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**Surveillance Technologies under Scrutiny :
the Views and Experiences of Young Adults
in the West End of Glasgow**

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Abstract : The study explores young adults' subjective experiences and responses to surveillance in their everyday lives. It seeks to contribute to a thicker understanding of surveillance by using a transdisciplinary approach and mixed qualitative research methods (focus groups and participatory photography). Findings demonstrate a significant difference in young adults' perceptions between public-space and online surveillance that fundamentally affects their experiences and drives their responses to it. It uncovers a tactical and anticipated knowledge of surveillance that ordinarily leads to intuitive responses to public-space surveillance (passive and normalised) and conscious and cautious reactions to online surveillance (active and proactive).

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Chapter 1 :

Introduction

Surveillance is by no means a new phenomenon and has been widely studied among scholars, generally encompassed within imageries and metaphors such as Bentham's Panopticon or Orwell's Big Brother (1949). Most scholars refer to David Lyon's (2001) definition of 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' (2001 : 2). This definition is very useful to comprehend surveillance processes by themselves but neglects the experiences of those being influenced and managed and how they respond to it.

The aim of the current study is to grasp young adults' experiences of surveillance and what they might or might not include in their own perception of surveillance constituted through these experiences. The study seeks to explore the relation between young adults (between 18 and 25 years old) and surveillance technologies in a variety of settings in their daily lives (workplaces, university, transport, public streets, private places, home). It investigates experiences of being surveilled but also young adults' responses to these 'surveillance encounters'. Although the focus of the study privileges a 'public-area' approach of surveillance such as video surveillance, the overlapping with other types of surveillance such as online or welfare surveillance is unavoidable.

The study is an exploratory first overview of young adults' experiences of surveillance, prior to further research. It was meant to be inscribed within a transdisciplinary perspective (sociology, criminology, urban studies, art) and especially within the emergence of cultural criminology as a new way of comprehending social and cultural aspects of surveillance and social control. Contrary to an interdisciplinary approach, the present study tries to transcend different academic fields and to synthesise them in a coherent and original approach to surveillance. By focusing on surveillance technologies, the study attempts to improve our understanding of the current changes in the surveillance, virtual and urban landscapes. It explores how surveillance technologies are embedded in everyday life and places, how they are used, experienced and eventually re-appropriated by young adults. Indeed digital

and visual technologies carry new means of empowerment while at the same time embodying the regime of order (Koskela, 2009). Thus the delimitation between social control and resistance is blurry leaving space for everyday tactics of compliance, escape, avoidance, emancipation or resistance to surveillance.

A recent issue of *Surveillance & Society* (Huey and Fernandez, 2009) drew attention on the interplay between surveillance and resistance where neither surveillance (contrary to the Big Brother stereotype), nor resistance are all-encompassing concepts but are contextual and dependant of a given situation. To put it another way, individuals (or groups) engaging in resisting surveillance develop tactics that evolve according to the dynamic of power at stake. By drawing on the everyday experiences of surveillance and on De Certeau's (1984) concepts, the current study seeks to investigate the first part of Coleman and McCahill's definition of resistance to surveillance

“Any active behaviour by individuals or interest groups that opposes the collection and processing of personal data, either through the micro practices of everyday resistance to defeat a given application or through political challenges to wider power relations which contest the surveillance regime per se” (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 147)

The study investigates firstly young people's views and subjective experiences of surveillance in their everyday lives to document a neglected area of surveillance studies. It attempts to uncover and address practices and tactical responses to being monitored, and most importantly under which conditions such practices take place. In doing so, the present paper is divided in four major parts. First it will adopt a transdisciplinary perspective and will review the state of the literature within surveillance, youth and cultural studies to get an better understanding of surveillance. The second part will focus on the methodology adopted (focus groups and participatory photography) to collect empirical data and for the analysis. Then the paper will discuss the research process and how it impacts on the data collected and the findings. The last part will be dedicated to the reflection on the emergent findings.

Chapter 2 :

Literature Review

This chapter will review the key concepts and the theoretical underpinnings fundamental for the understanding and the analysis of subjective experiences of surveillance. By doing so, the present study advocates a transdisciplinary approach within surveillance, youth and cultural studies that allows an in depth understanding of young people's experiences of being monitored. By reviewing the existent literature within these three different academic fields, the study attempts to draw a complex picture of surveillance processes in a post-panopticon perspective (1) where the Panopticon has been widely recognised as an unfruitful approach for the analysis. Within the present study, surveillance will be comprehended as an intersubjective relationship between the surveillant and the surveilled (2) embedded within everyday practices (3) and cultural ways of seeing (4) that create a specific space of experiences where ordinary young people formulate specific responses to it (5).

Surveillance studies, a post-panopticon perspective

Surveillance has been well analysed within security studies and sociology, especially since Michel Foucault's work about the Panopticon and disciplinary societies (Foucault, 1975). Surveillance studies has become increasingly dominant in the last two decades within the development of criminology. A significant amount of academic scholarship has emerged in the 1990s as a response to the rise of surveillance technologies, especially in the United Kingdom, and the development of a 'surveillance society' and a 'society of control' (Deleuze, 1990). Most of these studies have focused on the relationship between crime and surveillance technologies (e.g. CCTV) and their capacity as a tool to prevent crime rather than on the ordinary experiences of surveillance by social actors.

Multiple case studies have been conducted on surveillance and social control and its impact on crime, mostly on CCTV open street and in shopping malls systems (Bannister and Fyfe, 1994, Norris and Armstrong 1999; McCahill, 2002). These studies have focused on the effectiveness of surveillance to reduce and prevent crime or on the watchers (control rooms) and their

practices. Other studies have explored processes of social sorting produced and being produced through surveillance. Lomell (2004) for example, has focused on social sorting processes induced by CCTV systems in public spaces in Oslo. He has analysed comparatively the targeting of the 'unwanted' (homeless, young people hanging out) by comparing the open street video surveillance system of the city, the CCTV systems of a shopping mall and of a major transport centre using quantitative and qualitative methods. Brown (1998) has analysed the impact of surveillance regarding gender where McCahill and Finn (2010) have conducted a study on the social impact of surveillance in three UK schools. However few empirical studies have been devoted to subjective experiences, how it impacts everyday life and on responses of being surveilled for ordinary people. Ball and Haggerty (2005) argue that this confinement has led to unfruitful routines of analysis in Surveillance Studies such as surveillance/privacy dialectics or the decry of new technological developments.

Another routinised framework used in Surveillance Studies is the metaphor of the Panopticon, essentially derived from Michel Foucault's work *Discipline and Punish* (1975). It has been since called into question as it contributes to normalize and limit the academic field. As Lyon has highlighted how the panopticon has become 'oppressive' (Lyon, 2006). Surveillance studies in general and the Panopticon metaphor specifically have been the victim of their own success, diffusing and relaying a normative and ritualistic perspective on surveillance. In this way, Ball and Haggerty challenge the mainstream of post structuralism that appears in the academic field by underlining the “need within surveillance studies community to contemplate the world that it would like to fashion as opposed to the one it currently perceives” (Ball and Haggerty; 2005 : 132).

Surveillance Studies have been good at describing the growth of a 'surveillance society' and the widespread of surveillance technologies but not so good at explaining how these technologies are experienced and the multiple dimensions of surveillance. (Haggerty and Ericson, 2006). By neglecting these experiences, surveillance studies have remained to an intangible level of

abstraction and have been highly normalized by the Panopticon metaphor. Therefore Surveillance Studies need to undertake the 'messier, less institutionalized, and exploratory but absolutely crucial job of studying the watched' (Gilliom 2006: 126).

Recently, scholars have been focusing on the growth of surveillance especially after 9/11. Gary Marx (2009) emphasizes on the idea of a 'new surveillance' that rely on hidden and ubiquitous surveillance technologies and can be seen as less coercive and as a form of 'soft surveillance'. Most scholars agree on the intensification, integration and diversification of surveillance rather than on its novelty (Doyle, Lippert and Lyon, 2012 , McCahill, 2002). Rather than the simple growth and proliferation of surveillance technologies, this reflects the norms and social aspects of modern society (Murakami and Webster, 2009) embedded with the emergence of a risk society.

The 'Risk society' has been defined by Beck as a systematic way of dealing with hazards and insecurities induced and introduced by modernisation itself' (Beck,1992). Risk management structures Western societies by producing pre-emptive policies and responses to defiances or threats to themselves (i.e. dominant norms). Thus, the growth of surveillance technologies and processes are embedded within systematic and proactive ways of dealing with insecurity. Surveillance technologies are part of modernisation of social control within the risk society and the pre-ordering of a perceived secure place. According to Baudrillard (1981), the world is perceived through representations, images and spectacles where reality is becoming an 'hyper-reality' by 're-enacting real life' where representations are prior to viewing (simulations and simulacrum). This finds echoes with Bogard's (2006) conceptualization of simulation of surveillance in 'telematic societies'. Simulation is the 'dreamlogic or imaginary solution of the surveillance machine : flawless control, control in advance and thus in effect the end of control' (Bogard, 2006: 69).

The rise of the surveillance apparatus allows the perception of places as 'safe spaces' where surveillance is simulated and discursive (eg. the focus on 'video protection' rather than 'video surveillance'). Surveillance technologies can be

comprehended as a 'visible manifestation' of the state's power and response about crime and insecurity. By being there, they show that something is being done in what Murakami and Webster (2009) called a 'stage-set security' or 'security theatre'. Surveillance technologies are the symbolic bearers of security in a society in which insecurity (representations) predominates. In this sense, it can be analysed as a physical "speech act" that shows that the state is 'doing something' in terms of crime prevention within the securitization of urban private/public spaces. In the lines of the theory of securitization (Buzan, Waever and De Wilde, 1998), surveillance technologies are a manifestation of the hyper securitization of the everyday life in the post 9/11 period and post London Bombings. The desecuritization of these spaces and a better understanding (and eventually use) of surveillance technologies both as a tool to prevent crime and as a technique of social control is needed.

However authors have underlined the danger of an uncritical and superficial application of the framework of 'risk' to comprehend surveillance. This approach is seen as unfruitful, descriptive and overplaying ideas of newness in social control where there is in fact a continuity (Coleman, 2004). These approaches through the risk society and the new forms of surveillance lead to a 'discursive construction of epochalistic binaries' (Heywood and Sandywell, 2012) such as post-modernity, neoliberalism or globalization (in opposition to modernity, liberalism and nation-state) that suggest falsely a breaking point and participate to a 'descriptive turn' in social research. Therefore, researchers need 'to make surveillance strange again' (Murakami and Webster, 2009), not in the sense of a new phenomenon but to adopt a new perspective on surveillance. This requires to break out the traditional approach of surveillance in order to grasp social dimensions of the phenomenon that have been neglected. In doing so, researchers need to deconstruct the dichotomy between watcher and watched and to examine surveillance as a complex social interaction deeply embedded in everyday routines that constitutes 'less as a material apparatus than as an essential part of the social fabric' (Finn, 2012: 72).

