the term visual instead of video vignettes, in accordance to the written vignettes.

The production of stimuli materials for research purposes is not restricted in scientific terms, but the development of such materials though needs to be carefully planned and designed to generate a discussion focused on the topic in question (Barbour, 2007). The needs of each research project define the construction of the vignette which means that exploring the subjective experience of surveillance may not be necessary to present hypothetical scenarios but rather show what technology is capable of in terms of surveillance.

Vignettes enable participants to comment or voice their opinion, in this case making reference to crucial elements concerned with participants' attitudes and discursive patterns (Hughes, 1998:381). Vignettes can be very effective in focus group discussions, as they may generate discussion about "specific aspects of similar but differing scenarios that would give greater cause for concern or merit another response" (Barbour, 2007: 87). Thus, this method serves the purpose of this study well. Constructing the two reference points around which smartphone devices and location tracking systems are explored in academia – as a sociocultural practice and as means of surveillance – can elicit rich discussion. The research design is informed by theoretical concepts discussed in the literature review, such as exposure and the Foucauldian conceptualization of power/knowledge that can alter power relations. Drawing upon this theoretical framework through a social constructivism paradigm, the use of vignettes supports the (re)construction of the exposure moment, providing information about the surveillant aspects of the devices. For this reason, vignettes are considered a great tool, exploring the discursive patterns in the focus groups, and also because presenting the surveillant aspects of smartphones enables participants to respond to an alternative body of knowledge on the issue. The literature so far has argued that in a neoliberal context, digital

devices are perceived as a sociocultural practice, and an inseparable part of many everyday activities and thus, their surveillant aspects seem to be disregarded (Zurawski, 2011). Presenting both aspects of smartphones' use and location tracking generates discussions that enables the researcher to understand the discursive patterns of such a complex phenomenon. The literature on resistance to surveillance suggests that surveilled subjects resist surveillance systems following negative experiences (Wells and Wills, 2009). For this reason, the use of vignettes might serve to make those distant risks more relevant and vivid, as they present stories in specific contexts that are close to situations of decision making in terms of real life (Watson et al., 2002: 42).

5.3.5   Methods design

Following the presentation and justification of the methodology employed for the study, this section presents in detail the design of the methods, the different stages and challenges of the data collection process.

Producing the visual vignettes

As there are no clear guidelines on the production of the stimuli for focus groups (Barbour, 2007), the researcher needs to reflect on the purposes of the study and develop the material accordingly. The study focuses on smartphones, but this seemed a very broad area to explore in depth as the capacities of a smartphone are great and a video aiming to include all of those would lose the focus and might confuse the participants. For this reason, the case was narrowed and focused on a specific aspect of the smartphones that could be considered in

both positive and critical[34] stories. My main supervisor was partner of a European Project on surveillance practices and privacy ('The Surprise Project') at the time of the research design development[35], and their team had produced videos for three different surveillance technologies, one of which was smartphone location tracking. Smartphone location tracking that is enabled by the signal of the phone, GPS and connection to the Internet was considered an appropriate focus to explore the surveillant aspects of smartphones.

Most of the applications that users voluntarily install on their phones ask for the location or they need the information to operate, such as Google Maps. Location tracking is also a precondition for the operation of the phone, which connects through the phone masts so these location technologies generate further concerns in the context of surveillance as "they can pinpoint coordinates, they can do so continuously and they can do so in real time" (Lyon et al., 2005: 4). This means that the telecommunication companies, the Internet provider and any other party that has access to this data, such as the state, are able to track the position and the movement of the person but also combine these data with other information uploaded on the web through the smartphones. For this reason, location tracking system is used as a reference point in the videos created for the purposes of the focus groups. Furthermore, as the budget for a PhD is limited, there was no adequate funding for producing an original video with a proper scenario and fictional characters so instead, I used parts of the

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[34] The use of critical rather than negative considered more appropriate and was presented as such to the participants to limit potential bias.
[35] http://surprise-project.eu/

'Surprise project' video, which was professionally produced and presented mainly academics talking on the positive and surveillant aspects of the location tracking system and to make the videos more engaging to the participants, I included examples from relevant applications[36].

The visual vignettes were produced in accordance with the purposes of the study so I developed three visual vignettes to explore the discursive patterns around the smartphones and location tracking. The visual vignettes were not created on the basis of a fixed scenario, but each of them was 'saying' a story. One of the videos served as an introduction to the location tracking system and was very short (under one minute) providing the participants the information on the system. The positive video was built around the positive aspects of the location tracking system, reproducing the main discourses of security, convenience and entertainment. Apart from experts describing those positive aspects (part of the Surprise video), applications that operate based on and/or make use of the location tracking system were included (e.g. Strava, Google Maps and Twitter). The third video was designed to reproduce the discourses within the context of surveillance. The part of the Surprise video presenting those discourses such as state and market surveillance was included along with real (in contrast to fictional) examples of these discourses, such as the London tracking bins[37], part of Malte Spitz's TED talk[38] on telecommunication companies' data collection and part of

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[36] The original video of the Surprise Project can be found here:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3baoXSWhOuM
[37] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EMNBMDJTaFo
[38] http://www.ted.com/talks/malte_spitz_your_phone_company_is_watching

Snowden's interview with the Guardian[39]. The videos were kept short (approximately five minutes) for the participants not to lose interest.

Focus Groups design

During the design process of the focus groups, I was very fortunate to have the guidance of Professor Rosaline Barbour, who is an expert on this method, and was located at The Open University at the time of the research. Following a meeting with her discussing the possible structures of the focus groups, I designed them separating the process into three parts[40]. At the beginning of the discussion, the topic of the study and the researcher were presented. The concept of surveillance was not mentioned to the participants to minimize the construction of the relevant discourses on behalf of the reseracher. Next, participants were asked to introduce themselves, responding to some basic questions on their phone device and how often they upgrade it. Reflecting on the first focus groups, the question about the age from which they owned their first mobile phone seemed to offer valuable data for the purposes of the research, so it was then included in the set of introductory questions.

The transition questions referred to the location tracking system and participants' knowledge of it. Following the initial responses, the informative visual vignette was presented and follow-up questions on the system were posed. In the next stage, the positive video was presented. It was introduced on the grounds of applications that are widely used and operate through

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[39] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L_amBkYx_Fk
[40] The sheet with the format of the focus group is included in the appendices section (Appendix1)

the location tracking system. Participants were then invited to express their thoughts on smartphone technology and the relevant applications. The third stage included the presentation of the critical video, followed by a discussion. The critical visual vignette was presented in the context of risks related to data tracking and collection by the market and the state. At the end of the focus groups, I thanked the participants and reminded them of the reflective questions that would follow. Each focus group lasted for forty-five to sixty minutes (just one composed by two participants lasted for 30 minutes). The first two focus group discussions were initially intended as pilot studies to explore the format. As they ran smoothly and the data collected were very interesting I decided to include them in the analysis part too.

Reflections on the focus group design

A final stage was initially considered as a task for the participants. They were invited to download a popular dating application – Tinder – after reading the terms and conditions. However, the pilot studies (the first two focus groups) showed no alteration in the participants' discursive patterns following this task, so it was excluded for the remaining focus groups. Another aspect concerning the order of the videos and creation of subgroups were discussed before deciding on the final format of the focus groups. Subgroups would involve exposing half of the groups just to the positive visual vignette and the rest to the critical one; the rationale was to construct a) seduced subjects: showing the informative video followed by the positive framing of smartphones and location-based apps; and b) critical subjects: showing the informative video followed by the critical framing of smartphones and location-based apps. This would allow the researcher to explore whether the different subjects would

create different discourses in terms of potential surveillant aspects of the use of smartphones and location tracking systems in particular. The pilot studies already showed the reproduction of dominant discourses in regard to digital technologies and that the division of groups would be artificial and unhelpful.

In the final format, the order that visual vignettes are presented to the participants is fixed. They first watch the informative video, then the positive one, and the critical video comes last. The pilot studies showed that the positive video did not provide additional or new information to the participants, it mainly served as a starting point to elaborate on the use of their smartphone devices. The critical video offered examples of surveillance practices that they might not have been aware of, generating a conversation on the surveillant aspects. It was also clear that participants' lack of technical knowledge influenced the understanding of such complex operating systems and relevant risks. At least a short video on the operation system did not seem adequate to enable the creation of knowledge around the topic. However, the critical visual vignette proved to be an appropriate material for a rich discussion on the surveillant aspects of smartphones, as this stage arguably lasted longer indicating a struggle among the different discourses presented in the vignette. Liaising with Professor Barbour, she suggested keeping the format consistent to enable comparison among the focus groups.

Email interviews

The email interviews were designed to provide further insights on individual discourses. For the purposes of the study, it was considered important to identify whether focused discussion

on the location tracking system would create any alteration on subsequent way of talking around smartphones and their use. The questions were sent to the participants ten days to two weeks after the focus groups had taken place and were kept to a maximum of four[41]. They were reflective questions on the use of smartphones, and participants were asked whether the study had altered the use of their smartphones. Participants were sent just one kind reminder in case they had not responded to the first call and thirty-eight out of forty-eight participants responded to the reflective questions.

Sampling and access strategy

In light of the objectives of the study, the target population is constituted by young smartphone users aged 18–24 years old (the Ofcom reports classify young users as aged 16–24, but the ethics approval would be harder to obtain for participants classed as minors). The justification for the choice of young users was discussed in chapter 4, through what in marketing is called 'segmentation', which "facilitates discussions by making the participants more similar to each other" meaning that homogeneity in groups assists the discussion to "flow more smoothly" (Morgan, 1996:143). So, the criteria for participation were the age and the ownership of a smartphone, so that excluded views of young people who are not smartphone users and whose discourses might have been different. The participants certified the criteria on the consent form. As this is a qualitative, exploratory research, the aim is not to generalize the findings, thus the sample is not claimed to be representative. For reasons of

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[41] See Appendix 2 for the email questions.

accessibility, the sample was consisted of students, whereas the balance on gender was very difficult to maintain, this being another limitation of the research design.

Colleagues from four universities agreed to email students well in advance and reminders were also sent. I had already booked a room and scheduled the event on a doodle poll, so potential participants could express their interest and choose the most convenient slot for them. Each slot on the doodle poll could accommodate up to ten participants. I had already scheduled days and times convenient for the students based on their timetable and originally food and refreshments were offered in return for their time. The first day I brought in sandwiches and refreshments, whereas the second I bought pizzas to compensate for their time. The compensation of lunch, though, did not seem to work for attracting participants, and this was a lesson learned quickly, so vouchers (Love2shop) of ten pounds were offered instead. The commitment of the students remained very weak, and for the last few focus groups the vouchers increased to twenty pounds.

There were focus groups set up where only two or three participants turned up, and even though most literature on focus groups suggests the ideal size being between four to ten or twelve participants, my experience of focus groups suggested otherwise. Even groups consisting of two participants generated as rich data as groups of eight, even though they were shorter especially when participants knew each other before. In fact, larger groups created lots of noise, and it was not easy for many participants to express their opinion. Even though there is a suggested size of the focus groups as seen above, the number of the participants is controlled by the researcher to serve the purposes of the study (Morgan: 1996).

Professor Barbour advised me that as long as the participants converse and interact it is still considered as a focus group discussion. The ideal number for focus groups is suggested to be six (Kitzinger, 1994; Morgan, 1996) for the reeracher to obtain sufficient data, but I decided to conduct a total of thirteen focus groups to make sure that I met what is called saturation (Morgan, 1996: 144).

Table 1 below shows the size of the thirteen focus groups conducted (consisting of 48 participants in total), providing the ID of the focus group, the date conducted and the venue.

ID	Number of participants	Date	Venue
Fg1	5	20/10/2014	The Open University
Fg2	3	29/10/2014	University of Leeds
Fg3	3	30/10/2014	University of Leeds
Fg4	3	31/10/2014	University of Leeds
Fg5	2	31/10/2014	University of Leeds
Fg6	3	25/11/2014	LSE
Fg7	6	05/02/2015	University of Westminster
Fg8	4	05/02/2015	University of Westminster
Fg9	2	12/02/2015	University of Westminster
Fg10	2	12/02/2015	University of Westminster

Fg11	4	24/03/2015	University of Leicester
Fg12	6	24/03/2015	University of Leicester
Fg13	5	24/03/2015	University of Leicester

Table 1: Focus groups

5.4   Data Analysis Methodology and Methods

In this section, the data analysis methodology and methods are presented and discussed. It is important to stress that both data collection and data analysis method emerged from the epistemological stance adopted in the study and were chosen and adjusted to support the better exploration of the phenomenon in question. The conceptualization of discourse and consequently discourse analysis follows a Foucauldian approach in accordance with the theoretical framework discussed so far. There has been great academic tension on the interpretation of discourse analysis but a "'Foucauldian' approach to discursive analysis is distinguished from other versions of analysis" which however cannot be strictly formalized (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008: 91). However, this does not mean that everything fits in a Foucauldian discourse analysis as discourses "form relations *between* things; they are not objects as such but the *rules* and *procedures* that makes objects thinkable and governable; they are not autonomous entities but cohere among *relations of force*; and finally, discourses do not 'determine' things when there is always the possibility of resistance and indeterminancy" (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008: 105).

In the context of this study, this approach to discourse allows the researcher to explore the way participants articulate different discourses and identify the subject positions they take exposing analysis as "the cultural repertoire of discourses" available to the participants (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008: 99). So, the researcher is enabled to interrogate "the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies, and so on which at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal, and necessary" (Foucault, 1991: 76).

5.4.1   Discourse analysis

In a qualitative exploratory study, the stages of data collection and data analysis are not completely separated, for the researcher conducts a primary analysis while collecting data that in turn inform the process (Wills, 2009). To explore the discursive patterns and consequently the complex social phenomenon of everyday surveillance via smartphone devices, the data were analysed employing discourse analysis. The analysis draws upon Foucault's conceptualization of power, resistance and subjectivity as explored in the relevant chapters of the literature review. For the purposes of the study, the focus is on the micro level – meaning the verbal talk of the participants – in order to identify the way in which individuals articulate their subject positions in an everyday context. As Parker (1997: 292) argues:

> It is certainly necessary for critical discourse researchers to pay due attention to the micro level, rather than simply insisting that an analysis of historical forces and social structures is sufficient. [...] An account of discourse should be able to identify the ways

in which processes of ideology and power find their way into the little stories of
everyday life.

What constitutes discourse theory has not achieved a consensus, as it is interpreted
differently in different studies (Alvesson and Karreman, 2000). The common ground in
different discourse theories is that language and the way we use it to talk about the world
can never be a neutral representation of it. Therefore, scholars such as Burr (1995), Gergen
(1985) and Jørgensen and Phillips (2002: 7) argue that "our knowledge and representation of
the world are […] products of our ways of categorising the world, or, in terms of discursive
analytical terms, products of discourse". Discourse approaches have their origins in
structuralist and poststructuralist theories of language as the only "access to reality"
(Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002:8). Through discourse we attribute meaning to objects and,
thus, discourse analysis explores how these meanings are constructed and at the same time
always constructing the objects. Discourses are therefore dynamic and not only produce
power relations through which subjectivities occur, discourses also reproduce, resist and
reshape these relations and so subjectivities as well (Knights and Vurdubakis, 1994). Through
discourse analysis the study aims to identify and analyse the power relations and subject
positions constructed by the participants around the use of smartphone devices. The different
approaches on the discourse analysis are result of the different interpretations of the concept
(Alvesson and Karreman, 2000) and therefore, it is important for the researcher to define,
explore and discuss the term before presenting the findings of their analysis. The study
adopts a Foucauldian (1980: 119) understanding of discourse as:

a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation […]

Discourse is made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of

conditions of existence can be defined. Discourse in this sense is not an ideal, timeless

form […] it is, from beginning to end, historical – a fragment of history […] posing its

own limits, its divisions, its transformations, the specific modes of its temporality

Foucault argues that discourses should be interpreted in a specific context, as a discourse is not a solid situation and, thus, neither is subjectivity. Watson (2001: 391) in accordance with Foucault's conceptualization, defines discourse as "a connected set of statements, concepts, terms and expressions which constitute a way of talking or writing about an aspect of life, a phenomenon or an issue, thus framing the way people understand and act with respect to such matters". Through discourse we come to understand the world and our own existence, becoming subjects to dominant[42] discourse, resisting, reshaping or reproducing it. The meaning of any object "depends upon a socially constructed system of rules and significant differences" (Howarth, Nnorval and Stavrakakis, 2000: 3), adding to Foucault's definition of discourse as "systems of meaningful practices that form the identities of subjects and objects".

Even though this approach could attribute a passive acceptance of subjectivity disregarding any form of agency to the subject, Foucault suggests that like power, discourse is a productive "technology of social practice, which subjects people to forms of power while, at the same time, providing them with spaces of agency and possibilities for action" (Chouliaraki, 2008:

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[42] Dominant and ruling ideology are used interchangeably in the study.

2). Mills (2003: 54) in accordance with this approach of discourse, argues that we need to think of it as "existing because of a complex set of practices which try to keep them in circulation and other practices which try to fence them off from others and keep those other statements out of circulation". This means that discourses are not coherent thus, subject positions are never solid and fixed for they are formed through multiple discourses that are antagonistic (Clarke, Brown and Hailey, 2009). They emerge through power relations that "involve the exclusion of certain possibilities and a consequent structuring of the relations between different social agents" (Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis, 2000: 4). Thus, discourse theorists argue that "the distinctions between political, economic, and ideological practices are pragmatic and analytical, and strictly internal to the category of discourse" (Howarth, Norval and Stavrakakis, 2000: 4). The subject position that seems to be accepted without conflict, is the result of ruling ideology where "alternative possibilities have been excluded and a particular discourse has been naturalised" (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002: 41). In the context of the study, then, I explore whether users have naturalized the ruling ideology of neoliberalism that indicates technology as an *a priori* positive development in society. Thus, the analysis investigates the discursive patterns, the processes through which individuals become subjected to them and the ways they might resist. So, the focus needs to be on the variability of individuals' talk that enables the "elucidation of the discursive resources on which participants draw" (Harper et al., 2013: 179). A discourse analytic approach does not disregard this variability, rather it explores and unpacks it to understand the power relations that form these discursive patterns that partly produce subject positions. The study explores the subject positions within the use of smartphones and the antagonistic discursive resources of technology as empowerment and/or surveillance.

[141]

5.4.2   Doing discourse analysis

Having briefly described the complexity of discourse analysis based on the various interpretations of the concept of discourse and presented the common grounds of discourse analysts, this thesis is sympathetic to the understanding of discourse as a dynamic concept through which individuals construct realities, shape, resist and reconstruct their subjectivities. Thus, the analysis focuses on the meaning rather than the language based on which Alvesson and Karremn, (2000) aimed at building a typology to depict the different approaches and uses of discourse analysis. This typology has its flaws as it presents "ideal–typical positions" (ibid.: 1145), whereas in practice the boundaries between the different versions of discourse analysis are not always that distinct. The authors call for constant reflection on the researcher's interpretation of discourse, how it is applied in their analysis and how they treat their data. The present research broadly sits within a "meso-discourse approach" of this typology, where analysis is "relatively sensitive to language use in context but interested in finding broader patterns and going beyond the details of the text" (ibid.: 1133). This is in contrast to "micro-discourse" where attention is focused more on the linguistic phenomena of the talk (ibid.).

Adhering to a discourse analytic approach, the focus group discussions were initially transcribed by a professional expert. To organize the data that emerged from focus groups along with the email interviews, they were inserted in a software program that of NVivo 10. The transcriptions were manually ascribed codes based on the discursive patterns and themes they presented, such as convenience and security that I kept re-organizing along with writing the analysis chapters. Even though there were not pre-fixed codes, I analysed the data based

on the research interest and focus of the study. Through this process, broad themes were produced that assisted the understanding and interpretation of the relevant discursive patterns, in contrast to thematic analysis approach, which treats themes as "an end in itself" (Harper et al., 2013: 179). The themes were merged into categories that could be explored as discursive practices for closer examination, following a 'cyclical process' (Potter and Wetherell, 1987) where analysis and coding overlap and are mutually constitutive.

