

RESISTANCE TO SURVEILLANCE IN EVERYDAY LIFE

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines resistance to surveillance in everyday life and, in doing so, responds to gaps within the field of surveillance studies through the development of a more rigorous framework for understanding power, surveillance and resistance. This framework reflects the development of more technologically enhanced forms of surveillance and takes into account the cultural and social influences upon notions of privacy and monitoring which hinder opposition to surveillance. As opposed to earlier frameworks for understanding power and surveillance, this framework places resistance as a central focus. This is developed through engagement with the work of Henri Lefebvre and Guy Debord with a focus on their critiques of everyday life, depiction of rhythms for understanding power, the notion of the spectacle for understanding the seductive aspects of surveillance and the use of their practices of resistance as conceptual tools for developing a theoretical framework for understanding practices of resistance to surveillance in everyday life.

This framework is developed through the exploration of these conceptual tools within the context of contemporary forms of surveillance and engagement with contemporary theorists whose ideas resonate with those of Henri Lefebvre and Guy Debord in their depiction of contemporary forms of monitoring, control and resistance. Three sites of surveillance are explored within this thesis through which this framework is explored and deployed. The first examines the difficulties of resistance within the urban environment. The second explores the seductive aspects of surveillance through an exploration of how surveillance is

consumed and embraced, these things complicating the development of practices of resistance. The third case explores artistic engagements with surveillance practices and illustrates the framework developed through examples from these artists. These case studies demonstrate the importance of the framework developed here. The thesis as a whole suggests new ways of thinking about surveillance and resistance to surveillance.

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CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION TO THESIS

1.1 Introduction

This thesis adds to the rapidly growing body of literature examining surveillance. It does so by exploring different avenues for understanding power than those which have already become commonplace within the young field of surveillance studies and develops an alternative framework for understanding power and resistance within the setting of increasingly sophisticated technologically based forms of surveillance in contemporary society. This thesis asserts that it is imperative that theoretical work on surveillance and the field of surveillance studies in general must (a) develop a more rigorous framework for developing practices of resistance, (b) better adapt theoretical understandings of power and resistance to the evolving nature of surveillance systems and power relations and (c) take into account in a more engaged manner the cultural and social influences upon notions of privacy and monitoring which, despite the disparity between academic perceptions of power and resistance and those pervasive within popular culture, must be acknowledged and reflected upon in terms of how they legitimate surveillance systems and complicate the development of practices of resistance. These points are investigated here through the development of a framework for thinking about power and resistance amongst contemporary forms of resistance (Chapters 2 and 3); an investigation into how forms of surveillance have evolved thus complicating traditional conceptions of resistance and necessitating the need to rethink resistance (Chapter 4); an examination of how surveillance has become deeply embedded and legitimated within popular culture, again, necessitating a reexamination of relationships of power and practices of resistance (Chapter 5);

and, lastly, a survey of contemporary practices of resistance which illustrate the theoretical concepts developed in Chapters 2 and 3 put into practice (Chapter 6).

1.2 Surveying the field

The young field of surveillance studies has developed as a multi-disciplinary research domain in the past few decades. Roughly, it emerged as a distinct area of research in the mid-1990s with the publication of texts such as Oscar Gandy's *The Panoptic Sort* (1993), David Lyon's *The Electronic Eye: The Rise of the Surveillance Society* (1994), and William Bogard's *The Simulation of Surveillance: Hypercontrol in Telematic Societies* (1996) and the establishment of the Surveillance Project at Queen's University in Canada led by David Lyon which has now grown into the Surveillance Studies Centre (<http://www.sscqueens.org/>). The focus of the field is loosely tied to the Surveillance Studies Network (<http://www.surveillance-studies.net/>) which organises conferences and publishes the only journal dedicated to research on surveillance, *Surveillance and Society*, since 2002.

While acknowledging the tremendous contribution that has been made towards the understanding of surveillance systems within contemporary society within surveillance studies, there are three ways in which the discipline appears to be rather stuck. One goal of this thesis is to reinvigorate discussions around surveillance in order to move beyond these three conceptual difficulties. Firstly, the field is held back by its attachment to Foucault's metaphor of the Panopticon (1977/1995). Even within attempts to move beyond Foucault's Panopticon, theorists seem to find it very difficult to let it go (see Poster, 1990;

Gandy, 1993; Mathiesen, 1997; Lyon, 1994, 2006a, 2006b amongst others) and this has led to a second fixation with Deleuze's brief updating of the Panopticon with his 'Post-script on Control Societies' (1992). The model of the Panopticon as outlined by Foucault has become 'reified'. This has, on the one hand, limited the development of theoretical frameworks which go beyond this model. On the other hand, with forms of surveillance which do not fit within this model, they have either been excluded from analysis or misunderstood through an inappropriate application of the Panopticon (Haggerty, 2006). This introductory chapter will explore this fascination with the Panopticon and the limitations of this particular model for understanding contemporary forms of analysis. The rest of this thesis will explore other frameworks for understanding contemporary surveillance (Chapters 2 and 3) and utilise them to analyse three 'sites' of surveillance (Chapters 4, 5 and 6).

The second issue which this thesis takes with surveillance studies is that there is insufficient discussion, exploration, analysis and development of notions of resistance to surveillance. The field is dominated by accounts of surveillance and theoretical work on surveillance processes and power relations implicit within surveillance systems. The descriptive aspects of the field are tremendously valuable but the extent to which discussions seek to move the discourse forward to thinking about resistance are limited. This gap within the research will be expanded upon within this introductory chapter and the rest of this thesis will examine surveillance but within the focus of thinking about resistance to surveillance. A theoretical framework for the development of practices of resistance will be explored in Chapters 2 and 3. Chapter 4 will explore the difficulties of traditional practices of resistance towards new forms

of surveillance, Chapter 5 will examine why there is a lack of resistance to surveillance and, lastly, Chapter 6 will examine artistic engagements with surveillance in which practices outlined in Chapters 2 and 3 are explored in practice.

Third, and lastly, the field of surveillance studies has not adequately acknowledged cultural shifts in attitudes towards privacy and surveillance. This is related to the previous two points raised in that it highlights again the descriptive nature of surveillance studies and its normative position that surveillance is uniformly a bad thing and should then, logically, be interpreted negatively by those under the gaze. Additionally, this perspective may also be related to the attachment to a Panoptic understanding of surveillance. This will also be briefly expanded upon here in this introduction. Chapter 5 in this thesis is focused on addressing this gap in the literature with an extensive examination of the ways in which surveillance is often consumed, embraced and enjoyed by those under the gaze. The enjoyment and spectacle of surveillance complicates the development of notions of resistance and both areas require more investigation and attention from the field of surveillance studies.

1.2.1 The persistence of the Panopticon

The Panopticon “refuses to go away” states David Lyon (2006a) in one of multiple instances (1994, 2006a, 2006b) in which he raises concern over the dominance of the Panoptic metaphor and, yet, at the same time reinforces its place within surveillance studies. The Panopticon has “caught the imagination of many researchers, for better or for worse” (Lyon, 2006a), including David Lyon himself. It is “easily the leading scholarly model or metaphor for analysing

surveillance” and the fixation with the metaphor, according to Kevin Haggerty, suggests that the attachment is so entrenched that “the Panopticon now stands for surveillance itself” (2006, 23-26). To unpick this preoccupation, this section will return to Foucault’s analysis considering both what he offered with his illustration of the Panopticon and what he did not do in his analysis. Then, the discussion will move to how it has been adopted by academics studying surveillance, the implication of the reliance upon this theoretical framework, and the implications of efforts to update the paradigm rather than relinquish it.

1.2.1.1 The Panopticon explained

The metaphor of the Panopticon was originally developed by Jeremy Bentham in the 18th century as a design for a model prison in which there would be a perimeter of jail cells with a tower in the centre from in which a guard would be able to watch over all of the inmates within their cells (Foucault, 1975/1995 and 1980). It was, according to Foucault, the reverse of the dungeon in that “daylight and the overseer’s gaze capture the inmate more effectively than darkness” (1980: 147). Bentham had “invented a technology of power designed to solve the problems of surveillance” (1980: 148). The key to the design of the Panopticon is that those within the cells can not tell if they are being watched and, as a result, must constantly assume that they are being watched in an arrangement which Bentham labelled as ‘the Inspection House’ (Boyne, 2000). Bentham imagined his Panopticon not only for prisons but for hospitals and schools as well, anywhere which would benefit from a disciplinary influence (2000). However, despite his efforts, Bentham’s Panopticon was never built.

In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, published in French in 1975 and first published in English in 1977, Foucault utilises the Panopticon as a metaphor in his depiction of how discipline has moved inward both in the sense of the end of the public gallows to be replaced by the modern prison and in the sense that individuals internalise the potentially ubiquitous and always present disciplinary gaze and restrict their behaviour because of it (Foucault, 1995). According to Foucault, Panopticism involved “an ensemble of mechanisms ... used by power” (Foucault, 1980: 71). It would be introduced at the local level (such as with schools, barracks and hospitals) which was where the practicalities of ‘integral surveillance’ were worked out (1980). “At a certain moment in time, [the permanent surveillance of a group] began to become generalised” and spread throughout areas such as the police and forms of administration (1980: 71). The Panopticon functions then as a machine, one which no one owns and, as a result, power no longer lies within an individual who exercises it by right of birth but rather it “becomes machinery that no one owns” (1980: 156). Everyone is under the gaze, even those presumed to be doing the watching, states Foucault, though he acknowledges that this does not mean that relations are equal (1980).

1.2.1.2 Unpicking the Panopticon

Importantly, Foucault regards his analysis as ending in the 1840s (Foucault, 1995 and 1980). Here arise the issues in regards to the applicability of Foucault’s depiction of the Panopticon to contemporary forms of surveillance. *Discipline and Punish* was a document of a historical transition completed in the nineteenth century. Michalis Lianos argues that Foucault’s project is a historical one and that his model of control and understanding of power “refers

to the past” (italics in original) and, as such, it is inappropriate to apply this model which was developed to describe processes of modernity to surveillance processes of late capitalism (Lianos, 2003: 413). Foucault’s depiction highlights the “major problematics of modernity” and describes the Enlightenment’s elevation of vision (Lyon, 2006a: 4). Due to the placing of *Discipline and Punish* within a particular historical context, certain factors crucial to understanding contemporary forms of surveillance are excluded. Foucault’s outline of power, discipline and surveillance lacks any substantial discussion of the media or technology (Kittler in Armitage, 2006 and Mathiesen, 1997). The work of German media theorist, Friedrich Kittler, has sought to bring technology into Foucault’s concepts and frameworks. “Kittler technologises and extends Foucault,” states Geoffrey Winthrop-Young because Foucault, throughout his career, was a “thinker of archives and libraries rather than technologies” (2011: 59). Kittler points out that Foucault’s analysis stops at the point in which other media forms besides written text enter the library (1999).

There are a number of problems with totally forgiving Foucault’s lack of discussion on forms of media and technology. First, as Kittler points out, “writing... is a communication medium, the technology of which [Foucault] forgot” (1999: 5). While certainly different to forms of communication technologies which would develop afterwards, Foucault, even in his historical analysis, neglected to acknowledge the impact of communication mediums from writing, as Kittler points out, to the press which would have already had a great influence upon public discourses. Foucault, interestingly, in an interview in 1977 states that eighteenth-century reformers overlooked the “‘media’ of opinion” which was a “materiality caught up in the mechanisms of the economy and

power in its forms of the press, publishing and later the cinema and television” (Foucault, 1980: 161-162). However, in his framework, Foucault does not include a consideration of the already present influence of the media nor of technological developments in communication.

Though Foucault was a critical historian, *Discipline and Punish* was not solely a historical document (Foucault’s historical methodology is explored in Dean, 1994). He states, “In *Discipline and Punish* what I wanted to show was how, from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and onwards, there was a veritable technological take-off in the productivity of power” (Foucault, 1980: 119). There is the impression in Foucault’s work, as evidenced by this quote and his quote on the media above that he imagined that this framework he developed and described in context of its historical emergence continued onwards. Haggerty argues that Foucault was not a historian interested only in a particular time period but, rather, “his preoccupations were part of a project to write the present” (2006: 33). Regarding the legacy of the Panopticon he asserts that,

“It certainly would not have emerged as one of the most popular concepts in contemporary social thought if Foucault had not also proposed that the principles inherent in the Panopticon themselves served as a model for understanding the operation of power in contemporary society”.

(Haggerty, 2006: 25)

Taking this into account, Foucault’s depiction of power, control and resistance in the present in which he was writing in the 1970s becomes problematic when put in the context of new forms of communication, media and technology.

Winthrop-Young argues that Foucault “shied away” from analysing the impact

of “modern storage and recording devices” upon the processing of discourse networks (2011: 59). This is what Kittler’s work tries to build upon because, as he states, “discourse analysis can not be applied to sound archives or towers of film rolls” (1999: 5). This suggests either that Foucault needed to discount the impact of newer forms of media in order for his project to work or, that his framework has a narrower applicability than as how it is generally treated.

The omission of the media in Foucault’s analysis is crucial, argues Thomas Mathiesen because inclusion would have altered Foucault’s whole depiction of society and the place of surveillance within society (1997). Both Mathiesen (1997) and Jonathan Crary (1989) have taken issue with Foucault’s proclamation that, “Our society is not of spectacle, but of surveillance” (1995: 217). This statement was intended to highlight the transition from very public forms of punishment such as the gallows to practices of discipline and the quest for ‘docile bodies’ through the prison system. In that context, Foucault’s point is valid. However, it is still disappointing that Foucault has perhaps overly stressed the distinction between the two periods and, in doing so, ignores the influence of the media which even he has acknowledged was already a significant influence in the development of public opinion and the creation of reformed bodies through observation. The influence of the media highlights the role of the spectacle and what Mathiesen labels as the synopticon, where many watch few (as will be discussed in Chapter 5). Mathiesen argues that Foucault was overly focussed on depicting a transition in society *from* one where many watched the few *to* one where few watched many and that this emphasis on historical change led Foucault to overlook, ignore or exclude the parallel development of the synopticon (1997).

The use of the Panopticon as a metaphor for understanding contemporary forms of surveillance is also hindered by the fact that Foucault did not acknowledge or discuss contemporary technologically based forms of surveillance. Mark Poster takes Foucault's statement about moving from a society of the spectacle to one of surveillance to suggest that Foucault did acknowledge that forms of surveillance in the twentieth century were something new. However, "Foucault notes the new technology but interprets it as a mere extension of the nineteenth-century patterns" (Poster, 1990: 93). David Lyon describes Foucault's lack of consideration of the relevance of panoptic discipline to administrative forms of power which had been enhanced by computers as a "perverse irony" (2006b). Following on from the discussion above, Foucault's seminal text, *Discipline and Punish* and his work on surveillance can be read three ways. The first reading regards the omissions in Foucault's text as inexcusable and, as a result, finds Foucault's framework as outlined in *Discipline and Punish* as flawed and inappropriate. However, the tremendous significance of the astute historical account, the influence of the text and the extent to which it has inspired many disposes this reading.

The second reading focuses on the historical nature of Foucault's work.

Discipline and Punish was documenting a shift and exploring the emergence of surveillance in modern society. In such case, Foucault's framework is valuable because of what he offers in regards to understanding modern forms of power and social control emerging at a particular time and the legacy of which continues today even if the functioning of power and social control need to be understood differently in light of developments in communication technologies, surveillance processes and the influence of the media. In his argument as to why

the Panopticon is still valuable for analysis, David Lyon points to the Panopticon as an ideal which continues to drive institutions such as the Department of Homeland Security in the United States. Though Lyon's appraisal of the Panopticon elsewhere is problematic, this is a useful perspective and enables the use of the metaphor to be deployed to describe *panoptic aspirations*. The Panopticon and Foucault's depiction of the development of docile bodies through surveillance is still an aspiration of many organisations carrying out surveillance and echoes of these eighteenth and nineteenth century values are still heard in rhetoric in support of surveillance. The case study explored in Chapter 4 is another example where Panoptic fantasies continue to live in the dreams of bureaucratic institutions seeking to create docile bodies in a contemporary context. It is important to consider the Panopticon in regards to ideological motivations driving the justification and development of surveillance systems. However, because of the historical nature of the metaphor and the fact that Foucault did not seek to describe contemporary forms of surveillance (neither those at the time in which he was writing nor predicting the future) Foucault's depiction of power and surveillance while useful in exploring *motivations* for surveillance does not describe the *functioning* of surveillance nor the *influence* of surveillance within contemporary society. This is the position which this thesis takes and, as a result, necessitates the development of alternative frameworks for understanding contemporary forms of surveillance.

However, this is not, generally how the Panopticon has been read within the surveillance studies literature. Much of the literature has struggled to adapt the Panoptic metaphor to make it fit despite the limitations of its applicability.

Oscar Gandy coined the 'Panoptic Sort' to account for the enormous capacities

of dataveillance because of the increasing capability of computers to process data (1993). In an attempt to take account of the extent to which the surveillance practices have grown since the nineteenth century Mark Poster coined the “Super Panopticon” (1990). Addressing Foucault’s omission of the media Thomas Mathiesen inverts the metaphor with his notion of the ‘synopticon’ as described above. David Lyon, in his essay questioning the persistence of the Panopticon as a metaphor for describing contemporary forms of surveillance uses Mark Andrejevic’s work on Reality TV (2004, discussed in this thesis in Chapter 5) which, contrary to Lyon’s reading, highlights the limitations of the Panopticon as a metaphor for understanding surveillance. Lyon, in his acknowledgment of the significance of Andrejevic’s work awkwardly seeks to revive the Panopticon once again through creating the term “panopticommodity” to acknowledge how individuals consume surveillance (2006a). (A detailed account of the consumption of surveillance is discussed in Chapter 5 in this thesis.) Kevin Haggerty in his provocative essay entitled, “Tear down the walls: on demolishing the Panopticon”, lists nearly twenty different “opticons” of which only a few have been presented here (2006). The fixation with the Panopticon within surveillance studies is unfortunate as it, on the one hand, discredits a seminal text by the distortion of Foucault’s ideas which emerges from these attempts to force fit the Panopticon as a continuing metaphor for contemporary surveillance. On the other hand, as has been mentioned above, it has a restrictive influence upon surveillance studies when all forms of surveillance must either be viewed through the prism of the Panopticon or not seen at all.

1.2.1.3 Deleuze's 'Post-script'

The most well known of attempts to adapt Foucault's depiction of the Panopticon to contemporary forms of surveillance comes from Gilles Deleuze's 'Postscript on Control Societies' (1992) and it has become another commonly used reference for understanding contemporary manifestations of power and surveillance (see Wood, 2003; Tutters, 2006; Marmura, 2008; and Pridmore and Zwick, 2011). David Murakami-Wood describes it as a "key signpost towards the analysis of the transformation of both surveillance, and the subjects of surveillance, being wrought by technologies of digitisation and automation" (Wood, 2003: 238). Published originally in French in 1990 and in English in 1992, this post-script briefly attempts in a discussion limited to four pages to update Foucault's depiction of 'disciplinary societies' and the panopticon in light of the fact that contemporary society is "in the midst of a general breakdown of all sites of confinement" (1992: 318). Deleuze reflects upon the technological advances since Foucault depicted 'disciplinary societies' and depicts the present day as a 'control society' where technology is used to track, monitor and control populations through technological means rather than focusing on disciplining and monitoring populations through traditional institutions as Foucault described. If Foucault's metaphor was the prison, Deleuze's is the ankle monitor used for tracking individuals. Wendy Hui Kyong Chun has described Deleuze's reading as "persuasive, although arguably paranoid" (2006: 9). Deleuze's depiction, according to Chun, overestimates the power of control systems and Deleuze "accepts propaganda as technological reality, and conflates possibility with probability" (2006: 9). What is presented is a totalising system of control, however, in doing so, Deleuze has accepted the power and functionality of these systems. There appears to be no way out.

However, this overlooks the fact that there are, importantly, often inherent flaws in these systems and that these systems sometimes fail. Chun argues that analysis needs to focus on how these systems actually work as opposed to how they proclaim to work. There is a much larger difference between the two than acknowledged in Deleuze's essay. While an important piece in regards to understanding how technology has influenced conceptions around surveillance, it does not offer much in the way of imagining spaces of resistance within the control society. Notions of resistance are raised elsewhere in Deleuze's work (see Deleuze and Guattari, 1987 for example) and he does very briefly discuss what resistance might look like in the control society in the interview published in *Negotiations* entitled 'Control and Becoming' (Deleuze, 1990; discussed below in Chapter 3 and picked up and greatly expanded upon by Galloway, 2004 and Galloway and Thacker, 2007). However, the discussions are not very specific, extensive nor very hopeful. The influence of 'Postscript on Control Societies' upon surveillance studies, despite what Deleuze may have written elsewhere, is limiting to discussions on surveillance (an exception would be Haggerty and Ericson (2000) who explore Deleuze and Guattari's theories on assemblages as applied to surveillance) and resistance to surveillance in particular.

1.2.2 The pitfalls in the discourse on resistance

The second issue which this thesis takes with surveillance studies is the lack of engagement with notions of resistance. The field is dominated by many valuable perspectives on surveillance in terms of describing how surveillance functions, detailing cases of surveillance, the expansion of surveillance as well as theoretical perspectives on surveillance, many of which have been mentioned

above. However, there is very little on resistance to surveillance. It was not until 2009 that *Surveillance and Society* devoted a whole issue to resistance (rarely mentioned elsewhere in the journal). Luis Fernandez and Laura Huey in the editorial to this issue acknowledge that “surveillance scholars have paid relatively little attention to the issues of resistance” (2009: 198). One reason to explain this relates again back to the fixation with Foucault’s Panopticon within surveillance literature. Fernandez and Huey argue that notions of ‘Big Brother’ and the Panopticon function as ‘totalizing systems’ and, as such, this “all-encompassing notion of surveillance neither accurately reflects, nor indeed allows sufficient scope” for notions of resistance within surveillance systems (2009: 198). Kevin Haggerty goes further with this same criticism stating that “the panoptic model does not contain an image of resistance” (2006: 36). Additionally, Foucault’s depiction of the Panopticon has no sense of ‘surveillance politics’ (2006), which, again, may be due to the historical nature of Foucault’s account or, merely, that it was not Foucault’s focus. Nonetheless, the lack of discussion regarding the tensions within surveillance systems and the rigid attachment to the Panoptic metaphor within surveillance studies has led to a lack of consideration of resistance within the literature. Haggerty highlights the importance of surveillance politics which include “processes of public claims-making, civil disobedience, and more theatrical and artistic interventions to eliminate or mitigate the perceived excesses of surveillance” (2006: 34). These forms of political engagement against surveillance are the focus of this thesis and explored within the case studies in Chapters 4 and 6 examining practices of resistance within the city by workers and creative practices of resistance from the artistic community.

Gary Marx's "A Tack in the Shoe: Neutralizing and Resisting the New Surveillance" (2003 and the updated version in 2009 in the special issue on resistance in *Surveillance and Society*) is one of very few articles which directly discusses resistance to surveillance. Following along from Chun's critique of Deleuze as discussed above, Marx accurately criticises what he refers to as 'the sky is falling' approach and insists that "the potential of a technology for harm needs to be kept distinct from its realization" (2003: 371). In this article Marx outlines eleven behavioural techniques for resisting surveillance in his attempt to develop a conceptual framework drawing upon observation, interviews, and a review of the literature around the topic. These techniques are: 'discovery moves', 'avoidance moves', 'piggybacking moves', 'switching moves', 'distorting moves', 'blocking moves', 'masking moves', 'breaking moves', 'refusal moves', 'cooperative moves', and 'counter-surveillance moves' (Marx, 2003).

On the one hand, the article is useful in its outlining of various tactics deployed by individuals seeking to resist surveillance. On the other hand, the article is problematical at a number of levels. First, the categories used overlap considerably and the distinctions between them are not clearly described. Marx points this out himself in the section of the article devoted to thinking about future research on the topic. Additionally, he points out the need to distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate forms of surveillance, but this is unclear in his framework. It is also a difficulty that the majority of the illustrations of resistance he describes relate to individuals who are trying to evade surveillance or trick the system when they have done something wrong or are directly involved with judicial systems. Indeed, the title of the article refers to a tactic for fooling lie detector tests. Marx admonishes cultural beliefs which legitimate

surveillance suggesting that only those who have something to hide seek to evade surveillance, however, his framework often reinforces these attitudes. Additionally, many of his examples focus on extra-ordinary circumstances and only occasionally consider resistance to the mundane, everyday aspects of surveillance. There is little consideration in the article to the impact upon the individual when surveillance becomes embedded within everyday life, and he does not discuss why individuals should resist surveillance even if they do not have anything to hide.

As one of few articles which attempt to address the lack of research examining resistance to surveillance it highlights the limitations in the discourse within surveillance studies as it reproduces stereotypes about those who resist surveillance as having something to hide, for example, in his depiction of individuals trying to evade lie detector tests or one who continues to receive a dead relative's welfare benefits by cutting off their finger so that they retain their fingerprint. This thesis goes beyond Gary Marx's discussion by considering the impact of everyday surveillance upon all individuals and why individuals should oppose surveillance even if they do not feel that they have anything to hide. This is necessary in order to challenge the pervading voices that legitimate current surveillance systems whether in the media or from those advocating and/or installing surveillance systems.

1.2.3 Acknowledging cultural shifts

In his own critique of surveillance studies (published in *Surveillance & Society*), Michalis Lianos describes how questions concerning social control have become 'stagnant' (2003: 412). He labels Foucault's work on surveillance a 'sacred

narrative’ and complains that theoretical work in this area has not moved beyond Foucault and that this has hindered the development of ideas which not only address contemporary forms of domination and stratification but, in addition, take into account how this is impacted by issues around the restructuring of culture and identity (2003). As discussed above, Foucault did not address the role of the media in his work on surveillance. While the cultural shifts in attitudes towards privacy and surveillance are discussed widely both within the academic literature and non-academic media, there is a lack of extensive critical engagement with these shifts and the cultural influences driving these shifts within the surveillance studies literature. Surveillance studies has replicated the normative orientation from Foucault who depicted the Panopticon unequivocally as negative (Haggerty, 2006). The Panopticon is ‘diabolical’ and ‘cruel’ and, according to Foucault, ‘visibility is a trap’ (in Haggerty, 2006: 34). This perspective is restrictive for surveillance studies because it struggles to acknowledge ways in which individuals enjoy surveillance and neglects to investigate the myriad of ways in which surveillance is embraced and consumed within popular culture (a theme explored in this thesis in Chapter 5).

David Lyon, in his critical book defining the field, *Surveillance Studies: An Overview*, does devote an entire chapter to ‘Surveillance, Visibility and Popular Culture’, however the discussion is largely a survey of examples and while he acknowledges that “much work remains to be done in exploring the connections” (2007: 158) he offers little in this direction. While superficially acknowledged, there is little consideration of the extent to which the role of surveillance within popular culture has complicated discussions relating to the

infiltration of surveillance within everyday life and how this then impedes the development of a framework of practices of resistance to increasing surveillance. Surveillance studies has done much to articulate the political, legal, technical, ethical and moral problems with surveillance but is less effective in articulating why surveillance is largely accepted, and in undertaking the exploration of theories and practices of resistance. Insights regarding public attitudes towards privacy, surveillance and regarding the development of theoretical frameworks and practices of resistance need to be drawn from elsewhere. Again, this is one of the main contributions made by this thesis.