The dialectical relationship between surveillant, surveilled and surveillance technologies

Subjects of surveillance are not only object of surveillance but to some degree interact and constitute it. The concept of “synopticon” where the many observe the few (by opposition of panopticon where the few observe the many) provides an interesting opportunity to deconstruct the traditional approach to surveillance and investigate surveillance from the bottom. However, as Hier (2003) highlights, one cannot be comprehended without another as they are deeply embedded within a dialectical relationship of top down (synoptical) and bottom up (synoptical) processes. The synoptical dimension of surveillance brings a significant contribution in Surveillance Studies to comprehend surveillance processes and how it interacts with its subjects within social and cultural contexts.

Different kind of interactions and experiences of surveillance are possible. Coleman and McCahill (2011) have brought into light compliance to the growth of surveillance, implemented through social norms such as in education and through the media. Though compliance is a permanent bargaining establishing 'a dialectical interrelationship' between the surveillance regime and the surveilled both steering around the other (Coleman & McCahill, 2011). Thus surveillance has to be comprehended as a co-constituted phenomenon between the watchers and the watched. They both negotiate conditions under which acceptance becomes possible where surveillance effects are lessened or magnified according to its subjects' involvement (Lyon, 2006). These theoretical underpinnings, underlining the inter-constitution and inter-subjectivity of surveillance, help researchers to grasp trade-offs and compromises which are being made by individuals and how they have to a certain extent choice in the application and compliance to surveillance technologies in their everyday behaviours.

The dialectical relationship between surveillant and surveilled brings into light individual responses to surveillance lying from unquestioned compliance to overt resistance. The place and freedom of the subject in surveillance is

therefore fundamental. Following Foucault's analysis of power/knowledge dynamics will help to understand individual's capacities to interact and respond to surveillance. Foucault highlights that individuality can be found precisely in the interstices of power where 'power becomes anonymous and more functional, those upon whom it is exercised tend to be more strongly individualized' (Foucault, 1980 :193). This can be applied to surveillance that becomes more intensified and paradoxically leave more space for individuality. Drawing on Foucault, Gilliom argues that surveillance technologies have the potential of discipline and social control but also carry an emancipatory capacity where the 'internalisation of discipline is accompanied by creative, empowering ways of being undisciplined' (Gilliom, 2006 :150).

Surveillance complies to the logic of capitalism and encompasses within it participatory forms where personal informations are exchanged and offered up by consumers to get short-term consumption's gains. There is a permanent negotiation between privacy concerns, compliance to surveillance and consumer convenience. In this sense, surveillance is taking place within consumer society where consumption is a active and creative phenomenon. Therefore trade-offs, negotiations, bypass and resistance are not out of the ordinary but are co-development of surveillance, existing in multiple and often unrecognised forms (Martin, 2009).

Scholars recognize acceptance, whether unquestioned or out of resignation, ignorance or indifference as the most common response to surveillance. (Marx, 2009). However resistance can arise through a variety of small tactics such as feigned conformity, covert resistance, avoidance moves, piggybacking moves, distorting moves, blocking moves, breaking or counter surveillance moves (Marx, 2009) or from 'sousveillance' (Mann, 2003). The latter has been of particular interest recently in Surveillance Studies. Mann coined the concept of 'sousveillance' from the French words 'sous' (below) and 'veiller' (to watch over). Sousveillance defines by Mann (2003) 'draws on the 'detournement' practice of reflectionism, that is appropriating tools of social controllers and re-situating the tools in a disorientating manner'. Cop watching, that is the

scrutiny by ordinary citizens of police activities, looking for signs of police misconduct (and eventually recording them via media technologies), is a striking example of sousveillance. There are several other examples of urban resistance and sousveillance such as the surveillance camera players (SCP) in New York where people display messages in front of CCTV cameras or cam-over, a game being played across Berlin, which sees protesters against the rise of CCTV trashing cameras in the city. There are a range of Manifesto against surveillance such as the 'Guide to Closed Circuit Television Destruction' by the IAA. Another field of resistance can be found in the arts with project such as Faceless of Manu Luksch or Raul Gschrey¹. Art groups have been also used the popular technique of video sniffing which captures live feeds from CCTV cameras of shops and street corners in UK.

In the light of these examples (and many others), Timan and Oudshoorn (2012) argue that surveillance is becoming a form of 'Open Circuit TV' (OCTV) where mobile cameras are used by citizens to film public-spaces and the powerful in bottom-up forms. Moreover these recordings are likely to be shared on a large scale via internet through social networks.

Foregrounding tactics : resistances of the everyday

Following this, the present study focuses on popular tactics by which the dominant culture or power are experienced, evaded, bypassed or resisted. In order to do, we follow De Certeau's (1984) distinction between strategies and tactics.

'A tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then, provides it with the conditions necessary for autonomy. [...] It does not therefore have the options of planning a general strategy and

1 See the article of Martin Zeilinger (2012) "Appropriation and the authoring function of camera surveillance in Manu Luksch's Faceless" in Doyle A., Lippert R. and Lyon D. (ed) *Eyes Everywhere: The Global Growth of Camera Surveillance*. Oxon, Routledge. More generally see the special issue of *Surveillance&Society*, 'Surveillance, Performance and New Media Art' Vol 7, No 2 (2010)

viewing the adversary as a whole within a distinct visible, and objectifiable space. It operates in isolated actions, blow by blow. It takes advantages of “opportunities” and depends on them' (De Certeau, 1984 : 36-7)

In this sense, surveillance can be comprehended in terms of strategies (strategy of surveillance from the city, private companies and so on) where individual responses has to be analysed in terms of tactics (tactics of the everyday). Tactics arise within the strategic surveillance by taking advantages of opportunities without necessarily the purposeful goal of resisting against a distinctive adversary. In other words, tactics are 'the inventive employment of possibilities within strategic circumstances' (Highmore, 2002: 159). Tactics occur inside rather than being directly opposed to a strategy. In this sense, they are ambiguous by being inside but 'other' (Highmore, 2002).

By featuring the distinction between strategy and tactic, De Certeau offers a new reading of resistance and challenges traditional frameworks where resistance is bound to identities and direct opposition of the dominant power. The main inquiry of De Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) resonates within the research question of this study :

'If it is true that the grid of discipline is everywhere becoming clearer and more extensive, it is all the more urgent to discover how an entire society resists being reduced to it, what popular procedures (also minuscule and quotidian) manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them only in order to evade them, and finally, what “ways of operating” form the counterpart, on the consumer's (or “dominee's) side' (De Certeau 1984 : xiv)

Tactics play on both the preservation of the order and the creation of something new that offer a pluralized account of powers (Highmore, 2002). They include appropriation and re-appropriation of everyday means for a different purposes among which simply to make space inhabitable. There is

the idea of practical diversion or 'dérive' "by 'making do' and 'making with' that is getting the most within strategic circumstances through acts of appropriation and re-employment (Highmore, 2002). De Certeau highlights three categories of 'resistance' (even if these categories are overlapping) 'tactics (a struggle for life), artistic creation (an aesthetic) and autonomous initiatives (an ethic)' (De Certeau, 1984: IX). Resistance to surveillance can be seen at the intersection of these three categories and lies in a transdisciplinary approach between political, artistic and social perspectives.

The concept of 'tactic' allows researchers to move away from traditional approach of resistance and its 'romanticisation'. Tactics encompass any act differing from power without regard to the goals behind it that is likely to be a temporary and/or trivial gain (rather than an intentional protest against domination). For instance, De Certeau underlines that the typical 'blasé attitude' as a defensive and adaptive response can be seen as a form of resistance. Using the tactical terminology allows research to comprehend a vast range of mundane actions that cannot be comprehended in term of traditional resistance and associated with the in somehow too simplistic terminology of opposition.

Drawing on De Certeau, the study seeks for the everyday practice of tactics toward surveillance. The everyday is seen as a place of creativity where processes of 'hybridization' (During, 2007) and negotiations occur on daily and short-lived (and therefore permanently renegotiated) basis.

'Seeing surveillantly' : a cultural perspective

This study wants to place surveillance within a cultural perspective even though it recognizes from the beginning several limits to this framework. However it will counter-balance the current approach within Surveillance Studies that has focused on crime. Scholars have notably criticized the 'vagueness' of cultural approaches (that is to say that there a vast array of approaches rather than one) and their methodological weaknesses. However, cultural studies need to be explored and have a lot to offer to uncover

subjective experiences of surveillance and responses to it.

Surveillance technologies are part of everyday life and the urban environment where they have become familiar, unnoticed and inconspicuous. CCTV is the symbolic and visible part of surveillance but even CCTV has slipped in the urban everyday as 'a form of unconsciousness' (Highmore, 2002). Therefore it is needed to make the 'everyday' strange again and in doing so put surveillance within a cultural and critical framework to confront and challenge the unconscious, the obvious and the invisible. That said researchers need to be cautious using the "everyday" terminology and to keep in mind that the everyday is deeply situated within a social space and time. In other words 'everyday life is not everywhere the same despite those modernizing effects of uniformity' (During, 2007 : 22). The social background of the emergence and possibilities of the everyday are highly important elements for the analysis.