The analysis of the discursive patterns was organized around two broad topics: the articulation of young users' relationship with the smartphones (Chapter 6) and the way they come to terms with the surveillant aspects of smartphones (Chapter 7). The first topic explored the variation of discursive practices in the way that participants articulated their relationship with the smartphone devices. Interrogating the data, the focus was on how participants talked about smartphones and location tracking applications and how subject positions were constructed in this relationship. In the category about the surveillant aspects of the smartphones, the objective was to empirically investigate how participants articulated the power relations through surveillance. The analysis of discursive patterns was on how users construct or resist the surveilled subject position. The data strongly suggested seductive surveillance as an analytical tool to better understand the everyday surveillance through personal digital gadgets offering insights on the theoretical conceptualization rather than imposing it to explain the discursive patterns emerged.

5.5   Ethical Considerations

Conducting research and generating knowledge always involves ethical considerations. From a social constructivist perspective, the researcher constructs another body of knowledge that affects the way that reality is perceived and understood. Questions such as research intentions and conflict of interests with potential funding bodies should be addressed[43]. The aim of the research is the contribution to knowledge, thus the research design and its application need to ensure that there is no control or manipulation of the findings from external sources (such as funding bodies)[44]. Furthermore, the researcher should reflect on any influences leading the research questions and the theoretical approach, so that the reader acknowledges how the author constructs their social reality and interprets the data. This is also a key element of providing credibility to any study, thus in the first chapter I introduced the researcher, so that the reader knows the origins of my interests and how this study has been formulated.

The researcher whose study involves people has an extra responsibility over the participants of the study, and social scientists follow "statements of core "principles" to guide ethical choices" (Miles, 1994: 289). This research was advised by the principles of ethical research conduct, respecting participants' autonomy, securing anonymity and confidentiality. Ethical approval was obtained by the respective universities' ethics committee before conducting the

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[43] Benton and Craib (2010) discuss the ethical and moral responsibilities of the researcher.
[44] The research was conducted following the Social Research Association ethical guidelines
http://the-sra.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/ethics03.pdf

research[45]. Furthermore, participants were provided with a summary that explained the purposes of the study (Appendix 3)[46] and all the relevant information before agreed upon participation. On the day of the focus groups and before we started the conversation, an informed consent agreement was handed to the participants for them to sign (Appendix 4). The purposes of the study were illustrated, as well as the process securing confidentiality, anonymity and their right to withdraw their participation from the study. In the next section, where I present the operationalization of the methods and the research process, I also explain the process of securing participants' confidentiality.

5.5.1 Securing confidentiality and anonymity in the research

Recruitment process

To secure confidentiality and anonymity during the recruitment process the emails were checked daily after the invitation letters were sent. When new messages were received from a student interested in participating, I printed a hard copy for back-up and the message was deleted both from inbox and trash. The hard copies with the details of potential participants were kept locked at my desk at the premises of The Open University, and were destroyed after the data collection process ended.

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[45] Committee Reference Number: HREC/2014/1656

[46] The content of the information letter provided to all the participants was the same. However, I changed the dates and the place for the focus groups accordingly.

Focus group interviews

I explained the purpose of the research to the participants and circulated the informed consent agreement before focus groups meetings. Participants were invited to ask any questions regarding the study, after which I asked them to sign the informed consent agreement before the focus group meetings began. The focus group meetings were audio recorded.

Audio recording

I gave each individual a pseudonym when transcribing the data in order for anonymity to be guaranteed. The recordings were deleted following the transcription process.

Email interviews

I emailed participants individually ten days to two weeks after the focus group meetings to thank them for their participation and asked them to respond to the reflective questions. After a response was received, the content was copied and pasted into a Word document with no identifying information other than the relevant pseudonym. The electronic message was deleted both from the inbox and trash.

5.6 Conclusion – Limitations of the Research Design

In this chapter the epistemological/ontological stance of the researcher and the research as well as the methodology and methods were discussed. The key concepts of discourse and subjectivity that derived from poststructuralist and Foucauldian approaches were presented. Furthermore, the ethical considerations were outlined. As with any research design, the

present one comes with its limitations. It is a qualitative exploratory research relating to the particular case of smartphones, exploring the discursive practices around these devices constructing and analysing the surveillance experiences.

From a social constructivist approach, the researcher is always part of the research themselves, and the purpose of a discourse analyst is "not to get 'behind' the discourse, to find out what people *really* mean when they say this or that, or to discover the reality behind the discourse" (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002: 21, italics in original), but to analyse patterns of discourse through which a version of reality is constructed. As Jørgensen and Phillips (2002) suggest, the researcher needs to distance themselves from the data, playing the role of an anthropologist and reflecting on it. The discourse analyst from a social constructivist paradigm embraces that the interpretation of the data is just one of many alternatives. However, does this mean that the interpretation of the data from a social constructivist approach is always subjective? Jørgensen and Phillips (2002: 22), among other social constructivists, argue that "it is the stringent application of theory and method that legitimizes scientifically produced knowledge. It is by seeing the world through a particular theory that we can distance ourselves from some of our taken-for-granted understandings".

In the Introduction Chapter I introduced myself as the researcher by reflecting on what drove my research interests. The focus group method was aimed mainly at the participants interacting with each other, but the researcher's intervention through questions and the vignettes remains part of the research. As Fineman (1993: 2) eloquently puts it: "Always,

though, the investigator is part of the account; to a greater or lesser extent he or she selects, does the looking, listening, points the camera, edits the tape recording, holds the pen. The challenge of subjectivity research is to acknowledge and humour this intermingling".

Turning to the use of the vignettes, it is undoubtedly another element of exploration. The vignettes were designed based on stories that have been in the media and were not constructed as futuristic fixed scenarios. However, they (re)produce discourses in a certain environment, and vignettes as a method aims to generate a focused discussion on the phenomenon in question. Although they were constructed by the main discourses in relevant literature, they were also partly constructed as reference points for the participants to hold the discussions. Different stories, or fully scripted scenarios, might have influenced differently the construction of relevant discourses. In future studies, the vignettes could be based on fictional characters with whom the participants might be able to relate more, so as to further develop this method.

The discursive practices were produced by the participants of the study in relation to the vignettes shown to them, and as a response to specific questions posed by a female researcher. The study does not make any claims of representativeness or generalizability, for a qualitative study "the criteria for judging the quality of a social constructionist analysis differ from those more associated with a realist epistemology" (Harper et al., 2013: 179). According to Lewis and Ritchie (2013: 274), the question that a qualitative researcher needs to address to ensure the quality of their work is "Are we accurately reflecting the phenomena under study as perceived by the study population?" This means that the quality of the research is

judged on the grounds of the accuracy of the analysis that draws on the data and not the researcher's arbitrary interpretation.

The next two chapters (Chapter 6 and Chapter 7) present and discuss the analysis of focus group discussions and email interviews. Chapter 6 explores the discourses surrounding smartphones and location tracking applications, responding to the question of young users' articulation of their relationship with smartphone devices. The aim is to interpret the discursive practices around this technology and the subject positions constructed. This enables a more in-depth understanding of the second part of the research question: the way that smartphone users come to terms with the surveillant aspects of their devices.

6 Smartphones as Means of Seduction

6.1   Introduction

This chapter explores the discourses participants construct around smartphones, addressing the first research question on young users' relationship with their devices. It presents and discusses the results of the analysis of focus groups and email responses examining the different representations of smartphones' use, location tracking system and relevant applications[47]. As the analysis shows, the articulation of the use of smartphones was mainly constructed around discourses relating to security, gamification, immediacy, neophilia[48] and dependency in accordance with the neoliberal discourses discussed mainly in chapter 2.

All the participants of the study responding to the question regarding their first mobile phone stated that they obtained it in an early stage of their lives, between eight to thirteen years of age. Most of them obtained a smartphone device when they were around seventeen years old. The analysis explores the continuous process of their relationship with mobile devices that begins with the ownership of the first older version where the main innovation was on mobility, shifting to the newer smartphones that enabled internet access on the move. Even though their first mobile phone devices are not classified as 'smart', meaning fast access to the Internet and user-friendly interface, they are nevertheless the predecessors of smartphones that are the focus of this study. This gradual transition from a mobile phone to

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[47] From now on, the use of the term smartphones also includes the location tracking system and relevant applications.

[48] Neophilia is a word deriving from the Greek νέο (noun new, novelty) + φιλία (love, affinity), and means 'affinity for novelty', thus constructing a discourse that anything new is better (see, for example, Walker and White, 2002).

a smartphone is part of the seduction mechanism on the grounds of a consensus that is expanding in stages (Deighton and Grayson, 1995: 666). What that means is that consumers, in this case smartphones' users, have been familiarized with the use of a mobile phone device that has been gradually developed incorporating more applications through the connection to the Internet. In this way, the acceptance of the new terms on which the smartphones operate meets less resistance as they have been already familiar with the device. Therefore, it is important to explore the discourses around the former devices in relation to the ones of the smartphones to understand how discursive patterns have become more naturalized.

Drawing upon the results of the analysis, I also contextualize the discourses of seduction, to enlighten the findings of the following chapter on the way that participants come to terms with the surveillant aspects of smartphones. The extracts inserted in the analysis chapters are representative of the patterns identified in the focus groups' transcriptions and email responses.

6.2   Security

Reflecting on the first focus groups conducted, the question of when participants obtained their first mobile phone devices was added to the introductory questions. A common discursive pattern was that participants were given their first mobile device by their parents mainly for safety reasons. A mobile device would enable parents to contact their minors any time in cases of emergency and vice versa. Other studies have also shown the purpose of the mobile phone devices as parental monitoring (see Miller, Lundy and Lai, 2008). Angie, the participant from the below quote, explains how her mobile phone device was given to her as

a safety tool in a foreign country where the risks based on the language barrier seemed to be increased:

> The first time I had a phone I was 13, and I had just moved to England with my parents. So, I couldn't really speak much English. So, they wanted me to have the phone so that when I was in school, if I needed anything, I could call them and let them know, yes. (Angie, fg13)

Participants in many cases were so young when they got their first mobile phone device, so that they could not recall the exact age. This is an indicator of how mobile phone devices have been integrated into their everyday lives as a digital gadget that boosts security, which is a main feature in neoliberalism.

> I think my first phone, probably, when I was about, I don't know, seven, eight, round about that age, probably. Just something that my parents gave me (Chris, fg13).
>
> For safety reasons? (interviewer)
>
> Yes, for safety reasons, really, yes (Chris, fg13).

The above extract illustrates how the discourse of security around the ownership of a mobile device has been naturalized by the participants, and also self-regulated in accordance with the normalization of attempts to prevent uncertainty in what is a contigent world. People always strive for safety and security, especially where the phenomenon of dangerization (Lianos, 2000) harnesses risk and suspicion. However, the data suggest a more complex notion of security that involves the coexistence of antagonistic modes within the same technology, represented by parental caring and coercion, and security from the dangerous Other along with safety. This conceptualization of security emanates from the 'pastoral form' of power

that aims to protect individuals from uncertainties around the future (Foucault, 1982: 784), and draws from a dicourse of care, which is simultaneously a discourse of control.

A climate of fear and danger is seemingly omnipresent, and circulating these types of discourses both reflects and reproduces these ideas. This fear has been exacerbated especially since the terrorist attacks of 9/11, which resulted in ever more reliance on technological advancements to prevent and detect future tragedies (Lyon, 2002; De Goede, 2008). Thus, a mobile phone device that can be carried around is portrayed as a safety tool that protects the subject from the dangerous Other[49], while being constantly able to be used to call for help reconstructing the division between 'us' versus 'them' seen in earlier chapters (McCahill and Finn, 2014).

Furthermore, it reconstructs the discourse of insecurity as we struggle for safety and security in a world that is contingent. In the case of smartphones, the element of security is articulated to be advanced, as the location tracking and relevant applications[50] enable access to the device remotely. The discourse of dangerization is linked to securitization in an effort to predict possible threats and protect society from them as seen in the relevant literature. Within this discourse, participants put forward examples how missing people who could have been victimized and who may possibly be found via their device, as well as the criminal:

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[49] The term Other, even though a complex one, is used in the context that was presented in the relevant literature chapter (see Knights et al., 2001).
[50] These operate through geolocation positioning system, masts and connection to the Internet.

I think that's pretty, pretty cool [referring to location tracking system]. I mean I have,
I've heard of that before, as well, yes, the same case I'm thinking of where they found
the victim, because the phone was with the handbag and she was with the handbag,
they matched it, with the suspect's phone movements on that day. (Frans, fg5)

The media present success stories of crime detection that reinforce the discourses of smartphone devices as a safety tool and normalizing practices of surveillance. The above participant praises the location tracking system as a positive feature of smartphones boosting the feeling of security. She justifies her positive attitude by referring to a case which attributes crime detection and the conviction of the criminal to the smartphone's capabilities.

The reconstruction of discourses of security was evident as a discursive pattern in all the focus groups responding to the visual vignette of the positive aspects of the phone. In contrast to the articulation of discourses presented in the critical vignette, participants reproduced discourses of security as can be seen in the following quote:

I always have liked my 3G going or connected to the wi-fi. I get really worried, like;
I'm always checking the battery … because when it gets really low I start, genuinely,
having like … [sharply inhales]. Because, you know, I don't … I need to, like, you know,
have it on me. I need to be able to just be able to reach out to people if I need to, you
know, let my mum, dad know, like, where I am and what I'm doing. That kind of thing
… When it's off, like when the battery's dead, I honestly feel that if I died no one
would know for ages. [Laughter] It's really bad! It's terrible! But I genuinely feel
worried when I don't have my phone on me, and scared, as well. If I'm come on the
train, and it dies, I'd like never be like oh, dear, my battery's died, bye; in case
someone wants to, like, kill me or something. (Sade, fg6)

As Sade claims, the sudden removal from her device creates feelings of worry and fear, reconstructing the dependence on communication technologies for purposes of security and safety. The dangerization of society has led "to continuous detection of threats and assessment of adverse probabilities, to the prevalence of defensive perceptions over optimistic ones and to the dominance of fear and anxiety over ambition and desire" (Lianos, 2000: 267). Thus, even though the participant lives in a big city where she could call out for help in case of emergency, she feels worried and scared if she does not have her phone with her. A sudden removal of her smartphone seems to be related to the worst-case scenarios, like her death and she articulates the domination of the culture of fear over more positive scenarios. She uses words such as 'honestly' and 'genuinely' in an effort to justify to herself and/or the group the legitimacy of her feelings in such an extreme scenario. She justifies her subject position to the dominant discourse of dangerization, positioning herself as vulnerable where the smartphone is articulated as the solution. It is argued that this device is able to provide her with a reassurance that was not available in the past, in a world without smartphone devices, and this discourse of security is in accordance with those used by parents providing their children with a mobile device. This was a discursive pattern reproduced by the participants without it being challenged in the focus groups.

The concept of security has expanded in the context of modernity to include both ''the body and personal belongings'' (Bauman, 2004: 82). Thus, the phones' location tracking system is seen as a safety tool for the devices themselves, so the security of their smartphones through relevant applications that track them down was another repeated pattern seen in the focus groups, as the following quote depicts:

> Yes, I mean I know that you can track our phones if you lose it, which helped me once, because I lost my current phone and we found it through the tracking system, thank God. (Lisa, fg5)

In a consumer society materialistic possessions are highly valued (Bauman, 2000), which explains the participant's articulation of location tracking abilities to detect a missing device. The praise to God emphasizes the importance of being able to find her missing smartphone through this application. Security, then, is not only related to threats coming from dangerous Others to cause potential harm to individuals or the society, it is also related to the fear of losing precious belongings. So, the capabilities of a smartphone device as a safety tool expand from preventing, or detecting, crimes, to securing the device itself in cases of loss or burglary. This could, of course, be linked, as without the device the first part cannot be enacted. Smartphones can also be registered to other digital devices, or the police, as a participant mentioned in the focus group, through relevant applications that can locate and track the smartphone, and thus the person who carries it (if it is not just forgotten or lost somewhere) remotely. This is a beneficial capability of digital devices but at the same time, this remote tracking of the smartphone raises concerns within a surveillance context questioning who can have access to this data and how the data can be used, forwhen the device is able to be tracked, so too is the carrier./user This is a concern that participants discussed within the discussion of the surveillant aspects of the smartphone devices presented in the critical vignette and that will be explored in the following chapter. Furthermore, participants described instances where they followed the signal of their phone through this kind of application reaching the door of the person that held their device disregarding any concern over their safety.

The way of talking about their smartphones, after watching the vignette that presented the benefits of location tracking system and relevant applications, illustrated the discourse of dangerization and the normalization of securitization through the use of smartphones. Most participants identified with this position, accepting as common knowledge the aspects presented in the video. Following the visual vignette that referred to smartphones' potentiality to assist crime prevention and detection, some participants who did not bring into the discussion pre-fixed ideas based on news stories were tempted by these capabilities. The following quote shows that even the possibility of such assistance is considered to be valuable by some participants. This links back to the argumentation about the deployment of technology in the name of security even if the effectiveness has not been proved yet (Pavone et al., 2015).

> I thought that was really good. I didn't think about [location tracking] before, but now, thinking about it, it does add security. Say you should go missing? Maybe they'll be able to, I don't know if they could, find out where you last were and just things like that ... (Ela, fg4)

The capabilities of smartphones in terms of security created for most participants a positive attitude towards the device. The discourse of security was also recalled in the email responses, where participants argued that this is a positive aspect of location tracking system that makes them 'feel safer'. Out of all the different discourses brought in during the focus group discussions, security seemed to stand out as one of the most important ones.

Some of the positive uses of location tracking I have seen (police investigations, emergency services, terrorism prevention etc.) make me feel safer, if anything. (Marlene, fg1)

By drawing on discourses of dangerization, participants position themselves as vulnerable within this discursive pattern being threatened by the 'bad' data subjects (McCahill and Finn, 2014). As critical scholars such as Lianos (2000) and Huysmans (2006) argue, insecurity is a socio-political construct of late capitalism and the culture of fear has grown, thus the subjects always seek safety and security, and so securitization as an outcome of dangerization is the dominant discourse that remained largely uncontested by the participants in the focus groups, and so smartphone devices are perceived to be valuable as safety tools within this group of participants that is considered 'privileged' (McCahill and Finn, 2014).

6.3   Gamification

In the previous section the discursive patterns around security were discussed. The smartphone had been positioned as a safety tool in some cases reproducing the discursive manner in which parents positioned and justified the purchase of a mobile phone for their minors. This section explores the discourse of gamification emerged in the analysis, and in this study, gamification is defined as "the use of game design elements in non-game contexts" (Deterding et al., 2011). The concept of gamification can be situated in surveillance studies as a "form of manipulation" (boyd in Rey, 2014: 278), providing further insights in the process of seduction. In this section, I explore gamification as another discursive pattern emerging repeatedly in the focus groups. Participants articulated the use of a smartphone beyond that of a mere phone device, to a gadget that offers many more possibilities. In terms of seduction,

gamification can be understood as a form of manipulation for consumers to purchase and use smartphone devices and subsequently to develop a dependent relationship with their devices through their sense of play and fun, as I shall later argue. In the same context, smartphone users do exploit their 'immaterial labour' as they are streaming data as well as mobile devices, enabling an intrusion on non-work time through relevant applications such as emails.

Parents provided participants with a mobile device within the discourse of securitization as shown in the previous section. Participants, though, positioned their device within the discursive pattern of gamification, as they articulated its use as a toy. Miller, Lundy and Lai, (2008) argue that mobile phone devices have become an entertainment device.

> The first phone I had, I think, I was about 9 or 10 and I think it was one of those Nokia
>
> 3310. The ones with the snake on and that is probably what I used it for back then.
>
> (Mia, fg8)

Mia explains that a mobile phone device at such a young age was used in the same way as other video games, constructing similar discourses around it. The games which are embedded within the device show how gamification is a seductive characteristic of mobile phones that encouraged participants to spend time on them. This extension of functionality beyond that of a mere phone would enable the user to develop a more playful relationship with their device.

In some instances, participants wanted a mobile phone because they envied those of their older siblings or parents, as the following quote shows, constructing a need that till this point was absent and maybe did not even make sense. Combining the envy of the device that older

[159]

family members owned with the games embedded on it, it can be argued that this is a way that participants positioned the mobile phone devices within the discourse of gamification from an early stage.

> I got my first mobile phone when I was in year four, which is quite young … Yes, I don't
>
> know, that is very young. But I've got older sisters and I wanted one too [laughs].
>
> (Sade, fg6)

Sade above admits that she was very young to own a mobile phone at this age as it was not necessary for functional purposes, but rather it was a device that her older sisters owned and on this basis, she wanted her own. Mobile phones became the new big trend in the world of digital gadgets which in terms of gamification can be represented as a novelty that everybody wanted to play with. Rey (2014: 282), drawing upon Baudrillard's work, contextualizes gamification as "a process that transforms commodities into *hypercommodities*" for it is not the product consumed per se but what it signifies. Therefore, for the participants, when obtained their first device, it was not within the context of the functionalities of a phone but those of a game.