1.3 Overview of thesis

Addressing the three shortcomings of surveillance studies as detailed above, this thesis explores contemporary forms of surveillance and develops a theoretical framework for conceptualising resistance to surveillance. It does so through the establishment of the theoretical perspective in Chapters 2 and 3. Rather than utilising Foucault's Panopticon as the metaphor for understanding contemporary forms of surveillance this thesis adopts a perspective in which resistance is given central attention. Focusing on how surveillance constricts everyday life, this thesis draws upon the work of Henri Lefebvre on rhythms and everyday life and from the work of the Situationists (primarily from Guy Debord) on ideological forms of power (as developed through the notion of the spectacle) and practices of resistance (as developed through the concepts of the *dérive*, *détournement* and unitary urbanism). After presenting their theoretical perspectives in Chapter 2 and developing the concepts for thinking about resistance to surveillance, Chapter 3 brings these ideas more vividly into the contemporary context by amalgamating these ideas with those of a number of

contemporary theorists who offer a perspective on the growth of surveillance which goes beyond the Panoptic model as discussed above and which has profound resonances with the work of Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists in regards to their perspectives on power and resistance within surveillance systems.

The remaining three chapters of the thesis explore surveillance and resistance from three different perspectives. In Chapter 4, the growth of surveillance within the post-industrial city is explored through the case study of resistance to surveillance by the taxicab drivers in the American city of Philadelphia. This site of surveillance is significant because it highlights the complex circumstances in which surveillance systems are introduced and the extent to which traditional notions of resistance are complicated in such cases thus necessitating the development of alternative perspectives on resistance and, as well, demonstrating how contemporary manifestations of power and surveillance do not fit as easily within the Panoptic metaphor. Chapter 5 examines the seduction of surveillance and, in so doing, highlights both why there is a lack of resistance to surveillance and how the consumption of surveillance also does not fit within the Panoptic metaphor. The final chapter, Chapter 6, returns to the practices of resistance outlined in Chapters 2 and 3 while also taking into account the cultural shifts detailed in Chapters 4 and 5 and surveys creative practices of resistance to surveillance from the artistic community. The rest of this introduction will explore in more detail some of the central themes and perspectives of this thesis.

1.3.1 Resistance to Surveillance in Everyday Life - Defining themes and perspectives

1.3.1.1 Power

Continuing with Foucault's depiction of the Panopticon as a starting point for thinking about power, this model was focused on strict clear hierarchies between watcher and watched; a clear goal with the creation of 'docile bodies'; a fixed method to achieve this through observation and the internalisation of the gaze; and a clear focus on the surveillance of individuals. This is an oppressive and dystopian depiction of power as power over someone even if it is not, per se, violent as characteristic of earlier forms of power in Foucault's accounts.

However, this is a very small aspect of Foucault's overall understanding of power and while there are likely instances where this model of power persists, there are also many more in which it does not (many of which will be discussed in this thesis). This is one aspect of power which functions through repression. Beyond the metaphor of the Panopticon, Foucault's notion of bio-power is potentially more useful in understanding power as it relates to contemporary forms of surveillance with its focus on power through the accumulation of data and the bureaucratic systems of overseeing populations through forms of dataveillance. This is a form of power which seeks to exert a positive influence over life, one that "endeavours to administer, optimise and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations" (Foucault, 1976/1990: 137). Nonetheless, it is still a quite oppressive and centralised conception of power. However, Foucault envisioned power functioning much more broadly stating, "What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it

traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse” (Foucault, 1980: 119). Unfortunately, Foucault did not expand upon this a great deal and perhaps these ideas would have been developed in future work.

It is these seductive aspects of power which need to be brought into discourses around surveillance. While there certainly remain oppressive and repressive surveillance practices, these exist alongside a wide variety of forms of surveillance which, on the one hand, may be beneficial to society (such as the tracking of diseases) and, on the other hand, are explicitly embraced, consumed and enjoyed by individuals. Surveillance studies struggles to account for how power through surveillance may be both restrictive and seductive. For this reason (amongst others) this thesis turns to depictions of power from Guy Debord and the Situationists and Henri Lefebvre. According to Guy Debord, society is now dominated by consumption and the individual reduced to the passive role of consumer or spectator within the spectacle (Debord, 1967/1995; Marcus, 2002). The spectacle is the appearance or image of society from which we understand our directed place within it. The spectacle, however, is not just what emanates from the media for it “is not a collection of images, but a social relationship between people, mediated by images” (1995:12). The spectacle is the “*materialization* of ideology” which has “remolded all reality in its own image” (1995:150). Guy Debord depicts power functioning through the spectacle where “the spectacle presents itself simultaneously as society itself, as a part of society, and as a *means of unification*” (Debord, 1995:12 italics in original). Power, in Debord’s depiction, functions through ideology where a particular understanding of society is projected onto the population and invested

institutions within society seek to maintain and reinforce this perspective in order to maintain control. However, crucially, individuals do not feel this as oppressive but, rather, are sold this image, consume it and accept it. To an extent, they even think that they enjoy it. This is an understanding of power based upon the humanist side of Marx focusing on ideology and alienation. This is a perspective shared by Henri Lefebvre who criticised a society where we are encouraged to consume in order to find pleasure and yet discover that it is a very hollow, superficial and temporary amusement (explored throughout his three volumes of *Critique of Everyday Life* (2008a, 2002, 2008b)). The vast body of work of Guy Debord (along with others affiliated with the Situationists) and Henri Lefebvre greatly expand upon this notion of power producing our notion of society, inducing pleasure, producing knowledge and discourses to which Foucault only obliquely refers. For this reason, an exploration of these ideas can open up new perspectives for understanding contemporary forms of power and surveillance where surveillance is sold as an ideology which is seductive and often enthusiastically consumed.

1.3.1.2 Everyday Life

There are other theoretical perspectives which similarly focus on consumer culture from theorists such as Zygmunt Bauman, Jean Baudrillard, François Lyotard, or, further back, Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer. However, there are three other reasons for drawing upon Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists, primarily by Guy Debord, for developing an alternative theoretical perspective for understanding surveillance, power and resistance in the contemporary context. First, this thesis places everyday life as its central focus, inspired directly by Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists. Lefebvre's application

of Marx was resolutely focused on a critique of everyday life. Though a slightly ambiguous term often described more by what it is not rather than what it is (Lebas, 2003 and Goonewardena, 2008), it is in everyday life that one sees “the sum total of relations which make the human” and “in it are expressed and fulfilled those relations which bring into play the totality of the real, albeit in a certain manner which is always partial and incomplete” (Lefebvre, 2008a: 97). In one of many attempts to pin down a definition Lefebvre states that the everyday concerns the gap between it and the level above as dominated by the State, technology and high culture; it is the “intersection between the non-dominated sector of reality and the dominated sector” and, lastly, it is “the transformation of objects into appropriated goods” (Lefebvre, 2003: 100). It is at the level of everyday life that the functioning of the spectacle can be interrogated. As a result, the everyday is the site of the confrontation between the ideological influence of the spectacle and the lived everyday, what Lefebvre refers to as a confrontation between the ‘natural’ (from nature, true social constructions) and the ‘artificial’ (from culture which is detached and opposed to nature) (2003). The Situationists built upon this critique of everyday life as both an illustration of the uneven development of capitalist societies and as the site of the struggle between reality and the spectacle. Guy Debord went further describing the everyday as the ‘colonized sector’ (Debord in McDonough, 2002: xiv). The spectacle spreads through consumption and leisure and results in a commodification of the otherwise non-colonized everyday life of social relations which are now ‘occupied’ by the spectacle (Best and Kellner, 1999).

Central to this thesis is an understanding of the legitimation of power and control through ideology and the intertwined relationship between power

through both practices of explicit control and implicit persuasive seduction. The growth of surveillance can be seen as working through these both. This thesis explores this manifestation of power through surveillance at the level of the everyday and follows on from Lefebvre and Debord viewing everyday life as the level where practices of resistance must develop. Lefebvre did not want a critique of everyday life to be “reduced to a bleak picture of pain and despair” but rather to focus the critique towards an appeal of “what is possible” and, through his dialectical analysis of everyday rhythms, to uncover how the mechanised, routinised aspects of everyday life (as exemplified by surveillance in this instance) are “embroiled” with the creative potential of everyday life (1961/2002: 45). To study the everyday, according to Lefebvre, is to explore “the possible and the impossible, the random and the certain, the achieved and the possible” (1961/2002: 45-6).

1.3.1.3 Space, time and rhythms

The understanding of space, time and rhythms by Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord and the Situationists is the third reason for which their ideas are taken as the theoretical inspiration for this thesis. Following on from their focus on everyday life as the site of confrontation between the spectacle and the lived everyday, this confrontation takes on a spatial dimension in the urban environment. As a result, there is a spatial element to their depiction of power. Lefebvre viewed spaces as socially constructed and as the site of numerous power struggles central to everyday life whether in regards to hierarchical power struggles with the State, confrontations between public and private, or in the struggle to expose the lived everyday obfuscated through consumption and leisure (Lefebvre, 1974, 2003a, 2004). The attempt of states to manage urban

environments highlighted to Lefebvre the “political character of capitalist spatiality” (Brenner and Elden, 2009 :32). Brenner and Elden argue that Lefebvre’s analysis still resonates powerfully and remains a useful commentary on neo-liberal spaces because “it is precisely because patterns of spatial organization continue to have such strategic significance to capital, states, and social forces at all scales that such concerted political strategies are being mobilized to reshape them” (2009: 33). The focus on the urban environment and the power struggles over the management of urban space is explored in this thesis in the case study regarding urban renewal processes in Philadelphia in Chapter 4 illustrating Brenner and Elden’s point.

However, Lefebvre and the Situationists go beyond a mere spatial focus. It is their interest in the relationship between time, space and rhythms and how this contributes to understanding both power and resistance that illustrates how their ideas can be used to investigate contemporary forms of surveillance and which features heavily in this thesis. Libero Andreotti refers to Guy Debord’s strategy of the *dérive*, or ‘drifting’ as a temporalization of space (2002) where individuals could ‘transcend’ the spectacle (Barnard, 2004). Through the process of the *dérive* individuals could explore the psychogeographical effects of a particular space through both “letting go and its necessary contradiction” of analysis of the power relations enacted through space (Debord, 1956). It is the combination of Guy Debord’s notion of resistance through the *dérive* and Henri Lefebvre’s work on rhythms which can be used to consider contemporary forms of surveillance which do not fit within Foucault’s framework. Deleuze’s ‘post-script’ was correct in regards to how surveillance has moved beyond the institutional settings which Foucault outlined and is now pervasive throughout

society (1992). However, the work of Guy Debord and Henri Lefebvre can be used to illustrate the extent to which this has occurred and can be used to examine newer forms of surveillance based upon predicting behaviours through the generation of algorithms. This is discussed in depth in Chapter 3. However, briefly, Lefebvre's understanding of power struggles through rhythms resonates with a study of surveillance in which through both explicit forms of control and implicit ideological messages surveillance seeks to conform and restrict the natural individual free rhythms of the individual and impose upon them rhythms driven by technological forms of surveillance. While Lefebvre's notion of rhythmanalysis is explored in Chapter 2 and applied to contemporary forms of surveillance in Chapter 3, the case studies also illustrate how this works. In Chapter 4, the struggle is between the freely determined everyday rhythms of the taxicab drivers against the imposed rhythms from the Global Positioning Systems. In Chapter 5, dataveillance and forms of self-surveillance through the collating of data are applied to rhythmanalysis. Finally, in Chapter 6, resistance to surveillance is demonstrated as an attempt to retain individual rhythms by relinquishing the mundane aspects of everyday rhythms. Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis is taken as inspiration in this thesis for thinking about the simulation of surveillance which was outlined by William Bogard (1996) where the emphasis of surveillance is to predict and align human behaviour to computer models. While Lefebvre and Debord were focused on the physical environment as the site of the confrontation between individual desires and the spectacle, they can also be used to explore the development of virtual space and surveillance within it as well as the increase in augmented space with the overlaying of computer code over physical spaces as discussed in Chapter 3.

1.3.1.4 Resistance

Finally, Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord and the Situationists are used in this thesis for theoretical inspiration because of their emphasis on resistance within their depiction of power. As has been outlined above, previous theoretical frameworks for understanding surveillance have not given much space for resistance both in terms of consideration and in regards to the extent to which their depictions of power are of totalizing systems in which resistance is impossible. Following on, discussion of resistance within surveillance studies has been hindered. Foucault, though developing a notion of resistance elsewhere in his work, does not leave room for resistance in his depiction of the Panopticon. In an interview in 1977, he is dismissive and doubtful of resistance within his paradigm and asks, “Do you think it would be much better to have the prisoners operating the Panoptic apparatus and sitting in the central tower, instead of the guards?” (Foucault, 1980: 164-165). In the same interview he suggests that the role of resistance needs to be thought through in the Panopticon in tactical and strategic terms but does not offer any specific ideas (1980). Following on to Deleuze’s depiction of the control society, while his articulation of the growth of surveillance is illustrative and helpful in understanding power through surveillance it is, again, a rather totalising system which provides little space for resistance. He later hints at the place of resistance within the control society highlighting the importance of sabotage and the development of creative practices to elude control (Deleuze, 1992). However, these practices of resistance are much more central to the fundamental project of the Situationists to revolutionise everyday life. Their practices of the *dérive* and *détournement* as outlined in Chapters 2 and 3, are practices of evasion and subversion which can be deployed in the development

of a framework for resistance to surveillance. The work of Henri Lefebvre and of the Situationists is a project with an explicit goal of changing everyday life (though the rhetoric and tone may have been different). They did not seek to merely describe how power relations are manifest in everyday life but did so with the explicit aim of developing ideas as to how to challenge them.

Resistance is of central importance to their exploration of power and it is because of this that this thesis takes as inspiration their notions of power and resistance and applies them to conceptualising power and resistance within the contemporary context of the impact of surveillance within everyday life. Their framework for understanding power and resistance are outlined in Chapter 2 and then tied in with contemporary discourses regarding present forms of surveillance and are then deployed throughout the case studies in this thesis.

1.3.1.5 Surveillance

Before moving on to outline the chapters of this thesis, there is a need for a brief definition of surveillance which is the central focus of this thesis and it is the device through which power in contemporary society is explored in this work. Starting with David Lyon's often referenced definition of surveillance, he states that it is "the focused, systematic and routine attention to personal details for purposes of influence, management, protection or direction" (2007: 14).

However, aspects of this definition can be questioned. First, the ubiquity of surveillance leads to a question as to how focused, systematic and purposeful surveillance practices can be in many instances. Often it seems that the approach in surveillance is akin to searching for a needle in a haystack by adding more hay (a common metaphor which is difficult to attribute to an original source). Second, it will not be assumed that the purpose of the

surveillance is synonymous with its functioning. More specifically, it will also neither be assumed that the explicitly stated purpose is the same as the implicit use. There are many instances of intentional or un-intentional ‘function creep’ where surveillance is introduced for one purpose but is used for another. Third, the ubiquity of surveillance and the extent to which it is embedded raises questions in regards to the efficacy of surveillance and, in many instances, it is unclear as to what details are actually being gathered. Fourth, the definition does not highlight how practices of surveillance have entered into popular culture in forms where the primary agency lies within the individual who offers information up to view but whether or not the data is consumed is ambiguous. However, in all of these forms, it is the *everydayness* of surveillance which is the focus and the impact upon everyday life in light of this.

Guy Debord’s depiction of surveillance distinguishes the perspective on surveillance which will be taken in this thesis from that which is outlined by Lyon. In *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle* he states,

“Surveillance would be much more dangerous had it not been pushed along the path of absolute control of everyone, to the point where it encounters difficulties created by its own progress. There is a contradiction between the mass of information collected on a growing number of individuals, and the time and intelligence available to analyse it, or simply its actual interest” (1998: 81).

Drawing upon the work of Guy Debord and the Situationists along with Henri Lefebvre, exploring and exploiting this problem and contradiction within surveillance is the basis here for developing a theoretical framework towards resistance to surveillance. Beyond examining and defining how surveillance

works, which encompasses the majority of research on surveillance, it is equally crucial to explore how it does *not* work in order to develop and articulate an effective challenge to surveillance practices. Resistance to surveillance, this thesis will argue, emerges first through exposing how surveillance functions and impacts upon everyday life. Then practices of resistance can be developed through this exposure along with practices which uncover the flaws and limitations of surveillance, practices which allow individuals to evade surveillance and practices which allow individuals to subvert the surveillance technologies for other purposes. All of this is towards the goal of improving everyday life within the surveillance society and of allowing individuals to have a greater level of agency within spaces which have been restricted or constricted due to surveillance practices.

1.3.2 Outline of the Chapters

This thesis is an exploration of the ‘surveillance politics’ which Kevin Haggerty found missing in Foucault’s depiction of the Panopticon (2006). He outlines a number of ways in which contemporary forms of surveillance do not correspond with the historical account of the Panopticon as described by Foucault. First, while the Panopticon had the purpose of developing ‘docile bodies’, forms of contemporary surveillance often have unintended consequences, are deployed for a number of reasons and lack a single coherent purpose (2006). Second, the Panopticon relied upon traditional hierarchies which are no longer as clear. Third, the targets of surveillance are now ubiquitous encompassing all levels of society and going beyond the monitoring of individuals. Fourth, the agents of surveillance are now ambiguous as it is now dominated by technological and automated processes for observation, there is no watcher and there is no watch

tower. Fifth, and most significant for the purposes of this thesis, Haggerty argues that the dynamics of surveillance have changed. In *Discipline and Punish* the subjects were passive. However, this distinction is now much less clear. An understanding of ‘surveillance politics’ and a framework for developing creative practices of resistance to surveillance is developed in this thesis (Chapters 2 and 3). Additionally, it demonstrates through the investigation of three sites of surveillance how the dynamics in surveillance have shifted exploring instances both of resistance to surveillance (Chapters 4 and 6) and an exploration of the seduction of surveillance where individuals often become agents themselves carrying out surveillance practices (Chapters 5 and 6). In so doing, this thesis investigates a number of questions:

- What does contemporary surveillance look like?
- What is the impact of contemporary surveillance?
- What are the popular ideologies around surveillance?
- Why is there a lack of resistance to surveillance?
- Why are some instances of resistance to surveillance ineffective?
- What might effective practices of resistance to surveillance look like?

1.3.2.1 Theoretical background (Chapters 2 and 3)

The Critical Art Ensemble have argued that “the development of an absent and potentially unassailable nomadic power, coupled with the rear vision of revolution in ruins, has nearly muted the contestational voice” (2003(1994 orig.): 785). This perspective is challenged in this thesis and an alternative perspective is developed in the two theoretical chapters (2 and 3). Unpicking the above statement, first, and as has been mentioned above, this thesis rejects a totalising view of power as both incorrect and unhelpful. Taking everyday life as

one level at which power works and, in this thesis, examining surveillance as a manifestation of this, the complex nature of power relations is uncovered and exposed not as 'unassailable' but as embedded with contradictions in regards to purpose, focus and function. These contradictions can then be explored and exploited in the development of practices of resistance. This is not to discount the enormous difficulties in doing so as highlighted by the depiction of nomadic power where resistance is complicated because the focus of resistance is unclear, however, it merely necessitates the development of practices of resistance equipped to address these forms of power. Henri Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis and the Situationist strategies of resistance are presented in this thesis as theoretical concepts for developing such practices in Chapter 2 and they are examined within the context of contemporary forms of surveillance and power in Chapter 3. The Critical Art Ensemble point out that past attempts at revolution have failed. This thesis challenges this statement by developing practices of resistance in everyday life. These are not necessarily forms of collective action but, following on from Henri Lefebvre's understanding, are instead small acts of resistance which improve the quality of life for the individual and, cumulatively, may pose a substantive challenge. These are creative practices of resistance deployed for coping with the surveillance society and for enabling individuals to assert more control over the structuring of their everyday lives. Lastly, the Critical Art Ensemble argue that because of the nature of power and the defeat of revolutions there is a lack of a contestational voice. That is to dismiss the extent to which there are rich examples of resistance within everyday life. Examples of creative and concerted practices of resistance to increasing control exercised through surveillance are highlighted here through the exploration of resistance strategies. Chapter 3 investigates

theoretical strategies of resistance to algorithmic forms of surveillance. The case study in Chapter 4 examines the attempts by a group to challenge the introduction of surveillance practices. And Chapter 6 explores creative engagements by artists which illustrate both the seduction of surveillance as outlined in Chapter 5 and, as well, the practices of resistance to surveillance as developed in Chapters 2 and 3.

To summarise, the theoretical background for this thesis is developed in the two chapters following this introduction. Chapter 2, entitled, 'Rhythmanalysis and Surveillance', presents an overview of Henri Lefebvre's ideas on rhythms and the Situationist practices of resistance and demonstrates how they can be applied to studying surveillance practices and for developing a theoretical framework for understanding resistance to surveillance. Chapter 3, entitled 'Towards a Digital Dérive', continues the discussion from the previous chapter and puts it in the context of contemporary forms of surveillance and draws links between the ideas of Lefebvre and the Situationists and contemporary theorists studying surveillance and resistance in order to illustrate how contemporary forms of surveillance can be viewed through their theoretical framework and, following, how practices of resistance can emerge from this perspective.

1.3.2.2 Sites of Surveillance (Chapters 4, 5 and 6)

Roy Boyne, in his essay entitled, 'Post-Panopticism', presents five arguments in favour of abandoning the Panopticon as a metaphor for discussing surveillance drawing upon ideas from theorists such as Zygmunt Bauman, William Bogard and Bruno Latour (2000). Exploring these themes he highlights the ways in

which contemporary forms of surveillance have gone beyond the Panopticon and, as well, ways in which the Panopticon persists. They are as follows:

- “*displacement* of the Panoptical ideal by mechanisms of seduction
- redundancy* of the Panoptical impulse brought about by the evident durability of the self-surveillance functions ...
- reduction* in the number of occasions of any conceivable need for Panoptical surveillance on account of simulation, prediction and action before fact
- supplementation* of the Panopticon by the Synopticon
- failure* of Panoptical control to produce reliably docile subjects” (Boyne, 2000: 285).

He concludes with arguing, following Derrida, that there should be a line drawn through the terms ‘Panopticon’, ‘Panoptical’ and ‘Panopticism’ in order to “place these terms under erasure, drawing a black line through them, allowing the idea to be seen at the same time as denying its validity as description” (Boyne, 2000: 303). The three sites of surveillance explored within Chapters 4, 5 and 6 can be outlined within the context of Boyne’s argument and Haggerty’s description of ‘surveillance politics’ as outlined above. All three chapters demonstrate to varying degrees the how the dynamics of surveillance have changed (Haggerty, 2006) and the failure of Panoptic forms of surveillance to create ‘docile bodies’ (Boyne, 2000).

Chapter 4, entitled, ‘Surveillance and the Post-Industrial City’ explores the case of resistance to the introduction of Global Positioning Systems (GPS) in taxicabs in the American city of Philadelphia. Related to Haggerty’s (2006) outline of

contemporary surveillance as detailed above this case study demonstrates the complex purposes under which surveillance systems are introduced, in this case how surveillance is related to processes of urban renewal. The complexity of this case also highlights how the hierarchies and agents of surveillance are not always clear. This surveillance programme was introduced amidst a power struggle between regulatory bodies and different levels of city and state government and it was these circumstances which drove the introduction of surveillance rather than a clear hierarchy of power relations (even though the taxicab drivers were clearly at the bottom, the level of 'watcher' was unclear). This case does not support the position that there is a reduction of surveillance in contexts where surveillance is used to anticipate behaviour, rather, following on from Lefebvre's work on rhythms, it demonstrates how individuals can be judged and pressured to conform to such 'simulations' of surveillance. This case also demonstrates an instance where the surveillance aspirations are Panoptic even though the functioning of the surveillance system is not. In regards to resistance, this chapter highlights a failure to create 'docile bodies' and a concerted effort at challenging the surveillance programme through 'surveillance politics'. However, because of the nature of this form of surveillance and the complicated context in which it was introduced, this chapter highlights the difficulties of traditional forms of collective action and the need to develop an alternative framework for developing practices of resistance to surveillance.

While Chapter 4 explores why resistance to surveillance is so difficult within the contemporary context and why traditional practices of resistance are not effective in challenging such forms of surveillance, Chapter 5, entitled "The

Consumption of Surveillance” explores why there is a lack of resistance to surveillance. This chapter focuses on the seductive aspects of surveillance which was not included in Foucault’s historical framework. The changing hierarchies, purposes, targets and agents of surveillance are demonstrated in this chapter which explores the spectacle of surveillance which has attracted not just those under surveillance but also the watchers. A shared ideological position between watcher and watched fascinated by new technology with a unified belief that surveillance can fulfil the promise of progress and safety leads to a shift in traditional hierarchies where those under surveillance perceive themselves to be equally involved in the surveillance processes whether through supporting the efforts of the police or supplanting the efforts of the police with their own forms of surveillance. Surveillance is explored as something which is often embraced, utilised, enjoyed and consumed by individuals in forms of self-surveillance and synoptic forms of surveillance. Through these processes of the spectacle of surveillance, surveillance becomes a commodity consumed and, ideologically, it is legitimated and normalised within everyday life. While surveillance has a significant ideological function in this depiction, it does not function in the panoptic sense of developing ‘docile bodies’ as evidenced by the fascination to court the gaze of surveillance and to perform for it rather than to merely acquiesce to it. This chapter highlights the difficulty in developing a surveillance politics which challenges surveillance through practices of resistance because attitudes towards surveillance and privacy shift as individuals see themselves as pivotal agents within these surveillance systems rather than as subservient to it.

The final site of surveillance explored in this thesis in Chapter 6, entitled ‘Artistic Engagements with Surveillance’ incorporates all of the themes of the thesis in an examination of how artists have engaged with surveillance within their work. Serving as a clear example of the development of ‘surveillance politics’ this chapter takes the framework for resistance to surveillance developed in Chapters 2 and 3 and illustrates them with vivid and provocative examples from the artistic community. The artworks function to expose practices of resistance, highlight their limitations and flaws, suggest ways in which surveillance practices can be subverted and, finally, offer novel ways for introducing more individual agency in the ways in which individuals can utilise public space. These artworks, returning one last time to Haggerty, expose how the purposes of surveillance are varied and often unclear, the hierarchies are also not self-evident without a clear distinction between watcher and watched, and, following, the agents of surveillance are exposed as counter to conventional understandings. These artistic practices highlight the importance of art to provoke discussions and aim to bring a critical engagement with surveillance practices into the popular discourse. In conclusion to this introduction, this final chapter ties together the themes of this overall thesis which makes a contribution to surveillance studies by reinvigorating discussions regarding power, surveillance and resistance within everyday life. It does so through developing an alternative framework for conceptualising power and resistance to contemporary forms of surveillance and, then, through application of this framework explores how traditional methods of resistance are complicated by new forms of surveillance necessitating new strategies for challenging such systems; explores the seductive aspects of surveillance through the consumption of surveillance which stifles resistance to surveillance; and, lastly, explores

artistic engagements with surveillance as practical illustrations of the theoretical framework which will be developed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2 - RHYTHMANALYSIS AND RESISTANCE TO SURVEILLANCE

2.1 Introduction

The body of literature on contemporary surveillance is unsatisfactory in what it offers towards thinking about resistance to surveillance; this chapter offers an alternative theoretical perspective for thinking about resistance to surveillance. Drawing upon the work of Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists led, more or less, by Guy Debord it presents a theoretical framework based upon three important factors. First, the critique of surveillance within this thesis is focused upon the impact of surveillance in everyday life. This focus on the 'everydayness' of surveillance is drawn from the work of these theorists. Thinking about the 'everydayness' of surveillance requires moving towards a perspective which examines how surveillance impacts upon everyone, how it is dispersed and embedded within daily practices. This critique of everyday life is one which considers the impact of surveillance upon everyday behaviours and movements with the underlying notion that surveillance stifles individual freedom and functions to externally structure everyday life. This restriction of everyday life and the search for methods to challenge this restriction is a central concern in the work of Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists.