Surveillance and its conceptualization is deeply embedded within our Western culture and our ways of seeing, watching and being watched. Finn (2012) draws about surveillance as an unavoidable part of contemporary society that shapes individual ways of seeing. According to him, surveillance can be seen as an aesthetic, a rhetoric and call for participation in public life. Surveillance is becoming ubiquitous in our contemporary visual culture and life such as in films (*Enemy of the State*, *Minority Report*), on television (*Big Brother TV Reality Show*), in video games (*Watch Dogs*), social networking websites, advertising and art. Surveillance technologies have been the objects of a normative construction deeply linked to the myth of Big Brother, Orwell's *1984* and *Brave New World* of Huxley. Cultural references of surveillance are often used both in a cynical way and as ground for legitimation. The perception of surveillance lies between utopia and dystopia, the former heralding a dream society where crime would have vanished where the latter foresee the advent of an authoritarian surveillance society (Aas, Gundhus and Lomell, 2009). This dichotomy has been also limiting for the understanding and popular perceptions of surveillance. By spreading in the culture and entertainment dimensions of life, surveillance has become ubiquitous and integrated in popular imagery beyond the material apparatus deployed for

surveillance. This has impacted deeply our ways of seeing, leading to a 'society of spectacle' (Debord, 1994) which puts representations in our understanding of society. In this sense individuals are subjected by a pervasive regime of representations (Heywood and Sandywell, 2012). Furthermore, 'the society of spectacle' Debord bears upon the relationship between looking and being seen i.e. in between voyeurism and exhibition within a highly visual society that relies on images and representations. It highlights ambiguities between surveillance, resistance, entertainment and culture where being under scrutiny colludes with the pleasure of being watched. Cultural imagery of surveillance plays a significant part of young people's experiences of surveillance. Therefore perceptions and subjective interpretations of what surveillance technologies are for young people is a fundamental component to enquire and explore.

Koskela (2009) argues that today use of surveillance technologies has slid from the private sector (e.g. shopping mall, private stores where surveillance had widespread) to private individuals in a process of 're-privatisation' of surveillance through new digital technologies . It can also be comprehended as the re-appropriation of surveillance means by the bottom. Indeed the widespread of information technologies (smaller, freer distribution, more accessible devices) has provided a new equipment where the development of Internet has widened the arena (Koskela, 2009). It has be analysed as a 'digital turn' where digital technologies (and therefore potentially surveillance-enabling technologies) are not only expanding but also are increasingly integrated in Western societies. In addition these technologies are able to perform interactive and entertaining functions as well as surveillance applications.

Contemporary culture has consecrated the blurring of the boundaries between art culture, and commerce through the prominence of the image that has resulted in an 'aestheticisation of urban life' (Barker, 2000). This aestheticisation relies upon the intensification of signs and images that saturate everyday environments and create our perception of spaces, among them, surveillance technologies. The notion of space is crucial to comprehend and

understand experiences of surveillance. Spaces are physical manifestations of the exercise of power but also power shapes specific types of spaces where surveillance creates 'visibility, unverifiability, contextual control, absence of force and internalisation of control' (Kosela, 2003: 293). The integration of digital surveillance into urban environment lead to a fusion between virtual and physical spaces. Drawing on Deleuze's (1990) control theory, urban spaces lead to the 'modulation' of individuals that learn new meanings of urban navigation where the body itself of the individual acts as "an embodied surveillance tool and password in order to gain access to areas within the city". (Muir, 2012: 268). In this sense, surveillance technologies have the potential to transform our ways of perceiving a space but also our ways of engaging with urban environments.

Youth studies : the missing middle

Scholar, media and public attention has always focused on youth, even more with the emergence of "moral panics" within the media and worrisome reports about the rise of violence among young people. Youth has been described and comprehended in many different way : as a category (at risk or in need for protection and supervision), as a subculture, as a transition, or as a identity. In recent years, young people have been analysed through the lens of 'the New Moral Panics' (Cohen, 1972) resulting to an intense and worrisome media coverage. This has justified an increase in young people' social control, surveillance and supervision. Since the last decade, the reinforcement of these discourses about youth allowed a shift from a responsive framework of youth delinquency to pre-emptive policies, anti social behaviours initiatives aimed at 'identifying the "anti social", anticipating disorder and criminalizing nuisance' (Muncie, 2004: 245). In this regard, evidence has shown that young people are more likely to be targeted by surveillant practices (Lomell, 2004) as they are categorized as being "at risk". Approaches in both political and research agendas have been focusing on youth as a 'deficit model' (Cooper, 2009) leading to the lack of analysis of youth as agents and the neglect of the majority of "ordinary" young people.

The use of “youth” as an analytical category, has been the object of critiques especially from post-modernist theories. Post-modernist theories reject youth studies as “grandes theories” and “totalising discourses” that do not represent the social complexity. According to post modern line, youth is a discursive, cultural and social construct that researchers need to challenge and deconstruct. In this sense, “Youth is just a word” (Bourdieu, 1993) that researchers need to question to uncover the relations between “youth” as a category and the dynamic of power/knowledge, the construction of identities. Drawing on Bourdieu and post modern theories, the study seeks to deconstruct youth as an uniform category by highlighting differences within young people i.e. social class, gender, ethnicity and repercussions on their experiences of being surveilled. Furthermore by focusing on ordinary young people, the purpose of the study is to explore subjective, 'ordinary' and 'unspectacular' experiences of the majority of young people ” described as a 'missing middle' (Roberts and MacDonald, 2011). The focus on the marginalised middle, the ordinary and the everyday, will help to reconcile youth studies and cultural perspectives and renew sociological imagination within this field (MacDonald and Roberts, 2003).

Existing studies related to surveillance or not have been used to draw a relevant methodology to explore young people's experiences of being surveilled. Indeed a review of empirical material, methods used, their advantages and inconveniences and findings have been conducted to frame at best the research project. For instance, the study conducted by Timan and Oudshoorn (2012) about the mobile cameras as technologies of surveillance and experiences of their uses by citizens echoes the research questions. They used an innovative 'intervention method' combined with short interviews that confronted citizens with both CCTV and mobile cameras in Rotterdam during night-time in order to explore the people's experiences of being monitored by a CCTV camera and by another person. They have crossing the lines between Science and Technology Studies and Social Research and explored interaction between people, technologies and their inter-shaping. This exploratory pilot project is a good example of emergent transdisciplinary researches conducted in

the field of surveillance and opens possibilities for innovative projects to understand people's experience of being monitored.

Wilson, Rose and Colvin (2010) have conducted a study about marginalised young people's experiences and perceptions of surveillance in Melbourne. The study focuses on marginalised young people (especially homeless) and their interactions with surveillance in public spaces. It relies on focus groups discussions to explore these themes. Findings have shown a good awareness and fairly good knowledge of surveillance. It highlighted process of resistance toward surveillance as a reaction of being monitored and targeted by surveillance. It addresses same issues than this study but focuses on marginalised young people where this study seeks for the experiences of ordinary young people or “the forgotten middle”.

In this regard, the study conducted by Finn and McCahill (2010) on the social impact of surveillance technologies in Northern City largely echoes the aims of the study. They used focus groups interviews of six different groups : ‘school children’, ‘political protesters’, ‘persistent offenders’, ‘unemployed people’, ‘global migrants’, and ‘police officers’. They also relied on ethnographic observations of ‘surveillance encounters’ in the city and the common settings of their participants. The combination of these methods (with a content analysis of media representations of surveillance) allowed them to explore specific groups' experiences of surveillance and their responses to being monitored. Emergent themes on subjective experiences of being monitored were privacy, social sorting and discrimination, stigma, excitement and play, normalisation, gendered impact and safety and protection. These themes were more and less present according to different groups as well as their responses to surveillance that vary from ambiguities and mocking to counter and planning surveillance. This study brings a strong idea and overview of experiences of surveillance among specific groups of people.

Despite the limited amount of empirical studies, young people's experiences of surveillance is often seen as an unfair targeting (Lomell, 2004) and discrimination against them by urban surveillance technologies (CCTV,

policing). Precisely because studies have been focused on marginalised people such as homeless or offenders. Young people as seeking for their own identities and culture are believed to re-appropriate and re-interpret commodities in original ways and participate to the creation and recreation of their cultural life (France, 2007). Young adults comprehended as agents have the capacity to 'act differently' and make their own choices (Barker, 2002). However this is the result of a social and cultural construction where the possibility of acting differently do not mean necessarily resistance but can also signify an 'active appropriation of hegemonic values' (Barker, 2002). Young people are seen as 'cultural producers' which is a constitutive and significant part of youth culture (Willis, 1990). In the light of this argument, an investigation of the relationship between ordinary young people and surveillance technologies seems an appropriate place to start. In doing so, the study comprehends young people as meaning-makers in their own lives through the exercise of agency. By emphasising on young people as active agents, the study assumes a dialectical relationship between young people and surveillance technologies rather than an one-side process where young people comply passively. There is a need to explore the subjective experiences of surveillance of the majority of young people in order to improve our understanding of surveillance from the perspective of the surveilled and of the current changes in the surveillance landscape.

Chapter 3 :

Methodology

This chapter will review the methodological approach and the research methods used to gather empirical data and how they fit the study purposes (1). It discusses the advantages of the use of focus groups (2) and participatory photography (3) to uncover young adults' experiences and views of surveillance technologies as well as how they interact with one another to create a thicker understanding of young adults' experiences of surveillance (4).

Qualitative research methods to uncover subjective experiences of surveillance

The study seeks to contribute to empirical understanding of a neglected area by documenting young people's subjective experiences of being monitored (e.g. feelings of safety, risk, danger, voyeurism, excitement, stigmatisation) and their responses to it. This focus on meanings and representations led to the use of qualitative methodology as a means to explore how surveillance is interpreted, experienced and understood in everyday life. A mixed-method design had been adopted where focus groups and participatory photography interact together in order to generate a new insight on young people's experiences of surveillance technologies.

The study falls within critical theory and the constructivist tradition of analysis that postulate the social construction of reality and knowledge. It assumes the existence of a plurality of knowledge that cannot be grasped outside their social context and representations. Thus the process of research relies on an interpretive process to understand meanings, representations and subjective experiences of surveillance by young people. It is based on a grounded approach that comprehends surveillance and the social world from the perspective of the individuals being studied and taking part in the research. By referring to an inductive reasoning and relying on observations, the study seeks emergent themes and concepts from the collection of data without imposing a rigid framework prior to fieldwork. In this sense, the study tries as much as possible to leave space for 'the possibility of surprise' in social research (Firebaugh, 2008) and for new ways of documenting subjective experiences of surveillance. Moreover, by seeking to investigate the ways in

which cultural dynamics and practices intertwine with social control in contemporary society, the study draws on the emergence of cultural criminology as a new transdisciplinary area of research. (Ferrell, Hayward and Young, 2008).

Methods chosen allows an in depth approach and the collection and generating of detailed data with a small number of participants through participation and group interaction. However data collected are less able to be generalised and findings are deeply situated in the research settings (focus groups and participatory photography). Instead of a generalized dataset about surveillance, the study aspires to an in depth analysis of young adults' subjective experiences of surveillance in the West End of Glasgow. Drawing on Guba and Lincoln (1981), scientific validity of the study has been sought through 'trustworthiness'. Field observations, thick descriptions, fieldwork notes and reflexivity ensured at the utmost credibility, transferability and confirmability through the research process and the analysis of findings (Guba and Lincoln, 1981).