> [Responding to the question of why she purchased a smartphone] Yes, oh, just
>
> because I would say everything else, missing out on that was really fun I thought, apps
>
> and things like really pathetic reasons, but I thought, Snapchat looks like so much fun
>
> so I couldn't do that on my old Nokia brick so… (Frans, fg5)

The game elements of a mobile phone device were increased with the entrance of smartphones as they were enriched by a variety of applications. Frans positioned the purchase of her smartphone device within these elements of gamification where the signifiers

[160]

of entertainment are more important than the basic function of the phone device. Applications for messaging such as Snapchat are described within the purpose of entertainment rather than in terms of communication, so "the commodity is made secondary to the game so that game play is the thing really being purchased" (Rey, 2014: 283). It could be argued that Frans articulates the unease to reproduce discourses of entrainment, positioning herself as a seduced subject, referring to them as 'pathetic' revealing the struggle within this power relations.

The purchase of a smartphone on the basis of what signifies rather the actual functionality was one of the repeated discursive patterns and the following quote depicts the articulation of smartphones within discourses of branding such as Apple's popular iPhone. The mobile devices were upgraded to smartphones not because they stopped functioning (see section on neophilia) but because of the fear of being left out which is part of the Foucauldian conceptualization of power operating through self-discipline as individuals feel "compelled to avoid being singled out or divided from what is considered normal" (Clarke and Knights, 2015: 1875).

> But, first, I wanted an iPhone, I never really wanted a smartphone, because it was near Christmas and my phone was kind of breaking up. So, I needed a new one and, I don't know, all my friends have an iPhone, so I really wanted to have one. (Mania, fg6).

In the above extract the participant did not desire the commodity of the smartphone as such but the signifiers that accompany it where "the consumer finds the symbolic rewards or other benefits attached to a commodity more attractive than the commodity itself" (Rey,

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2014:283). Mania purchased a smartphone because her friends had one. She did not even want any smartphone for the sake of owning a smartphone, but because it was the brand her friends owned and she could feel included in the same group, thus the signifier of iPhone was the inclusion in her group of friends and the fear of marginalisation. In terms of gamification, Mania wanted to have the same toy as her friends to be able to play along, as play is of course a form of socialization. The discourse of gamification was also articulated more clearly in the context of applications.

Sara articulates the purchase of her smartphone on social grounds as her friends were organizing their events using messaging applications, so the non-smartphone user is constructed as 'not being a member of the team'.

> Well, it was [purchasing a smartphone] because I found like that my friends were all kind of making social plans through WhatsApp, and I wasn't even aware of these things, so, you know, because I felt like it was quite in a way, exclusive, kind of, if you don't have an iPhone for social things (Sarah, fg2).

Using a metaphorical level of analysis, Mania's friends were excluding her from the game, the participation required her having a smartphone. The smartphone is not just a phone device solely to be used for contacting others, it is rather a hypercommodity that is associated with its signifiers as seen above. It is not surprising then that the aesthetics are as important as the technological characteristics. Discussing the reasons why participants obtained their smartphone, Gabriela, a young girl who characterizes herself as 'flashier', meaning she follows fashion, focuses on the aesthetic characteristics of her iPhone. She articulates her

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smartphone as a fashionable gadget, distinguishing herself from users who pay more attention to technological characteristics of the phone.

> It's just slick, isn't it? [iPhone] It's definitely aesthetic, the iPhone. People say the other phone's technological view will go for other phones, they'll be working sort of, sort of better, that sort of thing, tend to go for Samsung or whatever, but if you're a bit flashier, you go for iPhone. (Gabriela, fg1)

Smartphones have become a fashionable gadget that also needs to look nice, and the signifier reveals parts of one's identity. Gabriela aims at securing her identity by owning products that are 'beautiful', symbolic markers of an identity, to be someone we would like others to believe we are, so that we show our belonging to specific social groups and alienating from others and the smartphone becomes one of these products.

Gamification from a sociological approach is argued to be a "form of soft power" (Rey, 2014: 279) that produces subjects "that are compatible with the needs of late capitalism" (ibid.: 279). The game is directly associated with fun and entertainment, and thus the players are not forced to play, revealing the seductive nature of gamification, as in such a case, a game would not give them any pleasure and joy. However, gamification as soft power is a discourse that constructs a "society of control" (Deleuze, 1992) "where motivated subjects are constantly (and willingly) reintegrated into the circuits of power" (Rey, 2014: 279). The consumer cannot stand outside these power relations but is part of them, and become re-enrolled through the technique of gamification. It also seems there is competition as to who has the best and flashiest phone, which is another yet principle of the market assisting the

governmentality of the society, that seduces smartphone users into further consumption practices.

The reproduction of gamification that shifts the focus on the game aspects of the gadget rather than its use as a phone, also contributes to the collapse and blurring of the borders between work and entertainment. The Internet, access to which is the key feature of smartphones and the one that assigns them the label 'smart', has been compared to a playground that exploits digital labour (Scholz, 2012).

> It's quite integral to me because I use it for work. So, there's kind of with everyone having a smartphone, everyone's emailing each other, even outside of work. So it's kind of, it has lengthened my working hours in a strange way, not because I'm working but so I can reply to something quite quickly, so I'm quite connected in that sense.
> (Halley, fg2)

Halley, who is a young professional, the only one among the participants of the focus groups who are students, talks about her personal smartphone as a tool for her work to justify her preoccupation and usage of it. Even though she recognizes that responding to work emails has intensified her working hours, nevertheless she positions its use for work purposes within the socialization discourse seen above. She denies positioning herself as a worker who does over hours as she joins her colleagues who all own and use a smartphone in the same way. Being online and thus, 'on call' constantly and everywhere, smartphones effect the work-life balance intensifying labour (Manzerolle, 2010; Agger, 2011). However, as Halley is not

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physically at her workplace in front of her desktop, she disregards the production of work through a device that is not explicitly related to work.

In terms of Bauman's (2000) "liquid modernity", workers are not forced to be in their physical working environments, nevertheless they are more productive in places not related to the working environment. Subjects seem to accept their exploitation like Halley "just so long as they are spared alienation" (Rey, 2014: 280), so from a Foucauldian approach, "work and leisure time are no longer inimical opposites, but tend to supplement each other" as "labour itself is a crunch element along the path to 'self-fulfilment' (Lemke, 2001: 202–203). The characteristics of gamification then seduce workers to this 'self-fulfilment' of being successful and dedicated workers on a 24/7 basis, denying their working subject position at the same time by normalizing this practice just because everyone joins in the game. In the same way, this discursive pattern was evident among many of the participants performing the subject position of their occupation as students.

6.4   Immediacy

Having analysed ideas of gamification and explored how participants articulated the smartphone as a gadget and its use around the elements of a game, it is shown the seductive element of smartphones that engaged its users in a playful way with pleasures and rewards. This section explores and discusses a key concept that emerged in the data analysis: that of immediacy. Smartphones, apart from the entertainment aspects of a game, also offer the element of convenience to the user, as an outcome of immediacy in a world where proximity and speed are considered to be crucial. In 'liquid modernity' (Bauman 2000), time and space

have been reshaped, and so have the values of immediacy on which new technologies such as smartphones are based. This perspective offers another insight as to understand why young people have become so obsessed with smartphones (Ofcom, 2015), for these values according to Tomlinson (2003: 58) are "the redundancy of effort, the ubiquity of presence, discretion" as smartphones are devices always ready in hand, in the pockets of the users (Edgerton, 2011), to provide also immediate gratification.

It is exactly these values that most of the participants recognized in terms of the capabilities of a smartphone that combine the characteristics of a phone and a computer, allowing them to always be connected and enabling multiple uses beyond calls and texts.

> I feel like with a smartphone it's like a computer and a phone at the same time. If you just had a phone, then you'd always have to have a computer nearby so you could get onto things, which would just be a longer process. Whereas, with a smartphone, everything's at your fingertips. (Jane, fg2)

Jane, from the above quote eloquently articulates the convenience that a device with many different functionalities offers. Combining the phone and computing capabilities in just one device seemed to save valuable time for the users who have normalized the presence of the Internet, through the computers here, in everyday life. "With a smartphone" as the participant nicely puts it "everything is at your fingertips", articulating the values that Tomlison (2003) attributed to new technologies in regard to immediacy. Even though laptops and more recently tablets are portable for the convenience of the user, the smartphone is always in the pocket, and access to the Internet is immediate.

Tomlinson (2003: 59) relates immediacy not only to speed but also to the "bridging of distance" and he defines immediacy more generally as "the redundancy or the abolition of the middle term". In the context of smartphones, it means that having access to the Internet using your fingertips instead of the keyboard reduces another (physical) intermediate, so that Jane's claim that everything is 'at your fingertips' receives a double meaning as the device is portable and provides instant access to the web. He suggests that immediacy as a cultural principle is an outcome of late modernity that highlights how the social organization has changed in terms of time and space.

> Access the world just basically just that your hands are like – if I needed to Google something I could just do it and because we have 3G now so you don't even need to be connected to wi-fi to be able to Google anything or … And just feel in contact with everyone at the same time using Facebook using Messenger or anything on your phone (Sofia, fg11)

Sofia, from the above quote, makes the same analogy with the hand. As she strongly puts it, her hands give her access to the world through Internet connection, and the immediate access to the web using 3G instead of logging into different connections that may require a password, cuts out further intermediaries and reduces the number of obstacles and effort that needs to be expended. The concepts of time and space seem very relevant as she claims not only to be in contact with many people at the same time but also to reach any information needed. Through the use of a smartphone, the illusion of being present in a place can be achieved without the physical presence. Sofia, for example, does not require to be at a library to get information or to be with a group of friends to converse with them. Smartphones make

the participants feel that they can traverse the web using just their fingers, without the obstacle of a desktop, or even a keyboard through a device that can be carried around.

The element of immediacy is not related just to the distance between the user and the access to the web, making a smartphone more of an effective and desired gadget than a laptop, in accordance to an Ofcom report (2015) suggesting that "[s]martphones have overtaken laptops as the most popular device for getting online", reducing the distance between people who are not geographically close, as participants repeatedly observed in relation to constant communication through social networks and messaging applications.

> Fiona, at the same time like you said no Snapchat but it's funny, because a lot of people I know get in touch [using Snapchat]. It's just sending pictures over captions, but that's how people sort of like bond or get closer over the Internet – it's really strange but that is what I have noticed using Snapchat; like, I speak to some of my best friends some who are studying back home or in the States. (fg11)

In the above quote, participants discuss the different applications they use on their smartphones. The messaging applications that used to be limited to keyboard characters now include emojis[51] and also the ability to attach a picture. The Snapchat application discussed in the above quote is built around pictures. Users send a picture with a caption and these applications, in contrast to letters that people used in the pre-digital era, enable users to contact and exchange experiences in real time. In comparison to phone calls, though, this kind

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[51] Emojis can be defined as two-dimensional pictographs that were designed to deliver the emotions of a verbal communication in written form (Kelly and Watts, 2015).

of messaging application allows users to multitask, for users can communicate with others at their convenience from anywhere they might be and to remain in contact with many people at the same time. Furthermore, messaging applications such as WhatsApp, which seemed to be the main application that participants use, enable phone calls without the extra cost, other than Internet access. Smartphones also have embedded cameras, giving a different meaning to space and time as users can have face calls that allow them to see each other.

Participants, like the above quote shows, argued that smartphones bring them closer which Coeckelberg (2011: 133), writing on online media from a philosophical perspective, describes as a "paradox of distance and proximity". He argues that the media that promise users to sustain their distant relationships and establish new ones are the very media that encourage mobility that results in distance in the first place. As he argues "[t] he paradox is that, while presented as a solution to the problem of distance in the global village, it is at the same time its very condition" (ibid.). All participants, given they were students, repeated this idea on how smartphones enable them to keep in contact with their friends and family. Immediacy in this context, is a way that participants articulated their relationship with their smartphones, thus another form of seduction in terms of immediate gratification.

Even though the new forms of communication through online media are also often text-based similar to the older ones, they differ on characteristics such as the speed and the length of the text (Coeckelberg, 2011). Participants based on this kind of characteristics, differentiate the use of applications from the traditional functionalities of the mobile phone such as texts

and phone calls. Sofia, explicitly disregards the old 'brick', meaning the mobile phone device not allowing access to the Internet, as it does not facilitate the new forms of communication.

> Now I don't even use, I don't even think I use, texting as much as I do WhatsApp or Messenger on my phone, so it is using Internet more than anything at the moment, and you can't do that on a brick really. (Sofia, fg11)

WhatsApp and Messenger were claimed to be used as messaging applications which are text -based. However, these applications have many more features than the traditional texts enabled, such as the creation of groups, the features that show when the recipients are available, when they read the messages and so on. Even though this kind of features can be directly linked to surveillance mechanism, for the participants it is rather related to immediacy which appears to be a seductive characteristic of smartphones.

Smartphones have many more functions than did the traditional mobile devices. Apart from computers and games, as discussed already, they also serve as maps, cameras and diaries. This multitasking offered by a single device contributes to the seduction mechanism as a smartphone promises much more than a non-smartphone could do. Smartphone users can simultaneously traverse different platforms of communication and purchasing.

> May: I'm using maps and social media. Like social media and some kind of … actually I use Blackboard for study.
>
> Ela: I think it really influenced my decision to get this phone last week because I want to check the timetable on my phone, but I have to log onto a computer and check it. And it's really confusing on a computer, isn't it? You can't like just type where you're meant to be. So I thought that's in effect why I need an i-Phone. (fg4)

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The numerous applications participants have installed on their devices are useful tools in their hands, and the convenience of having information readily available is reported to be really important feature. They use their smartphones for different needs, from entertainment and communication, to organization of their daily responsibilities, purchases and so on, these being articulated as rationalization and justification for purchasing a smartphone.

6.5 Neophilia

In a consumer society, along with the immediacy, which was explored in the previous section, another discourse seems to be dominant, that of novelty (Hang Wong et al., 2012: 160). Bauman (2000) argues that, in capitalism, objects are deliberately not durable, for obsolescence is a condition for consumerism to maintain its existence and sustainability, where the element of competition in neoliberalism is also relevant. This inbuilt obsolescence and the role of objects as hypercommodities result in neophilia, defined as "the desire for the new" (Campbell, 1992: 53). Campbell argues that the newness that drives consumption does not refer just to the designed obsolescence of the product but to their technological improvement as well, as demonstrated by the upgrade of a previous model. Participants' discourse, as this section demonstrates, featured notions of neophilia which they used to describe the relationship they have with their smartphones.

Even though participants drew upon discourses of neophilia, none of them seemed to become so excited about obtaining the newest model as to queue as soon as it came on the market. If in contract, however, participants would upgrade to a newer smartphone when the contract

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expired, so the renewal of the contract, even at a high price, was seen as an opportunity for the participants to get a new device, although the previous one was still functional.

> I didn't intend to buy a phone that can connect to the Internet, it's only because it's free when I signed a contract they said you know, you get [Internet] a month free, as a promotional package or whatever. So, I thought, well, if it's free, why not you know? But no, I didn't intend to have a smartphone. (Heather, fg1)

The participant of this quote describes a marketing strategy seen here as part of seduction, and deployed by telecommunication companies to attract new customers. The discourse was around the 'free' service offered to the customer, who gets accustomed to using the Internet on the phone, as this participant claimed in the focus group discussion. This experience is part of the seduction process, as participants claimed to go for a newer smartphone model even in cases where the previous one was still functional as in operating.

Functionality in terms of smartphones, however, was not articulated within a strict division between a working and a non-working mode of the device. Different operating systems claimed to offer different capabilities, for example, making a smartphone more attractive than others giving the illusion of choice to the participants who sustain their seduced position into purchasing one of the new models of smartphone. Participants like the following one used notions of neophilia also in terms of technological characteristics to justify her choices.

> Yes. I think like it just serves the apps so much better. There's more availability. You can also just download stuff on the Internet and put it on your phone, whereas if you

have an iPhone it has to be just through like the iTunes Store, which … I never used

to pay for apps. (Sade, fg6)

Here the participant rationalizes the reasons why she chose a different smartphone to the one she owned before, referring to the availability of free applications through an operating system. She positions herself as free to choose among many applications without the restrictions of Apple's operating system, which had limited her to paid apps. The articulation of this position was repeated in the focus group discussions, as participants argued on the free choice among smartphones, operating systems and applications, positioning themselves as free consumers which is a key feature of sedution process. This notion of freedom in neoliberal terms is a crucial one for the reproduction and sustainability of governmentality through market practices and principles.

Notions of neophilia were also reproduced when participants were contrasting smartphones to earlier mobile phone devices. Blackberry, discussed in the literature of the case study, was an established company in regard to smartphones offering secure email, but Blackberry's success was soon limited among business people, failing to meet the latest technical characteristics developed and adopted by competitors. This case was notably brought up in many focus groups, for participants to underline the importance of the technological developments in regard to smartphones that could be read as an example of the obsolescence and the endless need for innovation reproduced by the participants who appear seduced to these ideas.

> Well, the Blackberry, I know, when it first came out was kind of considered a smartphone, wasn't it, but now it's, it just doesn't compare, does it, to iPhones. (Marlene, fg1)

Blackberry phones were considered pioneering in the smartphone industry when launched, offering connection to the Internet, and this function was enough to classify them as smart. Subsequently, new generations of smartphones incorporated touchscreens instead of keyboards, enlarged their screens, and there were many more applications available, such that Blackberry was left behind.

> Interviewer: But why do you think it is not as smart as the iPhone, for example, that you mentioned?
>
> Jake: I've had one of those in the past and I remember thinking, I mean, the first time I got it, it was like, whoa, this is the future, wow, this is to browse and a couple of years later, literally two or three years later, it was like, how could I ever have used that, it's impossible. (fg1)

Jake describes eloquently the notion of obsolescence within the dominant discourse of neophilia and also their superficiality and flickle approach to once prized possessions reproducing the power relations of consumerism. First-generation smartphones enabled Internet browsing, which was a distinct feature for smartphone device, but within a short period of time what once seemed to be the 'future' became the 'past', leading the users like Jake to look for the next 'futuristic' object. Bauman (2000: 72) argues that "the recipes for the good life and the gadgets that serve them carry a 'use by' date, but most of them will fall out of use well before that date, dwarfed, devalued and stripped of their allurements by the

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competition of 'new and improved' offers". This passage explains why the old Blackberry users abandoned them so categorically, withdrawing the label of 'smart'. This superficial attachment to objects show that participants are more easily seduced by the glittering new things on offer and less troubled by the problematic aspects it brings such as the surveillant aspects.

In the context of obsolescence, other participants based their justification of a phone upgrade on the fact that the previous one would be slower. The speed related to immediacy discussed in the previous section was articulated as an important discourse that generated neophiliac discourses. A newer phone would serve immediacy more efficiently, as Sade claims:

> So I only got this like a month ago. I actually had an iPhone 4, but it just got too slow
>
> and I got annoyed with it. (Sade, fg6)

Smartphones as seen already have been discussed mainly within their capabilities due to Internet connection. Therefore, there were participants who neglected using the smartphone as a phone even though the functions are the same, just served through the web.

> I mean I notice it especially here because I haven't got a SIM card yet, so essentially,
>
> I am just using my phone as a computer. I don't call or text, I use Viber or WhatsApp
>
> instead. So yes that's the functionality of the phone, the phone bit's gone, it's just all
>
> wi-fi. (Frans, fg5)

Frans argues that the 'phone bit' is not necessary in a primary phone device as she is using applications available on her desktop or laptop in a more compact device. It is the desire for

communication at less cost or no cost in the case of wi-fi, as this participant describes, that has made the earlier phone devices redundant and smartphones seductive.

Participants articulated the functionalities of a mobile phone device as 'needs', and the further the technology advanced to include newer applications, the more obsolescent the earlier devices were described.