Second, it is the focus on challenging the restricting forces that act externally upon the everyday and developing practices of resistance which merits a reconsideration of what these ideas offer in developing a new theoretical framework for thinking about resistance to surveillance. Within surveillance studies, there is not much discussion of resistance (as outlined in the

introduction to this thesis), and this chapter seeks to address this gap in the discourse by offering one perspective on resistance to surveillance. The large body of work produced is not without its flaws, however, the ideas of Lefebvre and the Situationists, despite the inconsistencies, flaws in logic and difficulties of translation into practice, serve as a valuable starting point of inspiration for thinking about resistance. Additionally, while the ideas are now certainly echoes of an earlier era, they are fresh insights within a field which appears to currently operate within a narrow discourse.

Third, this critique of traditional notions of resistance and the rethinking of resistance to the capitalist system has not been given due consideration. The ideas of Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists, focused on issues regarding the urban experience, everyday life, power and resistance, are beneficial for thinking about resistance within the backdrop of post-industrialism. While interested in a revolution of everyday life, the ideas and methods took into account the changes in power relations, the decreasing influence of collective action and the acknowledgement that everyday life, rather than the factory, was now the site of the real struggle for freedom. Traditional practices of resistance that focus on collective action are insufficient under present circumstances because of forces which have sought to render such methods impotent and because of the difficulties in bringing people together to form collective bodies. Their ideas did not dismiss the old power relations but, rather, sought to develop a new theoretical framework for developing practices of resistance within the changing landscape. The focus was on acts of resistance which were more subversive, disparate acts carried out by an individual or a small group, rather than an organised collective action such as a strike or protest.

This is not a turning away from the proletariat and class struggle but, rather, to argue that the actors and the circumstances have changed. “Class is still with us,” states Scott Lash, but it has been “reconfigured, or more or less fragmented” (2007: 69). The proletariat has broadened, according to the Situationists “the new proletariat is tending to encompass virtually everybody” (Situationist International, 1962). Additionally, those directly involved in class struggle have become themselves bureaucratized and that participation is measured “in attendance time” (Situationist International, 1962). These groups are now recreating the control relations within capitalism and there is a need to leave the “serious politics” which “encourages even the best people to demonstrate stupidity” (1962). For Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists this statement relates to their critique of the French Communist Party but can now be applied more broadly to various efforts of collective action which have less of an impact than in the past and, in particular, are insufficient for opposing increasing surveillance (as will be developed in following chapters). There is a need to go outside these terms to develop a resistance which goes beyond class, action, and resistance based on class and/or economic circumstances. It is characteristic of the work of both Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists that the study of everyday life goes beyond technical, economic, or political standpoints to “search for the ways in which to interpret revolutionary action, to generate new forms of representation of the possible, against a background of social processes that were redefining the very nature of human identity” (Harvey, 1991: 431). This chapter surveys this field to examine how these theorists understood everyday life and the methods which they sought to develop to challenge it.

2.2 Rhythmanalysis and the rhythm analyst

2.2.1 Introduction

Published shortly after his death in 1991 and not translated into English until 2004, Henri Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* (1992/2004) is his most explicit discussion on the rhythms of everyday life (earlier discussions in Lefebvre, 1974/1991 (2005) and Lefebvre 1961/2002) . He argues for the development of the 'rhythm analyst', a new variety of social scientist somewhere between a poet, a psychoanalyst and statistician (2004). His argument is that individuals (and social scientists) are ill attuned to the rhythms of everyday life and through a trained rhythm analysis much of the structuring and influences upon everyday activities can be uncovered. Essays in the book such as "Seen from the Window" which discusses the view of Paris outside of his window and "Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities" (written with Catherine Régulier) certainly lean towards the poetic with descriptions of lonely traffic lights which continue to alternate at night as a "despairing social mechanism" (Lefebvre, 2004: 30) and of the difference between lunar towns of the oceans and solar towns of the Mediterranean. However, there is much more going on in his brief outline of the variety and relationship between different rhythms of everyday life. Through the analysis of the connection between space, time and rhythms he develops a critique of the everyday which analyses and ties together power, politics, culture, and economics. Most important, for the present purposes, is that this critique is both accessible and embodies a potent notion of everyday resistance through the exploration of the power struggle implicit within everyday rhythms. This is particularly the case when putting his comments on 'The Right to the City' (Lefebvre, 1996) along with the Situationist's critique of the city (Chtcheglov, 1953; Debord, 1956; Nieuwenhuys, 1959 amongst others).

While his broad ideas are echoed most explicitly by his contemporaries and sometimes comrades, the Situationists, and more recently by writers such as Jordan Crandall, William J. Mitchell, and Alexander Galloway (though with more of a focus on the impact of new technologies), his notion of rhythmanalysis can be an overarching theme for a discussion on the possibilities for thinking about resistance to the increased monitoring and structuring of everyday lives through surveillance. His tactics for analysis can be applied to increased monitoring in public spaces which will be outlined. However, these tactics can also be applied more broadly and when considering a more virtual sense of the everyday. As the 'everyday' is increasingly played out in the virtual, Lefebvre's analysis of the subtle functioning of power in the Parisian public square can be applied to the online everyday.

The rhythmanalyst is an individual in an increasingly complex world. As far as the role is detailed by Lefebvre, it is a solitary role, the analyst at the window observing, embracing the rhythms of the masses, yet also removed, understanding the urban milieu differently because of this learned skill of reading the rhythms of everyday life. The rhythmanalyst does not need to be directly political or to claim a particular political position in order to "accomplish a tiny part of the *revolutionary* transformation of this world and this society in decline" (italics in original, Lefebvre, 2004: 26). The rhythmanalyst is not necessarily trying to change life but is instead interested in "reinstating the sensible in consciousness and in *thought*" (italics in original, 26). The focus is, rather, on reinvigorating life and rediscovering the wide variety of experiences, sensations, and stimuli which are ever-present but of which we have lost the ability to notice and which society has 'atrophied' and

‘neutralised’ (2004: 21). The revolutionary aspect is that this analysis and rediscovering exposes the processes of power and control. This power is exerted through directing everyday rhythms and patterns of movement (the workday or strictly managed public spaces). Additionally, there are rhythms which are merely simulacra producing a spectacle, the “mediatised everyday” (2004: 50), to distract from the true rhythms of everyday life.

There appears to be a disconnection between this ‘revolutionary act’ of an individual which will, somehow, reinvigorate daily life for the ‘crowd’. Lefebvre saw this analysis of rhythms as a part of a Marxist critique and call for a “radically democratized everyday life” (Goonewardena, 2008:118). And yet the identity of the rhythm analyst is ambiguous. On the one hand, there is a sense that the rhythm analyst is a specialist. Lefebvre refers to the rhythm analyst as someone who “does not yet exist” (2008: 19) but then predicts that the ‘rhythm analyst’ will have to ‘professionalise’ himself “without doubt, in a long time” (2008: 22). This suggests that the ‘rhythm analyst’ is more a Gramscian ‘organic intellectual’ but this is inconsistent with the tone of the rest of the book and with Lefebvre’s general ideas on praxis and developing theories which would revolutionise the lived everyday. He concludes the book with a declaration that rhythm analysis is not a distinct discipline and that as a theory it “strengthens itself only if it enters into practice: **into use**” (bold in original, 2008: 69). The whole book is dedicated to developing a method for combatting forces which make power relations opaque and render everyday life banal. It would not be consistent with Lefebvre’s tone and spirit to conceptualise this as a technique for a privileged few.

Admitting that this aspect of rhythmanalysis is not entirely clear, perhaps there is a reason for this ambiguity. The rhythmanalyst is an individual. However, they could be any individual. It is about one person becoming more acutely aware of the rhythms and processes of control of which their life is immersed. Rhythmanalysis is a theory for radical democratic resistance but one that is not necessarily politicised. It is not the product of nor does it produce a 'movement'. Rhythmanalysis is not a tactic of collective resistance. Lefebvre was a dedicated Marxist and saw rhythmanalysis as a challenge to capitalism because it was this system which produced the banal and monotonous rhythms of production. However, the notion of resistance underlying this work on rhythms is not a class uprising, nor of an uprising of any other group. It is something entirely different and potentially much more appropriate for contemporary society. This is part of the problem with articulating 'who' is analysing and 'whose' everyday lives will be impacted. Lefebvre avoids terms like 'proletariat', struggles to find a label and merely refers to 'people' acknowledging as an aside that "certain phrases like 'the people' and 'workers' have lost some of their prestige" (2004: 34). Lefebvre's use of 'people' along with the 'crowd' and the 'masses' (2004: 35) underscores that this is not a collective action.

Mark Purcell describes Lefebvre's ideas as a "politics of the urban inhabitant" (2002: 100) where because the inhabitant has been disenfranchised there is a need for the individuals who make up the crowd to have more say in the decisions which impact upon their environment. And this, perhaps, is how the rhythmanalyst can best be described. The rhythmanalyst is an inhabitant amongst a crowd. She or he could be any inhabitant who develops the skill of removing oneself from the milieu of lived everyday rhythms and develops the

ability to analyse the noise, movements, smells and practices of everyday rhythms in order to examine the whole of urban life. (Artists would be more inclined to become a rhythm analyst because of their already highly developed sense of analysing rhythms of everyday life, highlighted in Chapter 6.)

Lefebvre's depiction of the crowd, of the social, or the urban, is always of an organic whole. This is the point of rhythm analysis, to uncover the everyday rhythms of this organic whole and to pick out the harmonious and discordant aspects of these rhythms. But it is always with the intention of improving the conditions for the whole organism of the urban environment and its inhabitants. There is a direct relationship between the inhabitants and the spaces. This is apparent in his discussion of the impact of tides upon certain populations (Lefebvre, 2004: 93) and imposing government buildings upon others (32). Spaces are socially constructed (Lefebvre, 1991) and there is a direct relationship between the everyday of individuals and/or the crowd and the "triad of time-space-energy" or rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004: 12).

2.2.2 Rhythm analyst in the individualised society

As a theory of resistance this distinction of an individual within an organic whole is significant for two reasons. First, while not explicit in Lefebvre's work, this form of resistance carries more potential in an increasingly individualised society such as depicted by Zygmunt Bauman (2001). He presents a very negative portrait of contemporary society that is increasingly individualised and he laments the apparent impossibility of rebuilding community ties. Of course, he concedes, class-centred action was only as a matter of necessity for those "with less choice, [who] had to compensate for their individual weaknesses by the 'power of numbers' - by closing ranks and engaging in collective

action” (Bauman, 2001: 46). Those with the resources to be individuals only formed a class identity when their unequal access to resources was challenged (2001). If the links which brought individuals together for collective action were for necessity in the past, this necessity is less apparent and, thus, the bonds have withered. Contemporary efforts at collective action are self-centred according to Bauman and the links formed are fragile and fleeting (2001). Bauman decries, “The prospects of the individualized actors being ‘re-embedded’ in the republican body of citizenship are dim” (2001 :50). Such a dystopian view may be accurate, however, it leaves little room for developing practical theories for resistance to increasing control and monitoring. He acknowledges that “something must be done in order to enhance the self-governing capacity of the extant body politic” (2001 : 56). While a rapid re-birth of a full sense of ‘citizenship’ and a politics embedded with deep collective ties would be a dramatic turning away from an increasingly individualised society which would be beneficial for society as a whole, a resistance made up of individual acts by “inhabitants” which dramatically challenges the power structures is a more viable option in the current context. Rather than Bauman’s depiction of individuals who come together briefly on the basis of a weak tie, Lefebvre’s depiction of the rhythm analyst is conceptually the inverse and can be imagined as a slow growth compared to Bauman’s quick burn. This will be presented more concretely below but the rhythm analyst acts individually as a form of resistance. The skill to more adeptly unpick the processes of everyday life disseminates from various nodes as individual acts that have an impact on the organic whole of the community regardless of whether or not the rest of the community is aware. The re-engagement is a slow spreading trend rather than

temporary burst of weak collective activity. The resistance is not a direct confrontation, but a subtle growing awareness and challenge.

The second advantage of a theory of resistance which focuses on individual acts within an organic whole is that, perhaps, following on from Bauman's critique of contemporary society, it has the potential to increase community bonds.

Bauman laments the "dissipation of the courage to imagine a plausible cause for resistance and to rally in the name of a society more hospitable to human needs and cravings" and states that this is the "main danger to *both* freedom and security" (italics in original, Bauman, 2001: 56). Embedded within

rhythmanalysis is an exploration of the processes and rhythms which hold society in a daily equilibrium. While depicted as the solitary figure observing from the window, the focus of the analysis is on improving the harmony of the daily rhythms of the organic whole of the urban environment. It is not an isolated act of resistance, even if acting alone. The rhythm analyst becomes aware of the harmony in the complexity of daily life. The processes are uncovered and those false rhythms are exposed as such and the explicit value of the rhythms created by harmonious interactions with others are highlighted.

This uncovers the threats to freedom and security and the processes of control and obfuscation which attempt to confuse the relationship between individual freedom and public security through the justification of increasingly draconian measures to limit personal privacy along with the privatisation of public space.

Increasing awareness of these processes, highlighting the role of inhabitants within the living organism of the city, and focusing on interactions amongst inhabitants which go beyond processes of capitalist production and consumption has the potential to improve social interaction and bonds.

2.2.3 Festivals, carnivals and situations

While Lefebvre would have shared Bauman's aim of developing a more politically engaged citizen and would have acknowledged the relevance of groups such as trade unions motivated by class or economic circumstances, his 'ideal type' or form of collective activity was rather broader. His focus was on the 'festival' as a form of spontaneous collective activity which could lead to moments of social change. This emerges from Lefebvre's early work on rural sociology where he found that rural festival traditions "tighten social links at the same time as they give free rein to all the desires which had been pent up by collective discipline and necessities of everyday work" (Lefebvre, 1947/2008a: 202) and give the opportunity for "Dionysiac life... differing from everyday life only in the explosion of forces which had been slowly accumulating in and via everyday life itself" (Merrifield, 2006: xxvi).

The festival transcended everyday life (Sadler, 1999) and possible alternatives to the everyday were explored and exposed. Lefebvre's festival is reminiscent of Bakhtin's carnival in the emphasis on spontaneity and Bakhtin's notion that the everyday diverse communication of the carnival was a "site for an originary solidarity with the capacity to resist 'colonisation' by systematically organised linguistic or social power" (Crook, 1998: 534). The carnival is a sensual experience inbetween culture and everyday life, it provides relief from the mundane of everyday life and, at the same time, suggests possibilities for renewing the everyday (Brandist, 2002). Similarly, the Situationists advocated the creation of 'situations' which Debord defined as "the concrete construction of momentary ambiances of life and their transformation into a superior passional quality" (Debord, 1957). Lefebvre's festival, Bakhtin's carnival and the

Situationists 'situations' emphasised the subversive power of these communal gatherings where there was an "opportunity for unofficial and popular elements to playfully invert social and cultural conventions by elevating the everyday and "uncrowning" the elite" (Sadler, 1999: 34). To Lefebvre and the Situationists the prime example of this is the Paris Commune of 1871 where for a brief period Paris became a "liberated zone of anarcho-socialism" (Merrifield, 2006: 93). It served as a "sublime moment" where the "totality of possibilities contained in daily existence ... often decisive and sometimes revolutionary - stood to be both uncovered and achieved" (Harvey, 1991: 429). It was "the biggest festival of the nineteenth century" and "a positive experiment whose whole truth has yet to be rediscovered and fulfilled" (Debord, Kotányi and Vaneigem, 1962).

It is worth noting, this is where [amongst other reasons involving the journal *Arguments* and Lefebvre's love life (see Situationist International, 1963 and Ross and Lefebvre, 1997)] Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists fell out with the Situationists claiming that Lefebvre had plagiarised their ideas on the Paris Commune (Situationist International, 1963) while Henri Lefebvre described it as "ideas that were battered about in conversation, and then worked up in common texts" (Ross and Lefebvre, 1997: 78). Regardless, it suffices to say that they were all interested in similar ideas, with similar perspectives, sometimes they were directly influenced by the other, sometimes they developed ideas together, and sometimes similar ideas emerged completely separately. However, it is incorrect to go as far as Sadler who suggests that the similarities were such that "it is hardly possible or useful to distinguish the two" (1999: 44). Rather, Henri Lefebvre more appropriately describes his work and the Situationist

International's as "corollary, parallel" yet their thinking came "from different sources" (Ross and Lefebvre, 1997: 76).

Nonetheless, moments such as the festival exist as a form of leisure space which, according to Lefebvre, is the epitome of contradictory space (Lefebvre, 1991). The festival becomes a practice of resistance through challenging the present assumptions regarding public activities, spaces and expected rhythms. These rhythms of leisure reveal the "vulnerable areas and potential breaking-points" and these contradictions only emerge through repetition (1991: 385). This is not to say that the contemporary festival needs to be a replica of the rural festivals from the Pyrennes which Lefebvre embraced. Music festivals, parades and other public celebrations may be diluted displays of 'Dionysiac living' but that is only because public leisure spaces are under increasingly rigid rules. The privatisation of public spaces and increased surveillance have developed an emphasis on more predictable rhythms and patterns of behaviour in public spaces. Spontaneity is discouraged as urban centres attempt to define themselves in terms of consumption whether through retail or tourism. However, that only emphasises the sense that these spaces are contradictory. As Lefebvre states, "As in any urban space, something is always going on - but not everything that is going on tends in the same direction" (1991: 385). It is through leisure spaces or so-called leisure spaces where "the existing mode of production produces both its worst and its best" (1991: 385). In this sense there is the distinction of rhythms of creative extra-everyday expression and the rhythms constructed to merely give the appearance of enjoyment in order to mask the true banality (Lefebvre, 1992/ 2004). Perhaps not economically or politically motivated, the urban environment is a contested space where

inhabitants individually everyday make decisions which have the potential to revolutionise the use of urban space. In “Seen from the Window”, Lefebvre watches the public square below him where some engage in festival-like behaviour and others go in and out of the space walking back and forth through the square distracted by the mundane of their own everyday. Regarded as a whole, the rhythm analyst can observe the “maritime” (2004: 35) nature of these rhythms and unpick the potential acts of resistance amongst the acts of compliance and unravel the possibilities for improving everyday life.

2.2.4 Overview of rhythms and rhythm analysis

To analyse everyday life is to analyse the rhythms. A critique of everyday life, in Lefebvre’s sense, is to study the persistence of natural, traditional rhythms amongst the dominance of the rhythms imposed by modern society (Lefebvre, 2002). The rhythm analyst explores the interaction between these ‘cyclic’ (‘rhythmed times’, ‘cosmic’, natural rhythms of the body and nature) and ‘linear’ (‘brutal repetitions’, imposed rhythms from the social world, particularly of work) rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004). The cyclical rhythms emanate from nature and are ‘cycles’ rather than ‘repetitions’, each return is different and offer “freshness of discovery and invention” (2004: 73). On the other hand, linear rhythms are tedious and “brutal repetitions” (2004: 73). These are rhythms that are acquired and they are simultaneously “internal and social” (2004: 75) in the sense that individuals can be seen everyday conforming to the same patterns but “each person is really alone” (2004: 75). There is a constant struggle between linear and cyclical rhythms.

Lefebvre outlines “rhythms of the self” and “rhythms of the other” which are also similarly in conflict. The distinction between these and linear and cyclic rhythms is somewhat ambiguous but, put simply, there are rhythms of the self - rhythms related directly to the body and to individual desires - and there are rhythms which are imposed upon the body externally. These rhythms of the “other” are also referred to as “rhythms of representation” which highlights how the individual internalises these imposed rhythms and then projects them outwards similar to Goffman’s (1997) description of ‘face’ and as the “frontal expression of discourse” (Lefebvre, 2004: 95). However, none of these four forms of rhythms exist in isolation. Everyday life consists of bundles of rhythms, there are constant flows between public and private life. These rhythms are inextricable, “they penetrate practice and are penetrated by it” (2004: 96). The role of the rhythmanalysis is to develop the ability to observe these rhythms in isolation but in daily life they are constantly in interference. Everyday life searches for equilibrium (Lefebvre refers to “homeostasis” (2004: 80)) and the rhythmanalysis unpicks the conflicts in the struggle for dominance of these rhythms and explores how to resolve the eurrhythmias.

Embedded in this discussion is the distinction between everyday and “extra-everyday” or “exceptional” rhythms. These are unpicked through an analysis of mannerisms, habits and through moments. Linear rhythms impose a mundane everyday which is repeated with little variation (brushing teeth). Then there are also “extra-everyday” rhythms such as the festival discussed above.

Additionally, these are the rhythms of creativity. There are “fictional” rhythms which refer to “eloquence”, “elegance” and the “imaginary”. These rhythms can be social and public such as celebrations and festivals. However, they can also

be internal in the form of creativity or enjoyment of artistic creation. These are rhythms which in some form and for some length of time remove the individual from the mundane “brutal” repetition of the everyday.

Beyond his discussion of the impact of festivals in terms of lifting the individual out of the everyday Lefebvre devotes an entire chapter of *Rhythmanalysis* to music (2004 but also discussed in *Critique of Everyday Life Volume II* (2002)). The rhythms of music give energy to particular times and spaces and the musical rhythms can dominate a particular situation infusing it with a particular quality or mood. His discussion focuses on the social aspects of music throughout history and the relationship and conflict between rhythm, melody and harmony have parallels in the social world. The relationship between society and music changes and goes through eras and periods depending upon the relationship in the social world between linear and cyclical rhythms as musical rhythms are more closely related to cyclical rhythms and to the rhythms of the body. Music is not merely a form of art but, according to Lefebvre has an ethical function. Music in its relationship to time, to the body, and to rhythms illustrates the “real” and highlights the possibilities of the “extra-everyday”. Beyond this and above all music “brings compensation for the miseries of everydayness, for its deficiencies and failures” (Lefebvre, 2004: 66).

However, crucial to the power struggle between these various forms of rhythms is the distinction between these “extra-everyday” or “exceptional” rhythms which offer some relief from the tedium of linear rhythms and the “mediatised” rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004) or rhythms of the ‘spectacle’ (Lefebvre somewhat awkwardly avoids the word in *Rhythmanalysis* (2004) and seems more

comfortable with it in *Critique of Everyday Life Volume II* (2002) but his discussion echoes Debord, 1995). Lefebvre distinguishes between “presence” and “present” where the “present” is a simulacrum of “presence” which occupies time and serves as a distraction from the ‘real’ or the ‘presence’ (Lefebvre, 2004). The ‘present’ represents and disseminates the ideology of the power structure and, yet, at the same time masks it and attempts to put forth a false representation of ‘presence’. “The present is a fact and an effect of commerce; while presence situates itself in the poetic: value, creation, situation in the world and not only in the relations of exchange” (2004: 47). So, in this sense, the present refers to rhythms of the media and rhythms of consumption which appear to entertain or to please individuals but in a superficial sense. These rhythms attempt to imitate the “extra-everyday” rhythms of true expression, experience and creation and they obfuscate the banal and tedious rhythms of everyday life and attempt to legitimise the systems in which these rhythms are produced and reproduced. It is in this sense that we approach how Lefebvre’s rhythmanalysis uncovers the machinations of power in contemporary society and, at the same time, presents opportunities for resistance.

2.2.5 Rhythmanalysis as resistance

In “Attempts at the Rhythmanalysis of the Mediterranean” Lefebvre (and co-author Catherine Régulier) comes closest to an application of his theses on rhythmanalysis with a focus on how rhythmanalysis unpicks power struggles in particular environments (2004). In any city there is a bundle of rhythms as detailed below. The problem, according to Lefebvre, is that in most analyses of these different aspects of everyday life they are analysed separately. The psychoanalyst analyses the rhythms of conscious thought, the medical doctor

the biological rhythms of the body, the economist of the rhythms of capitalist production, the sociologist of the political and public rhythms of power. A rhythm analysis is “transdisciplinary” and acknowledges that all of these rhythms are entangled and the relationship between these rhythms aims for a certain equilibrium of daily life. This balance will differ in different places thus Lefebvre’s analysis of the Mediterranean city where he concludes that hegemonic power struggles to dominate because inhabitants are more connected to cyclical rhythms, to nature and to family bonds. As a result, power is managed through force more frequently than in Northern European cities where power more easily functions through a hegemonic ideology. The validity of these statements is probably debatable and the essay should be taken as a theoretical exploration rather than as a concrete research project. Lefebvre and Régulier acknowledge this at the end of the essay pointing out that their goal was to “introduce concepts and a general idea ... into debate” and an attempt to “tease out a paradigm” (Lefebvre, 2004: 100). So, it is best to not focus on the details of the analysis but, rather, to consider the comments of the relationship between power struggles and rhythms.

Through an analysis of rhythms as a whole (or “bundle” using Lefebvre’s term) the “virtual or actual conflicts, relations of force and threats of rupture” become evident (2004: 100). Those in or with power attempt to assert a certain rhythm and dominate space. This is apparent through architecture and planning in which prescribed uses are embedded in the design. For example, in his design for the building of Washington, DC, Pierre L’Enfant imbued the capital city with political symbolism through the buildings and the arrangement of streets (Benton-Short, 2007). His city design was directly related to the government’s

plan to encourage a certain form of citizen for the new country. Accepted forms of public expression would be encouraged on the National Mall, however, the avenues and central circles were designed with the explicit function of enabling the military to “quell citizen’s rebellions” (Farrar, 2008: 41). Also, as a racially segregated city the design enabled black and white citizens to live parallel and yet separate daily rhythms. While certain uses and rhythms are prescribed the inhabitants always have the power to some extent to diverge from these directions and re-appropriate space. “Through a certain use of time the citizen resists the state” and a “struggle for appropriation” may emerge (Lefebvre, 2004: 96). According to Lefebvre, rhythms play a major role in this struggle. It is a form of direct and explicit resistance even if lacking a coherent political agenda. For example, in the city of Alicante, Spain (in keeping with the spirit of Lefebvre’s Mediterranean rhythmanalysis) there is a large esplanade where on weekends large numbers of folding chairs are set out and citizens organise themselves in unstructured groups for social interaction. However, in many cities doing something similar would be considered loitering as such spaces are generally prescribed for movement through rather than as a site in and of themselves. Particularly in regards to the common British high street strictly directed for purposes of consumption such behaviour would be an act of resistance to the intended use of the space.

According to Lefebvre, the act of resistance is through asserting one’s own rhythm (‘of the self’) into the prescribed rhythm (‘of the other’) (2004). When the reverse occurs, there is ‘arrhythmia’ and a crisis. Individuals form alliances of resistance to relations of power but these can be overcome when ‘rhythms of the other’ are imposed upon ‘rhythms of the self’. The ‘rhythm analyst’ seeks to

restore homeostasis or the equilibrium. This may involve challenging the superficial rhythms which attempt to mask the disequilibrium. Lefebvre states, “Do not be afraid to disturb this surface” (2004: 80). While Lefebvre’s explicit ‘methodology’ is rather vague it suffices to say that the power of the rhythmanalysis as an act of resistance is, to summarise, to expose the relations and functioning of power, to challenge the present ideology, to explore or suggest re-appropriations of space and rhythms, to suggest possibilities for improving the rhythms of everyday life, to give opportunity for experiencing the ‘extra-everyday’ and for uncovering the simulacrum of superficial rhythms.

2.2.6 Rhythmanalysis as resistance to surveillance

Rhythmanalysis is a theme which, in some form or another, runs throughout Lefebvre’s work and is most explicitly realised in his last book, *Rhythmanalysis*. Originally published in French in 1992 the book neglects a direct analysis of the role of surveillance as an extension of linear rhythms and rhythms of the other which impedes upon cyclical rhythms and rhythms of the self. In his discussion on how hegemonic power is resisted in Mediterranean cities and his chapter on mediated rhythms he touches upon themes relevant to an application of rhythmanalysis as a method of resistance to everyday surveillance. What follows is an application of rhythmanalysis taken as a practice of resistance as applied to surveillance.