Focus groups

“Focus groups are group discussions exploring a specific set of issues. Crucially focus groups are distinguished from the broader category of group interviews by the explicit use of group interaction to generate data” (Kitzinger and Barbour, 1999: 4)

The focus group method relies on group interactions by encouraging participants to discuss a specific topic with each other in order to create knowledge. Focus groups are a strong research method to uncover how people form opinions within a group and how they negotiate dominant discourses. By highlighting social conformity and the construction of consensus within a peer discussion, focus groups as part of the study explore normative positions among young people on technologies of surveillance. Moreover the topic itself is particularly appropriate for group discussions where it could be otherwise

difficult to encourage participants to talk about surveillance per se during one to one interviews. In comparison to interviewing, focus groups allow participants to 'steer the conversation' as well as enabling them to share their own experience and perspectives in the group in a more spontaneous way without referring to facilitator's questions (Morgan, 1998). Group interaction was crucial for the conduct of the study and therefore it formed at the cornerstone of the research design. However focus groups establish an unnatural interaction where participants have been recruited especially to take part to the discussion. This interferes with the collection and analysis of data, for instance by creating artificial consensus or overstating one individual opinion.

For this study, focus groups have also been used as an exploratory tool to investigate both young people's experiences of surveillance as well as the use of participatory and visual methods to comprehend surveillance. In these lines, the study seeks to conduct focus groups and participatory photography as 'a creative prescientific intellectualization' (Calder, 1977) of young people's subjective experiences of surveillance technologies. The findings are hard to generalize (especially regarding the small and non representative sample used for the study) but also a first insight in a neglected area of surveillance studies. It is a snapshot of subjective experiences of surveillance by young people in the West End of Glasgow.

Participatory photography

In combination with the use of focus groups, the conduct of participatory photography provides for a better understanding of subjective experiences and perceptions of surveillance technologies. It also encourages participants to get involved with the study and inspire them to dispense a wider and creative set of responses. The use of visual methods is by no means new in social research (e.g. Malinowski's work of indigenous culture in the Trobriand Islands²). However contemporary approaches to visual methods go beyond the mere use of images as 'visual recording' of reality and engage with 'subjectivity,

2 See Malinowski, B. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, first published in 1922

reflexivity and the notion of the visual as knowledge and a critical voice' (Pink, 2003 : 180). Indeed, visual methods have been developed by researchers with an interest in exploring the social world in a different way. These methods allow participants to express themselves in a freer way and communicate their representations of surveillance with different means (eg. through symbols and metaphors). It also provides a more holistic sense of experiences of surveillance by showing these experiences and putting them into a space, a context and an imagery (i.e. a situated visuality). Thus, visual methods offer a form of 'thick description' (Spencer, 2011) by exploring informants' uses of images in which they invest meanings and through which they produce and represent their knowledge; experiences and identities. (Pink, 2007). Moreover, the visual is an important part of youth culture where information and digital technologies are widely used by young people. Indeed most young people own a digital camera or a phone equipped with a camera. The use of visual and participatory methods reflects this specific fieldwork where young people are literate in visual culture and photographic technologies. This is also a means of reducing the distance between the study and participants.

The study uses both photo-elicitation where pictures taken by the researcher have been discussed during the focus groups and a 'photovoice' technique where the researcher has encouraged participants to photograph their own world as part of the research in order to generate knowledge (Harper, 2012). Photovoice is a relatively new method in social research that has been used mainly to 'give a voice' to marginalised people. For instance Krieg and Roberts (2007) used participatory photography to explore the experiences of Aboriginal people in Canada where Radley, Hodgetts and Cullen (2005) investigated how homeless people visualize their lives on the streets of London. Within this study, the use of 'photovoice' is meant to explore ordinary people's experiences regarding surveillance and to make visible the invisible of everyday. Thus photovoice is not a voice in terms of marginalised experiences but rather in terms of the marginalised research focus on these specific experiences by the 'missing middle' of youth.

Photographs are often criticized as subjective making them unsuitable for scientific analysis due to their multiple interpretations. Visual methods in the study are not considered by themselves (content analysis) nor as mere illustrations. Participatory photographs are intentionally created for the purpose of interacting with the research through discussions and group interactions. Therefore the plurality of meanings of pictures is crucial to explore the subjective experiences of young adults through discussions. Moreover, the conduct of photovoice has been undertaken over two weeks that left participants time to think about the topic and construct their visual response. It has been criticized as a bias that erases spontaneity and impacts on the validity of the research. In response to this fundamental critique, the research acknowledges both how data has been generated (under which conditions) and why (it is not photovoice per se). Through group discussions, it is precisely this process of representing surveillance that has been discussed and has brought an interesting insight for the research. Thus, photovoice as a method of generating knowledge, provides situated data that communicate another insight on surveillance obtained by specific means that needs to be reflected in the analysis.

Participatory methods have challenged both traditional approach on social research and the relationship between the researcher and participants. A search to counter-balance the hierarchical relation between researcher and participants where the latter will 'own' the research, has been put on the agenda about research methods (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007). Indeed, the use of participatory methods restore balance of the distribution of power between the researcher and participants where the latter get more opportunities to express themselves in a freer context. It gives participants a 'sense of ownership over the research process' (Richard, 2001) that makes them more likely to get fully involved in the research and by doing so to take something out of the research. Therefore the perception of participants' role in the research has evolved where participants are seen as competent and critical thinkers who add value through the knowledge generating and the research process. It also provides a certain margin on the research process that does not belong fully or only to the researcher.

Participatory methods are often analysed as a means to empower participants by creating a sustainable shared-knowledge that can be re-used in different contexts. Ideally, participatory research methods function in two ways nourishing the research and producing knowledge through group interactions, participation and critical reflection on a topic. Participatory methods as highlighted by Kindon et al (2007) focus on 'knowledge for action'. In this way, it is a collaborative method that explores critically a specific topic and through creative participation challenges participants' perceptions. This is intrinsically related with engagement in research where there is a possibility and a willingness for change where participatory methods bear an orientation towards social transformation (Kindon, Pain and Kesby, 2007). This study fits into a willingness to question young adults' awareness and perception of surveillance and to raise critical perspectives on it through discussions and the use of participatory photography. The study echoes Harper's (2012) conception of making sociology visual as 'a parallel to make society visible and led to seeing into social realities via engaged field work, merging theory with observation and practice' (Harper, 2012: 1). In this sense, the study tries to make surveillance visible again and to challenge it within everyday and subjective experiences.

A dialogic relationship

Focus groups and participatory photography interact with each other through the research. Indeed, the set of images from the participatory photography is discussed by participants who created them and used as prompts during focus groups. It allows for the creation of a deeper set of knowledge where pictures are made meaningful again and in different ways through group interaction. Using visual methods during group discussion, while providing feedback on the material itself and encouraging participation, also creates connections with members of the group (reinforcement of group dynamics). Moreover photographs by becoming the focus of attention, allow a freer discussion rather than relying on facilitator's questions. Visual material is also a way to challenge the 'taken for granted' conceptions of the topic both by participants

and the researcher. Within this study focus groups become the places to develop and explore outcomes of visual and participatory methods, both inter-playing with each other. In these different ways, the combination of focus groups and visual and participatory methods encourages a 'dialogic relationship' (Heywood and Sandywell, 2012) between researcher and participants but also a dialogic relationship between methods. Within this research, these methods combined have been proved very relevant due to the visual aspect of the topic, the research question focusing on people's experiences and they have brought an interesting methodological perspective that have created a thicker set of data.

Moreover participatory tasks and group discussions offer an alternative to 'a prescriptive top down' research (Richards, 2001) where participants are asked to respond to specific questions in a limiting format. However the use of these methods can be misleading and lead to the 'commodification' of research hiding a research process that remains extractive and top down. Indeed the researcher remains in control of the research where the relation between participants and researcher will be at best collaborative but never truly collegial. The use of participatory methods is of particular interest within surveillance studies and challenges the prevalence of top down approaches to surveillance (e.g. the Panopticon metaphor widely used). Moreover, the emergence of 'sousveillance' echoes within the participatory perspective where participants become the 'watchers' by taking photographs and reverse the habitual process of surveillance.

Chapter 4 :

Research Process

This chapter discusses the settings of the focus groups and the participatory activities during the conduct of the research by reviewing the sample of participants that took part in the research (1), how they have been recruited (2) and the proceedings of group discussions (3). An account of the participatory photography (4) and the use of visual material (5) allows the reader to get a better understanding of the conduct of the study. The chapter ends with a reflective analysis on the use of these methods through the research (6) and the ethical concerns that they raise (7)

Research participants

Seven participants took part in the research, among them two men and five women belonging to the same age-range (21 to 25 years old). They were recruited according to location or/and occupation (where they live, work and/or study) in the West End of Glasgow. The West End neighbourhood constitutes an economically and culturally privileged part of Glasgow where significant parts of the population are students or young professionals. Participants belong to the middle – upper class part of the population. The apparent cohesiveness of the group breaks apart due to the various nationalities of participants that plays an important role within the experiences and perceptions of surveillance. (see Table 1 below)

The exploration of subjective experiences of surveillance relies on the conception of the place i.e. how young adults perceive their everyday environment. The perception of the West End as a good place to live was very strong and homogeneous among the participants. It was described as a generally safe, quiet and friendly area where the city was clearly divided in terms of community and perceptions. Participants perceived the West End as the best place to live in for young people although most of them never experienced other parts of the city. On the contrary, the East End and South Side of Glasgow were seen as distant and insecure places in relation to the dialectical construction of security/insecurity. The study supposes a social and cultural construction of spaces that impacts on the perception and experiences of surveillance in Glasgow. Moreover, an acute sense of community arose

between participants as they perceived themselves as part of the same space (shared-identities and experiences).

Two focus groups were undertaken with the same group of seven participants. Five participants took at least one picture for the project. only four participants turned up for the second discussion. It demonstrates the difficulty of getting participants involved for an extended period of time (among the participants who did not show up the second time were the two who did not take pictures). It was disappointing regarding the research, especially because the second focus group was thought as means to get feedback and explore in further details the photographs that participants have taken. However the second discussion still provided interesting findings and trails for the analysis despite a smaller scale than expected. On the other hand, the speaking time for participants was longer and more equally distributed in the second focus group.