> I think I got my first smartphone when I started high school, so I was like 15, and I had it since then, I mean I lost one when I was 16, so then I had to get used to a brick phone again, which was a really painful experience. (Lisa, fg5)

Many participants from different focus groups, such as Lisa from the quote above, used the term 'brick' to describe the earlier phone devices, as they would not serve the functionalities of smartphones. Both the design and the technical characteristics are disappointing for the participants, thus the particular term. Participants' articulation of the first mobile phone devices they obtained disclosed notions of neophilia. The term 'painful' is reminiscent of neophilia whereby the experience of a phone device not connected to the Internet provokes a seemingly unsatisfied desire. The subsequent dependent relationship that participants articulated to have developed with their smartphone devices as a result of the seductive characteristics presented in this chapter so far, is explored in the following section.

6.6   Dependency

In the previous sections, I explored the dominant discourses within which participants constructed their relationship with their smartphones. Here, I explore the way participants talk about this relationship through the analysis of the focus group discussions and the email

responses. Participants' articulation of their position as dependent on their smartphones is presented, based on the heavy use of the devices for everyday activities.

Participants, when asked how they use their smartphones, gave long lists of activities that, in many cases, ended in holistic answers such as 'everything', indicative of the normalization of their devices in their everyday life.

> INTERVIEWER: So how do you use your phone? Like what kind of use do you make out of it? Calls, text, Internet?
>
> Pipa: Too much. Everything.
>
> [All] Everything. (fg8)

The focus group above expressed an absolute consensus on the question around the use of smartphones. As moderator, I gave some examples to make the question clear; the response 'everything', though, was indicative of the participants' heavy use of the devices and the unanimity of their response reveals a normalization of smartphones' use, indicating addictive tendencies. This can be based on the non-neutral tone of the response that suggests a struggle in their way of talk – 'too much'.

Notions of dependency based on the discourses discussed in the previous sections and the consequent normalization of smartphones in participants' everyday life was a common pattern among the focus groups.

> It's an extension of yourself in a philosophical way. It's just, everything is there, you're
>
> right, it's a computer but it fits in your pocket. (Halley, fg2)

Halley echoes McLuhan's (1964) theory of media as extensions of man, which argues that media change the society as they enable different relations, in accordance with Coeckelberg's paradox of proximity seen in the previous section. Halley articulates the use of the smartphone as an extension of herself, not an object exterior to herself. This way of talking about smartphones indicates the integration of the device in her life cutting out alternative ways of talking about the devices such as surveillance. Following McLuhan's conceptualization, according to which media influence society regardless of their content, participants' articulation of smartphones shows how the devices have affected the way they organize their everyday life, relying heavily on them. However, they talk about it as something external imposed on them, rather than seeing themselves as part of these power relationships, illustrating their subjugation to consumerism in what could be cosntrued as struggle of dependency. This is what Foucault taks about as power operating through people than on them.

Some of the participants explicitly used the term 'dependent–dependency' to describe this relationship, and in all focus groups, notions of dependency were used in the way participants talked about this.

> I think we become more and more dependent on our phones, and I know a lot of
>
> people that panic when their phone dies or if they lose it. (Frans, fg10)

The participant accepts and reproduces the discourse of dependency, which she attributes to a vague public normalizing this practice. She points to withdrawal symptoms like panic in the

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absence of the smartphone device that infer dependency. Reference to this kind of symptoms was another discursive pattern observed in many focus group discussions as can be seen in the following quote.

> I don't know how to explain it in English, but you know when I have like no battery or something like that, I feel like really strange. Like I'm out of the world, like I can't get in contact with anybody, I just can't do anything. (Matthew, fg3)

Matthew justified these symptoms – 'I feel like really strange'- as the inability to contact other people for he relies on his smartphone depicting the position of dependence on the device. In the pre-smartphone world, people could still communicate; however, claims like this illustrate the relationship developed with smartphone devices, indicating a seductive process that results normalising such practices. Participants attributed a much greater meaning to their smartphones than simply a device, as they articulate it as an essential need to them, for the vast majority of the participants referred to smartphones as a necessity, as a device that they could not live without, even though it is not a device essential for survival in a biological sense. This supports Bauman's (2000) argument that a product that was a luxury yesterday becomes today's necessity.

> But I feel like for a long period of time [without her phone] I would feel sort of like stressed if I didn't have it, because I'd think like, how do I really know what's happening, what if someone has messaged me, what if someone has rung me etc. (Anna, fg3)

Anna, deploys notions of withdrawal symptoms while articulating her dependency on the smartphone device for her communication with others, even though most of these applications are available through their computers and laptops as well. boyd (2014) argues

that teenagers are not addicted to the online activities but rather the socialization resulting though in addiction to the smartphones providing constant contact with others. This then only shows the normalization of smartphones in their everyday life and the seduction process that shifts their dependency for socialization to smartphones and relevant applications as a facilitator of this.

The next extracts are from a single focus group that had a very vivid discussion, partly because participants were already close friends and had a strong opinion about their devices. So, the language used to describe the relationship with their smartphones was very intense.

> Silia: You are very naked without your phone.

> Silia, similarly to the 'extension of yourself' argument by the participant earlier, discusses the smartphone in terms of identity expression. She equals separation from the phone with lacking clothes that cover nudity, expressing notions of vulnerability, which shows her dependency on the smartphone as a necessity.

> Mia: Yes, I always feel lost without it. Like before I went food shopping before I came here and my phone died. And I couldn't remember half my shopping because my shopping list was on my phone. And that was not so great so …

So far, the importance of the smartphone device has been articulated on the grounds of Internet connection that was not possible with earlier mobile phones, but here, Mia describes the reliance on her smartphone even for simple things like a shopping list as though it is irreplaceable in this respect. However, as a result of discourses such as neophilia and claimed convenience, participants positioned themselves as dependent on their smartphones even in cases where technology did not prove to meet their needs as the case above shows.

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Pipa: Yes, I think when your [phone] dies it is like – but then there isn't anyone that is like – because we all have iPhones – we have the iPhone 5. So, we are all going to have the same charger, so there is no doubt that someone in your proximity will have a phone charger for you to use and that is really weird like.

Calia: Also, if you are in a group and no one has that charger, that devastating feeling. It is just the feeling of loss … (fg8)

The language used by the participants in relation to their smartphones depicts a strong attachment to their devices. These participants describe the case of the smartphone battery going flat using terms of sorrow such as 'die', 'feeling of loss', commonly used for losses experienced in relation to people, rather than objects similar to the marketing language discussed in Chapter 3. Pipa also indicates a normalization of smarthphones' possession expecting that someone in her proximity would own a similar phone, showing a group level of adopting the same trends in technologies.

This kind of withdrawal symptoms was also articulated retrospectively, and participants referred to periods of their lives where they experienced an enforced separation from their smartphones, mainly because it was not functioning. Some participants however, could leave their phones for a while as long as they were in control of the situation and they could reach for them on their demand.

You see when my phone did break and my phone broke a while ago and I had to have like a – just like a simple phone for like a year or so. And it was like – the first few weeks were horrible because I was obviously on my phone like doing stuff on it. And

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you can't get Internet or anything on it and it was so frustrating. After a while you

get used to it and it's actually quite nice because you feel like – you feel like you are

actually concentrating on things and also for like hypers [meaning students who are

very energetic and lack concentration] do it is better to just come prepared on – in

lecturers and stuff I am quite bad and I do sit on my phone sometimes. I get just like

side-tracked. But it was nice to be like completely focused and not distracted or

anything. (Silia, fg8)

Here, the language used was similar to that of a rehab process, showing that the metaphor of

addiction works. As in any kind of addiction, the first period in which the participant had to

change her habits was reported as 'horrible'. After a while, though, she articulated it as a form

of relief through which she also noticed and altered negative behaviours she had developed

using a smartphone device such as lack of focus. However, just like an addiction, she returned

to this relationship that she had articulated as unhealthy. The description of such addictive

characteristics shows the struggle between the oppositional discourses of convenience and

dependency, within which subjugation to neoliberal discourses seem to dominate.

INTERVIEWER: But what made you go back to the smartphone?

Silia: Well, I was always waiting to go back to it … So, I had to use a temporary phone.

But I wouldn't have had it forever. Like I definitely would have – I don't know it is just

so convenient to have everything like. It is just more of a convenience as well. (fg8)

Silia articulated the replacement of the smartphone with an earlier mobile phone device

within discourses of liberation related to rehabilitation but appeared decisive to return to a

smartphone indicating the dependent relationship with her device. She articulated this period

as a brief respite that was an a priori condition. The normalization of the smartphones in her

everyday life was unquestionable, showing the power relations of the dominant discourses explored in this chapter.

Discussing the dependency on the smartphone devices, participants positioned themselves as passive subjects to the dominant discourses. Their seduction to the discourses around technologies was justified by the participants on the basis of the benefits which is a result of the neoliberal rationality (Foucault in Lemke, 2001). They also articulated this seduction process imposed by an external Other, such as the abstract society and the media, abdicating their responsibility and positioning themselves outside of these power relations.

> I just think that companies and technologies will just tell people in society times have
>
> changed, move with it or stay behind. I think that's what they're going to focus on.
>
> (Karun, fg7)

Karun was within a focus group that led the discussion to a very critical evaluation of the smartphones, and positioned himself as a seduced subject to the ideology forced by the companies and technologies to justify their dependency on the smartphones. He presents the companies and technologies as carrying an agency that is so dominant as to decide how the future will be shaped. In this articulation, Karun accepts a passive position to a blackmail he has to accept, and participants' articulation of the relationship with their smartphones depicts the power relations and dominant technology.

> I think it's like this, we're kind of constantly told like this is the best thing, or this is
>
> the way that it should be.
>
> INTERVIEWER: You are told by whom you mean?

[183]

Just like everything, like advertising, you watch TV it's there, you walk down the street it's there, you listen to the radio whatever, it's always there. Even in songs like the lyrics will imagine they're in videos, you, society constantly tells us that like smartphones we need them, or now like loads of my younger cousins who are like 11, 12 have smartphones, and I'm like how does Nokia tell the 15, 16 it's just[…] and we're told that because times are changing like that's okay. (Anna, fg3)

Anna articulated a struggle in terms of her justification as to the reasons why they (the participants of the focus group) talked about smartphones in a particular positive way, claiming they cannot live without these devices. She rationalizes her choices by positioning herself as a passive subject in the seductive process by the media which construct for her whole society imposing how she needs to act. She constructs her position as without agency, and sees the constructed reality by media and society as totalizing.

6.7   Conclusion

This chapter explored participants' articulation of the relationship with their smartphone devices and relevant applications. It was demonstrated that participants drew from discursive resources that naturalize and normalize this dependent relationship. Participants of this study constitute a homogeneous group of people of the same age, who owned their first mobile phone device from an early stage of their lives. This first device was not a smartphone, but participants were familiarized with and constructed a relationship through the ancestor of smartphones, though it has been gradually exchanged for a newer model. Discourses that have been used to describe the first mobile device were reproduced in the context of smartphones. This gradual shift from mobile phone device to the smartphone, where the discourses are reproduced, building even stronger connections between the user and the

phone, can be interpreted as an element of the seductive process that gains the consensus of the consumers in stages that appear to be insignificant, but amount to a great deal of significance (Deighton and Grayson, 1995). The smartphone was articulated through discourses of security and gamification similarly to the earlier mobile phones and expanded to immediacy and neophilia[52]. These discourses can be interpreted as elements of the seductive process that led to a dependent relationship as participants described it.

In a world where risk and potential dangers are always present, participants constructed strong opinions over security and safety that smartphones is argued to serve. Positioning themselves as vulnerable, participants presented smartphones as the solution, describing them as a safety tool. Location tracking system was considered of great value in such cases as it was presented "offering location-based services and navigation aids" (Katz, 2008: 437). The ownership and use of phones from an early age could be viewed through the exercise of what Foucault 'pastoral power', as a result of pervasive dangerization to maintain the parental gaze. Pastoral power is a pretence at care, while also being a controlling mechanism and smartphones serve and promote this seductive nature of this form of power. Later, it seems as though more seductive power maintains this dependency in a way that fully envelopes the user with sustaining the promise of safety and security but including more discourses.

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[52] However, arguing that these two last discourses are newly constructed and not applied to earlier devices would be misinterpretation, as the discussion was mainly around the smartphones and the earlier devices.

Following this, the analysis showed the construction of gamification discourse around smartphones. Within this discourse, the design of the smartphones appeared to be an element of the seduction process through which the focus of the users shifted to the smartphone as a gadget rather than a phone device. The applications were also articulated within the same discourse as an element of socialization between the users. Paraphrasing

Discourses of immediacy emerged through the analysis, which, in accordance with recent studies, constitutes a dominant feature in defining the relationship young users have with the Internet (Lee and Cook, 2015) and consequently with their smartphone devices. In fact, the connection to the Internet was reported as the key element that attributes the label 'smart' to the smartphone devices.

Through the analysis, notions of obsolescence were repeated constructing the discourse neophilia, which generally means the affection for anything new. In this context, participants disregarded any earlier mobile phone device. Participants explicitly articulated their relationships with their smartphones within the discourse of dependency. As dependency is related to notions of addiction carrying negative connotations and thus constructing a subject position of vulnerability and victimization, participants justified their relationship within the context of modernity. Dries and Van Damme (2009: 114) argue that "[to] a certain extent advertisements organised consumer choice around variability, novelty and fashion". Even though this quote can be read as reducing agency, it can be argued that these are the discourses used by the market to seduce consumers. Participants appeared to have internalized these discourses, reproducing but not resisting or reshaping, constructing what I

call seduced subject position in their relationship with their smartphones. Following, though, the literature on power relations, I do not argue that this is a static position as these relations are always dynamic and evolve around antagonistic discourses. Thus, the next chapter will discuss the articulation of the participants around the smartphone devices within the discourse of surveillance. The analysis will explore how the seduced subject negotiates the surveilled position, illuminating resistance practices within seduction.

7 Negotiating the Surveillant Aspects of Smartphone Devices

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explored the participants' discourses around their smartphone devices that can be read as part of a seduction process. Seduction then within an interpretation of power relations provoked these discursive patterns, where participants reported to have developed a dependent relationship with their smartphones. Thus, it can be argued that participants positioned themselves as seduced subjects. In this context, this chapter will shed light on how participants negotiate their exposure to surveillance, how they can resist the 'irresistible sweetness' of seduction.

The discourses of seduction – gamification, immediacy, neophilia, and dependency – can be read as antagonistic to the ones of surveillance, meaning that they are seen as oppositional in debates over technology. The theorization of digital technologies in academia and in media studies specifically, seems to be polarized; at one end of the spectrum are creativity and empowerment and at the other is surveillance (Gauntlett, 2015: 7). This means that technologies, as seen already in the literature review, can be discussed either within the discourse of information society where technologies serve the user, or within surveillance, where in brief users' data can be tracked and manipulated for state or market purposes raising issues such as social-sorting and profiling, discrimination, exploitation of labour, and abuse of privacy as discussed in earlier chapters.

This analysis focuses on the codes that concerned participants' reactions to negative associations with surveillance which were provoked by the research design using the vignettes. As I shall argue in this chapter, participants negotiate the surveillant aspects of smartphones constructing the notions of resignation, avoidance and responsibilization to conform to the normalization of surveillance. This arguably has the effect of maintaining their position as seduced surveilled subjects, minimizing or rationalizing away any potential problems. This chapter will explore the dynamics of those discourses and how they were employed in the participants' accounts.

7.2   Resignation

In this section, the notion of resignation will be explored as a key element of conformity as it emerged through the analysis. Participants draw on notions of futility and powerlessness as well as trade-off arguments to construct their resignation to surveillance. Most of the participants when exposed[53] to surveillance articulated feelings of shock, discomfort and anger, especially when describing how they were unaware of relevant techniques. After watching the critical vignette, most of the participants gave greater attention to the case of tracking bins that had been installed in the City of London to collect footfall data of passers-by for advertising purposes and were removed after the intervention of privacy advocates in 2013[54].

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[53] In this study the term 'exposure' is informed by Ball's concept of exposure as the moment of realization or in this case the articulation of participants' attitudes on surveillance mechanisms. Smartphone users might be under surveillance constantly, but exposure here refers to the moments of realization of the surveillant Other, and subsequently their subjugation to surveillance.
[54] http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/technology-23665490

Siddha: It was appalling. It was so surprising, especially about the bin thing. If you have wi-fi they can track you. And when you are starting to use your mobile this thing comes out, if you want to have access to free wi-fi – you normally do that if you don't have the 3G thing – but it actually is a trap for you to get your information. It is scary, isn't it?

Denise: It is scary. But if they do that to catch the criminals? I think this is right. It shouldn't affect us who don't do anything wrong.

Interviewer: But do you feel it's a little bit scary because they know where you are?

Denise: Yes, they can see everything you do. They can know when you sleep or go to bed.

Siddha: After watching this video now I have two viewpoints about it. Like it is bad, but it is good. It's like I want to convince myself that it's good, but I can't convince myself that it can't cause, you know, some safety issues when it comes to my personal life. Like knowing everything, like every step you take, every day you go there. It doesn't sound appealing; it doesn't sound that safe.

Interviewer: How does it make you feel, the fact that they know everything about you?

Siddha: Right now it's just that if it is for a good purpose, then obviously it's good. It should be done. But, you know, somewhere inside you still feel that they shouldn't have everything, they shouldn't have all the information because sometimes you want to help them but you don't want to. It's like having two face factors for one thing. (fg8)

The discussion with focus group 8 depicts ambivalence between the oppositional discourses around the smartphones' capabilities of tracking as the seducer starts to lose their appeal –

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'it doesn't sound appealing'. The participants reported their shock and concerns over privacy owing to data collection through their devices without their permission, and yet the discourse of security was the main reference for them to accept this practice. In a position of discomfort, they articulate their resignation to practices of surveillance for the sake of safety.

Apart from the lack of awareness, some of the participants articulated feelings of shock and concern over the tracking bins based on the inappropriateness of using an appliance such as a bin for data collection purposes. The exposure to this surveillance mechanism was negotiated within the discourse of security as seen before but mainly within advertising purposes denying further direct impacts from such surveillance practices. Most of the participants related this data collection practice to targeted advertisements that appear on other popular platforms, showing the normalization of such surveillance techniques that cannot be separated though from other forms of surveillance in a 'liquid surveillance society' (Bauman and Lyon, 2012).

> I think it's only to do with the target advertising on the side of the bin, not to actually track what they are doing. You know, like Facebook, you get those tracked apps on the side; I think it's similar to that. The only thing is that when you walk past and before you've hit the bin, it's going to have an app that is relevant to what you are after. Which I don't personally have an issue with. (Mia, fg2)

Targeted advertising was discussed as something annoying, but cynicism over this technique has been employed by the participants as they articulated the development of immunity to these practices, which they called 'ad-blindness'. This 'cynical distance', results a dis-identification with the power that even though it might make the individual feel better it

[191]

actually reproduces the power relations (Fleming and Spicer, 2003). Therefore, even though they might articulate a cynicism towards targeted advertising, meaning that they get what they want, such as free applications, without acknowledging the advertisements, they still participate in and reproduce the mechanism of surveillance.

Their resignation to surveillance practices was also rationalized on the basis of trade-off arguments and the next extract shows how the participant actively resisted sharing her data as requested upon the download of applications available on her new smartphone device. In the case of declining the terms and conditions, though, access to the applications was denied, and thus, she positioned herself as with no power. This could be read as she is no longer seduced and actively participated in her surveillance with full knowledge which would have ignored the seduction process that operates on the grounds of instant gratification more tempting than the ambiguous risks posed by unclear and vague terms and conditions.

> When I first got a smartphone, I did look through and then I'd always click 'No, I don't want to share my data'. But then, like you said, you don't get to use the app. So I'd get really confused. Now I've had the smartphone for a year or whatever and you just kind of go, yes, that's fine, I have to (Halley, fg2).

Halley, in negotiating between data sharing and use of applications, articulated confusion as to the decision she needs to make in regard to this trade-off posed by the design of the applications. Having spent over a year with her smartphone, a key feature of which are the applications, she reports her resignation over the rejection of their use. Similarly, there were participants who claimed that they would actively turn off the location data of their smartphone devices, relating their actions directly to surveillance techniques. They justified

their resignation, though, owing to their familiarization with -even dependency on- their devices as. Participants resigned to the location tracking operating system characterized the smartphone device as a product of consumption and not as a means of surveillance, in accordance with Zurawski's (2011) arguments on loyalty cards.