Surveillance is “as old as history itself” (Lyon, 2007) but has grown exponentially in recent years. Surveillance in many ways has lost its ‘focus’ in that it is less about narrowing in on specific suspects and has, instead, broadened to become a system for surveying all aspects of society and all

individuals. Concurrent with the development of new surveillance technologies surveillance has become ubiquitous. Surveillance as 'bio-power' (Foucault, 1976/1990) has also expanded as computers can now manage and process ever greater databases of information on inhabitants in order to observe, manage and regulate life from birth to death. In terms of rhythms, surveillance now monitors and imposes upon both linear and cyclical rhythms of everyday life. David Lyon states that privacy no longer refers to "fixed spaces" and that, now, both privacy and surveillance "exist in a world of flows" (Lyon, 2002: 3). These flows create rhythms and Lyon's statement can be extended to suggest that privacy and surveillance also function through rhythms of everyday life. Additionally, this is also the site of the struggle between the two. Surveillance is increasingly about monitoring and controlling everyday rhythms whether this refers to movements through public spaces (social rhythms) or through monitoring individuals mental and physical health (rhythms of the body).

Surveillance is also increasingly about classifying and sorting individuals. Lyon describes the 'phenetic fix' where personal data is gathered to develop "abstractions to place people in new social classes of income, attributes, habits, preferences, or offences, in order to influence, manage, or control them" (Lyon, 2002: 3). Such social sorting also functions at the levels of rhythms. Well functioning surveillance can predict the repetitions and can anticipate the rhythms of everyday life. Algorithms are developed and evaluated by their accuracy in unpicking the rhythms of everyday life. In this troubling sense, computers are already employed as a crude form of rhythm analyst. As an act of resistance, individuals must anticipate, adapt to and adopt some of these skills. For such surveillance which not only observes everyday life but strives to decode

the habitual and rhythmic practices of everyday life to function properly it must encourage predictability. This may be done through prescriptions embedded in architecture as mentioned above. However, it is often achieved through demanding an ever greater amount of data. This creates an insatiable demand for more information and a greater emphasis on 'visibility' in all aspects of everyday life. This thirst for data applies both to governments (for purposes of social welfare and security) and commercial organisations. Both are increasingly dependent upon these same principles of 'data mining' in order to 'anticipate' behaviour (Crang and Graham, 2007). The power struggle underpinning this is evident by the increasing adoption of military terminology and practices as applied to civilian populations and spaces (Crang and Graham, 2007). Jordan Crandall outlines the increased emphasis on "proactive policing" which negatively impacts upon not only those who are directly targeted as suspicious but the rest of the population whose daily life is restricted for the sake of 'safety' which functions as a form of social control (Crandall, 1999).

A society focused on 'anticipatory seeing' (Crang and Graham, 2007) emerges where the rhythms of everyday life are observed for the purpose of developing systems which can predict behaviour. Crandall explains that the quest to maintain a "strategic edge" has led to ever increasing deployment of technological means of surveillance and that an integration of databases, surveillance gathering technologies, and human actors has emerged to establish more precise and efficient systems (Crandall, 1999). This process is aided by developing increasingly automatic, miniaturised, and accelerated machines (Crandall, 1999 and Mitchell, 2003). Crandall argues that these technological developments lead to an "operative rhythmic" and a "problematics of

synchronization” (1999). Additionally, Crandall disagrees with Virilio that time and space distances are shrinking and “collapsing into an instaneity” but rather that there is an intensification and layering of time and space (1999). Put into terms of rhythmanalysis, it seems that the bundles of rhythms of everyday life are becoming increasingly complex. The impact of technology is one of “regimentative formats of multitasking” according to Crandall where individuals must juggle the “layering, interfacing, and collapsing of situations and formations according to various rhythms or beats and under various constraints of productivity”. Rather than merely a speeding up of reality, there are “tensional pulses, coordinating and diverging”. Technology further complicates the everyday and through this technologically enabled multitasking we are directly engaged with more rhythms concurrently than in the past. In short, our bundles are getting larger and more complicated. As they become increasingly complex, surveillance systems demand ever more information in order to make sense of them. The predictive aspects of surveillance become more difficult and so the forces to narrow our behaviour grow more penetrating. In terms of rhythmanalysis, there are forces to compress the size of the revolution or wave in the rhythm.

Surveillance now goes far beyond merely the gaze and requires a framework of resistance which also goes beyond the visual. Rhythmanalysis encompasses all of the senses and does not prioritise one over the other in order to unpick the power relations executed in the rhythms of everyday life. Lefebvre criticises the dominance of the visual in analysis and states that it tends to “relegate objects to the distance, to render them passive” (Lefebvre, 1991: 286). Crandall also argues that we need to move beyond the internalised gaze as laid out by Foucault and

Lacan. Instead he focuses on 'tracking' instead of 'seeing' as it "moves away from a focus on perspective and position towards one of movement-flow" (Crandall and Armitage, 2005: 21) and is a more appropriate frame for thinking about contemporary power relations and issues of control. "Tracking" embodies both surveillance and lateral forms of self-surveillance (Andrejevic, 2005 and explored in more depth in Chapters 3 and 5) as there are rhythms which are monitored without our consent and rhythms which we willingly offer to others as a social practice (such as GPS linked social networking). Additionally, according to Crandall and Armitage (2005) tracking has already become a form of media and entertainment providing a more explicit simulacrum of everyday rhythms than what Lefebvre described. Tracking and anticipatory surveillance function by creating a simulacrum of everyday rhythms.

A contemporary rhythm analyst attuned to the uses of new technologies for creating false rhythms can uncover how these rhythms are imposed upon us as a form of social control and how these same technologies and false rhythms can be manipulated as a form of resistance to the further 'colonization' of everyday life by new technologies (Lefebvre (consciously borrowing from Debord), 2002). Just as when Lefebvre and Debord were describing this process, we are similarly faced with technologies which are used for purposes of increasing alienation and as tools of social control. However, these same technologies "could make a different everyday possible" (Lefebvre, 2002: 11). Rhythm analysis, as an overarching theme for a number of related tactics, can be developed as a framework for thinking about resistance to increasing surveillance which encroaches upon all aspects of everyday life impacting upon rhythms which are

social, public, personal, and virtual. The everyday is, according to Lefebvre, “the site of, the theatre for, and what is at stake in the conflict between indestructible rhythms and the processes imposed by the socio-economic organisation of production, consumption, circulation and habitat” (Lefebvre, 2004: 73). In order to further explore rhythmanalysis as a practice of resistance it is necessary to unpick some of the tactics and engagements with these ideas by the Situationists led by Guy Debord. Lefebvre’s ‘rhythmanalysis’ feels like a theoretical project which while present throughout his body of work remains incomplete. However, the Situationists, with a very different tone, explored many of the same ideas and put them into practice in their various attempts at creating ‘situations’. Tactics to be explored include the *dérive*, *détournement*, and the re-invigoration of public space through unitary urbanism.

2.3 Situationist practices of resistance

2.3.1 *Dérive*

Dérive means, literally, ‘to drift’ and was developed as a form of “geographical praxis” (Bonnett, 2006: 35) by the Situationists in which members explored urban environments as a form of “playful-constructive behavior” in order to explore the “psychogeographical effects” of spaces (Debord, 1956). This practice was not an aimless wander and went beyond the traditional journey or stroll. It is “more than just an urban walkabout” and is, paraphrasing Asger Jorn, “a practice connected to the discovery of the qualities of any block of space and time” (Wark, 2008: 44). The *dérive* was a practical exercise to explore the city with the basis that, as outlined by Henri Lefebvre, space was socially constructed (1991). This was to be a form of social geography outside of academic attempts at creating a taxonomy of physical factors to be categorised

(Sadler, 1999) as Lefebvre and Debord were similarly interested in “the quarter as the essential unit of social life” and an analysis of these spaces would form a radical critique of capitalist society (McDonough, 1994: 68).

The Situationists ‘*dérive*’, as outlined by Guy Debord, is quite similar as a methodology and practice to Lefebvre’s ‘*rhythmanalysis*’. Debord’s *dérive* comes across more clearly as an act of resistance primarily because of the more overtly political tone of the writing and because, unlike Lefebvre’s *rhythmanalysis*, was realised and acted out in practice much more explicitly than Lefebvre’s *rhythmanalysis*. Both acknowledge that the particular methodologies are not fully worked out (Lefebvre, 2004 and Debord, 1956) and are presented in their ‘infancy’ but the Situationists carried out numerous attempts at *dérive*.

However, as rough theories, both require individuals (or ‘*psychogeographers*’) to develop subtle skills of analysis of lived environments. This analysis would go beyond immediately visible and observable features of the city and, instead, would require a full sensory analysis to unpick the ambiance in a city and the subtle forces which create “habitual axes” (Debord, 1956). Both similarly find the patterns of daily life as an example of “modern poetry capable of provoking sharp emotional reactions” (1956) and, at the heart of their analysis, aim to develop a critique of everyday life in which the power relations and forces which impose tedious linear rhythms and limit creative expression can be uncovered and challenged. While Lefebvre discussed the dominance of linear rhythms over cyclical and rhythms of the self (2004), Debord is similarly interested in how experiences are reduced to habit or the “alternation between a limited number of variants”(1956). Both are concerned with revealing through their particular analysis how forces penetrate into everyday life in order to overtly structure and

direct individuals daily experiences. Individuals must develop the ability to explore and understand the possibilities and meanings embedded in cities. Debord quotes Marx's phrase, "Men can see nothing around them that is not their own image; everything speaks to them of themselves. Their very landscape is alive" (Marx quoted in Debord, 1956).

Lefebvre and Debord were fundamentally concerned with the limits to freedom in everyday life and sought to highlight this by focussing on everyday rhythms and movements in urban environments. There were subtle forces at work directing individuals along particular paths and rhythms of everyday life. Crucial to the *dérive* and rhythmanalysis is the development of an increased awareness to randomness and to chance. Debord lambasts the surrealists as imbeciles for assuming in their own wanders that they may be led in particular directions by 'chance' and without any guiding influence (Debord, 1956). The *dérive*, on the other hand, explores a "fixed spatial field" which involves "establishing bases and calculating directions of penetration" (Debord, 1956). The aim is to take what is learned from the *dérive* to develop "maps of influence" where the goal is not to document "stable continents" but of "changing architecture and urbanism" (1956). In a sense, the goal of the *dérive* is to document the rhythms and flows of everyday life rather than documenting static physical layout. This analysis then serves as a radical critique of everyday life and is a powerful act of resistance to existing forces of control by uncovering their practices. Power, as often exercised through surveillance, acts in the background and has become so much a part of everyday life that it is no longer immediately visible or, at least, noticed. The act of resistance in Debord's *dérive* and Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis is to expose these practices of control and to

challenge them by reasserting creative social rhythms and practices, a return to the festival, and the creation of situations. As Debord states “revolutionary actions within culture must aim to enlarge life, not merely express or explain it” and “it must abolish not only the exploitation of humanity, but also the passions, compensations and habits which that exploitation has engendered” (Debord, 1957).

However, as with rhythmanalysis, the *dérive* is not a direct act of political resistance despite Debord’s impassioned rhetoric. This is not a form of collective action it is a practice for everyday life which has the potential to accumulate into a force for radical social change. Additionally, it does not have in its aim a sense of bringing individuals together for a particular cause. As outlined by Debord, one can *dérive* alone or in small groups. It is a revolutionary act but a relatively quiet one. It is about the slow unpicking and dissection of the forces of control which are discretely embedded in everyday life. It is about becoming aware of the forces which penetrate into daily life in order to avoid them and, as a result, render them non-functioning. Scott Lash accurately describes the *dérive* (and the comments would also apply to rhythmanalysis) as a practice of ‘evasion’ rather than resistance (Lash, 2007). “It is an ‘exit’, not a ‘voice’ strategy” according to Lash (2007: 67). In regards to processes of monitoring increasingly penetrating into everyday life this would be an act of exposing the surveillance practices whether for personal or public purposes and of developing methods to evade these methods in order to regain a sense of privacy or, in Lefebvre’s terms, rhythms of the self. In not to dismantle these systems, the *dérive* and rhythmanalysis, at least attempt to redefine the equilibrium of these forces and an individual’s own control over their everyday life. It is about achieving a

balance of these bundles of everyday rhythms which better serves the individual rather than those who attempt to monitor and structure everyday life. It is a “response to domination through interactivity” which involves the “‘interpassivity’ of drifting”, it is “strategy through movement” (Lash, 2007: 68).

In the writing of both Henri Lefebvre and Guy Debord there is a sense that “everything that was directly lived has moved away into a representation” (Debord in McDonough, 1994: 69). Lefebvre discusses the simulated rhythms of the present which obfuscates how everyday life is increasingly dominated by linear rhythms and distracts individuals with a simulation of ‘extra-everyday’ rhythms. Likewise, Debord focuses on the spectacle, defined as “a social relationship between people mediated by images” which is “the very heart of society’s real unreality” (Debord, 1995).

The purpose of the *dérive* is not only to uncover and challenge processes of control and monitoring within everyday life but also to expose the simulacrum of everyday life and false rhythms of representation which feign extra-everydayness but, rather, are a part of the processes of control. Practically, this would refer to a critique of the media and of the role of consumption in everyday life. The Lettrists (proto-Situationists) campaigned for the preservation of a collection of derelict buildings in Paris because they were an “increasingly rare example of Paris without spectacle” (Sadler, 1999: 57). Both Lefebvre and Debord sought a version of the urban environment which went beyond production, consumption and spectacle. At times this comes across as a particular form of nostalgia (Bonnett, 2006) with Lefebvre longing for the spontaneity of traditional rural festivals (Lefebvre, 2002) and Debord fiercely

attacking the destruction in 1971 of the market around Les Halles in Paris to be replaced by a shopping centre and art museum (the Pompidou, where Debord then refused to attend an exhibit on the Situationists) (Wollen, 2001). However, accepting the element of nostalgia present in the work, there is at the same time a desire to create an everyday life which is radically different to the present and past. For example, they did not want to go back to a society without the technological advances which they were critiquing. Instead, they sought to explore how these technologies could be used differently to improve rather than restrict individual creativity and create a different everyday (Lefebvre, 2002). The Situationists primarily explored this notion of a more creative urban environment through their writings on 'unitary urbanism'.

2.3.2 Unitary Urbanism

Unitary urbanism was to be the plan for a situationist city consisting of "grand situations, between which individuals would drift endlessly" and where "urban dynamics would no longer be driven by capital and bureaucracy, but by participation" (Sadler, 1999: 117). It was defined by the Situationist International as "the theory of the combined use of art and technology leading to the integrated construction of an environment dynamically linked to behavioural experiments" (Situationist International, 1958) It is concerned with using art and technology to create a "unified milieu" (Debord, 1957) or a re-defined 'bundle' of everyday rhythms (Lefebvre, 1992/2004). Unitary urbanism was a theoretical framework for imagining how individuals could 'break out' of the spectacle and how one could discover or develop "areas in which the tensions of everyday life can be given expression" (Thomas, 1975: 35). The focus is not just to create new areas of leisure which would merely function as another

aspect of the spectacle but, rather, to create new areas of the city which would encourage individual creativity. “Spatial development must take into account the emotional effects that the experimental city is intended to produce” according to Debord (1957). Unfortunately, some of the more specific explorations of what this experimental city would look like have not dated well. Even though Ivan Chitchevlov’s “Formulary for a new urbanism” contains the fantastic quote about young people all over the world choosing garbage disposal units over love and a call for the ‘hacienda’ to be built, his outline of a city where “everyone will live in their own personal ‘cathedral’” where there will be rooms “more conducive to dreams than any drug, and houses where one cannot help but love” (1953) comes across as, at best, naïve.

In “Another City for Another Life” written (probably by Constant Nieuwenhuys) in 1959, the importance of unitary urbanism is more clearly outlined in its critique of how the contemporary city limits social interactions and highlights a need for cities which encourage freer social interaction and expression (Situationist International, 1959). All available tools from art and technology should be put to use to develop new domains of creative expression and to harmonise “the cacophony that reigns in contemporary cities” (1959). In the “Amsterdam Declaration” written by Debord and Asger Jorn they stress the need for cities which are focused around the emotional and creative needs of individuals and that the “solution to problems of housing, traffic, and recreation can only be envisaged in relation to social, psychological and artistic perspectives that are combined in one synthetic hypothesis at the level of daily life” (1958). This again echoes Lefebvre’s call for an equilibrium of everyday rhythms which allows for greater creative expression by individuals and social

groups. Contemporary engagements from the arts and technology which take on the spirit of unitary urbanism will be discussed in Chapter 6, however, artistic engagements to design an urban environment which prioritises creative expression is a radical critique of contemporary life and any intervention to actualise these theories serves as a direct challenge to efforts to privatise public space and increasingly restrict how individuals and social groups use and define urban environments. Often these interventions use the technologies of control for alternative purposes in the spirit outlined by the Situationist notion of the *détournement*.

2.3.3 *Détournement*

Unitary urbanism was to include “both the creation of new forms and the *détournement* of previous forms of architecture, urbanism, poetry and cinema” (Debord, 1957). Initially and at its base, *détournement* was defined as a form of plagiarism or the re-appropriation or “reuse of preexisting artistic elements in a new ensemble” (Situationist International, 1959). It is “the antithesis of quotation” (Debord, 1995: 145) in that rather than merely referring to another work, or incorporating it, it is a more subversive reappropriation which challenges the initial meaning as a form of “anti-ideology” through exposing the underlying meaning through reusing it in another form or context (Debord, 1995: 146). As a form of plagiarism, in this sense, it functions to “exploit [the] expressions, erase false ideas and replace them with correct ideas” (Debord, 1995: 145). *Détournement* is described as a “method of propaganda, a method which reveals the wearing out and loss of importance of those spheres” (Situationist International, 1958).

While it is generally thought of as an artistic practice which involves taking the work of someone else and re-interpreting it or making a collage out of disparate elements the Situationists intended it to have a broader application than merely the visual arts and literature. They imagined that cities could be détourned and that, for example, cranes or metal scaffolding would become sculptures and, even, that whole neighbourhoods could be détourned (Debord and Wolman, 1956). Lefebvre also commented on urban manifestations of the term referring to how an “existing space may outlive its original purpose” and, in such cases, it was susceptible of “being diverted, reappropriated and put to use quite different from its initial one” (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre saw this détournement of spaces as a potentially powerful tactic where the purpose of spaces created within the capitalist mode could be subverted and reappropriated as spaces of creativity. Its role as a practice of resistance is apparent as it functions as a challenge to authority and to an ideology of ownership. Lorenzo Tripodi emphasises the potential of détournement (along with an implied focus on unitary urbanism) where the monopolisation of the urban sphere by corporate interests “engenders a multiplicity of resistance and expression practices reclaiming the public character and the right [to] self determine the visual space of ... cities” with practices such as graffiti, street art or any activist practices which try to “interfere with the concentrated control on the mediascape and to react against the visual pollution of the city” (Tripodi, 2009: 61).

Détournement not only highlights and reveals the wearing out and loss of importance of that which it détourns but, more radically, it hastens that process in its exposure of this fact. Surveillance technologies, in this case, have tremendous potential to be détourned everyday. These technologies of control

can be re-adapted and re-appropriated for alternative purposes. Or, through artistic engagement, the flaws and true function of these technologies can be exposed. Individuals adopt GPS for purposes of evasion, groups perform in front of CCTV cameras transforming them into a form of theatrical expression, RFID tags are employed for pervasive games and then there are countless everyday practices of self-surveillance in which surveillance technologies which generally function to separate out individuals are deployed to develop social ties and interactions. All of these activities (many of them discussed in Chapters 5 and 6) embody the spirit of *détournement* as a method of challenging present surveillance systems.

2.4 Conclusion

Henri Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis, coupled together with the ideas and practices of resistance from Guy Debord and the Situationists, offer an inspiring launching point for thinking more critically about the impact of surveillance upon everyday life and a unique perspective for developing a framework for thinking about resistance to surveillance. While their ideas were developed within a different time period the work clearly resonates with the contemporary context. The central focus on how processes of control work to confine and limit the everyday experience and the urban environment along with a focus on resistance practices where the primary aim is to expose, evade and subvert the processes, practices and technologies of control open up avenues of exploration for thinking about surveillance and resistance which have, thus far, been limited.

To summarise what can be drawn from a re-examination of rhythmanalysis, the *dérive*, unitary urbanism and *détournement*, they suggest the follow potential avenues for resisting surveillance. First, to a large extent, surveillance practices are obfuscated, individuals are rarely aware of the extent to which everyday life is directed and constricted by surveillance practices. Thus, the first step is to *expose practices of surveillance*, to make visible what is otherwise not, thereby drawing attention to the practices and thus creating a discourse around the legitimacy of the practices.

Second, practices of resistance should not only expose the practices but also *expose the limitations and the flaws in the surveillance system*. The potential of new technologies of control is not the same as how they function. To draw attention to how these systems malfunction or to how there are inherent limitations is a powerful challenge. If these systems do not perform as they have been promoted to, this again raises questions to the legitimacy and merit of these systems. Working within the capitalist ideology, if such systems are flawed, are they worth the expenditure? Exposure of the flaws and limitations of surveillance practices separate the reality from the hype and discredit the validity of their use.

Third, and following on from the first two, practices of resistance to surveillance should seek possibilities for evading surveillance practices. The legitimacy of surveillance systems of any form are rendered useless if methods for evading the 'gaze' are adopted. Exposing practices of surveillance also exposes those dead areas which exist beyond the gaze. This occurs across all forms of surveillance and may refer to areas where cameras do not reach, where GPS

signals are blocked or developing an awareness of the limitations of particular databases. Knowing where surveillance occurs and understanding the limitations and flaws in the systems allows for the development of practices of evasion, to establish spaces (both literally and figuratively) where individuals can escape the gaze and cultivate creative alternatives to the structuring and constricting influences of surveillance. This allows individuals to embrace the cyclical rhythms of the individual through escaping the linear rhythms pressed upon the individual through surveillance systems. Through finding ways to evade surveillance, the legitimacy, accuracy and validity of these systems is again challenged.

Fourth, surveillance technologies can be challenged through *subverting their intended use*. In this sense, surveillance technologies are often détourned where individuals re-appropriate the technologies to either suit their own purposes or, more significantly, as a subversive method of turning the surveillance practices back upon those wielding control. Chapter 6 in this thesis will look at many instances of subversion of surveillance technology. This, again, covers all forms of surveillance from CCTV cameras used for artistic production to the use of online filtering tools to survey those monitoring online habits. It highlights how surveillance technologies can be challenged by taking back control of them. This uncovers the notion that the uses of surveillance technologies are not necessarily proscribed in their design and that there are alternative uses for the technologies which may be taken advantage of to liberate individuals from the gaze rather than to subject them to it. However, as a form of resistance, making use of surveillance technologies for alternative purposes also has the inverse result of further embedding surveillance practices within culture. This will be

discussed in Chapter 5 as an example of the banalisation and domestication of surveillance. As a form of resistance, the re-appropriation must be aligned with the previous practices of resistance where the aim is to challenge the legitimacy and validity of the surveillance.

Finally, surveillance practices can be challenged by seeking new ways to re-invigorate space and everyday life. It is through seeking new forms of creativity and expression outside of the confining influences of monitoring where individuals can resist surveillance through the positive production of alternative ways of living everyday life. This is the most idealistic and optimistic of the resistance practices. Within the work of Lefebvre, Debord, Constant, etc., they acknowledged the difficulties inherent in this form of challenge to the stifling influences in everyday life. It is very difficult to develop new forms of expression and creativity which are not quickly subsumed within consumer culture, rebranded and sold back to individuals as a form of individual expression yet within the confines of a tightly defined identity demonstrated through consumption. The difficulty is in developing practices which re-invigorate in ways that stimulate discussion and contemplation on the paucity of truly lived experiences in everyday life. Some examples of such practices will be presented in Chapter 6. However, it is acknowledged that this is the most elusive of the practices advocated and summarised here.

This chapter has developed an alternative theoretical framework for thinking about surveillance and, specifically, resistance to surveillance. It has done so through an exploration of the ideas of Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists. Their ideas have been reconsidered in light of the contemporary context of

increasing surveillance. From this exploration surveillance power has been reconsidered in light of its impact upon everyday life and five practices of resistance to form the initial development of a theoretical framework of resistance to surveillance have been outlined. The following chapter will continue from this perspective placing these ideas more specifically within the contemporary discourses regarding power, surveillance and resistance.

CHAPTER 3 - TOWARDS A DIGITAL DÉRIVE

3.1 Introduction

The central importance of the project undertaken by Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists remains their call to re-connect theory and practice. This imperative is just as pertinent as ever. This chapter will explore their ideas which Purcell refers to as the 'politics of the urban inhabitant' (Purcell, 2002: 100) in the context of the increasing technological sophistication of the surveillance society. An exploration of their ideas as laid out in Chapter 2 within the context of contemporary forms of surveillance and contemporary theorists offers a way of conceptualising, critiquing and reforming everyday life. This is done through the development of everyday practices of resistance towards forms of power which aim to monitor interactions and movements in order to regulate and anticipate behaviours and practices. These are forms of power which are better understood when investigated through use of the ideas and concepts which Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists developed alongside the contributions of contemporary theorists whose ideas resonate with those of the Situationists and Henri Lefebvre.

While writing before the current technologically based manifestation of the surveillance society, their ideas on power and the development of practices of everyday resistance when applied to the current condition offer valuable insights and avenues for exploration which complement and augment the contemporary discourse as they were responding to a society that was increasingly driven by emerging relationships and developments within technology and power. This situation has grown considerably in the years since

they were exploring this. Taking these ideas as inspiration, the focus here is on the individual experiences of living under surveillance in a way that acknowledges the loss of individual agency, as well as the expanded sense of automated technologically driven forms of agency embedded in both physical and virtual space. At its core, this is a study of how individuals can cope and exist within this system and improve everyday life through practices which challenge the dominance of surveillance systems.

Along with the 'spatial turn' within the social sciences and humanities of the past couple of decades, there has been renewed interest in Lefebvre's ideas and an influx of newly translated work (for example Lefebvre, 1947/2008a; Lefebvre, 1961/2002; Lefebvre, 2003a; Lefebvre, 1970/2003b; Lefebvre, 1981/2005(2008b); Lefebvre, 1992/2004 and Lefebvre, 2009) and commentaries (such as Merrifield, 2006; Elden, 2004; Amin and Thrift, 2002; Purcell, 2002; and McCann, 2002). This renewed interest has seen Lefebvre's writings on the city and space generally considered but there has not been an examination of how Lefebvre's ideas and those of the Situationists can be applied to discussions of surveillance and monitoring specifically, and their work has not been discussed within contemporary surveillance studies. Similarly, there has been a renewed interest in the work of the Situationists but the work generally focuses on the Situationists from a historical perspective (Wark, 2008; Wark, 2011; Galloway, 2009) or makes use of practices like the *dérive* or the *détournement* for artistic purposes but with only superficial engagement with the theories (de Souza e Silva and Sutko, 2009). There are a few writers who have attempted to apply Situationist ideas to the internet but, mainly expressing a preliminary notion that there is a connection to be found between, for

example, the *dérive* and the creation of situations in a digital context (Hartmann, 2003; O’Neil, 2009; Fournier, 2001).

However, the ideas of Lefebvre and the Situationists have not been explored fully. Even in attempts to put use their ideas in a contemporary context, aspects of their writing which relate to the changes to the urban environment and everyday life as a result of technological developments have not been given proper consideration. Ridell, writing on the ‘cybercity’ acknowledges the relevance of Lefebvre’s work to define space as socially constructed and his trialectical approach to understanding space which includes physical, mental and lived aspects, but suggests that Lefebvre’s work lacks a conception of multilayered space which “conceives of (media) representations in terms of space, incorporating their specific discursive spatiality” (Ridell, 2010: 13).