Table 1 : Research Participants

Participants	Age	Gender	Nationality	Living in the West End	Studying in the West End	Working in the West End	Has a smart phone with a camera	Education level ³
Participant (1)	23	M	Scotland	✓	✓			PG
Participant (2)	21	F	Latvia	✓	✓	✓	✓	UG
Participant (3)	25	F	Austria	✓		✓		UG
Participant (4)	22	F	Scotland	✓	✓	✓	✓	UG
Participant (5)	23	F	Russia	✓	✓		✓	PG
Participant (6)	24	M	Sri Lanka	✓	✓	✓	✓	PG
Participant (7)	23	F	Brazil		✓		✓	UG

³ Postgraduate (PG) or Undergraduate (UG) education level

Recruitment

Participants for the research were recruited through friendship creating a relative cohesiveness and encouraging a sense of belonging to the group. It turned out to be very difficult to recruit participants for the study as participatory research demands time and more investment than replying to a questionnaire. Participants were recruited through friendship and approached at Glasgow University and/or in youth venues (e.g. pubs). They were asked if they knew friends that would also be interested to take part into the study. Then they received information and details about the research and how they will take part in it (see Appendix 1 and 2 for further details). It was convenient and easier to recruit and to get them involved to the study this way (where no material incentives were offered). However it introduces a bias within group discussions where friendship although encouraging discussion, tends to rely on taken-for-granted assumptions and closes discussions through dominant consensus (Morgan, 1998). Motivations to get involved in the project were various (sometimes in order to give a hand to a friend of a friend) and it created difficulties during the participatory project or during the second group where several participants did not turn up.

Focus groups proceedings

The first group discussion addressed participants' opinions, perceptions and experiences of firstly Glasgow and the West End as a place to live and secondly of surveillance in their everyday lives. The Focus Group Guide was structured around broad themes as following :

- awareness and perception of the space (The West End)
- conception of 'surveillance technologies'
- awareness and perceptions of surveillance
- experiences and the impact of surveillance on their daily lives

- feeling about being surveilled (e.g. feelings of safety, risk, danger, voyeurism, excitement, stigmatisation)
- responses to surveillance (e.g. compliance, resistance, evasion)

The questions were as much as possible open-ended and focused on themes to encourage discussions and allow the emergence of unexpected themes.

The second group discussion was focused on the outcomes of the participatory photography task where participants were talking about pictures they took to elicit their understandings and attitudes towards surveillance. The researcher brought the set of pictures taken by participants to discuss both them and the experience of taking pictures of 'surveillance situations'. A second set of pictures (taken by the researcher) was also brought to nourish the discussion on a second occasion. The two focus groups took place at Glasgow University in the meeting room of the Gilchrist café creating a relatively relaxed atmosphere in a place that was familiar to most of the participants. They both lasted for one hour (approx) and occurred during June and July 2013 when surveillance was a topic very present in the news (leak of mass surveillance details from Edward Snowden, NSA surveillance on EU, the release of Google Glasses). Both geopolitical and local contexts (Glasgow student protestations, West End's attacks last winter) influenced discussions.

During the first focus group, the group dynamic relied on facilitator questions where in the second focus group, the balance was better due to the small number of participants and the interactivity induced by visual material. Participants spoke more equally and interacted with each other rather than with the facilitator. Focus group dynamics are important social features of the research method and impacted on the collection and analysis of data. Individuals may conform to social pressure induced through group discussion by altering their opinions and by not participating in the discussion. Focus groups rely on interaction between participants and it is important to define if the interaction has resulted in an emergent group shared-view (emergence of this dynamic in the focus group 2) or just in an accumulation of individual points of view (focus group 1). The researcher needs to distinguish between group consensus (e.g. CCTV as representing surveillance) and individual

opinions (e.g. the use of surveillance technologies for cop-watching).

Social 'positionalities' of the researcher (social background) play an important role through the research process and collection of data. As a young person, the proximity with participants was greater due to the similar age range and activity (being student at Glasgow University, writing a Master's Dissertation). It brings empathy where the researcher and participants can identify themselves with the other, which can compromise the necessary distance required for the research. As a woman I was also particularly attentive to the gendered impact of surveillance and voyeuristic misuses of surveillance technologies. My nationality both impacts on participants' perception of the research and on my perception, experiences and opinions about surveillance where the growth of surveillance technologies is somewhat more recent in France than in the UK.

The role of the researcher through the conduct of the research is another important part of data analysis. During the first group discussion the phrasing of researcher's questions was sometime either closed-ended or directive, influencing the participants' responses especially when the discussion evoked potential resistance to surveillance (which is my subject of interest). The facilitator's task during group discussions was very difficult and demanded the ability to listen, redirect the conversation, notice interesting points raised out by participants and go back to them and make sure that all themes were addressed. Thus the second focus group was also the opportunity to address the themes that I forgot during the first discussion and to improve on what did not work out the first time, having more distance (through the analysis and reflexivity on the first group discussion).

Participatory photography (by the participants)

In combination with group discussions, the study uses participatory photography taken by the researcher and participants, of sites, forms and processes of surveillance, called 'surveillance situations', within the everyday environment of the West End. The participatory task occurred between the two group discussions allowing participants to talk about it beforehand and

afterwards. Moreover these images have been used as stimulus materials in the second focus group to understand young adults subjective representations and experiences of being surveilled in their daily lives.

Twelve photographs (two participants did not provide photographs) were collected during the participatory project among which eight of surveillance warning signs (figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11), one of a street camera (figure 14) and three of online surveillance (figures 12 and 13). Pictures reflect fairly well everyday life environments: transports, workplaces, leisure places (park, pub, cafés), streets and home (computers). Participants reported that they did not seek particularly for surveillance situations in order to fulfil the participatory task but rather they started noticing them in their environment. In order to collect pictures and create interaction between participants, an internet platform has been provided to post the pictures and comment on them. This format did not work out as expected, creating a place to post pictures but with no further discussions or debates where interactions arose between each participant and the researcher in the form of a 'community manager'. However interesting comments have been posted to add information after discussions (articles and videos about specific processes of surveillance). Participants took very seriously the participatory process by doing personal and additional research and were very much willing to bring extra knowledge and expertise during the research (where they knew that there will be a second discussion). They were also scrutinised the news regarding the topic of surveillance and sent me several links related to this issue. Captions of the pictures regarding photographs and the process of the participatory project itself were also meaningful to comprehend participants' perception of surveillance technologies and of the project. They had their own ideas of what the researcher expected during group discussions but even more sharply for the photographic project. Several participants focused solely on CCTV for instance where one participant tried to take pictures of 'something different and more interesting' (Participant 2). Participants had time to think about the topic and 'surveillance situations' after the first discussion and construct their visual response that corresponds to the image they have of themselves, of the project and of what the researcher expects. In this sense, a difficulty that arose

from the practice of the participatory task was participants' needs and desire for precise instructions of what to take a picture of. It was hard to find the right balance between the crucial understanding of the task and the shaping of participants' expectations. Giving too much instructions can lead to disciplined participants that took pictures of CCTV in order to fit their perceptions of the research project.

During the second discussion, participants reflected on their experiences of taking 'surveillance situations' pictures. It reveals that they encountered different types of pressures; self-censorship, pressure of peers (social pressure) and pressure of the security and police staff. For instance, one participant, who took a picture of a CCTV warning sign at her workplace, commented : “I took a picture very quickly because I think my work colleagues thought it was weird.” Another participant commented on the risk of being caught doing something suspicious : “When I took that picture I had this thought, hum maybe they will run out of the building, just to ask why I am taking this picture”. This is reflected in the pictures that are as a result mostly out of focus or blurry.



Figure 2: CCTV sign, Dumbarton Road.
Taken by Participant 1

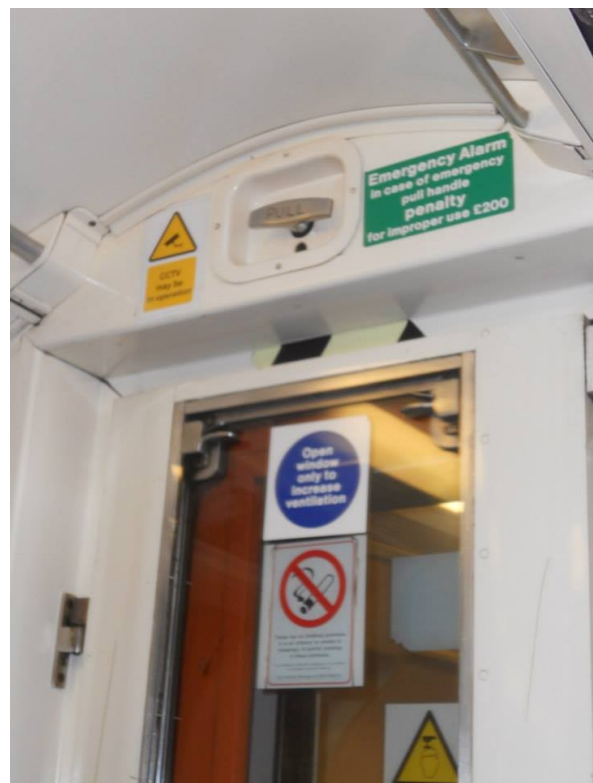


Figure 1: CCTV sign, train from Glasgow to Edinburgh.
Taken by Participant 3



Figure 3: CCTV sign, Student accommodation. Taken by Participant 7.

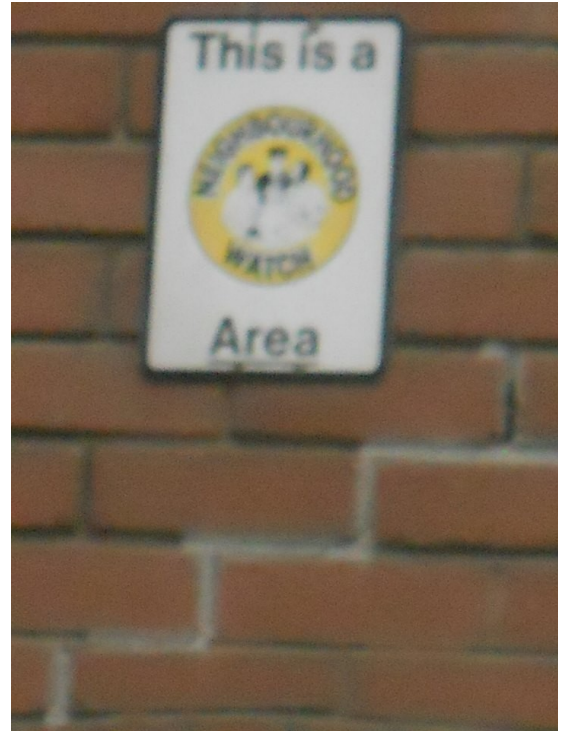


Figure 4: Neighbourhood Watch area, Dumbarton Road. Taken by Participant 1

For participants, taking pictures of surveillance encounters was experienced as at best suspicious and at worst a form of transgression, something that has to be done furtively. It can also explain the number of pictures without material surveillance where these pictures were felt as hard to take given the exposure to the gaze of the camera required in order to get them. During the conduct of the participatory project, one of the participants was apprehended by two police officers inquiring about his behaviour while he was taking a picture of a police station building (see ethical concerns for further discussion). Beyond the reason invoked by the police officers (terrorism) and the ostensible intimidation, this raises questions about the surveillance of the security and police staff and its legitimacy (which can be comprehended as a form of sousveillance). Participants felt powerless and were putting in balance the rightfulness of taking pictures and the rightfulness of apprehending people for such reasons, reinforcing the idea of people's illegitimacy of doing so.