> Sometimes I, at first, like when I started using the phone about three years ago, I tried not to do location [referring to location data being turned on]; I don't want people to know where I am or have someone tracking me. But now I have to. For the past one year or two years I completely changed. (John, fg3)

Participants used expressions such as 'I have to' when referring to their resignation to surveillance techniques, articulating the subjected position of powerlessness or shifting the responsibility for their actions to somebody else, also clear in John's extract. They articulated their resistant position towards location tracking within the terms of futility to justify their resignation to such surveillance practices. Resignation in these terms is understood not as a passive concept as is compliance but more as a result of an original ambivalence and a struggle between different practices. I chose to use the term resignation over compliance as most participants did not position themselves as submissively accepting surveillance practices, instead, they built a justification of their decision to accept data collection in a way that seemed to make them feel more comfortable. They referred to their choice restriction to justify their acceptance of sharing their data with the companies that offer them the relevant applications. Following the analysis of the articulation of participants' relationship with their smartphone devices, this lack of choice that participants describe is argued to be based on seductive notions, such that their desire to experience and enjoy the full potentiality of their smartphones outweighs the risks of surveillance, thus they choose compliance.

[193]

Furthermore, the normalization of location tracking and data collection was described not only in the context of the everyday use of smartphone devices, but also in regard to general sociocultural practices referring to the 'nowadays' society. Surveillance practices according to the participants lie on many and different dimensions of everyday life, which makes the means of surveillance "domesticated, normal, unremarkable" Bauman et al. (2014: 142) and so people disregard the surveillance practices.

> I think it is for some people it's probably just a quite a small price to pay for a smartphone. I don't think anybody is going to be living without a smartphone. (Mania, fg6)

Smartphones were described among the participants as a necessity in modern societies, constructing surveillance techniques as a 'price' people have to pay to be part of modernity. However, participants seemed to construct their reality through their own subjectivity, arguing that everybody in modern societies owns a smartphone deviceignoring those who do not possess one, thus normalizing the use of smartphones and resigning themselves to any negative aspects. This cynical stance that participants take as to surveillance techniques occurring through their smartphone devices can be interpreted through Žižek's (1989) theory of fetishism. According to this interpretation, participants adopt a "cynical consciousness" in regard to surveillance and thus, even though they recognize its existence, they resign themselves to being at ease and enjoying the use of smartphone devices. In the context of commodity fetishism, participants' trade-off arguments show the perception of concepts such as privacy on the basis of economic value. This could be interpreted as a key feature of neo-liberal capitalism drawing upon Foucauldian approaches, explaining how "the social domain" has been encoded "as a form of economic domain", resulting in the decisions of

[194]

social life being made on the basis of "cost–benefit calculations and market criteria" (Lemke, 2001: 200).

> Obviously on top of that there is the advertising thing, so lots of, and we sort of, we digital natives as you called us, I suppose we're used to one thing now, which is, you get stuff for free […] You get a hugely complicated and hard-to-build service out of there, say Picasa or Flickr or just about anything, and you get it completely for free, which is something I'm totally used to now, if to the point if somebody offers me to pay, I'm just going to browse on Google for something in equivalent and it's going to be free. (Jake, fg1)

Jake, reproducing his subject position as a digital native, justified his familiarity with the use of free applications and thus the normalization of surveillance practices such as targeted advertising that enable this trade-off and arguably, a different social relationship involved in production process has been developed. Commodity fetishism can be perceived not on the basis of the traditional economic value of the relationships between money and commodities, but data and commodities. Instead of the traditional Marxist equation, smartphone users do not use money in the exchange for a commodity, rather they share their data with the relevant companies who can then translate it into ways to increase profit. For users- as- 'labourers' who do not get paid in money, but receive free applications, this is what Lazzarato called 'immaterial labour' (cited in Murakami Wood and Ball, 2013). Users are at the same time the consumers of the applications, but they work (as in sharing their data) to get them for free.

So far, the analysis has shown that participants positioned themselves as powerless to actively resist the data collection process, as they reported not to have been given any choice. Many of the participants, though, articulated this subject position in relation to the technology through which surveillance operates. Ascribing an agency to the technology, they articulated the surveillance mechanism as being like an authoritative machine operated by a vague, unknown Other, as Ball (2009) describes it. Harper also refers to a homogeneous" anonymous observer" as "a common trope in particularly panoptic discourse about surveillance" (Harper, 2008, cited in Harper et al., 2013). The following quote illustrates the lack of knowledge on how surveillance as a form of power operates, where the "watcher" was presented as unknown, and the technology used as impenetrable. Within these discourses, then, the participant positions himself as powerless, as one whose only choice was to resign to the practices of surveillance and continue enjoying the use of his smartphone.

> It's too much, you know … like, you can't fight the amount of systems they have for … like mass surveillance, like, and they have a bunch of algorithms that collect data and because it's a machine you can't do anything against it. Even if your phone is turned off they can still track you, it's possible. So it's … there is no way anymore to get out of it. It doesn't matter if it's an operating thing, your phone is a gateway. Because just as much as you can reach people with it, that's just the way they can get to you as well. So it doesn't matter for me; I don't care, to be honest. (Eryn, fg7)

Eryn describes the power of technology in a deterministic way. He confers autonomous power on the technology and an unknown Other, in accordance with findings of relevant studies on everyday surveillance (see Harper et al., 2013: 180). He described surveillance almost conspiratorially, as he presented technology as a powerful tool that works in favour and on behalf of these unspecified and unknown Others, concluding that there is no escape route.

[196]

Thus, in this struggle, he positions himself as unable to act in a futile battle, so he resigned before entering the game.

7.3   Avoidance

In the previous section I explored the strategy of resignation in the way that participants articulate how they come to terms with the surveillant aspects of smartphone devices. The main discourses around resignation as emerged through the analysis were futility, powerlessness and trade-off. In this section, the strategy of avoidance will be explored where participants constructed their subject position by placing surveillance mechanisms beyond their sphere of concern as they drew a line between themselves and surveillance as a mechanism of scrutiny. The discursive patterns around this strategy were the lack of awareness around the operation of surveillance and the denial of positioning themselves as subjects of interest in this process. Building on these discourses, participants avoided the exposure to surveillance that required them to negotiate their position as surveilled subjects. In this aspect, participants denied the surveilled position, differentiating themselves from subjects that should or could be under surveillance, alienating themselves from the potential surveilled Other that differs from them.

For participants, surveilled subjects would include potential threats to the society, or people who are famous and/or considered as important[55] and thus under scrutiny. Marx (2009) lists *avoiding* as one out of twelve techniques of behavioural neutralization as a form of resistance.

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[55] For participants, important or famous people are those who are public figures, and, thus, their personal life would be of public interest.

In Marx's conceptualization of avoidance, though, the surveilled subjects "choose location, times, periods and means not subject to surveillance" (2009: 298); he is referring to the action of avoiding surveillance, when subjects are aware they are being surveilled, in accordance with boyd's (2014) teenagers who know that they are being watched by their parents and actively avoid it. In contrast, in the context of the study, avoidance refers to the rejection of surveilled subject positions and the direction of users' focus on the positive attributes of smartphone devices, result of seduction, to avoid thinking of the surveillance occurring through them. This is reminiscent of Foucault's theorization of power that operates not only on subjects but through them, since avoidance here is utter compliance and reproduction of surveillance practices. Seduction then appears to be reconstructed as the dominant discourse in a different way to resignation for the notion of avoidance is grounded on the well-known argument 'nothing to hide, nothing to fear', where trust plays a key role as emerged from the analysis.

Throughout the focus groups, participants seemed to perceive smartphone devices as digital gadgets for the purpose of communication, entertainment, information and purchases used in everyday life, always undervaluing the surveillant aspects of them. This approach to ICTs is in accordance with Lyon's argument (2002: 244) that users focus on "convenience and efficiency" that technologies offer rather than the "surveillance aspects[56] of these technologies" as the extract below suggests.

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[56] I have purposely used 'surveillant aspects' in preference to 'surveillance aspects', which other scholars like Lyon use. I believe that grammatically it is more correct than ascribing attributes to surveillance.

I think because it's on the phone you don't really think about it in that way; like if

someone actively said to you, face to face like, 'I'm going to track your location, or I'm

going to do this', you'd be like 'Oh no, I don't want that.' But because it's just like a

click, like you don't really think about it, you just do it, you just go like yes, you don't

really think about what the possible x-factor of that would be. (Anna, fg3)

Anna illustrated the difficulty for an average user to comprehend the software systems with

the algorithms that allow mass surveillance, operating beyond the screen of the smartphone.

What is articulated then by Anna is that the stealth of surveillance is an element of seduction;

as always, subtle and invisible technologies of power are more insidious than explicit ones.

Smartphone devices are not constructed as an explicit means of surveillance, such as CCTV

cameras, as they have a dual use, thus participants focused on the direct use of the device

and applications. At the moment of exposure, when Anna realized that her location could be

tracked, she reacted by constructing negative connotations around this practice, as she

expressed her aversion to being tracked. However, seduction drawing upon the immediacy of

pleasure in this case shifted her focus away from the possible surveillance operations.

Even though smartphone users are subjected to surveillance, they avoid of the surveilled

position rationalizing surveilance occurring to others, but not to them.

I think because most of the time you really are assuming what they are really taking

from you, like when you're on Facebook, I'm really, I know that they are going to take

some information off me, even if I don't want it. So you just assume it, but you really

don't want to think about it, and if you read those things [terms and conditions]

you're like okay I'm doing this on purpose, so if you just download the app, it's like

okay, I don't care. I didn't know about that, but I really know you don't really want to

have that. (John, fg3)

John articulated an ambivalence around thef data collection through use of his smartphone and justified the active choice of not knowing about surveillance practices, avoiding the responsibility of confronting his subjectivity as surveilled subject. He articulated the data collection process within ambiguity, positioning himself as an ignorant rather than surveilled subject just 'assuming' data collection but having no certainty about it. The relation between power and knowledge is evident as he chooses not to know remaining seduced subject to surveillance, in accordance with Bauman et al.'s (2014: 142) argument on the obscurity of the system that is part of the seduction process, "[i]t all seems so fluid, slippery and hard to grasp for the ordinary citizens and consumers" that they might know that they are watched but do not know "(and much care) by whom and for what purpose" (ibid.).

When that man was talking in the TEDx lecture about how every movement can be

tracked and things like that, it was a bit weird but then I was a little, like, I almost

didn't believe it in a way, like if I was to pick up a phone, I wouldn't know where to

start to find out where someone's been or where, who they've called. I know you

could, if you're a specialist like find that out, but I'm, like, does anyone really care?

(Ela, fg4)

The above extract illustrates the avoidance of the surveilled position grounded in both the context of technology as described above but also on the alienation from the potential identity as a surveilled subject. The visualization of a smartphone user's data generated by the phone masts in the vignette brought forward discourses of lack of knowledge about technology, the participant claimed that it was hard to believe that such information is available as it was so far out of her experience and skills. Upon the realization of the

[200]

surveillance capacities, though, she deployed the popular argument of 'nothing to hide, nothing to fear', which has attracted the interest of many researchers in regard to privacy (Crossman, 2008; Solove, 2007). This argument was reproduced directly or indirectly in most of the focus groups. Other participants related the argument 'nothing to hide, nothing to fear' with illegal or important information that another person would not want to be disclosed, as the following extract illustrates.

> I don't have that much to hide as such, so for me I think if I had more things to hide, I would be a little more worried about it. (Sara, fg6)

Sara positioned herself as an innocent citizen, thus not concerned about surveillance and participants deploying these discursive arguments tried to reconfigure potential subjectivities in this respect by arguing they have nothing to hide. They constructed potential surveilled subjects for whom surveillance would be legitimate, such as criminals or people of public interest, e.g. politicians and celebrities rationalizing the surveillance system. This position, though, can also be interpreted through the lenses of research in surveillance and business studies that argues individuals resist when they have a negative experience so when they have direct impact from surveillance practices (Lee, Motion and Conroy, 2009; Wells and Wills, 2009). In the case of surveillance operating through their smartphone devices, though, users do not experience negative situations so it is absent.

The process of thinking in terms of 'cost–benefit calculations' (Lemke, 2001: 200), seen earlier, appeared also in the discursive patterns of resignation. Participants doubted the storage of data of 'ordinary' users 'good data subjects' (McCahill and Finn, 2014.

[201]

> It makes me wonder how much they actually keep though. Because unless you have
> anything of interest I don't reckon they keep all your data to be honest, unless you
> are of interest to them. What's the point of them spending out so much money and
> keeping all your data? (Mia, fg8)

Despite the data retention agreement of telecommunication companies, Mia avoided the subject position in terms of logistics. According to her justification, data are retained only for 'suspicious' subjects –'bad data subjects' (McCahill and Finn, 2014), so the 'nothing to hide, nothing to fear' argument becomes a discourse that supports the strategy of avoidance. Yet, by avoiding the surveilled subject position they do not avoid being subjected to surveillance.

The avoidance of relating data collection to surveillance mechanisms can be interpreted through the lenses of seduction. The participant of the next quote avoided the realisation and acknowledgement of surveilled subject position as he related the process of data collection to marketing purposes and not to surveillance ones. Thus, he rather positioned himself as a consumer who strives for technological developments and is actually empowered being part of the process through his data as part of the customer relationship management that yet relies on surveillance techniques of social sorting.

> I think I never thought about this; they can really track all your life. Like all your steps,
> where you go, what you do. They can use it, you know, for economy purposes, like
> not for bad things, but for developing useful gadgets that you can use in your life,
> those kind of things. (Matthew, fg3)

Matthew, seduced by discourses of neophilia, reproduced the justification of customer relationship management for using customers' data through data-mining techniques (Danna

[202]

and Gandy, 2002; Murakami Wood and Ball, 2013). This is what Harper et al. (2013) calls the 'consumerised subject' in terms of individualized marketing exploiting the surveilled subject. Similarly, the next participant, seduced by notions convenience, articulated the surveillant aspects in a positive way.

> I think it's a good thing in a sense because it means they want to better our government and they are going to better our shopping experiences, or things like that. I think maybe it's a good thing because it's like with shops going, we can shop online now really easily. That's a massive upgrade in shopping. It's so convenient, and if they can use our research to do better things with that then I don't think I would have a problem with it. (Silia, fg8)

In a discussion about cookies and how participants' data can be used for other purposes, Silia articulated her expectations following her positive experiences so far from practices such as shopping shifting to an online environment. Critical scholars, though, writing on the political economy of personal information stress the use of data-mining techniques to predict not what would be useful to consumers -based on Bauman's (2000) argument that today's desires are tomorrow's needs-, but what would attract them and market it in an effective personalized way (Acquisti, 2010). A good and simple example of that argument could be Netflix's decision to buy the political thriller 'House of Cards' based on big data algorithms[57] that combined data indications about audiences' preferable director, protagonist and series to guarantee the success of the new production. So, it becomes clear how little informed

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[57] http://www.nytimes.com/2013/02/25/business/media/for-house-of-cards-using-big-data-to-guarantee-its-popularity.html?_r=0

participants have been on the use of data mining and thus avoiding the surveilled position more easily.

On another note, some participants avoided the surveilled subject position, articulating notions of loyalty and trust for companies. They claimed that companies would not betray the relationship with their customers as they depend on them.

> Yes, I think, I don't know, I have a lot of trust in them for a start. I mean they've got
> so big and they have so many followers, I feel that therefore they do have some, you
> know, morality to them. I mean I highly doubt that they'll, you know, just like leak
> everyone's photos, you know, I highly highly doubt that, so I don't really see them as
> a threat. I think, if anything, they use our data to actually better their services for us
> as a society. (Sade, fg6)

Sade above suggested that big corporations owe their customers a duty of care that is based on what she calls 'morality', even though companies' interests merely align to their profit. From a customer relationship management perspective, the participant expects loyalty on the part of the big corporations as this is a win–win situation and this trust in big corporations to protect human rights such as privacy has been supported by the recent incidents involving the FBI and Apple. The private company appeared to deny the FBI access to customers' private data in the name of security, raising these issues in public debate and the company even wrote a public letter to the customers claiming that they would protect their privacy[58]. Some

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[58] http://www.apple.com/customer-letter/answers/

days later, Whatsapp implemented an end-to-end encryption system that became default to all its users to assure its customers' privacy, saying that not even the company would be able to access the content of its users' messages[59]. It could be argued then that the companies increase their customers' trust in them, as reassurance builds trust which in turn produces complicity or blind faith as another technique of seduction. At the same time, though, it shows that power relations, event though assymetrical, are fluid and customers' demands could force companies to better secure their customers' data.

The argument 'nothing to hide, nothing to fear' even though central to put participants at ease, it seemed to be closely related to trust. Participants used trust as a discursive resource to construct their avoidant position for trust was positioned as a key feature in research on online interactions when it is more complex for users' assessment of others' "potential for harm or goodwill" (Miltgen and Peyrat-Guillard, 2014: 3). Trust was explored in relation to disclosure of information, however, it plays also a key role in relation to information privacy (Fogel and Nehmad, 2009, cited in Miltgen and Peyrat-Guillard, 2014: 3).

In a similar way, participants articulated trust in government, arguing that they employed surveillance techniques such as data collection and mining for the sake of security. Even though there were some voices expressing scepticism in terms of the asymmetry of power between the state and the citizens, most of the participants related data collection not to

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[59] https://www.whatsapp.com/faq/en/general/28030015

surveillance techniques but as a safety tool against terrorists and criminals. If not articulated as surveillance, this means that they are not surveilled either.

> Sade: I mean, it's fine. I have nothing to hide but I think it is bad, you know, how apparently, there's like trigger words. If you're having a conversation and then they'll … if you say a certain thing, then your conversation will be flagged up.

> Interviewer: Do you think this experience, do you apply that also now, for example, when you send emails to your family in [a Middle East nation]?

> Sade: Yes, definitely. I mean, for instance, on Facebook I don't even put my surname. I just have [initials] instead of my whole surname, just because when you go there they actually check your Facebook profile, and, obviously, I'm very Western. So it wouldn't serve me well.

> Mania: In reaction to what she said, coming from [a European country] which is supposed to be democratic, I'm less worried about what the state could hear about me, but I'm still thinking it could be doing that kind of monitoring for prevention purposes, such as preventing crimes before they even happen just because you have suspicious behaviour. So I think it's just about authoritarian, or [unclear], dictatorship regimes, so like a more democratic state can have very good tools just to measure, monitor. [My country] is very good with producing that kind of technology. (fg6)

Mania is responding to the worries of Sade who comes from a country in conflict and avoided using certain words so that her conversations would not be flagged up. Therefore, Mania, referring to the values of democracy we enjoy in Western countries, differentiated herself from the Other surveilled subject. She described how in democratic political systems the state protects citizens from potential threats, thus the data collection is not considered as a means

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of surveillance. She articulated the widely-held assumption that in democratic societies the freedom of expression which is related to privacy is taken for granted. So, the participant can continue using the smartphone device as the data collected will not be used against her, as the surveilled subjects are the ones with 'suspicious behaviour' and not 'ordinary' citizens like her. Who decides on the 'normal' versus 'abnormal' behaviour though was not questioned here, as this is the essence of Othering, differentiating and constructing ourselves as superiors. In Foucauldian terms this can be explained as normalization of power relations achieved through 'dividing practices', here seen as 'us' (democratic societies) versus 'them' (countries in political crisis) (Foucault, 1975,1980, 1982, 1988). The participant from the country in conflict Avoided any random words that might sound threatening to the government and be interpreted as suspicious behaviour, normal in situations like this, but in contrast, in democratic societies, talking about politics is positioned within human rights. In countries that are not democratic, surveillance is obvious and direct, not just an assumption as earlier participants mentioned, and this is why the participant would avoid using certain words, or would not give her full name on Facebook even though she lives in the UK, for she is aware of the surveillant state because of the politics. The surveillant Other in this case has a face, whereas in democratic societies the surveillance is faceless and the 'watcher' not identifiable (Ball, 2009) and certainly not intrusive, thus the surveilled subject position is easier avoided.

7.4   Responsibilization

In the previous section I explored the strategy of avoidance in relation to surveillant aspects of smartphone devices. In this section, the analysis will focus on the participants' claims of responsibilization over their exposure as a negotiation strategy to surveillant aspects of

smartphones, meaning that participants feel responsible about the 'management of the digital self' (McCahill and Finn, 2014: 177). The analysis showed that participants referred to control over their exposure using mainly the technological means offered by the devices and applications to do so, such as adjusting the privacy settings. This active management over their data exposure, i.e. who can see or have access to them, and could be interpreted as a resistance practice. However, participants also articulated their responsibility for what kind of information they upload onto the Internet and mainly on social network sites, which could be interpreted as conformity to surveillance. The "perceived responsibility in data handling" will be explored here as it is a theoretical contribution not sufficiently studied (Miltgen and Peyrat-Guillard, 2014: 15) and emerged as a discursive pattern in most of the focus group discussions. The analysis of the data in this section will shed light on understanding the 'privacy paradox' (Barnes, 2006; Miltgen and Peyrat-Guillard, 2014; Taddicken, 2013) discussed in the literature. This paradox argues on the inconsistency between users' concerns over their privacy and their online behaviour. Following the sections on resignation and avoidance, this section will provide insights on what could be seen as active resistance towards surveillance.