However, Lefebvre’s idea of rhythms which runs from the first volume of the *Critique of Everyday Life* (2008a) through to his final work in *Rhythmanalysis* (2004) is similar to this notion of multilayered space. Beyond that, by looking at Lefebvre’s work on rhythms (and the similar writings from Guy Debord and the Situationists on the *dérive*, situations and unitary urbanism) and applying it to the contemporary notions of space such as illustrated through Thrift and French’s understanding of the ‘automatic production of space’ (2002) what emerges is yet another way to conceptualise space, power and everyday life and the impact of technology and surveillance upon everyday life. What is most important in this search for synergies between Lefebvre and the Situationists with contemporary theories on the functioning of power and everyday life through technology is that beyond merely understanding power through technology (or, rather, ‘power through the algorithm’ (Lash, 2007; Beer, 2009))

there emerges the potential to conceptualise and develop resistance to the use of that power. This understanding of rhythms and layers within space (both physical and virtual space) from Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis and Debord's *dérive* has not yet been given due consideration. These ideas open up varied possibilities for thinking about everyday practices of resistance within a context where power is increasingly exercised through sophisticated algorithms and technological practices.

The chapter is structured as follows. The first section, considers spatiality in light of technological developments and how this structures the everyday. This is related to Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis, and how power and agency are experienced by the individual. The second section focuses on the use of military technology in ordering, structuring and controlling urban spaces. Again, this highlights notions of power, which echoes concerns that Lefebvre and the Situationists had relating to inequalities of influence in society. The third section of the chapter begins with a brief discussion of technologies used for surveillance - technologies which are often also consumed as forms of *sousveillance*. The ubiquity of this surveillance is related to Lefebvre and Debord's ideas of banality in everyday life and how banality is related to the exercise of power. The fourth section then moves to discuss computer programming and resistance, specifically to explore how computer hacking acts as site where the control protocols of the computer system are challenged through the practice of hacking. This is an example of what is described here as the digital *derive* and so relates directly to older conceptions of urban and systemic resistance. Moreover, this chapter will challenge ideas relating to surveillance as reflected in some of the literature in surveillance studies

whereby analysis of the surveillance is technologically and systemically deterministic, offering little scope for discussion of the role of the individual, or the possibility of resistance. Indeed, the overarching argument here is to elucidate how it is possible for the 'everyman' to reanimate and re-invigorate the 'everyday'.

3.2 The Production of Space and Digital Networks

Space, according to Lefebvre, is socially constructed and, by nature, social (1991). It is "constituted neither by a collection of things or an aggregate of (sensory) data, nor by a void packed like a parcel with various contents" (Lefebvre, 1991: 27). This is not, however, the perspective from which spaces are planned and monitored. Cities have long been sites of power where those in control artificially forced the development of spaces in a way which facilitated and exacerbated social divisions with clear divisions based on economic, class and ethnic factors. However, what has changed is that these practices are now enhanced by the emergence of "urban electronic infrastructures" (Lyon, 2007: 97). While city planners have long had panoptic ambitions, technology has offered greater possibilities to realise this goal (Amin and Thrift, 2002). These systems oversimplify the complex flows and interactions of the city. For example, CCTV privileges the gaze excluding (in most cases) the sounds and smells where dataveillance practices such as GPS reduces the flows to mere data. The attempt is to remove the unpredictability of social interactions through precise surveillance programmes so that spaces can be confined as static objects with the flows in and out of the city tightly managed. The implementation of these technological infrastructures whether in the form of dataveillance or overt surveillance mechanisms are adopted as

solutions to urban problems such as housing and traffic ignoring the complex social interactions which contribute to the particular circumstances.

The work of Lefebvre and the Situationists highlight the disconnection between a conception of the city as created for and by the actors who live within it and a conception of the city as a space which can be externally controlled and monitored through manifestations of power whether through the architecture and layout of the built environment or through complex technological systems of control and monitoring. Views of the city which prioritise the social aspects seek to create spaces that are novel, unpredictable and spaces which foster creativity, designed by those who use the space in a manner where it becomes suited for purpose. For Lefebvre and the Situationists, their understanding of 'urbanism' is a social one opposed to all instances of design and architecture which serve to limit human interactions in spaces (Nieuwenhuys, 1959).

Lefebvre illustrates this point with the opposition of a city of free movement and one of segregation, "The street is where movement takes place, the interaction without which urban life would not exist leaving only separation, a forced and fixed separation" (Lefebvre, 2003b: 18). However, the role of technology upon social interactions and the design of urban spaces is also acknowledged and the impact of these concerns are even more relevant today. "Those who think that the rapidity with which we move around and the possibilities of telecommunications are going to dissolve the common life of agglomerations have little idea of humanity's true needs" (Nieuwenhuys, 1959). These possibilities of communication and information technologies may have the potential to unite people but even more so the potential to divide (Lefebvre, 2008a). Following this notion, Lefebvre places great importance on the role of

the urban environment as a 'communications space' and laments the fact that urban spaces are now less regarded as 'meeting spaces' (Lefebvre, 2003b). Despite this decline Lefebvre notes that "whenever threatened, the first thing power restricts is the ability to linger or assemble in the street" (Lefebvre, 2003b: 20).

Lefebvre and the Situationists writings on power, space and inter-personal interactions resonate with contemporary writing on urban issues and augment these discussions. Before the emergence of the present manifestation of the 'surveillance society' they were already writing about how methods of control and surveillance were embedded in the design of urban environments and the complicated impact of technology which, despite many advantages, was often used to alienate, segregate and control populations. In one of many diatribes against Le Corbusier the Situationists (technically, the Lettrists at this point) describe his work as creating "vertical ghettos" aiming to "do away with the streets" (Lettrist International, 1954). In an attempt to increase law and order and efficiency in the city the 'street' - the place of casual and spontaneous encounters, those crucial human needs of social interaction - is eradicated. The results of his attempt to "divide life into closed, isolated units" was "repressive" and in ordering the city in such a way it is primed for creating "societies under perpetual surveillance" (1954). A well organised city with individuals segregated into homogenous groups is easier to manage and easier to surveil. Both the Situationists and Henri Lefebvre understood the connection between surveillance and the physical layout of urban spaces.

Surveillance emerges effectively not just through the architecture and design of the city but also through the efficient manipulation of everyday rhythms of the population. Much of contemporary surveillance is about monitoring movements and controlling patterns of behaviour. Through observing everyday rhythms control is exerted through methods which seek to then anticipate and direct behaviour. While Lefebvre understood this, the difference now is the array of available surveillance methods using ever more sophisticated technologies whether for monitoring actions throughout the city or through dataveillance practices which use technology to process the data trails generated through everyday life. The result is that these technologies or software have, as Nigel Thrift and Shaun French have described the “ability to act as a means of providing a new and complex form of spatiality” (2002: 309). All of this largely goes unnoticed working in the background becoming a part of the “technological unconscious” (Clough in Thrift and French, 2002: 312). Surveillance becomes both more extensive and less noticeable at the same time. It has become an embedded aspect of governance within cities and yet with so much going unnoticed it begins to “lie below the level of explicit discourse” and is, thus, less often disclosed (Thrift and French, 2002: 325). As a logical consequence, the impact may be extensive but awareness will be low. This then complicates and dampens any attempts at resistance. Opposition is further complicated because these same systems of surveillance, software used to gather information on locations and/or individuals, are often rebranded for popular consumption as tools of convenience where individuals embrace the potential “local intelligence” of spaces now data-rich and augmented with information and the “hyper-coordination” afforded by the joining together of mobile communication and surveillance devices (Thrift and French, 2002).

So, on the one hand, this new automated spatiality results in the use of technology for purposes of control. Everyday behaviour and movements are monitored and directed through subtle processes. These devices and software share information and coordinate many of the functions of the urban environment within this 'mechanosphere' (Thrift and French, 2002) which is largely out of sight of those impacted. On the other hand, individuals embrace much of this and have become accustomed to the conveniences afforded by the development of these technologies happily using them to "augment vision, memory and a host of other activities" and relying upon these devices to "communicate ... with each other and with other systems embedded in the fabric of everyday life" (Thrift and French, 2002: 318).

However, this embedding of these systems which Thrift and French describe means that our everyday rhythms are influenced by technology to a dramatically greater extent than Lefebvre detailed. First, there are the linear rhythms, repetitive, monotonous and imposed upon us from external forces - the impact, essentially, of capitalism. These rhythms are in conflict with natural cyclical rhythms - "what is most personal, most internal" (Lefebvre, 2004: 75). Between the two there is an "antagonistic unity" according to Lefebvre (2004: 76). Everyday life is about the struggle between these two forms of rhythms each struggling for dominance with an aim of a sort of equilibrium or eurhythmia. Surveillance systems impact upon both forms of rhythms further exacerbating this conflict within everyday life. Linear rhythms function as external pressures upon the individual encouraging or coercing to a particular pattern of everyday life. Linear rhythms are monotonous and encourage a predictable repetition

with little variation. These are the rhythms that favour predictability and attempt to establish routines in order to remove chance and creativity. These rhythms push for homogeneity and have ‘desacralised’ time (Lefebvre, 2004). By contrast, cyclical rhythms are those of the ‘event’ and related to ‘discovery’ rather than the predictable monotony of linear rhythms. Surveillance systems are intrinsically linked to linear rhythms. The influence which these forms of rhythms have upon everyday life as manifested through surveillance practices is great and these rhythms can be monitored, directed and controlled through regulating individuals movement and behaviours in physical space, through monitoring and directing individual behaviour online or through a blend of the two utilising technologically based systems in the physical or virtual space through overt surveillance or more subtle dataveillance practices.

3.3 Militarisation and ideologies of everyday life

The development of new technologies have altered everyday life in the urban environment. Governments, businesses and individuals are able to gather ever greater amounts of data on the minutiae of the everyday. Cameras are installed to gather the visual components of the daily life and other devices such as GPS and RFID become components of elaborate computerised systems to follow the flows and patterns of movement throughout urban spaces. Crucial to understanding the power relations embedded within these systems and to formulating a conception of resistance to these pervasive surveillance systems is to consider the relationship between these domestic/civil practices of surveillance (regardless of function, ie: policing, marketing, convenience, etc.) and military practices. This is to consider what is described here as ‘the militarisation of everyday life’ in which military technologies are imported in

the domestic urban environment and practices such as ‘tracking’ become embedded methods for observing, controlling and predicting the rhythms of everyday life. If the development of new technologies have led to ‘new forms of spatiality’ (Thrift and French, 2002), then in what respect this is built upon military innovations and, more importantly, ideologies is crucial for understanding how this influences conceptions of a well functioning urban environment and population. And while we may talk of the ‘technological unconscious’ (Clough in Thrift and French, 2002: 312) and afford these systems a level of agency it would be naïve to ignore the ideological motivations embedded in the design of these technologies and the goals and justifications for developing these systems even if they do not necessarily function as they were originally designed and/or for how they were expected to perform. It is partially through understanding the ideologies and original intent behind these systems that one can develop practices for exposing their use and their limitations.

Louise Amoore describes the “emerging geography of securitization of everyday life” (2009: 50) with the development of ‘algorithmic security’ which is ‘war-like’ not just because of the visible use of military practices such as airport security checks but more so because it ‘functions through a war-like architecture’ (2009:51) where individuals are placed into binary groups based on notions of “us/them; safe/risky; inside/outside” (Shapiro in Amoore, 2009: 51). While critics of surveillance often point out that it exacerbates and reinforces social divisions (Lyon, 1994) we see that by aligning with a military discourse this aspect becomes even more explicit as individuals are reduced to the military nomenclature of ‘targets’ with behaviour tagged with the binary

distinction of 'normal' and 'abnormal'. Surveillance is carried out on an environment where the actors within are reduced to 'us'/'them'. However, which camp an individual belongs to is generally not immediately obvious so, therefore, there is a justification for ubiquitous surveillance. For this, surveillance emerges as an "apparatus of protection and violation" (Crandall, 1999). Ubiquitous surveillance is demanded when the population consists of those who need protection and those who we need protection from. There is then a voracious need for data on everyone consisting of all the detritus of everyday life in order to establish "the statistical patterns of a general, urban background of 'normality'" (Graham, 2010a: 201) used to extricate patterns which can then be classified as 'abnormal'. Data from the rhythms of everyday interactions becomes the basis for "probabilistic knowledge" which becomes "a means of securitization" (Amoore, 2009: 52). In a civil environment, particularly amongst the often technophilic government and police, a military discourse accompanies the technology where discussions are around 'positioning', 'tracking', 'identifying', 'predicting', 'targeting' and 'intercepting/containing' (Crandall, 1999). While adopting the militaristic discourse, the definition of 'target' may remain rather vague, broadly referring to anyone (and/or everyone) who will come under the 'gaze' which will not necessarily be for any combative purposes but, rather, "a battle of another sort" such as "proactive policing, spotlighting or dividing targeted regions and social groups in the name of prevention or safety" (Crandall, 1999). So, within this discourse emerges a justification for expansive surveillance measures in which, in a sense, there is no discrimination as everyone comes under the tag of warranting the gaze for some purpose. However, at the same time, the end goal of this surveillance is to finely classify individuals into binary categories of 'enemy' and 'friend' (or, perhaps,

more appropriately, 'subject') which further isolates individuals and/or groups and exacerbates social divisions. The adoption of this discourse amongst the wider public is promoted by governments and police (and corporations) as a means for mobilising the 'vigilance of a fearful public' (Amoore, 2009: 50) where suspicion is encouraged and classification systems of 'outside' and 'inside' are adopted widely throughout society (for example, with immigration debates, as discussed in Dorling, 2011).

These surveillance, tracking and classification systems are reliant upon the development of algorithmic techniques which often (but not always) emerge from the military. However, Amoore points out that it should not necessarily be concluded that "society is strictly undergoing renewed *militarization*" but that, instead, "security practices oscillate back and forth across the different domains" (Amoore, 2009: 50). What is most important about this point, as Amoore continues, is that as these techniques traverse "the spheres of commerce and consumption, transportation, military strategy and state surveillance, the algorithm simultaneously conceals the architecture of enmity through which it functions" (2009: 57). And this is the crucial concern regarding this 'militarisation' and how it impacts upon everyday surveillance practices and permeates into the common ideology. As military ideologies 'invade' into common discourse particularly in regards to policing and managing urban environments a disconnect arises between the problem and the understood solution in the sense that we see, for example, inappropriate measures taken to address rather mundane problems (such as using unmanned drones to catch fly-tipping (Daily Mail Reporter, 2010b)). While unacceptable, there is, at least, an understood link between the military and policing even if the link is often

exaggerated. However, what is more perverse is the adoption of this rhetoric in the business domain where potential consumers become targets, behaviour needs to be 'tracked' and data needs to be gathered and numbers crunched for predicting behaviours adapting a military architecture for marketing purposes. There is a troubling connection between military surveillance in an urban environment which utilises sophisticated algorithms to measure 'normal' behaviour to anticipate 'abnormal' behaviour in an attempt to catch potential enemy combatants or bombers, police surveillance which uses similar algorithms to catch potential anti-social behaviour and businesses which, again, use similar techniques to target potential consumers out of a crowd based upon observing 'dwell-time' (Cronin, 2006) - how long individuals look at a particular advertisement or shop window (or website). It signals the use of this 'military architecture' into everyday life and, more importantly, the obfuscation of this architecture and the implementation of inappropriate measures to monitor, predict and direct individual and group behaviours in everyday life. While these techniques demand ever more information on individuals and a relinquishing of privacy their processes are ever more shrouded in the name of security and/or privacy. Mark Andrejevic describes this an "asymmetrical loss of privacy" where "individuals are becoming increasingly transparent to both public and private monitoring agencies, even as the actions of these agencies remain stubbornly opaque" (2007: 7). Jordan Crandall refers to this 'opaque-ness' as 'improved seeing' (Crandall, 1999). In this sense the goal is to 'see' more ('seeing' understood broadly including gathering more data) but for this process to be hidden and for access to be limited. The consequence is these practices go 'under the radar' or, from Thrift and French (2002), "below the level of explicit discourse" (2002: 325). Before even attempting to develop a resistance to this

pattern of military ideologies ‘infiltrating’ domestic surveillance practices, the first hurdle is to make visible and to bring into the popular discourse this architecture which, though ubiquitous, remains largely unnoticeable with severely restricted access.

Surveillance is ubiquitous in that it has permeated into all sectors of everyday life. It is also non-discriminate in that all aspects of daily life and all the various fragments of movements and interactions are of interest even if it is for the purposes of targeting particular individuals. It is methodologically indiscriminate in its quest to discriminate. Surveillance practices can afford to expand the scale of data gathered because of the technological developments borrowed from the military sector. What follows, according to Jordan Crandall, is that “we are increasingly subjected to a form of being seen that knows us first and faster” (Crandall and Armitage, 2005: 20) which he relates to the military practice of ‘tracking’. In much of Crandall’s work he seeks to explore the distinction between ‘tracking’ and ‘seeing’ (for example: Crandall, 1999; Crandall and Armitage, 2005; and Crandall, 2010). Tracking, according to Crandall, is an “anticipatory form of seeing” which is “always ahead of itself” (Crandall and Armitage, 2005: 20). It is a move away from a focus on “perspective and position” and, instead, focuses on “movement-flow” and “involves questions of human-machine relations” (2005: 21). There is a parallel here between Crandall’s discussions around the use of military strategies such as tracking and the use of algorithms within surveillance practices and Henri Lefebvre’s rhythmanalysis. While writing at different times and with different perspectives there is a resonance between the work from both writers. Crandall elucidates the relationship between military ideologies and technologies, and

how they become integrated into domestic and commercial surveillance. In particular, he highlights the role of algorithms to harness and direct movement ('tracking') which goes beyond past fixations on static images ('seeing'). This focus on tracking is reminiscent of Lefebvre's enjoinder to examine the time-space-movement of an environment (2004). Algorithms for surveillance, if put into this perspective, are a form of linear rhythm. They seek to influence the behaviour of individuals into predictable patterns and are the rhythms which seek to normalise behaviour and function as an external and restricting influence upon the individual (or group). This can be juxtaposed against cyclical rhythms. "The cyclical is social organisation manifesting itself. The linear is the daily grind, the routine" (Lefebvre, 2004: 30). Relating Lefebvre's distinction between the two forms of rhythms to surveillance, cyclical rhythms are those that exist outside of the tracking processes that exist in the spaces of what can be observed, predicted and directed. Everyday life consists of a myriad of rhythms (Lefebvre) or "movement and flow" (Crandall) and there are many layers and functions of these rhythms (or flows). Surveillance, through the use of algorithmic techniques and military practices) attempts to grasp all of them and create an orderly and predictable environment where abnormalities can easily be picked out or targeted. However, this is never a totalising process and there are rhythms which exist outside of these practices.

The use of algorithmic techniques for surveillance purposes, in this sense, functions as a misused rhythm analysis. There is a similar problem but with opposing goals. While Lefebvre seeks to employ rhythm analysis in order to liberate everyday life, algorithmic techniques seek to constrain everyday life into a predictable and manageable package. Stephen Graham, writing on the

'algorithmic gaze' highlights the level of detail in simulated urban war games with a look at a representation of Jakarta where the city was "carefully digitised and 'geo-specifically' simulated in three dimensions" (2010: 209). The level of detail is so precise that it includes, down to the interior, buildings and moving vehicles and 'civilians'. Individuals have been reduced to "dumb software avatars within a landscape of targets" and the "time-space rhythms" of the virtual Jakarta have been simulated to "add realism to the urban battlespace" (Graham, 2010a: 210). "Noise, chaotic, has no rhythm" states Lefebvre (2004: 27). Rhythmanalysis seeks to uncover the conflict between linear and cyclical rhythms through a methodology which attempts to pull apart the distinct rhythms co-existing within a chaotic noisy urban environment. The aim is to raise awareness of the conflict and dominance of linear rhythms and the processes which seek to obfuscate this lack of equilibrium and, in doing so, arm the individual and/or rhythmanalyst with the tactics with which to challenge this reality in order to, instead, embrace fulfilling and authentic extraordinary events. The inverse is the case with algorithmic techniques and representations of urban environments such as the urban war game of Jakarta mentioned by Graham. Graham describes the goal of these types of systems which is to:

"...build up full representative data profiles on the 'normal' time-space movement patterns of entire subject cities so that algorithms could then use statistical modelling, and comprehensive 'target' databases..." (Graham, 2010a: 211)

This highlights the distinction between rhythmanalysis and the use of algorithms for surveillance. Henri Lefebvre wanted to grasp and understand the

chaotic rhythms of everyday life in order to explore how to escape from the conforming pressures of linear rhythms. Surveillance seeks to analyse patterns in order to develop target databases. It is to reduce everyday life to statistics and models which is the opposite of rhythmanalysis. Henri Lefebvre aligned the rhythmanalyst with the poet and not the statistician who, he pointed out, merely counts things in an attempt to describe things in their immobility (2004). Algorithmic techniques seek to bring movement back into a more static form in order to be more effectively monitored and controlled.

Conceptualising Crandall, Graham and Amoore's discussion around the militarisation of everyday life and the use of military technologies and ideologies within surveillance along with Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis is helpful because Lefebvre's work (along with similar ideas from Guy Debord and the Situationists) allows the development of a notion of resistance to this problem. A notion of resistance exists within the work of these authors even if not specifically articulated. Graham highlights the limitations of simulations of cities such as described with Jakarta. Despite the "intensifying power of tracking technologies" areas will persist to remain unknown (Graham, 2010a: 219). These simulations are representations and, as such, will persist to have a limitation in use as a predictive tool. Graham points out that these systems often "simply malfunction or fail" (2010: 219). There may be serious negative consequences (Graham highlights the death of civilians) when they do not work as well as intended and this could drive resentment amongst the civilian population.

So, to examine this from the perspective of considering how to resist this militarisation of everyday life a number of tactics can be put together. There is a need to highlight the limitations of these systems whether through a form of rhythmanalysis or *dérive* which draws attention first to these systems which seek to be a form of “improved seeing” (Crandall, 1999) hidden from the population, then, second, to the spaces which escape the gaze and suggest possibilities for evasion and third, to highlight the flaws and malfunctions of these systems in order to stimulate a critique over the viability. Crandall, similarly acknowledges the flaws of these systems in his discussion of time and space distances where, like with rhythmanalysis, he observes a “stacking or layering along another axis” where realities must be juggled through “layering, interfacing, and collapsing of situations and formations according to various rhythms or beats, and under various constraints of productivity whether in the workplace or on the battlefield” (Crandall, 1999). To manage these complex layers requires precise coordination as, contrary to the anticipation created from the statistical models, they do not function in a necessarily orderly fashion but, again echoing Lefebvre, Crandall suggests that instead they function as “tensional pulses, coordinating and diverging, of **an operative rhythmic**, and within such an arena, **a problematics of synchronization**” (1999, bold in original). As Crandall states, “It is not so easy to align the moving elements in the viewfinder”. It is here where the possibilities for evasion lie. Despite best efforts, everyday life can not be wholly anticipated. While much of everyday life may fit and fulfil these models there will remain aspects which are outside of the everyday, the ‘exceptional’ rhythms as Lefebvre described versus the ‘banal’. A sense of resistance appears when individuals understand how the processes of tracking work to restrict everyday life and then seek to find spaces outside of

these processes which are dependent on algorithms for tracking. The complexity of everyday life is difficult to harness and control particularly if, as Crandall states, “we will no longer sit still” (1999).

3.4 The ubiquity and banality of surveillance

One difficulty in confronting and challenging these surveillance technologies and the accompanying military rhetoric is the extent to which they are already so deeply embedded within society. As they become normalised they become enmeshed within the everyday and, as such, become integrated within the broader ideology. On the one hand, military ideologies and rhetoric become commonplace in the common discourse. On the other hand, these technologies lose much of their attachment to connotations of war and combat as they become commonplace and take on the functions which, at least superficially, seem benign. As Galloway and Thacker state, “the everydayness - this banality of the digital - is precisely what produces the effect of ubiquity, and of universality” (2007: 10). This banality of the surveillance technologies hinders the development of a counter-discourse to challenge the surveillance practices. In order to highlight and challenge this notion of banality there first needs to be an exploration of how these technologies become ubiquitous and the implications of this ubiquity both on a broad societal level but also, importantly, a look at how these technologies become tied up amongst the individual. As these technologies become entwined with the everyday, the everydayness of these practices have implications upon the rhythms of the environment and of the individual.

The ubiquity of surveillance technologies is the result of two concurrent technological developments outlined in William J. Mitchell's *Me++: The Cyborg Self and the Networked City* (2003). First, wireless networks have enabled the move away from fixed computers/computing devices and the possibility for various devices to communicate amongst each other exchanging information without necessarily relying upon explicit human involvement. However, individuals become increasingly reliant upon networks and the ability to connect with the emerging imperative to be 'always on'. Networks become "faster, more pervasive and more essential" and "the more we depend upon networks, the more tightly and dynamically interwoven our destinies become" (Mitchell, 2003:9). What Thrift and French refer to as 'local intelligence' emerges where spaces become increasingly "computationally active environments" able to communicate with each other (2002: 315). Second, technologies have become dramatically smaller and this miniturisation has three significant implications. First, devices, along with the development of wireless networks, become increasingly portable. This allows for "squeezing more functions into smaller packages" and "freeing [devices] from fixed locations" (Mitchell, 2003: 69). Second, as they shrink they become more discreet and less noticeable. Third, along with this portability and decreased size technologies grow closer to the individual. Mitchell describes these devices as "electronic parasites" because as they shrink this allows them to be carried at all times as cyborg-esque appendages (like mobile phones), to be built into clothing as with 'smart threads', or, at the most extreme, to be literally inserted under the skin as with RFID (2003). Devices that are carried, embedded into clothing, or inserted into the body empower the body with technical capabilities and enable individuals to communicate automatically, electronically and wirelessly with the

environment. As a result of all of this, notions of individuals disappearing into their homes chained to the desktop computer interacting in cyberspace fade as, instead, the computer is unchained and has become easily portable. There is the emergence of ‘electronic nomadism’ (Mitchell, 2003) where these devices enable individuals to remain connected and involved in the electronic networks regardless of location. Spaces will consist of the physical environment as well as “sophisticated, well-integrated wireless infrastructure, combined with other networks, and deployed on a global scale” (2003: 57). Instead of fixed notions of uses of space there is a need to consider the implications of the new ‘walking architecture’ which Mitchell describes as the combination of flexible, mobile clothing and fixed infrastructure (2003: 82).

This development outlined by Mitchell above leads to a dramatic shift in understanding the individual’s relationship to physical space and, following on, impacts upon a conception of everyday rhythms. Everyday life takes place in a complicated merging of physical and virtual space, not an oscillation between two distinct realms for distinct and separate activities but a merging of the two. While on the one hand, this allows for the development of increasingly sophisticated and spatially aware surveillance practices this also complicates the function of observation as there still remains a struggle to harness into a coherent picture the multi-tasking of everyday life. Surveillance technologies often capture one perspective and putting the pieces together, while increasingly accurate is still often clumsy. However, similarly, an observation of everyday rhythms which highlights the restrictive impact of surveillance devices is also complicated.

In Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* the natural biological cyclical rhythms are in contrast to the linear rhythms of everydayness, those aspects imposed upon the individual. In addition, there are media(tised) rhythms which serve to give the illusion of the lived everyday (those aspects related to cyclical rhythms or the extra-ordinary rhythms, the exceptional). Lefebvre outlines the distinction between 'presence' and 'present' where present (those mediated aspects) "simulates presence and introduces simulation (the simulacrum) into social practice" (2004: 47). This is a representation of living and, as well, it "takes care of ideology: it contains it and masks it" (2004:47). This concept is similar to (perhaps even beyond that and parallel to) Debord's 'spectacle' which Debord defines as "the very heart of society's real unreality"(Debord, 1995:13). It also "asserts that all human life, which is to say all social life, is mere appearance" (1995: 14). The transformation of everyday life which Mitchell describes can be related to this concept, particularly this blurring of the distinction between 'presence' and 'present' and how this reinforces an ideological position which supports pervasive surveillance. Mitchell describes how "the more we depend upon networks, the more tightly and dynamically interwoven our destinies become" (2003: 9). What is not yet clear is how this dependence leads to an obfuscation of reality, of the lived everyday. Particularly as these devices and communication are brought to the level of embedded in the body the intertwined relationship between cyclical and linear rhythms become ever more extreme. As Mitchell points out, "all networks have their particular paces and rhythms" (2003: 11). So, as the networks begin to function ever closer to the body and individuals become connected without disruption, individuals are increasingly driven by the rhythms of the technology (a form of linear rhythms) and further alienated from natural cyclical rhythms. These rhythms

function as simulations and further confuse this distinction between presence and present where, for example, individuals synchronous experiences in physical space are shared with asynchronous interactions and there is a pressing feeling that physical experiences are not truly lived until documented online (as with the rise of social networking sites). In terms of surveillance, there is a confusion between the lived experience in physical space and the virtual representation or the remnants of data generated. For example, lived experience becomes subordinate to the information from tracking through GPS and individuals are increasingly pushed to prioritise the representation over the real.

While Lefebvre would have been thinking of television in his description of the mediated everyday, in terms of how it blurs the distinction between actually lived experience and mere representations of lived experience as a function of ideology the use of portable devices and the spread of surveillance is a continuation of this process. In a sense, the desire to produce and consume information which functions as its own spectacle leads individuals to relinquish more control over to networked devices. Embedding everyday life into the networked infrastructure becomes a compulsion. Highlighting the implications for everyday life Mitchell states, “just as boundary, flow, and control systems subdivide my space into specialized, manageable zones, these constructed rhythms partition my time into discrete, identifiable, assignable, sometimes chargeable chunks” (2003: 11). Through participating in the network society the physical everyday increasingly is structured through technological processing. Being connected in the network, participating in global communication,

contributing to the vast databases of information, and identity affirmation through dataveillance becomes the content of everyday life.

However, this is not a lived everyday in the sense that Lefebvre describes. This is highlighted in his distinction between information and communication with dialogue. The media organises the day into a particular rhythm and tone and renders subjects passive and silent. As such, surveillance technologies and mobile devices can similarly be seen to contribute to a structuring the everyday with a particular rhythm. Surveillance and mobile devices are used to track and organise everyday movements, behaviours and interactions and to reduce them into observable chunks which take on their own rhythm. In the sense that they constrict upon the individual they subject the individual to the rhythm of the devices or of the rhythm of virtual interactions within the network. For example, looking at GPS data uncovers the flows and rhythms of everyday life but the knowledge that these rhythms are observed constricts these rhythms. However, as Lefebvre continues, there is a growth of communication although it is “fluent, instantaneous, banal and superficial ... an insipid flow flooding the age” (Lefebvre, 2004: 49). Again, Lefebvre’s analogy of the media can be substituted with surveillance systems which flood databases with information and as individuals increasingly incorporate these databases of information into everyday life (for example, using mobile GPS and online user-generated content to find a local restaurant). As a consequence, while dialogue is “a privileged use” of language, “communication devalues dialogue to the point of its being forgotten” (2004:49). With modernity there is a preference for information over dialogue where “the informational stocks up on itself, trades itself, sells itself; that it destroys dialogue” (2004:49).

Lefebvre's conclusion on this is not entirely clear as he moves on from this point rather abruptly. However, there is a sense that, to Lefebvre, citizenship must be tied to both forms of communication - information and dialogue. There is a need for both and, currently, there is an abundance and obsession with information but without true dialogue. Interactions (whether with or mediated through devices) are simplistic and limited to the exchange of information. This separation leads to what Debord similarly lays out as the alienation that is produced as a result of the spectacle - the spectacle functions as a one-way form of communication (Debord, 1995). The solution is the creation of situations (Debord) and a focus on and encouragement of the 'exceptional' rhythms and 'immediate' and 'lived' aspects of the everyday (Lefebvre). However, the seeming banality of what Thrift and French refer to as 'pocket dictators' (2004) and the embedded ubiquity and embrace of what are otherwise surveillance technologies complicates this quest for return to presence and dialogue when much of these technologies appear to represent just this. Technologies which have embedded functions of control and surveillance are adapted for more seemingly mundane purposes as the technologies expand. Individuals, businesses and systems become dependant upon the functions offered and so while they become increasingly ubiquitous the aspects of control and surveillance upon which they were developed fades and they, instead, appear as rather banal.

RFID (radio frequency identification) is one example of such a technology and an example of Mitchell's 'electronic parasites'. These are small microchips that can be embedded into most objects including a wide array of consumer

products, pets and, as Mitchell highlights with his characterization, humans. They enable products to be identified, located, counted, followed, etc. In this sense they are able to create “an animate environment with agential and communicative powers” (Hayles, 2009: 48). Use of RFID is widespread and seemingly mundane but the technology allows for bizarre imaginings for the future. Mitchell suggests that teeth could be embedded with RFID where “you might make purchases or open hotel room doors by flashing a smile” (Mitchell, 2003: 77). Andrejevic describes how they could transform marketing through the attempts to develop a ‘Portable People Meter’ (PPM) which would combine RFID and GPS into a portable device that would be able to monitor everything that individuals use, watch, listen to and read to create “comprehensive a portrait of individual advertising exposure” with a goal to lead to “a fully monitored media enclosure” (Andrejevic, 2007: 90). RFID is a valuable tool in the move from observing present actions to a focus on anticipating the future through gathering information about behavioural practices in order to formulate predictions for the future (discussed in detail by Hayles, 2009; Crang and Graham, 2007; Amoore, 2009; Crandall, 2010 and others). Though emerging from military ideologies and use (Amoore, 2009; Crandall, 2010 and Mitchell, 2003) RFID has become ubiquitous through everyday life as it is embedded within devices, objects and animals (including humans). The surveillance capacity which is opened up with the development and growth of RFID hits at the heart of everyday life as it potentially enables the collection of every movement and every interaction. While on the one hand it appears to enable the capture and prediction of nearly the entirety of everyday life, on the other hand, returning to Andrejevic’s Portable People Meter, this definition of everyday life is intrinsically bound up with consumption. A focus which defines

everyday life through consumption is limited and a project of resistance to this would focus on expanding the disconnect between this measure of everyday life from the lived reality. Through various practices of evasion, détournement and hacking this distinction is further exploited as the inauthenticity of overly relying upon measuring and predicting behaviour through gathering habits through devices such as RFID is challenged. This is explored further in Chapters 5 and 6.

Devices such as RFID are ubiquitous and found in a wide array of products (such as in all products at Walmart (Hayles, 2009)). The banality of this ubiquity emerges particularly when taking into account the various benign and beneficial purposes for which it is used such as to enable lost pets to be found or to give new interactive functionality to toys (such as with Nabaztag <http://www.nabaztag.com>). Gradually, the relationship between devices such as RFID and the majority of other surveillance technologies and the military fades as they become increasingly used and embedded within everyday life. However, the consequence of this is that this sense of invisibility enters critical discourse as well where “the sociotechnical configurations of politics, representation, spatiality and power that tend to be embodied by, and perpetuated through them, tend to be even harder to unearth and analyse” (Graham, 2004: 23). The development of these technologies is wrapped up with military ideology. However, as the devices become ubiquitous and banal this attachment is not as visible as, instead, the devices become embedded within everyday life now tied up with ideologies of everyday life, safety and consumption. A critique of these devices requires actions which challenge this latter ideology and uncover the relationship to the former as a form of *dérive* which prioritises focusing on

exposing how these surveillance technologies and infrastructures impact upon everyday life. Following on from this, there are novel opportunities to détourne many of these technologies as an attempt to recapture the devices. These practices consider how rather than restricting everyday life and infiltrating into cyclical rhythms as they become smaller and closer to the body these devices may instead be used to enhance lived experiences of everyday life.

3.5 Digital networks and resistance

The growth of electronic forms of surveillance highlights how there is no longer a clear distinction between the 'real' and the 'virtual' and the implications of this shift as computing becomes portable and integrated into everyday actions in the 'real'. For example, the use of GPS for surveillance tracking or for navigational assistance exemplifies how physical spaces are overlaid with data and the interconnectedness of the virtual representations of space and the physical reality. As networks, data and surveillance capabilities increasingly interact with physical spaces these spaces become "augmented" (Manovich, 2004) with the capacity to process, collect and disseminate information aided by the increasing portability and connectedness of new technologies as discussed above.

Surveillance systems exemplify this relationship between electronic systems and physical space. In considering practices of resistance to pervasive surveillance, this relationship requires consideration. Different notions of control and resistance may emerge from analysis of the real and virtual separately. If surveillance is considered solely from the perspective of practices in physical space this draws upon a long tradition of ideas relating to control and resistance (such as with Foucault's more historical accounts in Foucault, 1976/1990; 1961/1988; and 1975/1995) however, it would miss consideration of resistance

practices within the digital/virtual realm. Development of everyday practices of resistance to contemporary practices of surveillance require a combined examination of the relationship between the physical and the virtual and a consideration of how practices of resistance embedded within computing inform practices in the physical environment and how, vice versa, practices of resistance, such as the *dérive*, inform or serve as a potent metaphor for resistance in light of electronic networks. This section will explore the relationship between online networks and physical space, how surveillance and control function in the context of online behaviours and amongst digital networks, ways of understanding practices of everyday life online and, to conclude, an analysis of practices of resistance within computing. Within this discussion, the relevance of Situationist tactics and Henri Lefebvre's *rhythmanalysis* will be considered in terms of their relevance and applicability to digital practices.

William J. Mitchell explores the "emerging cross-linkage of the digital and physical domains" (2003: 124) which impacts upon the understanding, planning and use of city spaces along with the development of devices which lead to "seamlessly integrating our mobile biological bodies with globally extended systems of nodes and linkages" (2003: 58). Both cases point to the expansion of surveillance made possible by these developments. Physical actions within an urban space leave data trails and produce information which is stored, processed, and analysed in terms of developing algorithmic depictions of expected behaviour. This surveillance can be at the same time broadly canvassing a large physical environment to develop an understanding of the physical space or it can be focused more closely upon the individual, tracking

individual actions and behaviours from movements to more intimate biological functioning made possible by the miniaturisation and ubiquity of surveillance devices. In all cases, individuals increasingly, whether intentionally or not, whether knowingly or not, have physical actions replicated for the purpose of data storage and monitoring in digital form. This paralleling of the physical and digital is a form of 'digital enclosure' defined as "the creation of an interactive realm wherein every action and transaction generates information about itself" (Andrejevic, 2007: 2). Andrejevic's depiction of a digital enclosure encompasses both those that exist purely in the virtual (ie: the Internet where every action leaves a digital trace) and the interconnectedness of the physical and digital where this strategy of having every action leave a digital trace is implemented in physical spaces (Andrejevic uses the example of Google's plan to have San Francisco as the first "city of technology" where free Wi-fi would be ubiquitous but all actions would be gathered and processed as data) (2007). The metaphor with physical space in his 'digital enclosure' is intentional as it refers to the enclosure movement and the emergence of distinct classes in the transition from feudalism to capitalism. Now, however, the emerging distinction between groups is of those who gather and hold data and those who "submit to particular forms of monitoring in order to gain access to goods, services and conveniences" (Andrejevic, 2007: 3).

In order to challenge this, there needs to be a dual approach of confronting surveillance in both the physical and digital representations of everyday life. While an individual's actions may be in physical space, they are stored and processed in electronic databases. To challenge this surveillance, the focus may most effectively be upon the database rather than the act of surveillance in the

physical sense. This is significant particularly as many surveillance devices are considered to have benefits. It is therefore more relevant to address the storage and processing of data rather than the devices themselves. For example, a confrontation of the implications of databases of GPS logs and a challenge to how these databases are used would be more relevant and effective than dispensing with GPS devices which many embrace because of their navigational assistance (flawed as the technology may be, which is discussed later). Such a strategy would also account for the reality that much of everyday life now takes place within virtual networks. It does not matter if this takes the traditional form of an individual on the internet on a desktop computer, interacting with mobile content, or, unknowingly, interacting with databases as moving through physical spaces (through GPS, RFID, CCTV, transactional data, etc.). Digital enclosures which gather, track, process, and predict actions and behaviours online are just as embedded as forms of everyday life as monitoring in physical space. However, resistance to online processes of control has a unique history over the past few decades. To examine and challenge contemporary surveillance there is a need to understand how everyday life plays out increasingly 'online' or connected to networks and while the physical and virtual of online surveillance is inextricably intertwined, so should practices of resistance.

Surrounding the development of the internet and digital networks is a rhetoric which focuses on the democratic potential and freedom apparently embedded within the structuring of the technology. However, increasingly that view is challenged as writers focus on how the internet is used to control populations rather than liberate them (Morozov, 2011), how it reinforces rather than challenges long-standing cultural, gender and racial biases and discrimination

(Chun, 2006) and how the structure leads to forms of control (Galloway, 2004 and Galloway and Thacker, 2007). Wendy Hui Kyong Chun argues that “power operates through the coupling of control and freedom” where ideologies and practices of freedom and control are coupled together (2006). This sense of freedom and the democratising potential of the internet is crucial to the functioning and obfuscation of the processes of control. However, the capacity to gather data, surveil populations and control access brought about by technological advances, the development of networks and embedded in the functioning of the internet leads to forms of power and control which can potentially impinge upon the minutiae of actions and interactions in everyday life in dramatic ways. Without “vigorous, critical scrutiny of such power” William J. Mitchell sees the development of individual “logic prisons” defining zones of “inclusion and exclusion in both cyberspace and physical space” with a reliance upon “networked surveillance and tracking systems, data warehouses, and pattern recognition and data mining systems” (Mitchell, 2003: 201).

Both virtually and physically control is executed through the implementation of technological codes or through the use of technological devices. This has led to the expansion of the possibilities of surveillance. However, beyond being that which carries out the surveillance, the codes and algorithms also function to obfuscate the surveillance practices and create a spectacle through the promotion of these practices and devices for purposes appealing to the public (whether through crime fighting rhetoric or for personal consumption). As a result, there is insufficient debate over the appropriateness of surveillance and challenges are often quietened by the allure and promise of these technologies. As a start, a challenge to these processes would highlight their existence. For

example, there is a need to draw out the surveillance practices from the shadows and to give relevance in physical space and everyday life to how these processes function in the background. Second, a critique would need to also expose the limitations of this surveillance, highlight the weaknesses in the system. In particular, this would challenge the techno-philiac championing of the network, the archive and technological devices as solutions to numerous social circumstances. In this complex relationship between the virtual and the physical - and the transformation of everyday life as it is increasingly played out digitally - surveillance practices have expanded but, at the same time, possibilities for evasion in the remaining gaps in these systems offers a third method of resistance or challenge to increasing surveillance through networks and algorithms. Lastly, a critique which questions the processes of control and monitoring emerging from technological developments of the past few decades while, at the same time, acknowledging the particular advantages afforded by these developments and avoiding a techno-phobic stance would seek to re-appropriate the technologies and to use them to re-invigorate everyday life in contrast to surveillance practices which constrict and routinise the everyday experience.

Increasingly power is executed through electronic networks and algorithms. However, these networks and algorithms also function as metaphors for understanding power and control and their structures highlight how control is intrinsically embedded in their design contradicting the democratic promise of freedom which the internet and digital networks were championed as offering. Following on from and greatly building upon Gilles Deleuze's brief 'Postscript on Control Societies' (1992), Alexander Galloway and Eugene Thacker focus on

the relationship between control and protocols and networks. Galloway considers distributed networks as “an important *diagram* for our current social formation” following directly on from Deleuze’s control societies (Galloway, 2004: 11). This is in contrast to centralised (central powerpoint with attached radial nodes) and decentralised networks (multiple centres and nodes which may connect with multiple centres but not multiple nodes) in that each point is “neither a central hub or satellite node” and points can communicate with any number of other points (2004:11). This is similar to Deleuze and Guattari’s rhizome where “any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything other, and must be” (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987: 7). In such a network, power functions through protocols or the rules and directions which directs the interaction within the network. Protocols “establish the essential points necessary to enact an agreed-upon standard of action” (Galloway, 2004: 7).

A protocol is a form of power which is intrinsically related to technology and, Galloway argues, emerges from it. Its structure is antithetical to bureaucratic and institutional forms of power and while tied to those forms of power, in the sense that it often works in the interests of institutions, governments and corporations, it operates outside of these centralised (or decentralised) more traditional forms of power (2004). It is Galloway’s examination of how resistance also functions within networks where his argument is most useful for developing a notion of resistance to surveillance and control in these systems which is explored in his book on protocol but, more so, in his book with Eugene Thacker, entitled *The Exploit: A Theory of Networks* (2007). While control functions through networks, networks are also the location of possibilities of resistance. The four potential practices of resistance to increasing surveillance

outlined above are possible through networks where the distributed design of the networks can be exploited for purposes other than control.

An understanding of how individuals use the internet, for example, highlights the functioning of protocols and the possibilities for challenging the surveillance practices embedded in the design of the internet in terms of tracking movements and gathering data on users. Wendy Hui Kyong Chun characterises the common internet user as the 'gawker' drawing upon Walter Benjamin in *The Arcades Project* where the gawker (or otherwise translated as 'rubberneck') is seduced by the spectacle, is inundated by the flood of information on offer, and, rather than an individual, is a faceless part of the crowd (Chun, 2006). Applied to the internet user, the gawker is drawn into the superficial interface of the internet and is duped by a rhetoric which emphasises the agency of the user (2006). In a sense, the interface is a spectacle proclaiming freedom and the power of the user but the interface functions to obfuscate the true power dynamic in which the user is directed through the internet, followed and surveilled. The gawker is seduced by the face value of the internet and does not dig to uncover how, in reality, the internet controls the gawker use of the internet through advertising, requiring ever more personal information and disclosure and through data collection of movements and interactions. Chun develops her notion of the gawker in contrast to Manovich's metaphor of the flâneur to describe the internet user. Manovich is amongst a number of other theorists such as Geert Lovink who have deployed Baudelaire's depiction of the Parisian wanderer to describe internet users. This flâneur is a "data dandy" (Manovich borrowing from Lovink) who "does not want to be above the crowd ... he wants to lose himself in its mass, to be moved by the semantic

vectors of mass media icons, themes, and trends” (Manovich, 2001: 270-1). The online flâneur wanders through the internet voraciously consuming data and immersing her/himself into the trends of the internet with a particular ‘no-style’ fashion engrossed with endless mailing lists, newsgroups, etc. untied to any particular topic or opinion (Manovich, 2001). In addition to the flâneur, Manovich sees the other archetypal figure on the net as akin to an explorer drawing upon notions from James Fenimore Cooper and Mark Twain tied to American mythology where the individual “discovers his identity and builds character by moving through space” (2001: 271). Video games, according to Manovich, follow this same mythology. Manovich comes to conclude that the explorer is the dominant archetype of internet user as it privileges the experience of the individual through (cyber)space rather than the more communal experience of the flâneur. However, in light of the dominance of social media since Manovich was writing in 2001 the flâneur now appears the more appropriate metaphor where, significantly, the flâneur is “both immersed in the crowd but isolated by it” (Coverley, 2006: 60). Manovich’s depiction is considerably more positive than Chun and affords the individual greater agency in directing the development of the internet through her/his ‘wandering’ or ‘exploring’. However, the user remains relatively passive and uncritical and it is easy to imagine the flâneur blinded by the spectacle of possibilities of interaction and consumption online and the explorer as distracted and sucked into the mythology living vicariously through a powerful video game character or directing a fantasy through the development of an avatar to withdraw into virtual worlds. Or, in the case of social media, the interactivity of the interface which purports to connect individuals functions as another form of spectacle, a

superficial form of interaction, close to Lefebvre's depiction of television and the mediatised day (as described in Lefebvre, 2004).

By contrast, another archetype for the internet user could be the psychogeographer with the behaviour online as a form of *dérive*. This would lean towards the other end of the spectrum from the gawker and *flâneur*. It would include, but not exclusively, some types of hackers. In this depiction, use of the internet is focused as a form of "playful-constructive behaviour" being "drawn by the attractions of the terrain and the encounters they find" because, just as the Situationist's found with cities, the internet can be argued to have "psychogeographical contours, with constant currents, fixed points and vortexes that strongly discourage entry into or exit from certain zones" (Debord, 1956) such as highlighted by Galloway and Thacker. Particularly in regards to the internet, there are, as described above, protocols which lead users to navigate in a particular path. An online *dérive* would explore these protocols and interfaces to uncover how they lead the usual user (perhaps the 'gawker') to follow a particular path and to have a particular experience which has the semblance of freedom (which, according to Chun (2006), is crucial for the effectiveness of the ruse) but, in actuality, is highly predictable through programming and monitoring. A distinction to be made here between the *dérive* and the wanderings of the *flâneur* is that while the *flâneur*, even if sometimes understood more politically or subversively, is wandering aimlessly resistant to maintaining the pace of the city (Coverley, 2006) whereas, the *dérive* includes both "this letting-go and its necessary contradiction" (Debord, 1956). The *dérive* is a data-gathering expedition seeking not to merely wander but to explore and uncover the characteristics of an environment and lead to a particular

understanding of the power relations within it. In this sense, the *dérive* is much closer to the actions of the rhythm analyst than the *flâneur*. Rather than an aimless wander the *dérive* follows an objective passionate terrain defined “both with its own logic and with its relations with social morphology” (Debord, 1956).

Essentially, the *dérive* (and, taken as to be, for this analogy, to be nearly synonymous with Lefebvre’s rhythm analysis) seeks to uncover the networks within an environment which are not immediately obvious, particularly to someone who lives everyday in a particular environment. In these instances, the banality of the environment overwhelms and the individual does not take notice of the extraordinary aspects of the environment because of its ‘everydayness’, just as the rhythm analyst is at the same time removed somewhat from the environment in order to decipher the rhythms which can not be separated when totally immersed within them. Similarly, the *dérive* emerges as a potential challenge to the networks and protocols of the internet and digital technologies. Taken at face value (at the level of the interface and the level which promotes an ideology of agency of the user) it is difficult to understand the aspects of control embedded within the internet. However, a *dérive* online would seek to expose these aspects of control and monitoring, expose the limitations of these systems of control, suggest possibilities for evading this monitoring and, lastly, point to new ways to use the technology in a more empowered fashion where the agency of the user is a reality and not a spectacle. The goal is to uncover how “we all live in ways that are out of our control” (Debord, 1961) and, in doing so, seek to regain some control over everyday life.

The level of impregnation into the background functioning of the internet would vary. Some methods require considerable specialist knowledge, particularly in programming. However, as with the rhythm analyst, these online dérives would be accessible to everyone though some would develop their skills more than others. And, in doing so, those with specialist knowledge would open up these avenues of inquiry for the layperson attempting the dérive. This may be in the form of developing software which allows individuals to carry out these functions themselves. For example, packet sniffers function to expose to the user what the computer is actually doing behind the interface and the role of the computer within a broader network. Packet sniffers expose the myriad of conversations and interactions in which the computer participates of which the user is unaware. Packet sniffers collect the data that goes through the computer. In some cases, they only collect that data which is directly involved with the computer. In other cases, it collects all the data that goes through the computer even if it is, in a sense, on its way somewhere else. While the computer screen and interface gives the illusion that the user is in control of the data and information exchanged a packet sniffer highlights the reality that “your computer constantly wanders without you” (Chun, 2006: 3). Packet sniffers function as a form of dérive which exposes the networks of communication that are hidden from everyday use of the Internet and highlight how, unknowingly, computers send off more information to be gathered than the user is aware of. In many instances this data may be collected for monitoring purposes. While the software is developed by programmers, the application is generally accessible for anyone enabling individuals to uncover activity on their network which is otherwise hidden.

Packet sniffers, in a limited way, allow individuals to ‘hack’ into some aspect of their network. Hackers, in general, work in the spirit of the *dérive* in that hacking seeks to expose information which is otherwise hidden in order to expose weaknesses in a system, highlight practices of control within a system, and suggest possibilities of evasion within a system. The importance for hackers is a fundamental belief about information where hackers demand that “information, which is technically a measure of the degree of freedom within a system, should be free” (Chun, 2006: 10). Returning to Manovich’s idea of the online explorer, Bruce Sterling describes hacking as a form of “free-wheeling intellectual exploration” (Sterling quoted in Galloway, 2004: 151). This exploration functions as a direct challenge to the control mechanisms within a system highlighting the weaknesses and challenging the authority implicit in these systems. In terms of Galloway’s understanding of power through protocols hacking reveals the possibilities of action and resistance which are generally obfuscated by the general interaction and use of these systems. It reveals that “with protocol comes the exciting ability to leverage possibility and action through code” (Galloway, 2004: 172). Akin to *rhythmanalysis* and the *dérive*, hacking uncovers the possibilities of resistance and the possibility for the technology to be reconfigured in a way which prioritises the experience and wishes of the user rather than of those controlling the network (website, application, etc.). It suggests that controlling the way networks are used and rampant data collection are not actually intrinsic to the functioning of the system. Hacking, then, functions as a form of *dérive* or *rhythmanalysis* applied directly to computer networks.

The level of political engagement with hacking varies widely. These practices, though often sophisticated and carrying great consequences (both for the system and the hacker, as it is often illegal) are often carried out in a playful manner, again, highlighting the relationship to the *dérive*. William J. Mitchell, though, comparing hackers directly to the Situationists, raises this as a distinction between hackers and Situationists where he provides a nostalgic view of early hackers as less political and more playful than the Situationists stating, “the best hacks are cleverly engineered, site-specific interventions that make a point but aren’t destructive or dangerous” (Mitchell, 2005: 118). On the other hand, he worries over the more sinister aspects of hacking such as with malicious viruses and worms which infect computers and warns of the future possibilities of hacking when increasingly devices throughout, for example, the home will be networked allowing individual hackers anywhere in the world to hack into a home system as form of resistance from the “disregarded margins to the very centres of power and privilege” (2005: 121).

The level of political intent behind the actions of hacking are not crucial to the final impact. As with the Situationists where the level of direct political engagement varied widely amongst their members and their practices (though generally consistently cloaked in polemical political discourse), hacking varies from harmless pranks as described by Mitchell to serious acts which destabilise systems. However, even with playful acts, as Lefebvre and the Situationists would argue in their writings on reinvigorating everyday life, small acts can have a big impact whether as the beginning of some further exploration or carrying onwards beyond the initial intentions. In a sense, small acts may function as a small component of a general change in attitude towards using

networks in this case, a renewed awareness that may have broad implication. Also, acts that are playful in one context may suggest more politically aware practices in another which is, for example, often the case amongst artistic practices of hacking (discussed later). These actions, according to Galloway and Thacker, “can serve as instances for a more critical, more politically engaged ‘counterprotocol’ practice” (Galloway and Thacker, 2007: 31).

Hacking as form of *dérive* or *rhythmanalysis* applied to computer networks functions to expose practices of monitoring and surveillance as mentioned above. As a more serious challenge, an online *dérive* (or *rhythmanalysis*) would expose weaknesses within networked systems such as when hackers demonstrate an ability to infiltrate into a networked system that was supposed to be secure. Often surveillance and networked systems are depicted as more sophisticated and impregnable than they actually are. There is a deterministic approach to technology which is seen as increasingly infiltrating and monitoring all aspects of everyday life and interactions. However, this depiction, unfortunately, functions itself as a form of control suggesting that these systems can not be challenged and that they are nearly flawless. The impression of the capabilities of many of these systems goes beyond the actuality.