Another practical issue raised by participants was the impossibility to grasp certain surveillance situations in visual representations (eg online surveillance)

Participant 2 “ *I guess that people would post pictures of cctv camera, I mean it is what I did as well. But I think there are much many ways of surveillance technologies that we don't focus on but I cannot not make a picture of all these stuff*”.

Participants felt that making surveillance visible through photography was difficult and clashed with the covert and sometimes de-materialised aspect of surveillance processes. In order to overcome this issue, another group discussion would have been needed, focusing on the participatory task itself and how to represent and uncover, maybe in more creative ways, these aspects of surveillance.

Photo elicitation (by the researcher)

A photo elicitation has been undertaken by the researcher as part of fieldwork observations in the West End in order to nourish the group discussion. I apply the rules of participatory task and took picture of 'surveillance situations' in everyday life but I was especially aware of surveillance within an active process of looking for these situations. I looked for questionable forms or situations of surveillance to nourish and challenge participants' views during discussions. However, photo elicitation as a means to steer the conversation in the second focus group was not fully successful firstly due to the way pictures have been presented (as a set rather than one by one) but mainly due to the fact that some of them just did not represent the views of the participants.

Photo Elicitation : pictures taken with the eyes of the researcher seeking to question surveillance.



Figure 5: Surveillance incorporated within architecture - Riverside Glasgow. Taken by the researcher.



Figure 6: Audio monitoring - Sainsbury's Kelvinhaugh Street. Taken by the researcher



Figure 7: Camera in a cage - Govan Glasgow. Taken by the researcher.

As a participatory project, this has also challenged the researcher's perception on surveillance. It was very interesting and nourishing to confront this work with participants, recodify them during the process of audiencing 'by which a visual image has its meanings renegotiated, or even rejected, by particular audiences watching in specific circumstances' (Rose, 2001:5). One picture has particularly drawn attention that depicts surveillance presence in a subway station : CCTV camera, warning sign, poster featuring a big eye and inciting people to watch others' potentially suspicious behaviours. The picture was thought by one participant as representative of surveillance, featuring its different facets : private/public, deterrence (warning sign), physical surveillance (camera) and social control (poster). However several aspects highlighted intentionally by the researcher in the second set of photographs have not been picked up by participants. Pictures that echoes the dialectics of watching / being watched or introducing the idea of resistance have remained concealed. Thus the key part of the participatory photographic project was to explore how each person assign meanings to the photographs and how this meaning is conveyed (or not) during group discussion rather than focusing on

the analysis of images per se. In this line, Bank distinguishes between the internal and external narrative to a picture where the former is the visual production itself and the latter “the social context that produced the image and the social relations within which the image is embedded at any moment of viewing’ (Bank, 2001:11–12) .

Reflections on the use of participatory and visual methods

Participants' degree of involvement were various where two of them really try to own the project (seeking for original surveillance situations and providing numerous photographs) while other just provided the minimum requirement (one picture of CCTV warning sign). Participatory photographs had a considerable ability to stimulate discussion and had allowed the researcher to withdraw from the group discussion where participants explained and advocated their own pictures and challenged/questioned pictures of others. They felt in the position of “investigators” that galvanised ideas. It would be useful and constructive to encourage young adults to take more 'creative' pictures or at least to go beyond the simple recording of surveillance signs. It will provide a more symbolic and prolific set of pictures rather than the literal expression of the project theme and will broaden the discussion afterwards. It could also be a way to get participants involved in the project by linking it within a more artistic context. Thus, a more artistic approach could provide better means to explore subjective experiences of surveillance and address its normalization by making its processes visible and perceptible in a 'extra' ordinary situation (through an art exhibition for instance). Another potential approach to make the project more participatory would be to use 'walk and talk' photographic interviews with a small number of participants (3 or 4) recruited through friendship. There is also a need to extend the period of time of the research and especially of the participatory project to build trust between participants and between the researcher and participants and to provide a suitable environment for realisation of the project.

Ethical concerns

Visual and participatory methods bring a new range of issues within the research process in terms of ethics where the deeper involvement of participants accentuates ethical concerns especially regarding the possibility of harm. For instance, within this study, the participatory photographic task raises a new awareness of surveillance that can lead to the creation of a feeling of unease.

During the participatory project, one participant was apprehended by the police while he was attempting to take a picture of a police station. Two police officers required his details and the details of the research, they went through his camera (and the pictures he took prior to the incident asking for explanations) and tried overtly to intimidate him. It is a striking example of abuse of power from the police officers (the incident was not registered) and it shows that the topic of surveillance is very sensitive within a context of hyper-securitisation in the United Kingdom (the police officers referred to the Terrorism Act to justify their requests). The project did not intentionally place participants in situations of risks and fully informed them of such possibilities prior to the participatory photography. Thus they were informed of the potential risks of taking pictures of surveillance encounters and how they could be minimised, stressing on issues that can arise with police or security staff (see Appendix 1). Although the eventuality of such incidents happening has been under-estimated by the researcher due to a misappreciation of the UK context where incidents with people taking photographs have already occurred with the police and due to a misjudgement of the sensitivity of the topic. This incident has to be comprehended as part of the findings (experiences of surveillance by young people) and as part of a critical reflexivity about the research methods used (i.e. participatory photography) in the present study prior to further research. The participatory nature of the project engenders a shared 'control' over the research where participants created data by themselves. Therefore the research process is more difficult to control where there is a need to find the right balance between information of participants while treating them as autonomous agents and minimising the risk of harm.

Chapter 5 :

Findings

This chapter will discuss the findings of the empirical research around three emergent themes. Reflecting on the data collected through group discussions and the participatory project, the findings highlight a preemptive approach to surveillance where participants' views and responses were directed to an envisioning and expectation of surveillance that created its presence (1). The findings also uncovered the acquisition of a tactical knowledge of surveillance (2) that leads to almost innate responses (passive) to public-space related surveillance where online surveillance entails more mindful reactions (active). These findings uncover participants' perceptions of what is perceived as a legitimate surveillance (3) that fundamentally affect their experiences and drive their responses to it.

Envisioning the surveillant gaze

Surveillance leans both on knowledge and representations where, for the greater part, surveillance processes were known to the participants (warning signs, cameras themselves, information about surveillance). There is an extensive 'common knowledge', and even sometimes expertise, about surveillance. However this knowledge where surveillance is known does not necessarily imply a recognition (i.e. a transformation into an awareness of surveillance). Despite being clearly informed about surveillance, participants overlooked it and generally were not aware of it in their everyday lives prior to group discussions and participatory photography. Indeed, surveillance is experienced and subjectively constructed as a 'normal' part of everyday life and therefore remains mostly unnoticed, oblivious and largely unquestioned. As a result, surveillance was seen by participants as distant to their daily concerns but also as a strange and impertinent topic to engage with (i.e. asking for their personal views and experiences about it). This normalisation of the ways of viewing surveillance (as a general topic) and representing it (as a tool for people's own good) transforms surveillance into an invisible potentiality where the possibility of being surveilled is consented by default. In the same way, the justification of surveillance relies on presumptive rationalisations where participants accounted intuitively for it in terms of security and protection (care) rather than in terms of surveillance

(supervision).

Participant 4 : *'I helped out in a primary school so obviously they got sort of surveillance cameras around that but you can understand that because it is a primary school. I feel they are using them to sort of protect kids and stuff'*

Participant 3 : *'I think it is reasonable to put up cameras in areas where crime happening and where there have been incidents. There is always police as well but still they couldn't prevent all the things that happen there'*

These examples illustrate the rationalisation and intuitive association of the use of surveillance for protection and preventing crime. The vocabulary, used by participants reveals these preconception where it is 'reasonable', understandable and 'obvious'. Surveillance and its legitimation are deeply embedded within the social construction of security and draws on fear and speculation (i.e. instrumental capacity of surveillance as a tool for pre-emptive measurements and social control). In this sense, surveillance relies on being taken for granted and a specific imagery nourished by the media coverage where CCTV is not just a mere technology but also the bearer of social connotations (eg. video surveillance prevent crime). The present study echoes this standardized view of surveillance that is largely transmitted by the mass media. Video-cameras, represented by CCTV warning signs, have become the icons of surveillance reflecting the social construction of a 'surveillance imagery' and a 'surveillance imaginary' within our Western society where both a surveillance aesthetic and ethics have developed and morphed our way of seeing to see 'surveillantly' (Finn, 2012), but even more importantly to foresee surveillantly.

Surveillance technologies were seen, both as legitimate and relying on shared imagery and imaginary. The participatory photographs reflect these dynamics where two-third of pictures were of CCTV warning signs only. It reflects participants' subjective experiences of surveillance through the possibility of surveillance or its simulation that would replace surveillance itself. Warning signs are indeed the first component of surveillance; they are its symbols and

were thought of as such. Participants did not look for 'surveillance situations' or even for the cameras themselves (even though some were probably within the proximity of signs), they did not think it was something relevant to take pictures of and found the sign by itself more illustrative of surveillance (see picture below). On a pragmatical note, it is also the most detectable surveillance situation as well as the easiest to take a picture of. It could be analysed as a failure during the participatory photography, either due to material obstacles (eg. having the camera close by, taking time to take a picture, instructions of the researcher) or social preconceptions (eg. the imagery of CCTV), to make surveillance perceivable. However it makes very perceivable the participants perception of surveillance itself.



Figure 8: CCTV signs, Sauchiehall Street. Taken by Participant 3.