Miltgen and Peyrat-Guillard (2014: 13) suggest that young people (19–24), "are more positive, feel more responsible and are more confident of their ability to prevent possible data misuse". This could be the result of their perception of themselves as technologically literate, something that was deconstructed though in the focus group discussions as the analysis has shown so far. Reflecting on the literature of the seduction process, this could be related to

learning by experience, through which the consumer (in this case the user) believes they have knowledge over a product based on their familiarity with it.

> Lucy: I think you can turn it off and on [location tracking].

> Ruth: I know it exists. I just don't use it.

> Heley: I've never used it; I don't know much about it honestly.

> Brandon: If you've got, like, the BBC app it might do it in the background and say that you're in Leicester, so you've got personal news and stuff.

> Karen: You can pick, like, which apps you want on and off. Like, specific things.

> Lucy: Yes.

> Cynthia: Like on Twitter when you tweet and you can say like, it can show your location. Do you mean that kind of thing? Or is like an actual tracker?

> Karen: You know on Google maps it goes Google is using our location.

> Lucy: That blue blinking thing, it shows where you are, yes.

> Karen: So sometimes it's, like, working in the background. If you like weather and stuff. (fg12)

This is a representative extract of the focus group discussions showing the participants' technological illiteracy as it shows confusion over the technology. Participants' definition of the location tracking system was vague and uncertain, presenting their lack of technological awareness on which they base their user behaviour with smartphones. They expressed the assumption that the user can choose when the location tracking system might operate on one's phone, whereas certain applications need the use of the system. However, as it was

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explained in the informative vignette, the location tracking system operates also through the phone masts, making it a necessary feature for the very operation of the phone. Participants though when asked what they know about the location tracking system related it mainly to the phone location data or GPS, which can be manually switched off as the quotes show.

> Ali: But don't you think that it can be like unsafe, like some other people can find your location?
>
> Angie: Yes, that's true.
>
> Eli: Only if you let them, though.
>
> Ariel: It's still you posting, though. So, like it's not as if anyone else is posting for you.
>
> (fg13)

Even though the participants did not articulate a clear understanding of how the system operates, they argued nevertheless that others can have access to their data only if they allow so, resulting in the articulation of their responsibility over privacy and protection from potential risks. In this quote, there was definite confusion over what can be available to the unknown Other. Ali articulated a fear over safety as her location can be disclosed to and by other people. Eli though assumed that for this to happen the user has to allow access, but Ariel abruptly shifted the conversation to personal information that users upload voluntary. Ali's fear seemed to be disregarded by the group, shifting the conversation to users' individual responsibility for their exposure.

The shift from location to any personal data that participants provide online was evident to all focus groups, possibly showing the users' focus on the seductive premises of their devices. In this context, participants often referred to their responsibility for how they should behave

online to control their privacy. Even the case of self-responsibility seems problematic in the digital era, though, as scholars such as boyd have talked about the merging of the traditionally distinct borders between private and public space. In an online environment, it seems that everything is "public by default" and "private through effort" (boyd, 2014:61) indicating an additional element of seduction in terms of technology design. In other words, it is a priori the user's responsibility to take control over their data rather than it being the responsibility of the designers or the Other not to 'eavesdrop'. In the following quote, Fiona described her exposure moment when she realized that the messaging application she used was sharing her location by default, taking the responsibility to change the settings. In this sense, then, the control over exposure can be interpreted as an action of resistance to surveillance as it is an active denial of such practices.

> No, you can change that in the message settings … over the weekend I was in Scotland and he (her friend) was like what you doing in [city name] and I was like how do you know? And then I realized that I was … why can't I see where you are? And then he turned it (location data) off and so you can manage it. Which I guess it is a good thing, but people don't realize that they can manage it. (Fiona, fg11)

Here, at the moment of exposure the participant argued that she was coming to terms with the surveillant aspects of her smartphone and the specific application by adjusting the privacy settings and controlling her exposure. boyd (2014: 57), having undertaken years of qualitative research about teens in a networked society, argues that teens do desire privacy, but "being *in* public and being public" have different meanings. As in any society people have the social need to gather and be in public with others but in a networked society, it seems more difficult to distinguish these different social positions. In this context, participants want to communicate with their peers and be in public with them, public though, has come to include

online spaces such as the social networking sites instead of the traditional public spaces: squares, parks and cafes. However, this does not mean, though, that they want to be made public, thus they may take control over who has access to their group that seemed to be the common negotiation practice in regard to surveillance practices where the surveilant other could be known or at least more specific than the vague surveillance mechanism of liquid society (Bauman and Lyon, 2012). This is the reason why participants articulated awareness of surveillance practices as an important element for users to be able to protect and set the limits of their exposure.

> I know about like the photo, Geotagging, so I disable that, because I don't want people to know, you know, exactly where I live, for instance. But I think if I didn't know about them that would have scared me, because you can actually track it right to like the position on the road, and a lot of people don't know about that, so I thought that that should be made more available, especially because it's young people like myself that are using this. So it could be like an easy target for, you know, like weird people. (Sade, fg6)

Participants like Sade, above, articulated feelings of vulnerability when exposing to potential threats such as stalkers. This might seem as a something of a paradox, considering that using social networks one desires exposure, but on the other hand what became clear from this analysis was that users want to be able to control whom they will be exposed to. They might not understand how the complex mechanism of surveillance operates, but they actively change their settings to meet their criteria of privacy without opposing 'publicness' (boyd, 2014: 73). Sade underlined the importance of awareness around the surveillant aspects of the devices and applications to protect themselves from the 'weird' people, the Others that can harm them directly articulated as a real threat, even though there were not significant

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incidents reported. The analysis showed that participants were more actively resistant to the surveillant Other (Ball, 2009) whose face could appear at any time and cause harm, than to the faceless Other, such as the state and the market, where the risks are also vague and not that direct for their everyday lives.

> My participation in this study has made me think more carefully about including my location in information I share, especially on Twitter, as I have no privacy settings. However, I am not concerned about including it on apps where I have chosen who can follow me, such as Instagram or Strava, since I enjoy the location services too much on these apps as they record where my photos were taken and my running routes respectively. (Ela, fg4)

The main discursive pattern appeared in the email questions that reflected on focus group discussions was the 'management of digital self' (McCahill and Finn, 2014); adjusting the privacy settings, switching off the geolocation tagging and location data when uploading their photos. This control over their private data could be understood within self-responsibilization as a form of 'technologies – of the self', which has been recently discussed in security studies (Leese, 2015). Participants after the focus group discussion appeared still seduced to their smartphone devices but they focused on their responsibility to manage their exposure. This could be interpreted as a response to the privacy paradox, as they did express the desire to control who can have access to their data.

Through notions of responsibilisation, participants did not just refer to the control of their exposure as a resistant action to the surveillant Other, but articulated another form of controlling their exposure, that of controlling *what* they expose. Their responsibilization over

what personal information they expose implies that they are ambivalent as to the existence of the surveillant mechanism that cannot be segmented. This means that even though they adjuct their settings to control the 'watcher' -who has access to their data-, at the same time limiting their freedom of expression entais a fear for the risks of surveillance. Within this paradox, participants articulated a censorship in terms of what they are posting and on which platforms and this practice could be seen as disruption of the surveillant systems that needs as much information to operate to the best of its capacities and thus as a form of resistance, as Lyon (2007) suggests. However, it can also be interpreted as self-disciplining practices, thus conforming to surveillance and submitting to its powers by restricting the freedom of expression. The way participants talk about this negotiation strategy does not indicate a purpose to disrupt the system rather that risks of surveillance are an outcome of their actions implying that surveillance is not dangerous when you behave.

> Every single phone call, every single thing on Whatsapp, Facebook especially, if there's something I don't want to put up there, then I would never put on Facebook.
>
> (Calia, fg8)

This quote depicts the way that participants talked about the control of self-exposure, or self-censorship (Duguay, 2016; Hogan, 2010). Calia argued that she would never put on social networks something that she would not like to be known about her, implying her concern that what she might post online could be used directly, or in the future against her. In almost no cases, participants seemed to demand their right of freedom of expression, which is a cornerstone of democratic societies. As seen earlier they have rationalized the surveillance itself, mainly for the 'bad data subjects' (McCahill and Finn, 2014) even when it actually results in the infringement of liberty as this is not how they articulate it. They responded to the surveillant aspects by controlling their exposure, and constructing a compliant position

through responsibilization. Discourses of individualism were key in this discursive pattern, bringing up the contradiction between the so-called paternalistic state and the individual's responsibility over their own exposure.

This is the reason why self-censorship cannot be interpreted in the context of resistance to surveillance through the disruption of the system (Lyon, 2007). It could be a form of resistance if participants articulated an active withdrawal of their data to disrupt the mechanism of surveillance like Sade in earlier quote when contacting her family in the Middle East country. There is an obvious tension here, as participants seemed to articulate discourses of avoidance as the analysis has shown, whereas they simultaneously accepted the surveilled position and responded through self-responsibilization and resignation.

Participants still articulated their desire to participate in the online community, a result of the 'irresistible sweetness' of seduction, restricting themselves from uploading information that seemed to inappropriate or very sensitive, mainly referring to their finances. Of course, what seems to be appropriate in one moment does not mean that it will be always be considered so, and in any context, but this common knowledge of what is socially accepted was very strong in the discussions. This strategy was articulated as a response to their understanding of securing privacy for as boyd (2014: 59) notes "[t]o get there, they must grapple with the tools that are available to them, the norms that shape social practices, and their own agency".

7.5   Conclusion

This chapter explored the way that participants talked about how they come to terms with the surveillant aspects of their smartphones and applications. The analysis showed that participants responded to mass surveillance concerns using the strategies of resignation and avoidance. Resignation is not the same as mere compliance and consent, as the participants felt that they have no power over the operation of surveillance in the digital era. The findings of the analysis support recent studies in the field of mass surveillance that argue for the public's resignation as an outcome of the limitation of choices (Dencik and Cable, 2017; Turow et al., 2015). In the context of smartphones, the study argues that participants articulating discourses of seduction produce and reproduce the discursive pattern of resignation to come to terms with mass surveillance. The discursive pattern of resignation goes hand in hand with that of avoidance as the latter supports the former.

Participants articulated the rejection of the surveilled subject position either by doubting the operation of surveillance in total, or by differentiating themselves from the potential surveilled subject. In order to avoid the surveilled subject position, participants constructed the surveilled subject as an Other – different from them – who is justified in being surveilled, either because they could be potential criminals or because of their status as public figures supporting recent studies on theorization of surveilled subject (McCahill and Finn, 2014) The final section of this chapter explored the discursive pattern of responsibilization, uncovering a paradox that could be explained by the lack of technological awareness in addition to the seductive process. Participants articulated their responsibilization over the control of their exposure as an action both of resistance and of compliance. They claimed that it is their

responsibility to adjust the settings of their devices and applications to control who has access to their data, which could be interpreted as a form of resistance. At the same time, though, they referred to their responsibility as to what they upload on Internet, arguing that the restriction of their online behaviour could protect them from potential risks of surveillance practices without criticizing the practice itself.

Following the analysis, emerges the paradox between the avoidance, resignation, active resistance and compliance. The participants doubted for example, that they could be surveilled subjects in regards to mass surveillance, which is very distant to them and with no direct risks of harm to them as loyal citizens, and seduced consumers, and therefore they reproduced a position of resignation over a process that is out of their interest, and have no power over.However, they referred to their responsibility over their data management regarding the risks to the fof surveillance practices that seemed more likely to happen to them such as stalkers, online 'friends' and so on. Here, theoretical underpinnings such as the faceless Other (Ball, 2009) and proximity (Ball, 2009) could assist in explaining this paradox, which is different to the privacy paradox often used by the media and policy makers. This could also explain the argument that "the public has enthusiastically or resignedly accepted such technologies" (Lyon et al., 2012: 4) and seems now very simplistic.

A Foucauldian approach suggests that power in modern societies is not exercised as coercive, but is "bound to the production of knowledge and the ability to define what is accepted as 'truth'" (Lang, 2010: 22). Thus, following the findings of the chapter on seduction, it could be argued that participants responded to their negotiation with the surveillant aspects of their

smartphones, normalizing the mechanism of surveillance and constructing discourses of conformity around the strategies of resignation and avoidance, and even responsibilization. Active resistance through data management occurred only to threats that were articulated as more real to them, and not to the mass surveillance itself. Thus, I argued that participants constructed the subject positions of resignation, avoidance and responsibilization in relation to surveillance seduced by the notions around smartphones explored in Chapter 6. In this context, these strategies show that conformity is not a position that subjects simply consent to and adopt, accepting the total mechanism of surveillance. These positions are not mutually exclusive; rather they overlap and construct discourses of conformity since a Foucauldian approach appreciates how power relationships are dynamic and the subject does not employ a solid position, but struggles within different positions.

Some discourses, though, are dominant, thus, through these strategies, participants aim to create a subject position that makes them at ease when using their devices. Participants' struggles over the surveillant aspects of smartphones created by binary understandings of their devices, meant that they had to choose between complying with surveillance, or not using their devices, as there seemed to be no other alternative. This revealed the seductive mechanism of personal gadgets, which are not explicit in their means of surveillance, and the lack of awareness or understanding about the operation of mass surveillance and the potential risks to society, including themselves. The next concluding chapter, will elaborate on and further discuss these chapters of analysis through the lenses of the existing literature and the suggested theorization of seductive surveillance, in order to clearly address the research questions of the study.

8 Concluding Discussion

8.1   Introduction

This concluding chapter links the findings and literature, while addressing the research questions. The reflections and limitations of the study are discussed before setting out the contribution that is offered in theoretical, empirical and societal contexts. I argue that the concept of seductive surveillance offers theoretical underpinnings to further understand users' negotiations with mass surveillance operating through personal digital gadgets that are becoming very popular such as wearable technology. In an empirical level, it is suggested that the use of visual vignettes could assist on generating rich insights in the context of surveillance and critical consumer studies, especially in terms of technological products. The analysis showed that participants did not simply accept the surveillant aspects of their devices, supporting recent studies that raise concerns over users' awareness and limitation of choices leading them to trade-off arguments incompatible with democratic values (Dencik and Cable, 2017; Turow et al., 2015). This chapter also makes suggestions for policy makers and educators. Concluding, recommendations for further research are made as the study was an exploratory one, contributing to the underexplored field of subjectivity within everyday surveillance from a qualitative methodological approach.

Summary

Prior to addressing the research questions set out in the study, it is important to look back to the literature that informed both the research design and the questions. The study started with a critical literature review on the definition of surveillance as the concept of surveillance has been studied in diverse ways, leading to different examination and analysis of this social phenomenon thus, the construction of a different body of knowledge. Surveillance originally

had a critical connotation, from Foucault's work on the birth of prison presented in his book *Discipline and Punish* (1977) to Lyon's (1994) notion of Surveillance Society. More recently, though, within the discourse of 'risk society' (Beck, 1992), surveillance has come to be discussed in terms of its pre-emptive capabilities (van Brakel, 2016). This approach has resulted in suggestions on 'untargeted surveillance' (Hadjimatheou, 2014) as a way to overcome ethical issues such as social discrimination of targeted surveillance practices. However, this approach appears problematic as it suggests a rationalization of the surveillance mechanism that justifies surveillance practices over the population disregarding its complexity and potential risks.

In this context, the public debate on surveillance focuses on the appropriate practices of surveillance techiques and tools in the name of security reducing the surveillance mechanism and inappropriate practices to issues over privacy (Barnard-Wills, 2011). This discourse around surveillance leads to the misleading trade-off argument between privacy and security (Solove, 2011). Privacy, though, is not the only impact that mass surveillance has on society in the digital era, and studies should move beyond this trade-off (Pavone and Degli Esposti, 2010). As Giroux (2015: 108) eloquently puts it:

> [a]ny critical analysis of the modern surveillance state must move beyond documenting abuses of state power to address how government repression has been allowed to proceed unchecked, and even to flourish, through its support of an antidemocratic public pedagogy produced and circulated via a depoliticizing machinery of fear and consumption.

It is important then for surveillance to be treated as a critical concept (Fuchs, 2011) for scholars to strongly emphasize the social implications of this asymmetrical power relations within the surveillance industrial complex (Ball and Snider, 2013) in neoliberalism. To explore how surveillance has become depoliticized mainly focusing on specific surveillance practices and not the total surveillance mechanism, the study focused on the underexplored area of subjectivity in everyday surveillance (Harper et al., 2014; McCahill and Finn, 2014; Lee and Cook, 2015) via personal gadgets and in particular smartphone devices.

The focus of the study on smartphones was justified on the widespread use of the gadgets in everyday life for various purposes from communication and entertainment, to information and work. As digital gadgets are mainly a product that industry develops and markets to attract consumers, they were explored through the literatures of design and consumer research. Exploring digital gadgets as products of consumption offer further insights in understanding people's participation to surveillance practices, emphasizing the neoliberal governmentality of society. Focusing on the seduction process, organization studies literature was also reviewed to contribute to its development and understanding. Managers' techniques to monitor and gain employees' loyalty appear similar to marketeers' techniques to attract and sustain customers. The present study aimed to explore and further understand the users' negotiations on digital gadgets as means of implicit surveillance, in order to shed light on arguments such as Giroux's (2015) on public's indoctrination of acceptance of surveillance through discourses of 'fear and consumption'.

This pedagogy that Giroux refers to was explored in the study within Foucault's (2000: 291) theory on the constitution of the subject through "practices of the self" that are "not something invented by the individual himself. They are models that he finds in his culture and are proposed, suggested, imposed upon him by his culture, his society, and his social group". To explore how subjects come to terms with the surveillant aspects of their smartphones and what positions they articulate, the study employed focus groups as a method for data collection, using visual vignettes to construct or reconstruct the seemingly contradictory discourses of seduction and surveillance. Furthermore, reflective, structured email interviews complemented the data collection process to further explore whether the discussion on the surveillant aspects of smartphones had an impact on the articulation of the relationship participants developed with their devices. The study chose to focus on young users (18–24) as they are reported to be heavy users of such devices (Ofcom, 2015) and have been characterized as 'digital natives' as they have been raised in the digital era (Prensky, 2001).

The questions that the study set out to explore within the phenomenon of subjective experience of everyday surveillance were: How do young smartphone users living in the UK articulate the relationship with their devices? To what extent does awareness of these devices being used as means of facilitating surveillance alter their previous discourses and enable possibilities of resistance?

8.2   Discussing the Research Questions

How do young smartphone users living in the UK articulate the relationship with their devices?

The first research question set out in the study explored participants' articulation of smartphones' use and the characteristics that make the devices so popular among young people, to the point that they are characterized as being obsessed with them (Ofcom, 2015). The analysis presented in Chapter 6 shed light on this question, discussing the notions of security, gamification, immediacy, neophilia and the resultant dependent relationship with the devices that emerged in the analysis. The discursive patterns around the smartphones revealed the seductive characteristics in terms of both the smartphones and applications' design. The findings also suggested a seductive process within the use of smartphones in a broader social context similar to seduction as explored from consumer research and organizational studies perspective.

Giroux (2015) talked about the pedagogy of the public that is developed by the production of discourses of fear and consumption. These discursive patterns appeared as dominant in the analysis revealing their part in the seduction mechanism. The development of the theoretical framework of seduction presented in Chapter 3 explored generally the definition of the concept and the process of seduction. The analysis supported the theorization of seduction and offered further insights on the characteristics that make the product and its services seductive. Furthermore, the notion of security appeared prominent in the discussions, contributing to the concept of seduction and indicating the dominant ideology of securitization in a 'risk society'. Here, the discursive patterns identified in the analysis are

discussed through the lenses of relevant literature to show how participants reproduced the discourse of seduction.