A challenge to extensive monitoring and surveillance would seek to expose the limitations of the systems and highlight the flaws inherent in the design. In the case of networked systems and the internet, this would, for example, expose weaknesses in the security of a system. Galloway and Thacker refer to the exposure of flaws in protocological system as an exploit which is “a type of asymmetric intervention” and “a resonant flaw designed to resist, threaten, and

ultimately desert the dominant political diagram” (2007: 21) with their examples ranging from suicide bombers, peer-to-peer protocols, netwars and subcultures. Hackers are able to uncover these exploits because they are “protocological actors par excellence” in that they understand protocol better than anyone and can push it to “a state of hypertrophy” (Galloway, 2004: 158). In this sense, resistance can be understood not as a direct confrontation but a state of becoming so immersed in a system as to be able to push the weaknesses to the forefront as a challenge. As with the rhythm analyst, the hacker becomes familiar with the rhythms or protocols to the extent of being able to distinguish the individual parts from the whole in order to pick out and alter certain aspects within the system in order for it to function better for the individual experience rather than to function purely for those who designed the system as one of control and monitoring. The goal is not to destroy the system or technology but, as with Lefebvre’s rhythm analysis of everyday life, rather to sculpt it and “make it better suited to people’s real desires” (Galloway, 2004: 176).

Beyond exposing practices of control and monitoring and exposing the weaknesses in these systems, a *dérive* of electronic networks also suggests practices of evasion within these networks. They would offer escape practices. Whereas generally electronic networks are based upon identification of individuals and tracking them throughout the system, the strategy would be to avoid detection and identification. In a distributed network, it would be to evade the communication between nodes. Within algorithmic based systems of monitoring, where there is a reliance upon these systems for filtering out unimportant data (or, frequently, the norm) and highlighting significant results (or aberrations), the goal would be to blend in with the norm to be filtered out

without being noticed by the algorithms as unique and warranting particular attention. Tracking and monitoring is reliant upon identification and being able to follow an individual's patterns through time, resistance as a form of *dérive* in this instant would be to escape this identification. Mitchell gives the analogy of Mardi Gras revellers and bank robbers wearing masks in order to evade identification and to create "time-outs" (Mitchell, 2003). His other suggestion is to take advantage of wireless connections and miniaturised, portable equipment and to "add the strategic benefits of mobility to those of dispersal" (Mitchell, 2003: 180). To evade detection, one's movement within the network would need to be decentralised and spread out without a clear logic. However, of course, as algorithmic processes improve and become more sophisticated so would the tactics of dispersal need to become increasingly sophisticated. This pattern is frequently replicated with hackers and developers of monitoring systems in a form of cat and mouse where developers improve their security and/or monitoring strategies and hackers then improve their infiltration and/or evasion tactics.

Another more direct form of action to evade detection is to directly tamper with the monitoring systems in order to corrupt the data. This is akin to old-fashioned tactics of jamming radars but applied to electronic networks. In some cases, this would function as a simulation of the practices of monitoring (Bogard, 1996) or adding 'noise' to the system so that as the data increases the system struggles to process and decipher the data adequately. Bogard's list of jamming 'counter-measures' includes this mimicking as well as "deception jamming (broadcasting false revealing or misleading information, rumors, etc.); "computer viruses"; and "stealth techniques" which function much like as

evasion as described above (Bogard, 1996: 90). Even Deleuze recognised this similarity in methods stating, “Computer piracy and viruses, for example, will replace strikes and what the nineteenth century called “sabotage” (“clogging” the machinery)” (Deleuze, 1990: 175). However, the tactic does not need to be as destructive as ‘sabotage’ to have an impact for the individual. Evading detection is a radical retaking of everyday life and rhythms. If done on an individual level by many it could have a dramatic destabilising impact upon the networked systems of monitoring. The impact would be that the data would be increasingly difficult to decipher and the results would become less reliable. Algorithmic systems of monitoring are based upon an ability to process and predict everyday actions and any practices which would raise questions regarding the efficacy of these systems would be a dramatic challenge. In their attempt to regulate rhythms of everyday life within the network, this would be a radical taking back. In their proposal for Unitary Urbanism, Kótanyi and Vaneigem call for a jamming of messages as a form of turning rhythms inside out (Kótanyi and Vaneigem, 1961). Jamming the messages or evading detection functions as a form of rhythmanalysis in that the individual takes greater control of the rhythms of everyday life.

Lastly, a *dérive* within the network which focuses on evasion within the system also emerges as a form of *détournement* as these systems which are developed for purposes of monitoring are reconfigured and used to challenge the systems from within. This “tactical misuse of a protocol” as Galloway and Thacker describe, “can identify the political fissures in a network” (Galloway and Thacker, 2007: 30). Misuse of technology illustrates that the intended use of the technology can be subverted and that the uses of the technology have not been

adequately limited to that which is within its original intent. The ability to take a technology used for purposes of control and monitoring, or those which were understood to function by strict protocol, is highly subversive and a challenge to the efforts of surveillance. Hacking generally, functions as a form of détournement in the sense that it is a misuse of technology, reappropriated for the interests of the user rather than for those who designed the technology or established it within a particular confine. The ability to redirect a technology is an exposure of this weakness. This misuse, “deviation” or “mutation” of technology, as the Situationists intended it, is “the key to a new politics of resistance” (Bonnett, 1999: 25) in that it was “designed to reveal the limitations of existing social practice” (1999:28). With the development of digital networks and surveillance practices emerging from this, the détournement can be understood as revealing the limitations of such social practices emerging from automated and algorithmic forms of processing and directing interactions and everyday life as lived and documented online. These tactics and practices of détournement, dérive and rhythmanalysis, practices aim towards a “radically democratized everyday life” (Goonewardena, 2008: 118) as imagined in relation to urban life and consumer culture continue to provide inspiration when applied to understanding how everyday life has been impacted upon by digital networks and the internet (often on a similar trajectory as Lefebvre and the Situationists described) and when applied to developing practices of resistance in light of technological developments since these ideas emerged.

3.6 Resistance to surveillance as rhythmanalysis and dérive

In a playful updating of Raymond Williams’ *Keywords* in the art magazine, *Frieze*, Dan Fox and Jennifer Higgin define the dérive as a “fancy word for

taking a stroll and having a think” (Fox and Higgie, 2011: 158). However, the fact that the *dérive* deserves mention in a magazine on contemporary art and theory such as *Frieze* in a list of crucial terms in art theory (even if tongue-and-cheek) suggests that the *dérive* as a concept continues to inspire contemporary writers, thinkers and artists. This remains true even if taking into account that much of the political intent from the original ideas has been diluted and appropriated, such as the case where *détournement* becomes a common fashionable practice within advertising (Bonnett, 1999) stripped of its revolutionary credentials. What this chapter has sought to do is to reconsider the potential in the *dérive* and Lefebvre’s rhythmanalysis to challenge the inhibiting structures of everyday life and to take these ideas as inspiration for developing an understanding of power within a contemporary context which allows for and fosters the emergence of practices of resistance to surveillance and monitoring.

While much has been written on power as related to surveillance (as discussed in the above), there is a lack of development of theories of everyday resistance to everyday surveillance. As a consideration of how to cope with living in a surveillance society has been overlooked, it seems an appropriate moment to re-engage with the ideas of the Situationists and Henri Lefebvre as the central core of their ideas was a passionate focus on revolutionising everyday life through challenging the forces which sought to exercise power through excessive monitoring and restrictions on the freedom of individual movement and expression. While the technological developments and cultural/technical influences were different as they were writing in the mid-20th century, the core of their understanding of power, resistance and everyday life remains much the

same. While many contemporary authors have explored the changing nature of power in light of technological advances as discussed above, the struggle between external forces and individuals in terms of who has the greater control over the rhythms of everyday life persist. This is despite the fact that these external forces have greater technological capabilities for predicting and restricting everyday life along with the ever evolving spectacle aided by many of the same technologies to obfuscate the influence and the reality of the impact these forces have upon everyday life. The search for equilibrium between the various rhythms of everyday life remains much the same. For this reason, despite the inconsistencies, contradictions, vagueness and revolutionary posturing which comes across at times as rather quaint in retrospect, these ideas merit a new look. This thesis does not argue for them to be taken whole with quasi-religious fervour but merely to use them as inspiration, to unpick the present with these terms and to explore the development and execution of practices of resistance through a broad application of these terms.

The emphasis on exposing practices of control, exposing their limitation, suggesting possibilities for evasion, suggesting methods for subverting the intended uses of technology and, lastly, suggesting ways to re-invigorate everyday life and the spaces in which everyday life occurs as suggested by Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord and the other Situationists offers a starting point for thinking about resistance to surveillance. The linkages with the more progressive and critically engaged literature on surveillance as discussed in this chapter are clear. Louise Amoore questions how “to open up these contingencies and ambiguities in order to politicize what would otherwise be a highly technologized set of moves” (2009: 65). In a situation where the politicisation of

such practices is not always apparent to the broader public, the act of exposing practices of surveillance and dragging them into the light of public discourse functions as a powerful challenge. Alexander Galloway's work emphasises the need to "exploit flaws in protocological and proprietary command and control" (2004: 176) which highlights the need for practices of resistance which expose the limitations and flaws within surveillance systems. Galloway and Thacker explore the implication of practices of evasion and describe them as "positive technologies" and while not an act of clear confrontation these function as a form of "struggle in abandonment" (2007: 136). This echoes Scott Lashes summary of the *dérive* as a practice of resistance. He explains,

"To *dérive* is not exactly to resist. It is to evade ... *Dérive* says I don't like your logic: I won't contest in a class-versus-class struggle or through rituals of resistance... In the hegemonic order, we challenge power through contesting domination through discursive argument. Or through symbolic struggles. To *dérive* is to do none of the above. It is to slip out. It is strategy through movement" (Lash, 2007: 67-68).

Practices of resistance focused on subverting the intended use of the technology as a form of *détournement* undermines the aspects of control embedded through the use of the technology in the sense that the technologies are not destroyed but, rather, sculpted to "make it better suited to people's real desires" (Galloway, 2004: 176). Surveillance technologies, because the control aspect is not necessarily inherent in the design, offer many opportunities for such subversion as individuals can challenge their intended use by subverting it for their own needs.

Lastly, the overall emphasis to be taken from the work of Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord and the other Situationists is a focus on regaining human agency which is ever more crucial now as individuals lives are increasingly sorted, directed, monitored, processed and controlled through computerised systems which seek to limit the extent to which individuals are in control of their lives. Shaleph O'Neil emphasises this point, "the aim of reclaiming everyday experience for ones own ends is, without doubt, a radical proposition ... It is not enough to watch or to reflect upon the nature of the Spectacle. What is important is to be able to take part" (2009: 164). "The algorithm is dehumanised," states Jordan Crandall because it minimizes the need for human agency or dispenses with it altogether (2010: 83). This is the threat to individual agency and to the transformation of everyday life and which demands challenging. Individuals must seek to find ways to subvert technologies of control or to challenge the ways in which these technologies are used to limit individual freedom. The thrust of the resistance is not to abandon new technologies but, rather, to reconfigure their use to suit the true needs of individuals and to seek to bring individuals together, to repair the separation which is deeply embedded. To conclude, this emphasis which is seen in the work of Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord, Raoul Vaneigem and others is echoed by William Mitchell, "We are all tied together by our networks - both materially and morally - like climbers on a rope. If we are to reap the benefits of our electronically expanded social, economic, and cultural circles without succumbing to their dangers, we must recognize that they actualize our common humanity" (2003: 208).

What now follows in this thesis is an exploration of three 'sites' of surveillance within which to unpick these ideas and consider the development of practices of

resistance. Broadly, the first, Chapter 4, will explore the context of the emergence of a particular surveillance system in order to investigate the difficulties in challenging surveillance systems which render traditional practices of resistance as less effective thus highlighting the need to develop a new theoretical framework for placing resistance more centrally within surveillance studies. This case highlights the contested nature of urban environments and the need to develop a surveillance politics in order so that groups can assert their 'right to the city' (Lefebvre, 1996). The second case study reflects upon the changing nature of the spectacle and the seductive aspects of surveillance in order to understand why there is not only a lack of resistance to surveillance within the broader culture but, further, that surveillance is so widely embraced and consumed. The third and final case draws upon the theoretical framework developed in this chapter and Chapter 2 and demonstrates how artists have developed creative practices which illustrate a practical engagement with the concepts in this framework.

CHAPTER 4 - SURVEILLANCE AND THE POST-INDUSTRIAL CITY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of three explorations of different sites of surveillance. The focus of this case study is on how the changing nature of surveillance technologies impacts upon both the urban environment and its inhabitants. These processes stifle individual freedoms within the city and reduce individual agency. However, traditional practices of resistance are ill suited to address these systems, as demonstrated in this chapter, and necessitated a critical engagement with practices of resistance and the development of a different theoretical framework for thinking about resistance in light of technological developments and cultural shifts which is the aim of this thesis.

The main theme running throughout this chapter and the context in which it should be placed is Henri's Lefebvre's ideas on the 'right to the city' where individuals are encouraged and able to exert more control over how urban space is defined and have more possibilities for exploring these needs, particularly creative ones (as will be explored in more depth in Chapter 6) (Lefebvre, 1996). David Harvey asserts that the "freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is... one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights" (Harvey, 2008: 23). The city is a contested space, one of multiple layers of power struggles, as this chapter demonstrates. The struggle over surveillance systems is intrinsically tied to this struggle for individuals to have more freedom to define their environment. Surveillance systems are deployed by those who seek to construct spaces which enforce conformity and what is lost is the ability

for individuals to create their own understandings of space. This struggle underlies this chapter and will be returned to in the concluding section.

The second aim of this chapter is to again draw attention to the ways in which contemporary forms of surveillance do not adhere to the Panoptic metaphor. This will be done through the exploration of a particular instance of surveillance which illustrates the limitations of the Panoptic metaphor which Haggerty outlined (as discussed in Chapter 1)(Haggerty, 2006). First, the purpose of the surveillance is unclear and there is a discrepancy between the rhetoric and the practice which needs to be challenged in this case. Second, the hierarchies are unclear where different levels of the government and businesses struggle over who has control over the regulation, and thus monitoring, of particular this particular industry. This follows on to an ambiguity towards the agents of surveillance. Within a complex bureaucratic structure, navigating the power relations and establishing the role of overseer is not always easy. Regarding the targets of surveillance, this case study highlights the extent to which groups possess many layers of identity. In this case, it is not clear which aspect of their identity deemed this group as needing to be monitored - the fact that they are taxicab drivers or the fact that they are overwhelmingly immigrants. Lastly, this case study highlights the non-Panoptic dynamics of surveillance and the resilience of particular groups who, despite the great power inequities, resist the imposition that they become 'docile bodies'.

The third point illustrated by this case study is the need to move away from visual, panoptic understandings of surveillance which have limited applicability to contemporary forms of surveillance. This thesis, overall, suggests that

surveillance and monitoring can, instead, be explored through metaphors which evaluate these practices in terms of how they impact upon the rhythms of everyday life and how they seek to control everyday practices through the use of technology which emphasises representations of behaviour over the real and utilises processing software in order to track and predict movement within space (drawing upon discussions in both Chapters 2 and 3). In this case study, the imposition of Global Positioning Systems within taxicabs can be seen in the context of Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis.

Lastly, this chapter is about resistance to surveillance, as it is the main theme of this thesis. This case study highlights the difficulties in articulating opposition to surveillance and developing effective practices to challenge surveillance systems. These difficulties highlight the need to develop new tactics which focus on exposing surveillance practices and utilising public discourses to challenge their legitimacy. Through doing so, the limitations of these systems and their inherent flaws also need to be underscored. The aim of such challenges is to reassert individual agency within the everyday context of the urban environment and a realisation of Lefebvre's 'right to the city'.

4.2 Putting this case study into context

All surveillance systems are located in a particular economic, cultural and political, and historical context (Lyon, 1994). These contexts are often complex without a straightforward depiction of control and power over a particular group (though that is certainly a component and an aim). Through the detailed analysis of individual cases of the introduction of surveillance, the complexity of these circumstances becomes clear. The motivations are multi-layered - the

introduction of a surveillance system is generally one aspect of a larger ideological project. Second, there is generally a gulf between the intention and the practice of the surveillance systems. Lastly, the power relations are seldom straightforward. Popular notions of 'Big Brother' are uncovered as grossly simplistic.

The complex circumstances of surveillance systems illustrate how surveillance systems grow. These surveillance practices are entangled within broader debates and are presented as practical solutions to social problems. Surveillance systems are often presented as a crucial component of policies which attract high levels of public support. It is difficult to extricate the negative impact of surveillance from the potential positive impact of the overall proposal. This complexity of the particular context also complicates the development of any resistance to the surveillance practices. If it is difficult to articulate the context, the motivations, the difference between the intention and practice and to decipher clearly who is in control then it will also be difficult to effectively articulate a critique of the situation. Traditional acts of resistance are less effective when it is impossible to sum up the critique in a soundbite or in a slogan on a poster and when the relationship between those introducing the surveillance and those opposed is not straightforward.

This chapter examines the dispute over the introduction of Global Positioning Systems (GPS) in every taxicab in the city of Philadelphia. This was primarily a dispute between the drivers (as represented by the Taxi Workers Alliance of Pennsylvania) and the regulatory body (the Philadelphia Parking Authority) which began with the takeover of regulatory responsibilities by the PPA in 2004

and continues today. However, the focus of this case study will be upon the initial introduction of the ‘Technology Enhancement Project’ which included the introduction of GPS and the subsequent efforts of the drivers to come together as a collective body to challenge the scheme. The dispute between the two groups shows no sign of waning and, in light of very recent legal successes by the TWA, will likely increase in the future. The approach of this chapter, then, is a historical one which seeks to provide the context and narrative around the *introduction* of GPS in the taxicabs. It is an enlightening illustration of how surveillance systems are implemented within a specific context and the difficulties which arise on the part of surveyor and surveyed. Additionally, an analysis of the formation of the Taxi Workers Alliance, highlights the complex nature of collective action in the post-industrial context. As will be discussed, there were a number of serious hurdles which the organisers faced in their attempts to bring drivers together in order to challenge the scheme. These difficulties demonstrate both the inadequacy of present notions of resistance to surveillance and demonstrate the need to develop a new theoretical framework for understanding resistance to surveillance. For this reason, the focus of this case study is on the context in which the surveillance was introduced, the intricate power struggles which it compounded, the inherent flaws within the motivations and, most importantly, the difficulties faced in the formation of a challenge to the system. While the ongoing dispute and controversy are important and interesting, the focus here is on the initial stages of the surveillance programme in order to highlight the complex nature of the programme and the dispute.

This case study is informed by an analysis of primary sources, press coverage and through discussions with Ronald Blount, President of the Taxi Workers Alliance of Pennsylvania. Meetings were held with Mr. Blount in December 2006 (also with TWA-PA organiser and driver Tekle Gebremdhin), July 2007 (also with TWA-PA organisers and drivers Tekle Gebremdhin and Steve Chervenka) and January 2008. Mr. Blount provided context and background information regarding the Taxi Workers Alliance's dispute with the Philadelphia Parking Authority. Information was verified through analysis of publicly available court and government documents. This chapter avoids over-personalising the debate through the use of direct quotes from the drivers and maintains a focus upon the processes entangled within the dispute between drivers and the Philadelphia Parking Authority. This chapter focuses on depicting the complex nature of the dispute and how it involved not just the taxi drivers but various organisations and actors including different levels of the city and state governments, government agencies, city organisations, etc.

While presenting a specific case study, the approach in this chapter, in keeping with the tone of the rest of this thesis, is to demonstrate the complexity of surveillance processes and how surveillance systems enacted at a local and specific level are intertwined with broader processes and discourses such as, in this case, urban renewal, crime and debates over immigration. Methods within this thesis as a whole have drawn upon a diverse range of empirical material in order to explore and illustrate how surveillance systems function and how individuals interact with these systems in different ways. The following chapter, Chapter 5, takes a much broader approach with an overview of many different forms of engagement with the consumption of surveillance. This is done in

order to explore and highlight the extent to which individuals engage with surveillance in a myriad of ways every day. Chapter 6 provides a survey of artistic explorations of surveillance in order to vividly illustrate how the conceptual tools developed in Chapter 2 and 3 can be operationalised. However, the approach with this chapter is a detailed analysis of how one particular instance of surveillance is embedded and entwined with broader processes highlighting the ideologies of surveillance and the complexities of resistance. This case study is a vivid demonstration of how struggles over the ‘right to the city’ are played out on a daily basis.

This case study illustrates how surveillance systems grow in the post-industrial city and the difficulties in contesting these systems in light of a number of factors which challenge traditional notions of resistance in an industrial context. In regards to how it demonstrates the growth of surveillance, this case study is wrapped up in a narrative about urban renewal, the re-positioning of the post-industrial city, power struggles within the city, weakening relationships and emerging suspicion between communities and between (and with) various workforces, the difficulties in managing mobile industries and the focus on technologically based solutions for management and monitoring of urban environments. All of this contributes to the increasing difficulties in challenging new systems of surveillance. These difficulties include the weakening of unions, decreasing solidarity amongst workers and with the community, changing labour force, changing and complex nature of power relations, and the difficulty in articulating an opposition to technology which is otherwise embraced.

This is a case that involves a city government suing the state government, taxicab drivers and owners (generally assumed to be wrapped up in disputes with each other) suing the regulator and the various levels of the court system struggling to determine whose jurisdiction any of this belongs in, who actually has control and what forms of control are legitimate. Add in scandals over bribes and preferential treatment, apparent collusion between the regulator and the police and immigration services and, most bizarre, the strange instance of the president of the taxi union charged with assault of a passenger that appears to have been, at least at some level, orchestrated by the regulator with which the union is in dispute. The Philadelphia Parking Authority seeks to improve its image through the development of a reality television programme ironically entitled, 'Parking Wars' while the city as a whole seeks any means to improve its image despite very high crime rates. It all seems like a lost season of the *Wire* where the show moves up I-95 two hours from Baltimore to Philadelphia. This case study demonstrates, as the *Wire* did, "the effects of the post-industrial transformation of the US economy" (Penfold-Mounce, Beer and Burrows, 2011: 156). In this sense, this case study is a narrative about post-industrialism and how this transformation has led to the emergence of expanding surveillance systems and, in addition, rendered traditional methods of collective action and resistance as insufficient to challenge the introduction of surveillance. While this chapter focuses on the example of Philadelphia, similar trends are found elsewhere. Roy Coleman, in a similar analysis of Liverpool, points out that what is occurring in post-industrial cities like Liverpool and Philadelphia as "a merging of crime control/prevention with a broader strategy seeking to manage some notions of quality of life, that reflects the re-imagining of place" (Coleman, 2003: 24). In some ways, this rebranding is necessary. Philadelphia, for

example, never fell to the level of other post-industrial cities. It is not another Detroit, Pittsburgh or Baltimore. However, what is highlighted below are the tensions and consequences within this process of re-defining the post-industrial city.

4.3. Background Context: Philadelphia, post-industrialism and gentrification

Philadelphia is the fifth largest city in the United States and second largest on the East Coast with a population of approximately 1.5 million located between New York City and Washington, DC (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012 and The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2011). The city has great historical significance in the development of the United States and was the nation's first capital from 1790-1800 (Fortenbaugh, 1948). Once a prominent industrial centre, Philadelphia suffered during the transition to a post-industrial modern city with a sharp decline in manufacturing jobs and population in the second half of the 20th century coupled with a increase in crime and a reputation for corrupt governance (Simon and Alnutt, 2007). In 1985 the city's image was further tarnished when it gained notoriety as the only American city to drop a bomb on itself. The city's first African American Mayor, Wilson Goode, during a stand-off with the radical African-American group, MOVE, authorised the police to drop an explosive on the compound which set the building on fire eventually killing eleven members of the group and destroying sixty-one homes in the black working class neighbourhood as the fire spread (Harry, 1987). The significance of this event cannot be emphasised enough and the legacy of this event continues to today. That same year, Mayor Wilson Goode declared a state of emergency in Southwest Philadelphia when white residents attempted to

forcibly remove African American and mixed race couples who had recently moved into the neighbourhood (Simon and Alnutt, 2007).

These incidents were widely publicised nationally and did great harm to Philadelphia's image. They also had a lasting negative impact on race relations in the city which continues into the present. This perception of Philadelphia as crumbling, corrupt and plagued by violence and racial tensions held back revitalisation efforts for decades. Projects to revive Center City Philadelphia began in the 1980s but did not begin to take off until the 1990s when the new Mayor Ed Rendell (who, afterwards, became Governor of the State of Pennsylvania from 2003-2011) began to aggressively tackle Philadelphia's problems and spark economic development (Simon and Alnutt, 2007). Rendell and the subsequent Mayor John Street did much to stimulate the revitalisation of the central business districts and demolish crime ridden high-rise housing blocks in the residential neighbourhoods.

The local government, the business improvement groups, and investors were inspired by the successes in New York City and looked to mimic the 'Disneyfication' of New York City in Philadelphia in an attempt to lure tourists and new middle class professional residents. From the onset of his administration, Mayor Ed Rendell "envisioned a broad reshaping of the city's economy to reap benefits from tourism" as a way to "counter the continuing decline in industrial employment" (Simon and Alnutt, 2007: 412-413) By 2005 articles appeared in the *New York Times* proclaiming Philadelphia the "Sixth Borough" of New York City with an increasing influx of NYC residents lured by Philadelphia's cost of living which is 37 percent lower than in New York City and

cheap housing prices (Pressler, 2005). Businesses were brought into Center City and neighbourhoods to the north and south of Center City were dramatically gentrified. Abandoned factories were converted into “Soho style lofts” to the extent that by 2005 there was a new “Loft District” neighbourhood in what had once been a run-down industrial wasteland. Money was invested in the historic Old City to revitalise the tourist destinations and build new museums on the new “Mall” including the new National Constitution Center.

However, much of this revitalisation remains superficial. The city is still plagued by the highest murder rate of the country’s ten largest cities (Tawa, 2011) (324 murders in 2011 down from a high of 391 in 2007 (Philadelphia Police Department, 2011)), a dysfunctional under-funded public school system (Mezzacappa, 2007) and 25 percent of the population live below the poverty line (US Census Bureau, 2012). Reflective of the city’s approach towards dealing with these problems the city also has the largest percentage of citizens incarcerated in the US (Heller, 2008).

The city of Philadelphia has attempted to reinvent itself in the 21st century while at the same time tackling the urban issues of crime and dwindling industries. It has done so by promoting its historic landmarks and projecting an image of the city as culturally and, importantly, technologically progressive. There has been an effort to encourage more tourists to visit the city and more middle class professionals to move into the city. Along with programs to tackle crime and poverty, there has been a concerted effort to move the city’s problems out of Center City. The downtown renewal was partly at the expense of the surrounding neighbourhoods, many of which had been healthy and stable

before suffering under the city's post-industrial decline (Simon and Alnutt, 2007). Of the 394 homicides in the city in 2007, a peak year for the murder rate, only 8 of those were within the Center City downtown area (See map, <http://www.nbc10.com/safercity/13405221/detail.html>, reproduced below). In 2011, of 324 murders, there were 5 murders in Center City East and none in Center City West (Philadelphia Police Department, 2011). To exemplify the disparity, 10 of the city's 24 police districts accounted for 60% of the major crimes in the city (The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2011).



2007 Homicides in Center City (left) and entire city (right). Source: NBC10

The increasing inequality in the city raises concerns over the effectiveness of the urban renewal plans. While the city is gradually shedding its “Filthadelphia” image, it has been at a great cost to the residents who feel excluded from the city's improvements. Tensions increase as many residents feel pushed to the periphery, both figuratively and literally. Such unequal distribution of investment is detrimental for a city and improperly measures improvements by increased consumption rather than on improving services and quality of life. Rather than an open city with a heterogeneous population, the city is increasingly segmented economically, culturally, and, as is the case in many American cities, racially.