Participant 3 : "I took the picture because I just noticed the sign earlier than the camera, so I took the picture of the sign and I didn't really look for the camera"

During group discussions, the simulation still worked where one participant commented on the set of pictures ; 'It is all about CCTV cameras' (Participant 2) where precisely they were none in the pictures. The sign is enough to create the presence and reality of surveillance. A participant clearly evokes this dynamic of pre-anticipation (or simulation) of surveillance : 'the cameras are not probably in every square foot but you know the possibility' (Participant 1). Surveillance is perceived and experienced by its evocation rather than by its presence. It can be comprehended as an exemplification of the society of Bogard's work on simulations (2006) where surveillance is seen as a strategy

of visibility that transforms representations and perceptions of the reality into a hyper-reality. Simulation of surveillance supplants surveillance itself, representations (through the signs) replace the cameras and the awareness of the probability of surveillance creates the fact.



Strategy of visibility :

Accumulation of pictures of CCTV

warning signs during participatory photography

Figure 9: CCTV warning signs at workplace. Taken by Participant 3.



Figure 11: CCTV warning sign at the train station. Taken by Participant 3.

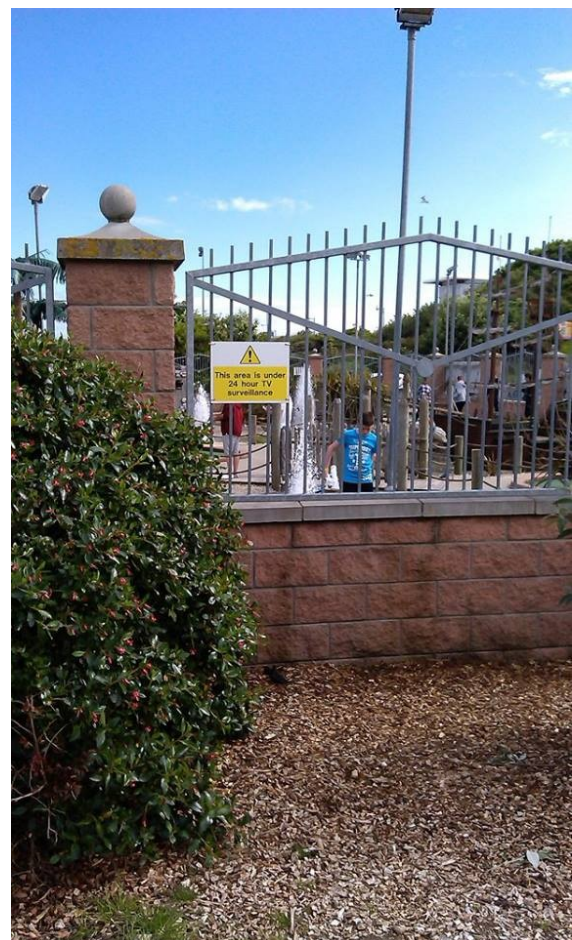


Figure 10: CCTV warning sign in the park. Taken by Participant 5

Online surveillance appeared later on through the discussion, placed in comparison and sometime opposition with public-space- CCTV surveillance :

Participant 3: *' I think the second bit of this, is the Internet, especially Facebook and how all is connected. Internet surveillance for young people as internet users is probably a bigger issue than CCTV cameras. Surveillance on this Internet is more present in my life than for example surveillance at my workplace or CCTV cameras because I always notice how much they know about me and my interests.'*

Online surveillance was generally felt as more concrete where the impact was seen and directly experienced by participants. Thus discussions revealed that online surveillance is perceived as more intrusive and frightening where avoidance moves are seen as a necessary and pre-emptive answer to it whereas public-space surveillance is more socially accepted and therefore avoidance moves are seen suspicious, outlawed or the results of paranoia (illegitimate).

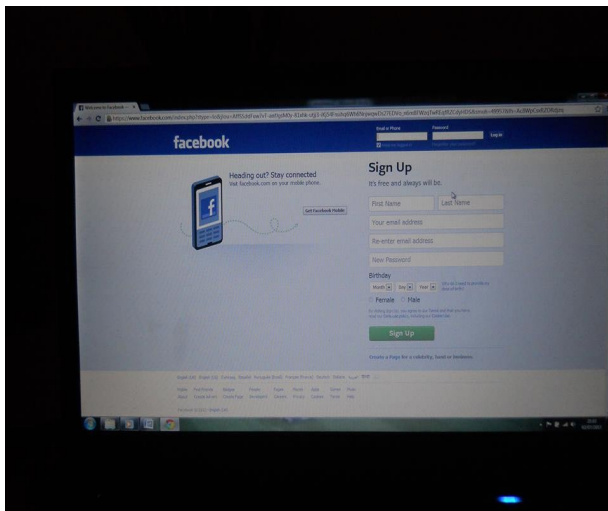


Figure 13: Facebook home page. Taken by Participant 1.

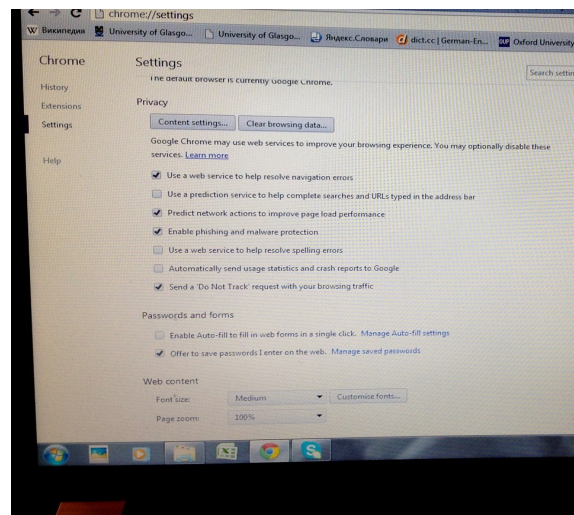


Figure 12: Google Chrome Privacy settings. Taken by Participant 2.

A tactical knowledge of surveillance

Following Marx's (2009) terminology, the study sought to uncover 'tactics' to resist, deflect or avoid either public and semi-public places or online surveillance (e.g. feigned conformity, avoidance moves, distorting moves or counter surveillance). Detectable tactics of resistance have been developed by participants toward online surveillance where they explained how it is possible to evade online tracking, targeted advertising and alike (e.g. privacy settings of Google Chrome, figure 13) The knowledge of avoidance moves and the sharing of it are clear tactics to evade the tracking of online surveillance. Online surveillance calls for conscious tactics of self-adjustments and censorship :

Participant 4 : *'To a certain extent I become very conscious with what I post on, you know, my facebook profile or things and I am very conscious about other people's posts as well because I think I read it back and I go if someone would see that, what they will think of me as an educator and things like that . That is something I am really aware of, sort of act to change how I act online to ensure that nothing could sort of taking from that and use against me and that sort of ways.'*

There was a significant difference between the perceptions of online and urban surveillance where the latter is highly institutionalized and the former is seen as more overwhelming. Tactics of 'resistance' are genuinely less distinct where it comes to other forms of surveillance than online. Indeed participants only had an awareness of other types of surveillance when they were conscious of transgressing the laws or being in a situation perceived as risky or especially exposed (e.g. student protestations). In these specific cases, participants developed a practical knowledge of surveillance and an adaptive response to it (in this case, going to places known as uncovered by surveillance).

Participant 1 : *'when I was younger I used to drink in the streets, I can remember being harassed by the police and moved on and you knew where you could go or couldn't go'*

Another tactic to evade surveillance was found within the ways of talking about it that allow for it to be mocked. Although these features arose also as part of group interactions where they provide participants with ways to fit in the group and to deal with social pressure. McGraw and Warren (2010) have shown that humour can be analysed as an adaptive response to 'benign violations' i.e. something that upsets people's perceptions of 'how the world ought to be' (ibid.). According to them, it becomes benign due to the presence of either an alternative norm suggesting that the situation is acceptable (e.g. surveillance prevents crime), the weak commitment to the violated norm (e.g. indifference of being surveilled), or/and a psychological distance from the violation (e.g. it does not concern them). In this case, surveillance, surveillance was perceived by the participants as a benign situation, embedded in everyday life and justified by crime prevention, that allows humour and irony.

Mockery and irony enable participants to show others that they are critical of surveillance but also reveal feelings of unease to its presence in certain places (something perceived as wrong). For instance, the figure 14 shows an example of derision about the prophecy of an hyper surveillance society where parcels would be tracked from outside the Mail Office throughout the way home and recorded by cameras. By over-exaggerating features of surveillance in non-serious ways, participants cast distance with the topic but at the same time use this rhetoric means to neutralize and minimize any further questioning. In this sense, the featuring of a 'Big Brother-like' world and its dramatisation contributes to the legitimation and reinforcement of surveillance. It becomes benign and therefore laughable and normalised.



Figure 14: Royal Mail Delivery Office, Baird Street. Taken by Participant 2.

Participant 2 : “This a picture of cctv camera at the Royal Mail office, maybe they can see if I have actually taken my parcel and track it (laughs)”.

Techniques of self-surveillance or self-adjustments occurred toward semi-public place surveillance as well but were accompanied with self-justification. For instance, one participant explained how she noticed the use of a camera at her workplace in the kitchen area. Through the account of the situation she had the urge to legitimate her behaviour regarding the camera : 'So they can watch me all the time. And I mean... well I don't do anything exciting at my work or anything'. (Participant 3). It highlights the need for self justification risen by the presence of surveillance seeing by default as legitimate. In this case, she clearly did not find a satisfactory explanation to it but she still felt the urge to justify her behaviour. These subjective experiences shed light on the normalisation and embodiment of surveillance and how it impacts on shaping the self. Surveillance is perceived through normalizing judgements and engenders 'self-mastery' via the 'technologies of the self' (Foucault, 1980) where each individual internalise surveillance to the extent of becoming his/er own overseer and supervising his/er behaviours. Participant 4 anticipates potential and threatening outcomes of online surveillance ('use against me') and consciously changes her behaviours to adapt to the norm. The same logic applies to public places surveillance but the operating remains more subconscious due to the authoritative legitimation of this specific surveillance.

It is being there to protect you in contrast of the idea of being used against you. However the delimitation is not so simplistic and is variable among individuals (see figure 15).



Figure 15: West Street SPT Subway . Taken by the researcher.