In a society constructed as 'risk-society' (Beck, 1992), any Other can be perceived as a dangerous Other (Lianos, 2016), so that, a risk society is both a condition and a consequence of the collapse of social bonds and sociality altogether. This means that, among individuals, a relationship characterized by suspicion has been constructed, making any stranger a potential threat, which enables pastoral forms of power to become dominant. In this context, smartphones were articulated by the participants as a safety tool that can always be available to them. The location tracking capabilities were argued to ensure participants' safety if in danger, and assist in cases of crime prevention and detection. Participants seemed to strive for safety and security served by their devices. Security was also expanded to include their devices, as the location tracking system could enable them to detect if missing. However, a paradox emerged in this case as participants described a few incidents in which they followed the location signal of their missing smartphones, putting themselves potentially in danger. They said to have gone after strangers to ask for their phone back, where at the same time they argued the smartphones made them feel safer. So, security appeared as a relevant concept for the participants revealing its complex nature including oppositional modes that operate within the very same technology. Participants, through 'dividing practices' constructed the 'bad data subjects' (McCahill and Finn, 2014), as being potentially dangerous for the society justifying the surveillance mechanism.

Turning to the technology as such, discourses of seduction as a process of temptation appeared very clearly. As Edgerton (2011: ix) argues, technology "has been closely linked with *invention* (the creation of a new idea) and *innovation* (the first use of a new idea)". This perception of technology attributes positive connotations, leading to neophilia, which emerged as a repeated discursive pattern in the analysis. Neophilia then, as "the desire for the new" (Campbell, 1992: 53), is related to both the designed obsolescence of the product and technological improvement. Participants articulating the supremacy of smartphones in contrast to previous mobile phone devices not connected to the Internet already revealed notions of neophilia. The comparison though between smartphones on the premises of screen size, keyboard, speed, memory and so on stressed the nature of seduction. As Bauman (2000: 85) argues:

> [b]eing stuck with things for a long time, beyond their 'use up and abandon' date, and
>
> beyond the moment when their 'new and improved' replacements and 'upgrades' are
>
> on offer, is, "on the contrary", the symptom of deprivation.

This discourse is also much related to the marketing discourse in smartphones' advertising campaigns discussed in the literature. Apple's advertising slogan for the iPhone 5s claimed that it was the 'forward thinking' and 'what should be next', promising they are always one step ahead, thus always novel. The same company though releases new devices regularly, constructing their previous models' obsolescent and attracting consumers into a vicious circle of consumption. A seductive characteristic of neophilia not explicitly expressed by the participants but could support the understanding of the notion is that of curiosity. Cochoy (2014: 144–145), writing from marketing literature perspective, argues that "market curiosity has a significant power of seduction that market devices often know how to leverage in their

best interests". The motivation for consumers to start using the app and commit to its usage is "the pleasure of showing off, having fun, and experiencing curiosity" (ibid.).

Curiosity in that sense is also identified within the discourse of gamification that emerged in the analysis. Internet has been characterized as "a simple-to-join, anyone-can-play system" that attracts its users and at the same time an oligarchy proliferated by the online activities (Scholz, 2013: 1). This simplicity of joining the game appeared as an attractive element in regard to the smartphone use. Participants described the smartphone and even more the applications available as a form of socialization, which is the main element of play. Rey (2014) argues on how gamification can be classified as another technique of capitalism to exploit labour. Expanding this argument, given the seduction of gamification, it is perceived as yet another technique to involve users in their own surveillance that contributes to economic proliferation for the market, and further societal control for the state. Bauman et al. (2014: 142) argue that the element of fun is a key factor for the acceptance of, even though I would argue for the seduction to, surveillance as the key premise of social media, accessible via smartphones, is the "user-generated content" where everybody can participate.

The main element that contributes to the feeling of security articulated by the participants, was the notion of immediacy that contributes to the convenience smartphones offer. In accordance with recent studies (Lee and Cook, 2015), immediacy was a repeated discursive pattern among the users, making smartphones very useful for their everyday life and contributing to the development of a dependent relationship. Smartphones were articulated as an all-in-one gadget that reduces the effort in the process of connecting to the web.

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Adopting Tomlison's (2003: 59) definition on immediacy, smartphones bridge the distance between users and the online activities or as it was put by the participants their 'presence in the world'.

According to the analysis, the articulation of these characteristics defined participants' relationship with their smartphones as dependent. They articulated feelings of withdrawal and loss in the absence of their smartphones but also relief when in 'rehab'. These discourses are linked to notions of addiction similar to arguments made regarding the use of social media (boyd, 2014) as technology appears to be irresistible. However, there are objections on these notions as research on media studies argues that "most teens aren't addicted to social media; if anything, they're addicted to each other" (boyd, 2014: 80) which is not though mutually exclusive as new forms of socialization are served by new technologies such as smartphones. boyd (2014: 80) argues that addiction rhetoric is reductive positioning "new technologies as devilish and teenagers as constitutionally incapable of having agency in response to the temptations that surround them". However, the study explored the notions related to addiction in a productive manner, as a way to understand why and how participants are seduced by technology developing an irrational relationship with it (Stivers, 2004: 107) exposing the power relations of seductive surveillance. The aim of the study was not to make a sterile judgment as to the widespread use of smartphones but rather to understand the articulation of the relationship in order to shed light on the experience of everyday surveillance and the negotiations with it which led to the second research question.

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To what extent does awareness of these devices being used as means of facilitating surveillance alter their previous discourses and enable possibilities of resistance?

This question first of all entailed the preposition that young smartphone users articulate the smartphone devices and their use within the dominant discourse around technology as an *a priori* positive asset for the society. The promise of possibility was based on reports, such as those by Ofcom (2014, 2015), that argued on the obsession of young people with digital devices and research studies exploring the addictive relationship of young people with new technologies and in particular social networks (boyd, 2014) accessible by the smartphones. This was the problematization that the empirical research explored to understand the subject positions of the participants in the seductive surveillance context. The first research question addressed this preposition, suggesting that participants articulated discourses of seduction in terms of their smartphones and reported a dependent relationship with the devices. Thus, the question is whether awareness, as in increase of different knowledge, of the surveillant aspects of smartphones altered participants' discourses around the devices and their relationship with them informed by Foucault's theory on the entwining relationship between power, knowlege and resistance (1978: 95–96).

The analysis showed that participants articulated anger, discomfort and shock at the exposure to the surveillant aspects of their smartphones. The way they negotiated surveillance operating through their devices was not a direct negation or acceptance. The struggle between the discourses of seduction and those of surveillance emerged in their way of talk around the surveillance mechanism. The understanding of this struggle and their negotiation

over surveillance shed light on the power relations within everyday surveillance that appeared to be seductive. In this sense, resistance as a conceptual framework was used to inform the analysis as a "diagnostic of power" (Abu-Lughod, 1990: 41) according to which resistance can be used to explore the power relations and the methods used to establish them.

The analysis of the data showed that surveillance through personal gadgets adopts techniques of seduction to reproduce and sustain the seduced surveilled subject positions in which users feel unable to resist. Participants articulated direct radical resistance as an active withdrawal from the use of smartphones, which had an impact on the way they negotiated their surveilled position promoting the irresistible character of technology but indicating at the same time that new forms of surveillance raise new resistant discourses. The findings support and further explore recent research that demonstrates the complexity in subjectivity where individuals articulate frustration over 'exposure' to everyday surveillance demanding further information to be able to protect their privacy but at the same time they do not want to withdraw from using new technologies (Degli-Esposti, Pavone, Vincenzo and Santiago-Gómez, 2016).

The three 'resistant'/power diagnostic discourses emerged in the analysis are: resignation, avoidance and responsibilization, all being negotiation strategies with surveillance as form of power which unfold in different ways and enable the person to remain seduced. Surveillance met different resistance as power diagnostic discourses depending on the acknowledgment of its 'face'. Participants negotiated their exposure to the 'faceless, uknown Other' (Ball, 2009)

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through mainly discourses of resignation and avoidance, but also responsibilization as self-censorship. In contrast, the 'tangible Other', the surveillant Other who could be in close proximity and consequently the risks, met more active negotiation positions of responsibilization such as privacy settings adjustment.

The analysis of the negotiation strategies is in accordance with, and further explains recent studies on resignation which is often perceived as a merely passive acceptance of surveillance disregarding its complexity. Turow et al. (2015: 3), reporting the findings of a survey in regard to data collection by the companies, argued that "a majority of Americans are resigned to giving up their data—and that is why many appear to be engaging in trade-offs. Resignation occurs when a person believes an undesirable outcome is inevitable and feels powerless to stop it". The analysis showed participants' resignation to mass surveillance that comes from the market and the state based on the articulation of futility but also because they do not have the knowledge of how surveillance operates in liquid society (Bauman and Lyon, 2012) that is also related to the avoidance position they described. The engagements with the trade-offs that Turow et al. (2015) refer to, were mainly made based on the powerlessness to react to such a systemic asymmetrical surveillance mechanism, and what was perceived as free services. Another trade-off argument repeated in the discussions was the one of privacy versus security. This is a longstanding argument discussed also in the circles of academia and seems not to be overcome (Pavone and Degli Esposti, 2010; Solove, 2011). This argument is also the main one constructed by the participants within the strategy of avoidance that is intertwined with that of resignation.

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The avoidance strategy is a more passive resistant discourse that does not oppose surveillance but the position as surveilled subject. It is constructed on the grounds of the 'nothing to hide, nothing to fear' argument directly related to the security discourse as part of the seductive process. This argument was coined by politicians (Rosen, 2004) as a trade-off between privacy and security following the tragic events of 9/11. The analysis showed that the articulation of this trade-off was closely related to the notion of trust. In regard to state surveillance, the argument of 'nothing to hide, nothing to fear' was articulated under the conditions of democracy, whereas in regard to market surveillance it was articulated under the conditions of brand loyalty. This means that participants seemed to support the argument because they expect that in democratic societies like the UK, the state, will use surveillance to protect the 'ordinary' (good) people from the deviant other (bad') people. This has similarities with McCahil and Finn's (2014) findings, where participants expressed how they believed that 'the big corporations' would not betray their customers in the rationale of a win–win situation, where both discursive patterns point towards a 'pastoral form' of power.

Through their trust in big corporations and the state, participants articulated the surveillance mechanism not as a critical concept defined in Chapter 1 but as monitoring, which appeared to neglect the surveilled position, so in this way they avoid both surveillance as a mechanism and the surveilled subject position reproducing the surveillant mechanism. Knights et al., (2001: 330) argue on the "symbiotic relationship" between power and trust, as they underline that "[t]he production of trust often relies on, and reproduces, relations of control because control also becomes problematic in the absence of trust" (ibid.: 312). Participants claim to feel powerless to act upon mass surveillance, to which they appear to be sympathetic in

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specific context such as securitization and marketing techniques such as customer relationship management.

The seductive characteristics of smartphones seemed to outweigh the vague risks participants might have perceived in regard to mass surveillance, as "[t]he negative consequences of online visibility are rationalised as having little impact on their physical lives" (Lee and Cook, 2015: 682) disregarding the potential risks of surveillance society as discussed in Chapter 1. However, participants do not articulate the same strategies in the case of surveillance by a more proximate Other, such as a stalker or employers, where the risks of surveillance practices are reported to be more tangible to them. In this case, they reclaim their agency to protect their private information and actively make decisions to manage the content and the access to their data. As Lee and Cook (2015: 681) claimed through their analysis on subjective experience of surveillance through online activities "[i]t is the breadth of exposure, rather than exposure itself, that is the issue."

The negotiation strategy of responsibilization through data management referred to both technological solutions achieved by adjusting the privacy settings of their devices and relevant applications where possible, and the self-censorship as to what kind of information they upload on the web. Interestingly, this strategy offers insights on the 'nothing to hide, nothing to fear argument', as this rhetoric implies that "privacy is necessary only for those who have something to hide" (boyd,2014: 63) undermining the right to freedom of expression. However, the main point about the data management strategy is that it implies participants' wariness about their personal information, contributing on the privacy paradox often

articulated in the media. Participants seem to categorize themselves in social privileged group thus, 'immune' to surveillance practices that are directed towards the 'bad data subjects' (McCahil and Finn, 2014) who claim to be able to protect themselves by the 'tangible surveillant Other' through forms of responsibilization.

The analysis further explained boyd's (2014: 60) argument on the difficulty in controlling "a social situation" in the online environment that "requires power, knowledge, and skills". The analysis shows that participants take agency to the extent that the design of the technology they use allow them to do so. The design of the smartphones and the relevant applications though allows specific 'room' for users to take control over their data. Participants adjust their settings but they did not report more 'inconvenient' ways of data management such as encryption systems whereas there are also data collected automatically by the device upon its operation such as the device's location. The seduction character of the smartphone's design then expands from its purchase to its use and data management. In the case of mass surveillance operated by the state or the market, they articulated a resignation of their agency based on the justification of futility because of the asymmetry of the power relations and the lack of knowledge on how surveillance systems operate.

Following the analysis, the privacy paradox does not seem such a paradox anymore as participants articulated their responsibility on the way they use their smartphones and relevant applications without giving up on the socialization through them (Lee and Cook, 2015). Drawing upon the Foucauldian concept of 'technologies of the self', this self-responsibilization in regard to the surveillance mechanism can be seen as resulting from neo-

liberal forms of government[60]. According to Foucault "[t]he neo-liberal forms of government [...] characteristically develop indirect techniques for leading and controlling individuals without at the same time being responsible for them" (Lemke, 2001: 201). In this sense, the mechanism of surveillance is successful, as on the one hand participants articulated smartphones and relevant applications as a safety tool, yet at the same time they are responsible for protecting themselves from the Other who can use this very tool against them.

8.3   Reflections and Limitations of the Study

The study in both a theoretical and empirical sense contributes to the understanding of everyday surveillance on a subjective level. The concept of everyday surveillance refers to surveillance occurring through implicit means of surveillance that monitor, collect, store and manipulate users' data. These means are related to digital gadgets that people purchase themselves, such as in the case of the smartphones, where the main discourse around them is not the one of surveillance in contrast to explicit means of surveillance such as CCTV cameras. So, the explanation of users' discourse around surveillance is limited to the case of the study.

In particular, the research focused on young users 18–24 years of age and represents a unique focus as they were introduced to mobile non-smart phones at a young age. The first devices they owned were not connected to Internet and the transition to the smartphones came in

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[60] I adopt Foucault's use of the term 'government' here and not of national governments.

their teenage years. This means that younger generations that are introduced to digital gadgets at a much earlier stage of their lives will never have the experience of non-smartphones and they might articulate different discourses around their devices. However, the generation difference is not the only factor influencing the articulation of digital gadgets' usage. As Helsper and Enyon (2010:503) argue, "breadth of use, experience, self-efficacy and education are just as, if not more, important than age in explaining how people become digital natives".

Furthermore, the participants of the study were students at English universities, which implies a specific socioeconomic background but covered in certain extent the cultural diversity. People from different countries, different educational levels and financial situations might have different relationships with such devices or they might not own smartphones at all. Another point of limitation in regard to participants' background is the construction of the potential surveilled subject. People who come from marginalized groups for example might construct different subject positions in regard to potential risks of surveillance practices.

The method employed in the study resulted also in another array of limitations that the reader needs to take into account in regard to the analysis. The focus groups were selected in order for the researcher to explore the way participants talk about smartphones with the least intervention possible. However, as in any qualitative research, the researcher is always part of the data collection process and the analysis as well as the questions and the follow-up one posed during the discussion, the moderation of the discussion and the focus on specific areas of interest certainly have an impact on the generation of the data. Furthermore, the

visual vignettes intended to visualize and make more vivid the different discourses. Yet, a different choice of applications or a more structured story with fictional characters would have enabled a different sort of conversation to take place.

Based on the study's epistemological stance, all data is merely one interpretation of many that could be made and a contribution to a different understanding of the phenomenon in question. These underpinnings construct in a way both the limitations and the scientific legitimization of the study (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002).

8.4   Implications of the Study

The study provided the theoretical conceptualization of seductive surveillance as an analytic tool to explore and further understand users' engagement with digital gadgets, and consequently their participationin their own surveillance, providing ever more data (Andrejevic, 2012). It illuminated the privacy paradox as discussed in academia (Barnes, 2006; Miltgen and Peyrat-Guillard, 2014; Taddicken, 2013) and the binary argument of total acceptance or rejection of relevant technologies (Lyon et al., 2012: 4). The analysis offers insights into the notions on which seduction is constructed, showing the struggles and complexities of the phenomenon of everyday surveillance and the surveilled subject position. The characteristics of seduction serve the surveillance mechanism, tempting users to engage with the devices providing personal information, while downplaying the risks of mass surveillance. However, exploring the strategies emerged by the analysis, it is evident that resignation to, and avoidance of the surveilled subject position were mainly constructed on the grounds of powerlessness and not carelessness.

Indeed, in the case of the closer proximity of the surveillant Other or lateral surveillance (Andrejevic, 2002), participants employed different strategies in their negotiation with the exposure to surveillance. They either used the provided tools by the technologies or applications to manage the exposure of their data, or they articulated self-censorship as a form of responsibilization on what kind of information they upload on the web. Thus, even though the study draws on a single case, that of the smartphones, it contributes on both an academic and a societal level. In terms of the academic body of knowledge, it provides a different theorization of everyday surveillance contributing to the exploration of this underdeveloped phenomenon, where it also suggests a different methodological approach employing the visual vignettes. In regard to the societal impact of the study, drawing upon the analysis of the participants' articulation around their smartphones and the relevant applications and the developed dependent relationship, it offers suggestions on the level of both policymakers and educators.

8.4.1   Theoretical implications

The study responds to the calls for exploring the subjective experience of surveillance (Ball, 2009; Harper et al., 2013; Lee and Cook, 2015) and the potential resistance. Scholars have tried to theorize the forms of everyday surveillance from a market perspective ascribing the term of consumer surveillance (Pridmore, 2012) or focusing on the the participation of the public, coining the term of participatory surveillance (Albrechtslund, 2008). Yet, the subjectivity in this context remains underdeveloped. Scholars have called for the need "to incorporate more accurate models of users' behavior into the formulation of both policy and technology" (Acquisti and Grossklags, 2004: 166). Therefore, contributing to the analytic tools

in understanding the reasons of willing participation to surveillance served by personal digital gadgets, contrary to explicit state or workplace surveillance, the study introduces a theoretical framework involving the original concept of seductive surveillance. These theoretical lenses support the study of surveillance as form of power relations that within "a complex networked, information-dense and globalized society are not salient for users" making "the concrete, immediate rewards of participation in contemporary technologically enabled culture ring truer" (Best, 2010: 21).

The means used in the context of everyday surveillance are digital gadgets purchased by the individuals themselves. They are designed as products to be attractive, where values of organization loyalty are employed to engage the consumers. Thus, seductive surveillance draws upon consumer research, design and organizational studies to offer further understanding on how seduction operates in a neoliberal context. People are seduced to everyday use of digital gadgets and relevant applications that are means of surveillance, thus people are seduced to surveillance mechanism. This theoretical framework offers an alternative analytic tool for surveillance studies, enhancing our understanding of public's engagement with their surveillance, as being both a condition and consequence of this seduction with digital gadgets.

Exploring everyday surveillance, the study aimed to also understand the possibilities of everyday resistance, which is argued to be "an important and productive dimension of anti-surveillance" (Gilliom and Monahan, 2012: 408). The withdrawal of willing participation in the surveillance system though (Lyon, 2007) as a form of resistance presupposes awareness of

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the risks of surveillance while disregarding the 'irresistible sweetness' of technology (Katz, 2008) and the impact on users' behavioural practices in regard to their digital gadgets. Thus, the concept of seductive surveillance conntributes to the exploration of the resistant discourses in a subjective level. The study understands resistance to everyday surveillance as a "diagnostic of power" (Abu-Lughod, 1990: 41) that showed how seductive surveillance operates by encouraging users to reproduce their surveilled subject position, reproducing at the same time the surveillance apparatus (Murakami Wood and Ball, 2013).

Seductive surveillance as form of power created three 'resistant'/power diagnostic discourses: resignation, avoidance and responsibilization, each of which represents a different aspect of struggle based on the power. The lack of technological knowledge and skills on behalf of the users was evident in the analysis restricting them of a potential creative disruption to the surveillance system. These negotiation strategies provided insights to the 'privacy paradox' arguing that it is questionable as to whether seductive surveillance is ultimately irresistible as there are multiple struggles involved. Furthermore, these diagnostic types of resistance reveal the seductive nature of everyday surveillance and calls for a different approach to the study of surveillance in this context.

The study also contributes to mobile studies that call for further research on the consumption patterns and usage practices of young people in regard to mobile phones (Goggin, 2013). The framework of seductive surveillance offers theoretical underpinnings on better understanding the relationship young people have with their devices contributing to their

surveillance. There needs to be a bridge between surveillance and mobile studies to reflect the emerging societal impact of the use of mobile media at an individual level as well.

8.4.2　Methodological implications

The attitudes of the public towards surveillance have been explored mainly from a quantitative perspective using large-scale surveys (see, for example, Degli Esposti, 2014; Lowry et al., 2011; Mohamed and Ahmad, 2012). The main topic of interest has been the public's perception over privacy concerns, often framed as 'privacy paradox' (Barnes, 2006; Miltgen and Peyrat-Guillard, 2014; Taddicken, 2013). The study enriches the existing body of literature employing a qualitative approach following the suggestions of recent studies on the topic of everyday surveillance (Harper et al., 2013; Lee and Cook, 2015).

Surveillance mechanism is a complicated system for the lay public to understand and the concepts of privacy can be interpreted in different ways. Furthermore, it seemed that the the "cultural repertoire of discourses" available to the participants (Arribas-Ayllon and Walkerdine, 2008: 99) was limited revealing the seductive nature of such surveillance tools and techniques. A qualitative approach adds to further understanding how people articulate such complex notions. The qualitative studies exploring the subjectivity within everyday surveillance have employed interviews, questionnaires and media analysis based on the public's experience of how they use digital gadgets and their online behaviour (Harper et al., 2013; Lee and Cook, 2015; Zurawski, 2011). However, within this empirical approach the studies are limited in exploring the participants' articulation of surveillance based on their existing experience. Thus, the present study, aiming to explore how awareness of surveillance practices might differentiate the articulation around surveillance, employed the method of

visual vignettes as stimuli in the focus group discussions. In the academic field of education digital stories, that are similar to what is here termed as visual vignettes, have been increasingly used for learning process enhancement and increase of awareness (see for example Hull and Katz, 2006, Mc Lellan, 2007, Nicklas et al., 2017, Robin, 2008). In surveillance studies vignettes are used as future scenarios for scholars to explore the risks of surveillance technologies in the societies (Wood et al., 2006). More recently the Surprise project[61] used informational visual vignettes to explore public attitudes, introducing a new method called 'citizen summit' and each video presented a different surveillance technology. Even though the main research tool was surveys, being a moderator for the two summits myself taking place in the UK, I witnessed the rich discussions following the videos and how the way of talk around these technologies presented participants' struggles on the surveilled position. Inspired by this method employed in Surprise's citizen summits and the use of 'ContraVision', visual vignettes were designed for the present study.

In Surprise's case the visual vignettes were based on experts' talk on a particular technology, presenting both positive and critical aspects, whereas the oppositional aspects are presented through fictional but realistic videos in the case of 'ContraVision' (Mancini et al., 2010). To explore the differentiation in users' articulation around surveillance technologies, it is suggested to visualize the real risks of surveillance and explain through simple examples the concerns posed by academics. The study suggests that visualization of the risks could construct different discourses around the mechanism of surveillance. However, the struggles

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[61] http://surprise-project.eu/

over the surveilled subject position that were conceptualized within the negotiation practices to surveillance emerged mainly in the discussion following the critical video and the email responses after participants had time to reflect on the information they received.

8.4.3   Societal implications

All recent studies exploring empirically subjectivity within everyday surveillance (Harper et al., 2013; Lee and Cook, 2015; McCahill and Finn, 2014; Turow et al., 2015; Zurawski, 2011) argue on the complexity of people's negotiation with the mechanism of surveillance. The present study explored this complexity within the theoretical lenses of seductive surveillance. The analysis presented notions of seduction articulated in participants' talk in regard to their smartphones resulting a dependent relationship. When exposed to surveillance participants described different strategies of negotiation with their exposure. The strategy of avoidance mainly revealed the rejection of the surveilled subject position, on the basis they do not belong to social groups for which surveillance practices would be justified, and the doubt on the extent to which the surveillance mechanism operates -what can be technologically possible. This showed a lack of awareness of the concerns that academics have been underlining in regard to surveillance.

In terms of resignation, participants articulated a powerless position in the power relations of mass surveillance. In contrast, they revealed their use of the tools available to them on their phones and applications to adjust their privacy settings and manage their data. Within the discourse of responsibilization, they articulated their responsibility to manage the content of what information they allow on the web. Turow et al. (2015: 3) argued that in their study "more than half do not want to lose control over their information but also believe this loss

of control has already happened. By misrepresenting the American people and championing the trade-off argument, marketers give policymakers false justifications for allowing the collection and use of all kinds of consumer data often in ways that the public find objectionable." The present study supported this kind of findings on the public's acceptance of blanket techniques of surveillance as participants seemed to lack awareness in regard to the risks of surveillance. Furthermore, the debate around surveillance is limited on a general idea about privacy reflected in the focus group discussions excluding other concerns resulting be surveillance practices such as discrimination or social profiling and limitation of the freedom of expression. Indeed, the limitation of their freedom of expression, presented within self-censorship practices, was discussed by participants as a strategy to protect themselves from surveillance rather than the ideology of it.

In regard to active resistance, the analysis showed that participants limited their action to the built-in tools offered by the devices and applications that operate on the collection of the data. Participants did not mention any kind of more technologically advanced methods they could employ to protect their data, such as encryption. They embraced the brands of smartphones and applications that promise advanced security settings and methods for their data but they did not elaborate on their skills and technological potentials to disrupt the surveillance mechanism. Following the analysis, this receives two dimensions of interpretation; participants were technologically illiterate and to obtain such knowledge and apply this kind of control over the data are time consuming. Seduction operates mainly on partly informed users as they have some information interpreted in the way that enables them to reproduce their seduced position as explored in Chapter 3. Participants described

also the difficulty to understand the terms and conditions that explain what kind of information are collected when using the device and relevant applications which claimed to lead them to resignation strategies. They described terms and conditions as long, complex information that they do not even read as the language is very complex and they would still need to click 'accept' in order to use the relevant applications. Terms and conditions comply with the letter of the law but in a way, that is precisely designed to deter people from reading them and to be confused; in other words, terms and conditions are deliberately complex for the users to resign from their data control. However, smartphones' applications present terms and conditions in a much simpler way for the users to understand but by the time of this change users appeared institutionalized to just accept them without even checking as they know they have no choice of even modification.

In brief, everyday surveillance through personal digital devices is expanding based on the process of seduction that wins over resistance that demands knowledge, skills and overall time. Thus, the study suggests that policy makers and educators should endorse and adopt those seductive discourses to make it more appealing for the users to protect their private information rather than the other way around. New technologies are expanding in every vein of modern societies and extending to education, revolutionizing the practice of it and learning methods (Brown and Davis, 2013). It is important then in a democratic society that wants its citizens to be able to choose how to use technology and not to be ruled by it to make the discourse of the alternative ideology of surveillance more attractive. Only when users get familiar with both aspects they will have the opportunity to negotiate with this mechanism on more equal terms at least in the level of knowledge and claim for data justice (Dencik et

al., 2017). Thus, the study of the present study is that policy makers, educators, activists and computer scientists need to understand the seductive characteristics to promote awareness as to how to counter them.

8.5 Future Research

This study acts as a 'diagnostic analysis' to understand the subjective experience of the everyday surveillance via smartphone devices, exploring the articulation of the exposure to surveillance discourses. The focus groups had been structured around three visual vignettes presenting information on the focus of the study: the location tracking system of the devices, the positive aspects of its operation using examples of popular applications and the critical ones using shots such as experts' interviews, TED talks, news reports and clips of Snowden's interview. This method proved to generate rich and insightful data, thus future research on the topic could make greater use of visual vignettes around a case scenario that would be professionally produced clearly showing realistic risks of everyday surveillance based on the relevant literature.

The analysis revealed that the operation of mass surveillance was not clear, which assists in providing an explanation for understanding why participants could not associate the potential risks of social profiling and the implications to their lives. However, recent studies addressing the implications of constant surveillance in everyday life, show that any social group can be affected at a personal level such as employability (Backman and Hedenus, 2014). This kind of example could be included to build visual vignettes showing the proximity and relevance of mass surveillance to 'ordinary' citizens. Future research on the topic, then, could look closer

on the discourses produced by the participants to inform the policymakers and academic debate on subjective experience of everyday surveillance.

The present study has focused on students at English universities, offering insights from a very particular group and in a particular society. However, different social groups in different contexts might articulate a different relationship with their smartphone devices as for example they might be seen as a 'survival kit' for the refugees crossing the borders, where the same device could be used for surveillance purposes. Thus, future research, comparisons along different social groups could explore whether seductive surveillance meets greater resistance based on different factors. The theoretical framework of seductive surveillance could also be enriched by research conducted in different countries as scholars argue on the importance of national cultures in terms of a user's perception of technology (Ng-Kruelle et al., 2006; Hofstede, 2011)

8.6 Concluding remarks

The study aimed to contribute to the call for the understanding of the subjective experience of everyday surveillance (Ball, 2009; Harper et al., 2013; Lee and Cook, 2015). As Lee and Cook (2015: 675) argue "[r]esistance (Mann et al., 2002), acceptance (Marwick, 2012) and redirection (Andrejevic, 2002) of surveillance are all possible, yet there are few examples of how individuals (dis)engage with or experience surveillance". Thus, the study focusing on the case of smartphone devices explored the negotiations of young users with the surveillant aspects of their devices. The findings comply with the main arguments of recent qualitative studies on the topic (Harper et al., 2013; Lee and Cook, 2015; Zurawski, 2011), according to

which users disregard the consequences of everyday surveillance. Harper et al. (2013: 187) suggest that "hegemonic (but inherently contradictory) ideologies like neo-liberalism work in practice at the local level, shaping our desire for information, convenience and security and also shaping fears of intrusions into what we consider personal and private".

The study offers a further understanding of the operation of neoliberal rationality in the context of everyday surveillance at a subjective level suggesting the concept of seductive surveillance in response to Lyon's (2010) call. Foucault argues that "the neo-liberal rationality is the congruence it endeavours to achieve between a responsible and moral individual and an economic rational actor. It aspires to construct prudent subjects whose moral quality is based on the fact that they rationally assess the costs and benefits as a certain act as opposed to the other alternative acts" (Lemke, 2001: 201). In this context, participants shift the focus from risks of surveillance to an economic relationship. Thus, they are not taking a surveilled subject position but that of a consumer who benefits from these techniques.

Following a Foucauldian approach, where there is resistance there is power, so in the case of seductive surveillance participants realize the power relations run through their device, thus resist when and in the way, it is possible. When admitting that they are powerless to resist systemic surveillance, it is an admission of power relations that subjectifies them. Abu-Lughod (1990) within the Foucauldian analysis she argues that resistance can be used to explore the power relations and the methods used to be established. The analysis of the data in this shows that surveillance through personal gadgets follows techniques of seduction to reproduce and sustain this subject position for the users to feel unable to resist. The technological illiteracy

emerged by the analysis paradoxically to the assigned label as 'digital natives' shows that learning through practice can be a key element of seduction that makes users familiar with but not knowledgeable about their devices and their surveillant aspects as an outcome.

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10 Appendix

Appendix 1

<u>Focus Group Format</u>

Exploring digital natives' relation with their smartphone devices and relevant applications; the case of location tracking systems

Introduction

At the beginning of the focus group the researcher will present herself and explain the objective of the study. She will make sure that the participants feel comfortable and they understand their participation is voluntarily and they can drop out at any stage they wish to. Furthermore, she will explain the rules of a good discussion such as respecting each other and that there are no right or wrong answers but that all opinions are valued.

Warm up

First, the researcher will invite everyone to introduce themselves.

Opening Questions

What phone do you currently own?

How do you use your phone?

How often do you upgrade your phone?

What kind of phone do you go for/ what are the characteristics that you want the new phone to have?

Transition Questions:

Do you know what the location tracking system is?

How is this system useful for the user?

General Video on Location Tracking System:

Following this, the researcher will present a video that lasts for six minutes informing how the location tracking system works.

Thoughts on location tracking following the video

How is this system useful for the operation of the smartphone devices and the relevant applications?

How do you think the location tracking system is useful for the apps that you use?

What do you see as the advantages and disadvantages of using this system?

Positive framing of smartphone technology and location tracking

It becomes evident from the video that the actual operation of a phone but also many of the applications that are now widely used are based on location system. I would like you to watch a video that shows some examples of the benefits that location system offers.

Following the video the researcher will ask the group to express their thoughts on smart phone technology and the relevant applications.

Did you receive information from this video that was not known to you before? If so, what was it?

How do you feel about using your smartphone after watching the video?

Has this changed the way you view your smartphone? If so, how?

Has this changed the way you would use your smartphone? If so, how?

Critical framing of smartphone technology and location tracking

Since phone devices but also relevant applications are based on the location system for their operation, there is the risk of data to be used for different purposes by the market and the state. The following video will present some of these risks.

Did you receive information from this video that was not known to you before? If so, what was it?

How do you feel about using your smartphone after watching the video?

Has this changed the way you view your smartphone? If so, how?

Has this changed the way you would use your smartphone? If so, how?

Appendix 2

Ten days after the focus groups all participants will be asked to respond to an email with the following question:

Dear participant,

Thank you for taking part in the study on digital natives' relationship with smartphones and relevant applications.

Since our discussion, I would be very grateful if you could share a few further thoughts on the topic of smartphone location tracking.

You don't have to write a huge amount, just a few brief words will do. In particular, I would like to hear about:

- Your general thoughts on how you use your smartphone

- Whether your participation in this study has changed the way you use your smartphone

- Whether you have any specific stories or incidents which involved your smartphone and some of the issues we discussed

I would also be grateful if you could indicate your age, gender and nationality in your email.

This is to help me keep track of the demographics of the people involved in the study, and will be treated in the strictest confidence.

Best wishes, and thank you once more for your participation.

Appendix 3

<u>Participant Informational Sheet</u>

EXPLORING DIGITAL NATIVES' RELATION WITH THEIR SMARTPHONE DEVICES; THE CASE OF LOCATION TRACKING SYSTEMS.

INVITATION TO TAKE PART IN OUR RESEARCH STUDY

We would like to invite you to take part in a research study. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being conducted and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information.

Thank you for reading this

What is the purpose of this study? March 2014 has been the celebratory month of the 25 years of the World Wide Web (www) which means that people under 25 have been born and raised in a digital era where internet has been widely used in everyday life. The purpose of this study is to explore how 'digital natives' (18-25 years old) articulate the relationship with their smartphone devices and the ways in which they use these devices. In particular, the research will focus on how young users perceive the location tracking systems which enable many of the apps on their phones.

Why have I been invited? We have invited you as you fall within the age group that this research is interested in - meaning 18-25 years old- and you are a smartphone user.

What will happen if I take part? If you are willing to take part, the researcher will ask you to sign a consent form to demonstrate that you agree to participate to the study and that you understand what the research is about, and what it involves. Then you will be asked to attend a focus group that will last approximately one hour in total and it will be audio and video

recorded. The focus group will take place at the premises of your University and will consist of eight students, where you will all be invited to discuss the use of smartphones. Following, you will be shown an informative video on smartphone location tracking systems that will last for six minutes after which another round of discussion will follow. Ten days later you will receive an email asking you to reflect on the discussion you had during the focus group and to let us know whether, and how you may have changed your attitude towards the use of your smartphone devices. Your reply does not have to be long as it is not an essay but an informal expression of your thoughts.

Will my involvement in this study be kept confidential? All information collected during the research will be kept strictly confidential. Our procedures for handling, processing, storing and destroying the data comply with the Data Protection Act 1998. The focus group meetings discussions will be transcripted and each individual will be given a pseudonym known only by the researcher. The video recordings will be only seen by the researcher in charge. Video recording will be used for transcription purposes only and the footages will be destroyed (deleted) by the researcher straight after the transcription process is over. In the meantime the video recordings will be stored at the researcher's hard drive which is encrypted. As soon as you send the emails with your reflective thoughts the content will be copied and pasted in a word document with no identifying information other than the relevant pseudonym. The electronic message will be deleted both from inbox and trash. The electronic folders will be stored in the researchers' encrypted hard drive. Furthermore, the researcher will print the electronic documents as a back-up and the hard copies will be kept locked in a cabinet at the premises of the Open University.

Do I have to take part? No. It is entirely up to you to decide whether or not to take part. Even if you do decide to participate you are free to withdraw, retract any comment or the whole of your part of the discussion and email response at any time of the process up to 31st December 2014. You just need to let the researcher know via email and all your data will be destroyed. If you withdraw your consent before the beginning of the focus groups any emails exchange you may have had with the researcher will be deleted. If you decide to withdraw during the data collection and analysis process any data collected by that point will not be included to the study but they will not be destroyed (as part of a group discussion) till the transcription process is over. Afterwards, they will be deleted from any storage space no later than 31st December 2014.

What do I have to do? If you decide to take part to the study please indicate your availability to the in this <u>doodle poll</u> by 24th October. If you have further questions regarding the research please feel free to contact the study researcher Pinelopi Troullinou (contact details below). If you decide not to take part we still thank you for taking the time to read this letter and you can simply ignore it.

Contact Details

Pinelopi Troullinou

Department of People and Organization

Open University, Business School

Milton Keynes, MK7 6JB

 T: +44(0) 1908655019

E: pinelopi.troullinou@open.ac.uk

Thank you very much for considering to take part in this study

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Appendix 4

<u>Informed Consent Agreement</u>

Study consent form for focus group meetings and email interview	
Title of Project:	Exploring digital natives' relation with their smartphone devices; the case of location tracking systems.

Name of Researcher:	Pinelopi Troullinou	Contact Details:	T: +44(0) 1908655019 E: pinelopi.troullinou@open.ac.uk

To comply with the Data Protection Act 1998, I need your permission before I take any recordings of you. Please answer the questions below, then sign and date the form where shown.

☐	By ticking this box, I confirm that I have read and I understand the information sheet for the above study.

☐	By ticking this box, I confirm that I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

☐	By ticking this box, I confirm that I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time up to 30th April 2015, without giving any reason, without my legal rights being affected.
☐	By ticking this box, I confirm that I agree to take part in the above research study.
☐	By ticking this box, I confirm that I agree to focus group meetings being audio/video recorded.
☐	By ticking this box, I confirm that I agree to the use of quotes in publications using pseudonyms.
☐	By ticking this box, I confirm that I understand that relevant sections of any of the information I am providing may be looked at by responsible individuals and under the supervision of the principal investigator of this study for the purpose of transcribing the recoded focus group meeting, or for contributing to the understanding of the matter. I give permission for these individuals to have access to the focus group recording and the content of my email interview.

	By ticking this box, I confirm that I agree that my data gathered in this study may be stored (after they have been given pseudonyms) in a specialist data centre and may be used for future research.
☐	

Your signature: _____ Date: _____

Your name (in block capitals): _____

Study consent form for the focus group and email interview   @

You are invited to participate in a research study, conducted by The Open University Business School, on the use of smartphone devices.

The completion of the focus group will take approximately 60 minutes of your time. If you do not wish to finish this focus group you can just ask to leave the room. Any data collected via previous email exchange with the researcher (i.e Name, email address) will be deleted. You have the right to withdraw your consent up to 30th April 2015. You just need to inform the researcher via email and all your data will be destroyed. If you decide to withdraw during the data collection and analysis process any data collected by that point will not be included to the study but they will not be destroyed (as part of a group discussion) till the transcription process is over. Afterwards, they will be deleted from any storage space no later than 30th April 2015.

In accordance with the principles of the 1998 Data Protection Act, all the information provided by you will be stored securely and will not be used or disclosed to third parties without your consent to do

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so. Your participation in this research will be completely confidential and data will be anonymized. The information you are providing through this process will only be used for the completion of this research project and academic purposes, like the publication of scientific proceedings and drafting various informative reports that will be available to you and other study participants.

Your personal identity will not be disclosed to any third-party without your permission.

If you have questions about this project, you may contact Ms Pinelopi Troullinou, the research team principal investigator (E: pinelopi.troullinou@open.ac.uk; T: +44(0) 1908655019). If you have any question about your rights as a research participant in the study, please contact the Open University Human Research Ethics Committee via email at research-ethics@open.ac.uk. Please print a copy of this consent form and information sheets for your records, if you desire so.

☐ I have read and understood terms and conditions of the study. I certify that I am 18 years old or older. I am willing to take part in this study and this is a voluntary act.