Participant 1: *'This picture incorporated contradictory ideas of what surveillance is. Today's idea that surveillance is there for your own good. At least you know it is there, so it is clearly something that attempts to modify your behaviour, it incorporates that idea that day to day, you are aware that you are under surveillance, certainly that I am. But also it is not only the police but also anyone else that doesn't like what you are doing can in some way report you or that kind of things against you'*

In this sense, these findings reflect on the progressive assimilation and normalisation of surveillance and its principles when eventually it will become embodied and (un)experienced as fully legitimate.

Legitimacy of surveillance : The polished gaze of CCTV vs human glances

There is a dissociation between the gaze of the camera and the person behind it where the possibility of being watched by someone is not seen through the camera. Urban surveillance (eg. CCTV camera) is felt legitimate because it is perceived as 'objective' and mechanical technique or to put it in another way, it is objectified and therefore perceived and experienced as legitimate by participants. CCTV is the objectifying and objectified gaze that retains an

infallible memory of truth and will allow identification of offenders and criminals. In this way, participants did not report feeling of being watched because this uncomfortable feeling precisely arose from forms of surveillance perceived as illegitimate and/or concrete (in relation to an agency and not to a camera). Participants reported fears of 'being seen' (by an audience), especially regarding the prospect of co-veillance (eg. neighbourhood watch), sous-veillance and the 'random' use of surveillance-enabling technologies (eg. when someone would take a picture of them in a public place without their consent). It is where the blurry line between surveillance and spying found its grounds reflecting on the legitimacy of certain kind of surveillance and more fundamentally on processes of delegitimation of others. Legitimate surveillance is assumed to be done by the state for security purposes where under the same justifications, private surveillance is seen as a threat to privacy and raising voyeuristic issues. For instance, Participant 2 comments on the neighbourhood watch scheme : '*It sounds scary, I don't want people watching me, even for safety*'. Participants reported being uncomfortable with the covert aspect of these forms of illegitimate surveillance (especially using surveillance-enabling technologies) where the exact same property of public-space surveillance were not seen as problematic but on the contrary justified. However participants, during discussions, assimilated sometime public (undertaken by the state) with private surveillance where the cornerstone of this distinction seems to lie in the perception of the legitimacy, rather than the concrete identification, of the authority that undertakes a specific form of surveillance. In this sense, the group perception of surveillance (individual's perceptions cannot be accounted for here) could be qualify as conservative especially regarding the idea of a top-down process.

Moreover surveillance in public-spaces was strongly perceived in terms of security (crime prevention) and counter terrorism measurements (especially after 9/11 and the London Bombings in 2005). By turning the gaze over the watcher, people are automatically suspected of malevolent acts and threaten by consequences (symbolic and/or practical) of being seen as a suspect. There is a very tense atmosphere in the UK regarding security matters where photographers of premises or public places have been placed under suspicion.

During the participatory photography, the same feeling emerged where participants felt quite emotional and frightened while taking pictures of surveillance encounters. Being in a surveillance situation (and willing to take a picture of it) placed participants as suspects both toward the authority and themselves where they watch out for their behaviours and presumed that they are doing something unlawful. Participants were fearing a reaction from the authority because the task was felt illegitimate and suspicious

Participant 2 : *'When I took that picture I had this thought, hum maybe they will run out of the building, just to ask why I am taking this picture'*.

In this sense, exploring, studying or even just being curious about surveillance is by itself suspicious. For most of participants, the surveillant authority (private company, Glasgow safety services, etc.) was thought first to be within its rights to ask for explanations but more importantly they felt that they had no right to take these pictures and no satisfactory explanation to provide (even under the conditions of taking part in a research). Moreover by taking a picture of a surveillance situation, they could be seen and even recorded by the objectified gaze of the camera (i.e. perception of a camera as objective truth). It reveals how direct confrontations with surveillance are experienced where individuals cast doubt on their own behaviours and their legitimacy rather than challenge the taken for granted assumption that surveillance is here for our own good.

Chapter 6 :

Conclusion

The present study tried to go beyond the common approach on surveillance to reach young adults views and subjective experiences of surveillance technologies in their everyday life. While documenting these experiences, the study also sought to consider possibilities of resistance, especially focusing on 'sousveillance'. By doing so, the present study assumes that surveillance is not only a top down phenomenon passively accepted by young adults but rather a place of negotiations and interactions where bottom-up dynamics need to be integrated to the bigger picture of surveillance. In doing so the study is inspired by Mann (2003) and his conceptualisation of sousveillance as an appropriation and use by individuals of the observer's tools to watch the watcher. By unmasking and watching for surveillance situations in everyday life, it attempts to reverse and challenge the top-down and passive attitude toward surveillance. Using participatory and visual research methods, the study tries to deconstruct the normalized ways of looking at and (un)seeing surveillance following Foucault's definition of the possibility of empowering participants and of change through social research :

'My role is to show people that they are much freer than they feel, that people accept as truth, as evidence, some themes which have been built up at a certain moment during history, and that this so-called evidence can be criticized.' (Foucault, 1988 : 10)

Participants were on the watch for surveillance situations and therefore during the conduct of the research they were attentive to these processes in their daily environments. For this period of time, they were conscious of surveillance around them, talked and engaged with the topic, thought about different ways and were critical of its implementation in their lives and made the familiar and inconspicuous gaze of surveillance strange again.

The present study did not uncover purposeful strategies of resistance to surveillance but rather highlights an acquisition of small tactics and of practical knowledge in response to different kind of surveillance encounters. Online surveillance prompted a wider desire for resistance understood as a legitimate act of protecting their privacy where public-space surveillance

remained mainly unseen and therefore unexperienced as such. Paradoxically most of the pictures of the participatory photographic task were about CCTV, reflecting the perennial construction of the surveillance imagery and imaginary that affected participants' perceptions. It demonstrates that there is a strong and socially constructed 'aesthetics of surveillance' or 'sense of surveillance' where its perception is pre-emptive and highly normalised through our cultural imagery.

The general proceedings of the research and its findings reflect on the difficulty of taking surveillance as a topic to deconstruct. Participants were not very receptive due to either their unawareness, indifference or perceptions of the topic as irrelevant or suspicious. But this is by itself an important feature of the findings of the study where surveillance is highly standardised both within its representations and experiences. Thus this first exploration raises more questions than it provide answers and there remains more to explore and document. Indeed perceptions of surveillance has been transformed with the emergence of surveillance-enabling technologies, creating possibilities of divergent forms of surveillance, but also raising even more sharp issues of legitimacy, voyeurism and privacy and how it is experienced. These preliminary findings need to be explored through the conduct of the same methodological design projects within different geographical spaces and social backgrounds to create a thick description of subjective experiences of surveillance by young adults.

There is much more to investigate regarding resistance to surveillance that can take place for various motives under specific conditions (ethical, getting benefit, entertainment, artistic). The exploration of young adults' subjective experiences of surveillance and potential forms of resistance leads to a number of unanswered questions : is individual 'resistance' to surveillance possible and how to define it ? What is being resisted, how and why ? And finally what is at stake in this interplay between the surveillant power and agents where both look at the other ?

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Appendix 1 :
Information Sheet



Young Adults and Surveillance Technologies

Researcher: Justine Gangneux

You are being invited to take part in a research study about young people's experiences of surveillance technologies in everyday life. 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 carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

About the study

My name is Justine Gangneux and I am a postgraduate student at the University of Glasgow. As part of my MSc in Global Security I am working on a dissertation exploring young adults' and surveillance technologies (e.g. CCTV). The purpose of the study is to find out about people's perceptions of surveillance in their everyday lives and their actual experiences of being monitored, though the use of focus group discussions and photography.

What does taking part involve?

You have been approached to take part in the study as a young adult living and/or studying in the West End in Glasgow. If you choose to be involved, you will take part in two group discussions about your experiences of surveillance, how you feel about being surveilled and your responses to surveillance. For example, I will ask you about your views and experiences of living and/or studying in the West End, where and when you notice surveillance encounters, and what impact (if any) these have on your day-to-day activities.

These group discussions will take place at Glasgow University, involve six to eight participants, and are likely to last between 45 minutes and one hour. After the initial meeting, you will be asked to take pictures relating to your experience of surveillance over a one week period using a digital camera and then to e-mail these to the researcher. The group will then meet for a second time to discuss the images taken.

Prior to the participatory photograph project you will be provided with guidance about what to take pictures of and of photographers' rights and the law. The focus of the study is surveillance technologies and not security personnel/police staff, but it is important to acknowledge that taking photos of public spaces and private property (e.g. shopping centres, football grounds etc.) may attract the attention of security and/or law enforcement personnel. I will be informing the local police station that the research is taking place and

issuing all participants with an information sheet about the study, including mobile phone contact details of my dissertation supervisor.

Do I have to take part?

It is your own decision to take part or not to this study. Participation is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw your contributions at any point.

What will happen to my contributions?

All information collected will be kept confidential and stored securely. The focus group discussions will be audio recorded and then written down (transcribed) exactly as spoken on paper. The data generated will be anonymised and presented using pseudonyms in the final dissertation. Photographs will not be anonymised, however participants will be in control of the selection of images to share with the researcher and discussion group, and permission will be sought before any images are used in the dissertation or related publications.

Further questions or concerns

This study has been approved by the School Ethics Forum for Social and Political Sciences at the University of Glasgow. For further information about the study, please contact me by email: justinegangneux@gmail.com or you can contact my supervisor, Dr Susan Batchelor, using the details below:

Dr. Susan A. Batchelor
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If you have any concerns regarding the conduct of the study, you can contact the Convenor of the School Ethics Forum, Dr Mo Hume: mo.hume@glasgow.ac.uk

Appendix 2 :
Consent Form

Consent Form

Young Adults and Surveillance Technologies

The purpose of the study, that you are about to take part in, is to find out about young people's perceptions of surveillance in their everyday lives and their actual experiences of being monitored through the use of group discussions and participatory photographs. You will take part in two group discussions, setting at Glasgow University, about your experiences of surveillance, how you feel about being surveilled and your responses to surveillance. After the first meeting, you will be asked to take pictures relating to your experience of surveillance using a digital camera and then to e-mail these to the researcher. The group will then meet for a second time to discuss the images taken.

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.
3. I consent to focus groups being audio-taped and my contributions being presented using pseudonyms.
4. I give the permission to the researcher to use the photographs taken for the project and shared during discussion groups in the dissertation or related publications.
5. During the accomplishment of the photographic documentation, I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I act on my own behalf to document the study.
6. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

This study has been approved by the College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow. For further information about the study, please contact me by email : justinegangneux@gmail.com or you can contact my supervisor, Dr Susan Batchelor : susan.batchelor@glasgow.ac.uk