One component of this urban renewal focuses on cleaning up the tourist and service economies in Philadelphia. The Center City District, established in 1990 (Center City District, n.d.) is one of the first Business Improvement Districts and considered to be one of the most successful (Simon, R. and Alnutt, B., 2007). The quasi-governmental organisation focused on cosmetic improvements and offered tax incentives and abatement programs to lure businesses downtown. It also introduced 42 Community Service Representatives that serve as ‘ambassadors’ and ‘liaisons’ between the public and the police. These representatives are uniformed and their functions range from reporting and deterring crime to “offering directions, suggesting restaurants and providing information about Philadelphia.” (Center City District and Central Philadelphia Development Corporation, 2007: 45) They also offer information back to the CCD in the form of monthly “public domain surveying” with hand-held computers. This information along with information from public and private law enforcement and building managers is used in conjunction with geographic information systems to “identify, analyze and respond to crime patterns.” (2007: 45) The Center City District boasts that major crime in the area dropped 40% between 1996 and 2006 and that ‘nuisance’ crime dropped by 78%. (Center City District and Central Philadelphia Development Corporation, 2007) This is the same period in which Philadelphia’s soaring murder rate citywide was causing headlines. The organisation recognises that it is the perception of safety which is most important and which will increase pedestrian traffic and consumers. Cities can not attract visitors and consumers when there is a threat of random violence or when the city appears ‘dangerous’ cosmetically (grafitti, derelict buildings,

homeless on the streets, etc.). Under such programmes, cleanliness becomes a “catch-all category under which problems of marketing, environmental improvements and street safety become conflated” (Coleman, 2003: 23). The Center City District understands this well with a focus on moving the homeless elsewhere and replacing them with ambassadors in uniforms carrying mini-computers suggesting control and predictability.

Philadelphia also aggressively marketed its historic attractions to lure visitors. Mayor Rendell established the Historical Philadelphia, Inc which is a “promotional corporation” to market the city’s heritage and to make the historical landmarks more ‘interactive’ and ‘dynamic’. The director explained the mission, “People have to be entertained these days.” (Simon, R. and Alnutt, B., 2007: 425) The emphasis is on creating a historical spectacle that is perhaps light on facts but heavy on entertainment value. Many of the attractions are based on loose historical accounts (ie: the Betsy Ross House (see Crews, 2008)) and for others, there is a struggle as to how to deal with the less favourable aspects of America’s history (ie: the controversy and debate over the excavation and opening of President George Washington’s house which included slave quarters (see City of Philadelphia and Independence National Historical Park, 2010)). Investment went into building an Independence Center and visitors flocked to the evening “Lights of Liberty” show which turned the Old City neighbourhood into an immersive interactive exhibit (<http://www.lightsofliberty.org>). Add actors dressed as Benjamin Franklin, George Washington and Betsy Ross (she designed the first flag of the United States, perhaps, see above) and an inner city neighbourhood is successfully transformed into an historic amusement park. The only glitch was the failed

plan with Disney to bring an indoor theme park which was cancelled in 2000. Now a parking lot, the building site remained an unsightly huge city block sized hole on busy Market Street for many years and is still commonly referred to as 'the Disney Hole' highlighting the difficulties that the city has faced in redevelopment and the lost money invested (estimated at 'tens of millions' of dollars) (Denvir, 2011). However, "the new city has increasingly assumed the character of a theme park" according to Roy Coleman and it is out of these programmes around rebranding that "initiatives around social control have played their part in attempting to homogenize the perceptions, uses, and experiences of city center space" (2003: 26). From the ambassadors deployed by the Center City District to the renewed emphasis on tourism, the way that the city is used by residents and visitors is increasingly seen to be driven and controlled by the interests of others. Rather than allowing the individuals to define the city through uses catered to their interests (as advocated by Constant (Nieuwenhuys, 1959)) the ways in which individuals are directed to use and conceive of the city are directed externally by governments and organisations driven by commercial interests.

The amusingly named developers, "Historic Landmarks for Living", focused on the areas around the historic Old City converting the crumbling warehouses into flats (Gutis, 1986). Areas like Northern Liberties became rapidly gentrified while maintaining just enough grittiness to feel 'authentic' attracting young artists, musicians, and white urban professionals looking for real estate bargains. Travel a few blocks further north and the brewpubs and sushi bars very quickly feel very far away. While Mayor John Street can be credited for tearing down the North Philadelphia high rise apartment blocks which were

plagued by violence and poverty and emblematic of all the ills of urban America and replacing them with suburban-esque low-rise cul-de-sacs, North Philadelphia is still dangerous and poor (as evidenced by Philadelphia Police Department, 2011). The main difference is now that the disparity between these neighbourhoods and its gentrified neighbouring neighbourhoods is more stark. Burrows and Ellison state post-industrial or post-Fordist cities are economically polarised and that dual trends of increased ghettoisation and gentrification, as seen in Philadelphia in general and especially starkly in North Philadelphia, exacerbate this socio-spatial polarisation (2007).

Amidst plans to attract tourists and middle class residents, the city of Philadelphia, and Mayor John Street in particular, has tried to brand Philadelphia as technologically progressive. In 2004 Mayor Street announced a plan to make Philadelphia the first wireless city (Tedeschi, 2004). Working with Earthlink and the newly formed non-profit, Wireless Philadelphia, the goal was to provide constant wi-fi access throughout the city. The intention of this ambitious plan was to attract tech savvy young professionals, assist law enforcement agencies, and provide low or no-cost internet access for those who wouldn't be able to afford it otherwise in an attempt to address the wide economic gap in access and use of the Internet. The proposal was publicized nationally with the *New York Times* proclaiming, "Forget cheese steaks, cream cheese and brotherly love. Philadelphia wants to be known as the city of laptops." (Tedeschi, 2004) The system was not successful as coverage was spotty and only 6,000 residents signed up to the plan by 2007 whereas Earthlink was expecting over 100,000. Citing monthly losses of \$200,000 Earthlink, who was contracted to set up the scheme, pulled out of its agreement

in 2007 and while Wireless Philadelphia continued in some form pushing initiatives of addressing the 'digital divide' in the city the ambitious plan was not achieved (Kirk, 2009).

Mayor John Street, in what is to be perceived as a response to the city's high murder rate, announced a plan to install an extensive network of surveillance cameras across the city in 2006 (Kase, 2010). 250 cameras were to be installed by the end of 2008. However, technical problems plagued the project. The problem, according to the Deputy Police Commissioner Jack Gaittens was that the city thought that the data from the cameras could be sent wirelessly to the police headquarters (Kase, 2010). The plans were "based on engineering, not a real proven solid track record" and it turned out to be a faulty assumption (Kase, 2010). The wireless network could not handle the bandwidth needed and the signal was blocked by buildings (Kase, 2010). In regards to cameras that were installed and supposed to be functioning, by February 2012, only 117 of the 240 cameras were functional (Polaneczky, 2012). Some had never even been activated.

The focus of Philadelphia's urban renewal has been on creating a city more palatable for consumption with an emphasis on apparent technological innovation and gadgetry to impress young professionals and the middle-class. Such urban renewal plans have, as noted by Avila and Rose, a tremendous impact both upon the "physical texture of urban life" and social relations within the city (2009: 344). The city government and businesses want to shed away any associations with the "Rust Belt". The factories whose closures crippled the city have been re-branded as 'historic' residential spaces. Government and

businesses seek to streamline the everyday experience of the city of Philadelphia. The urban blight has been pushed out of view as the central parts of the city have been cleaned and polished. Great amounts of resources, both human and monetary, have been invested in creating a more predictable and controlled city. This is a new Philadelphia with a continuously evolving skyline promoting itself as progressive and prospering. All of this is managed by an immense network functioning behind the scenes to ensure that things run smoothly. And when things do not, the government go through great efforts to figure out ways of gaining more control over the urban experience. Attempts to make the city safer and more attractive, control mechanisms have been introduced which, while decreasing crime within Center City, also limit free expression within the city and the extent to which individuals can define how the city is used and evolves. As Lefebvre states, “whenever threatened, the first thing power restricts is the ability to linger or assemble in the street” (Lefebvre, 2003: 20).

There is a direct relationship between all of this and the introduction of global positioning systems in the city’s taxicabs. They demonstrate the development of “urban electronic infrastructures” which function to regulate and restrict the urban environment (Lyon, 2007: 97). “Ambassadors” with handheld computers reporting crime and recommending restaurants represents the same mentality towards urban renewal as the introduction of GPS in the city’s cabs. The introduction of this surveillance system, one amongst many, highlights trends in attitudes towards what the 21st century city should look like. Philadelphia is a perfect location for testing pilot programs such as GPS and the Wireless city. Long suffering from post-industrialisation the city was desperate for new ideas

to reinvent itself. On the other hand, the city's proximity to Washington, DC and New York City meant that the city was never as isolated like, for example, a cities such as Detroit. Investors, professionals, and tourists, frustrated by the saturated markets in other East Coast cities were prime to be lured.

However, the transition process is has not been smooth. The city's murder rate makes more headlines than its improvements. The plans for a 'wireless' city still have not been realised. And the plan to install GPS in the city's cabs unravelled into an enormous mess and shows no sign of being resolved anytime in the near future. The debate over GPS is emblematic of the attitude and focus of the urban renewal process in Philadelphia. However, it is has also been drawn into the power struggles between the city and state governments. Lastly, the debate is a part of broader debates over surveillance and the role of unions in 21st century labour disputes. The controversy and struggle in Philadelphia between the Philadelphia Parking Authority and the taxicab drivers is significant because it indicates the tone and dynamic of labour conflicts which will likely surface again in other industries and cities. It is about emerging technologies as well as shifts within the labour market and industrial relations. Philadelphia may end up being innovative in ways that the city planners did not anticipate.

4.4. Regulation of the taxicab industry

In the city's efforts to create a more palatable experience for tourists and new professional residents there was a concerted effort at reigning in the city's service industries. The fact that most of the service economy is privately owned is problematic for the city. The city can not control these industries directly through ownership but, can exert greater government regulation. This

regulation has created a power struggle between different levels of government and quagmire for employees who find themselves at odds not with their employers but with government regulators. The legal system does not offer the same process of addressing grievances as with employer-employee disputes. Even though that system itself has its flaws, there are, at least, precedents.

The taxicab industry is one such example of an industry which came under increasing scrutiny by government regulators. Taxis are often the first point of contact when entering a city whether at the airport or the train station and are often a vital part of the tourist's experience. Taxicabs are iconic and mobile tourists destinations themselves in cities such as New York and London. Taxicab drivers often function as quasi-tour guides, particularly for those looking for a more 'authentic' experience. Spending their days with a revolving cast of passengers and navigating the city's terrain taxicab drivers have unparalleled tacit knowledge of the city.

On the other hand, they have a reputation as con-artists taking passengers with little geographical knowledge of the city on circuitous routes to increase fares. Systems for flagging a cab also often appear arbitrary and waiting for long periods to hail a cab is also emblematic of the urban experience. The dispatching process is hindered by the difficulties in efficiently and effectively communicating with drivers and distributing cabs to where they are needed. Drivers are drawn to the profession because of the independent nature of the job. The lack of close scrutiny over their work by an employer is what makes up for the long hours driving and low pay. It is the feeling of being your own boss in your own car, even if that isn't quite accurate.

In recent years, along with all the other aspects of Philadelphia which have been cleaned up, there has been a concerted effort to improve the taxicab industry. While the initial efforts were welcomed, the overzealousness of the government regulators quickly came under criticism for being heavy handed (Parker, 2005). Early on the drivers welcomed the increased government regulation because they hoped it would come to their defence and respond to exploitation from the owners. However, rather than cleaning up the corrupt industry the regulators have focused on cleaning up the cabs and the drivers themselves. The regulators have introduced severe fines for primarily cosmetic offences (Philadelphia Parking Authority, 2011a). Drivers are subject to frequent inspections and fined for dirty vehicles, non-matching hubcaps, talking on mobiles, and drivers not wearing a collared shirt(\$100-\$350 for each offence depending on if it is 1st, 2nd or 3rd offence) (Philadelphia Parking Authority, 2011a). In addition, the regulators have installed credit card machines and Global Positioning Systems in all cabs.

Before 2005, the Pennsylvania Public Utility Commission regulated the taxicab industry. This commission was preoccupied with its main task of regulating the city's electricity and gas companies. Only a handful of employees watched over an industry of about 1600 taxicabs and about 5000 drivers (numbers from Ney, 2009). The function of the regulator is to ensure that the industry functions smoothly and that the drivers, dispatchers, and owners work effectively with each other and that one group does not take advantage of the other. However, the PUC did not get involved nor do anything to prevent the owners from taking advantage of the drivers. The few inspectors that were given the task of insuring that the industry's cabs were in good working order were lax and often accepted

bribes (Parker, 2005). Symptomatic of how the city had been functioning for decades the relationship between the Public Utility Commission and the taxicab industry was ineffective and corrupt. Many of the cabs were dirty and in disrepair. The drivers, with no recourse to help from the government regulators were manipulated by the owners and, thus, went fourteen years without a fare increase (background above on PUC from Parker, 2005).

In 2004, Governor Ed Rendell (who was previously the mayor of Philadelphia) signed a bill that transferred the regulation of the taxicab industry to the Philadelphia Parking Authority (PA Powerport, 2004). The Authority unveiled an expansive programme to clean up the industry. They also introduced the first fare increase in fourteen years (Twyman, 2005). However, they also increased fees and fines and employed a team of a dozen inspectors who patrolled the city handing out citations and inspecting cabs. These inspectors focus their efforts upon the queues of drivers at the main rail station and the airport. Drivers began to complain of harassment and intimidation by the inspectors. Racial tensions also increased as the drivers were predominantly minorities and the inspectors predominantly white males (Parker, 2005).

Along with the increased monitoring by the inspectors the Parking Authority introduced its “Technology Enhancement Project” which included installing credit card machines and Global Positioning Systems (GPS) in all cabs. Now that the GPS systems are in place the Parking Authority can gather a staggering amount of data on the drivers and exert increasing control over how they work through the electronic monitoring. The Authority maintains a database of every fare since the computer system was installed. This record how much each driver

makes and how many hours they work. The PPA knows the location, direction, speed, and status of all vehicles. According to the Parking Authority's website the system can be used to locate "a single vehicle, a fleet, or any demographic/geographic parameter desired" (Taxitronic, Inc, n.d.: 7). Significantly, this includes when the drivers are off duty as many use the vehicles for private use. Additionally, the system installed allows the Parking Authority to remotely lock and unlock doors and prevent the ignition to disable vehicles (Taxitronic, Inc, n.d.). The authority can use this to disable vehicles with outstanding fees and/or fines.

The taxicab industry in Philadelphia has thus quickly moved from one that is loosely regulated to becoming one of the most strictly regulated industries in the city. These programmes were introduced with no public debate or input from the drivers (see *Blount v. Philadelphia Parking Authority*, 2007) . A government regulatory body quietly and effectively took over a private industry. This position is even more advantageous than if the industry was outright controlled and owned by the government. The Parking Authority is able to benefit financially from the industry through the fines, fees, and credit card surcharges. It is able to control the presentation of the cabs and manage how they are dispatched throughout the city. While not burdened with the responsibilities of an employer they are able to control the hours that drivers work and how they carry out their job. All the risks and costs associated with the industry are passed along to the owners (who must buy and maintain the vehicles and medallions) who then passes on the financial risk to the drivers through lease fees.

In this case, there is a juggernaut of regulation without any limits placed upon the authority of the Parking Authority. There is no system in place for regulating the regulator, though this idea itself suggests another juggernaut of limitless bureaucracy. When drivers refused to accept credit card payments, the Authority issued an “executive order” to force the taxis to accept the payments (Sule v. Philadelphia Parking Authority, 2010). However, it is unclear what an “executive order” actually means and if the Parking Authority truly has the authority to force such rules upon the taxi cab drivers (three years later, in Sule v. Philadelphia Parking Authority, 2010) the courts found the order unenforceable). There is no evidence that the “executive order” is anything more than a linguistic device which carries weight only because no one had questioned its legitimacy. The executive order was enforced with fines and cars that didn’t comply were impounded until the court ruled that the PPA did not have the authority to do this (Sule v Philadelphia Parking Authority, 2011). However, the Parking Authority continues to arbitrarily redefine the role of the government regulator.

The taxi cab drivers are not employees of the Parking Authority, rather they are independent contractors who lease vehicles from an owner or own their own vehicle. This dispute raises questions over how much the Authority should be allowed to demand from the drivers while giving nothing in return. In traditional workplace settings, employees would perhaps accept such draconian measures in return for the fact that they receive from the employer job security and benefits such as worker’s compensation, health insurance and vacation leave. The vast majority of Philadelphia taxicab drivers have no health insurance (Taxi Workers Alliance, 2008). Additionally, the economic risks of the

profession are all placed upon the drivers. Drivers must pay lease fees to the owners that are flat rates and not a percentage of earnings (Thompson, 2008). They also must pay the Authority a service fee for the GPS system along with paying for the supplies for the credit card machine and relinquishing a surcharge for the processing of credit card transactions (Ney, 2009). Thus drivers begin shifts already in debt and are not guaranteed any sort of minimum wage.

The Parking Authority's attempts to control the taxicab industry demonstrates a troubling power relationship. It is an example of Panoptic aspirations where the Parking Authority seeks to micro-manage the taxi drivers through an abuse of its regulatory powers. The Parking Authority does not hire, fire, or pay the drivers. However, it has imbued itself with the role of giving 'permission' for drivers to work. Permission is granted through compliance with its surveillance measures (GPS and inspections) and cooperation with its bureaucratic process. It has established a punishment and reward system based on cooperation with its efforts to amass as much detail on the drivers as possible. The Parking Authority holds databases which can aggregate data regarding the drivers earnings and patterns of movement throughout the city. Because there has been little pressure to hold the Parking Authority accountable for its actions (except by the drivers as discussed below) the Authority's monitoring practices only increase and there is no pressure to defend these measures with any substantial evidence of how it is improving the industry. As will be explored within the next section, the Philadelphia Parking Authority, through its policies restricts the autonomy of the drivers and restricts their ability to define their everyday practices. While regulations within the workplace are necessary and

appropriate, they should not infringe upon basic rights such as these do. It demonstrates a great imbalance in the relationship between linear and cyclical rhythms for the drivers.

Traditionally we would expect those that own the taxicabs and lease them to the drivers to hold the most power in the industry and over the drivers because they hold the most economic power. However, in this case it seems that the government regulatory body now holds the most power in this private industry. The debate is between independent contractors and the government rather than with the owners as would be expected. Many owners have worked with the drivers in their efforts against the Philadelphia Parking Authority (evidenced through numerous joint court cases against the PPA such as *Blount v. Philadelphia Parking Authority*, 2007; *Blount v. Philadelphia Parking Authority*, 2009; and *Germantown Cab Company v. Philadelphia Parking Authority*; 2012). This development is worrisome as power is through regulation rather than through holding economic control. Historically, drivers' grievances were with the owners (as documented by Mathew, 2005). Owners make a considerable amount of money from the drivers with little limitations on how much they can charge the drivers for using the vehicles and how much of the economic risks are placed upon the drivers. Originally, that was the intended role of the regulator, to insure that the dispatch services and owners did not unfairly deprive the drivers of fares (Diulio, 2011). If regulating is increasingly a central aspect of power, more so than economic power, then this suggests that a similar situation could emerge in other industries where the government regulatory body infiltrates to control a private industry. While the structure of the taxicab industry makes this easier than most with the loose relationship between

drivers and owners, it is possible to imagine this expanding into other industries particularly those with untraditional structures of employer/employee relationships. As detailed below, this regulatory entity with unclear boundaries and responsibilities proves to be much more difficult to oppose than the owners.

4.5. Regulating Mobile Industries

The introduction of Global Positioning Systems in taxicabs could improve the industry. The industry is comprised of owners, drivers and a number of dispatch services which work independently of each other. Before GPS it was difficult to keep track of the locations of drivers and the new technology could be used to improve the efficiency of this mobile industry and help these three groups work more effectively together (Diulio, 2011). If the GPS was used to create one central dispatch service this could dramatically improve the efficiency of the dispatch system and would be a benefit to both drivers and customers as calls could be dispatched more quickly. As it stands, there are dispatch services who give priority to certain cab companies over others which means that customers may wait in a queue of calls with one company while another has cabs nearby available (Volk, 2007). The Parking Authority has implemented policies that further complicate the system and can actually increase the time that it takes for calls to be dispatched particularly in the poorer areas of the city (Volk, 2007). A centralised computer system that would dispatch calls to the nearest available driver would be fairer to the drivers and the customers would be served more quickly. However, as Lev Manovich notes, there is a fine line between surveillance and assistance and this is a key characteristic of high-tech societies (Manovich, 2004). With GPS the city is an 'augmented space' with data overlaid on the physical space which could be used to assist drivers (Manovich, 2004).

However, it can just as easily be used for monitoring and surveillance purposes. This leads to what Crang and Graham have described as a “politics of visibility” where there is an imperative to not only render these technologies visible so that those effected are aware of the impact but also to look at how individuals are made visible by the technologies and how they are used for tracking purposes (Crang and Graham, 2007).

The flaw with the way that the Philadelphia Parking Authority is using GPS to monitor the taxicab industry is that they are prioritising the virtual representation of the city over the real. They value software over human experience and knowledge. Thrift and French state that software intervenes on many levels and that software changes “forms of visibility by informationalising space” and that it produces “new templates for decision making” thereby changing the nature of expertise (2002). When the Philadelphia Parking Authority imposes fines upon drivers for not taking the recommended route they are treating the computer model of the city as the authority. This relies upon a false impression of an urban environment as static and predictable when cities are in fact the opposite. Drawing upon Lefebvre, Keith Meyer states that “life determined by technology effaces natural time ever more decisively” (2008: 151). He goes on to describe this as “subjugation of life to the rule of the machine” (2008: 152) as is the case when individual tacit knowledge is dismissed and flawed technology prioritised. Cities are characterized by flows and networks of people and goods moving in, out and throughout the city twenty-four hours a day. Navigating the city is unpredictable. Amin and Thrift describe how “each urban moment can spark performative improvisations which are unforeseen and unforeseeable” (2002: 4). This certainly applies to

driving within a city. However, GPS does not take into account changing traffic patterns, accidents, or construction. While it would be true to say that the model of the city is outdated as soon as it is made, this is particularly so with the system introduced in Philadelphia as the navigation system continues to direct drivers to a sports stadium that was demolished in 2004 (Volk, 2007).

Additionally, there is not a seamless relationship between the virtual and the real. These mobile networks still must “negotiate the architecture of spaces that they attempt to inhabit.” (Matt Locke, quoted in Manovich, 2004: 12) The GPS in place in Philadelphia is practical evidence of Locke’s description of the “ebbs and flows” and “troughs and peaks” in the network. The tall buildings in Center City Philadelphia disrupt the GPS system (“Stand with cab drivers”, 2008). The GPS also has a delay and, thus, cars are often not where the GPS reports (Volk, 2007). So, not only are cities not static and predictable, but neither is the virtual representation of the city that the GPS provides. Such systems are, thus, always “selective, incomplete, biased and subjective” and the danger is that they are being used to “transform the way that we establish meaning, construct knowledge, and make sense of our surroundings” (Mitchell, 2003: 120).

Without confidence of full accuracy, it is irrational for the Parking Authority to depend upon the system and to evaluate drivers based on the information that it provides. In the effort to instil within the taxicab industry the Fordist principles of efficiency, predictability, calculability and control (Ritzer, 2000) they have illogically placed the computer simulation above the real urban environment. If the system were used merely as a tool to provide navigation suggestions then there would not be such a problem. However, the system is used to monitor and evaluate the drivers. Drivers who interpret and improvise through the urban

landscape are fined up to \$350 for not adhering to the virtual (Philadelphia Parking Authority, 2006). Principles from the factory cannot be practically applied to the city and to the drivers in this manner.

4.6 Political context

To fully understand the context of this debate in Philadelphia it is necessary to briefly mention one other power struggle that is indirectly pushing this conflict over GPS. Returning to the idea of urban renewal there is a disagreement between city and state governments in the United States over who is best fit to manage the city. Before the Parking Authority took over the regulation of the taxicab industry it was the subject of a bitter dispute between city and state governments (raised in *The City of Philadelphia v. Philadelphia Parking Authority*, 2003). Established in 1950 the Authority was under the city's jurisdiction with the mayor appointing its Board of Directors until 2001 when the Parking Authority was transferred to the state government with the governor now appointing the Authority's Board of Directors (*Transfer Agreement*, 2004). More significantly, the revenue collected from the city's parking tickets, which funded the city's public school system, now goes to the state government (*General Assembly of Pennsylvania*, 2007). Philadelphia Mayor John Street filed a legal complaint against the transfer which was dismissed by the State Commonwealth Court (*The City of Philadelphia v. Governor Ed Rendell*, 2005). The concern was that when regulation of the taxicab industry was moved from the city-controlled Public Utility Commission to the Philadelphia Parking Authority in 2005 this was another case of control moving from the city to the state government. There are racial undertones to this debate as the state of Pennsylvania is largely rural, conservative, and white

with the liberal, racially mixed cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh on the eastern and western borders of the large state. There is a history of animosity from the state government towards the two cities (Simon and Alnutt, 2007). This political power struggle has further complicated issues for the taxicab drivers where the drivers' opposition to GPS has been, to some extent, drawn into the wider debate between the city and state governments.

The drivers have suffered because of this political conflict in two ways. The drivers are largely working class immigrants (Campisi, 2010) without experience with the inner workings of city and state governments complete with the complex network of behind the scenes machinations. Embroiled in this debate is a complicated infrastructure where loyalties between left and right and between city and state are in constant flux. Representatives from the city with career ambitions to move to state government move allegiances to Harrisburg (the state capitol), as demonstrated by Ed Rendell who moved from Mayor to Governor and ended up in legal disputes with his previous colleagues in regards to moving power away from the city to the state. On the one hand, the drivers struggled to find anyone within the government to listen to their grievances. Many attempted lawsuits were merely thrown out by the state courts and the Parking Authority was allowed to make changes to the industry without public hearings which would have given the drivers the opportunity to voice their concerns in a public arena (discussed below but raised in *Blount v. Philadelphia Parking Authority*, 2007).

The drivers received sporadic support from the Philadelphia city government. The city did not come out in support of the taxicab drivers in regards to their

disputes despite the fact that the city was itself involved in a legal dispute regarding the transfer of power. They only spoke out against the Parking Authority in regards to the loss of funding for public schools and, by the end of the Street administration and after much pressure from the drivers, demanded an independent audit of the Parking Authority to examine its financial records (General Assembly of Pennsylvania, 2007). However, even this was done because it was popular with the public who disliked the fact that the most efficiently run body in the government was the one which handed out parking violations. So, unfortunately, the drivers were drawn into the mess of political bickering and became, effectively, pawns in the struggle between the city and state governments. They were given mixed messages and support which further complicated their efforts against the Philadelphia Parking Authority. If the Mayor's office had publicly supported their efforts and demanded a public hearing on the actions of the Philadelphia Parking Authority this would have been a tremendous benefit for the drivers.

More broadly, however, in their dealings with the state and city governments, the drivers experienced the bureaucratic power structures of government. The bureaucracy is so large and the infrastructure so diffuse that it is difficult to navigate for individuals with grievances. Largely ignored or politely deferred the drivers struggled to determine who were their adversaries and who were potential allies. The grievances were with the Parking Authority but the drivers struggled to determine who was accountable for overseeing the Authority and who had the power to reign in the Authority (this struggle for clarity is raised in *Blount v Philadelphia Parking Authority*, 2007 and *Germantown Cab Co. v Philadelphia Parking Authority*, 2012). The Authority works solely in

Philadelphia appearing to be a city utility but, in fact, the city has little say over how the Authority operates. Determining the best path for contesting the Authority's power is made difficult by the complicated network of different offices and divisions of the state and city governments. This structure complicates and weakens potential opposition. Those opposing these organisations struggle to determine the correct path or to find the right individual to talk to in this complex bureaucracy. There is a struggle to determine who within the system is there to advocate for the interests of the public and who to formally file the complaint with. All of this serves as a barrier to limit opposition and complaints, to stop them early on in the complaints process. Along with the financial costs of hiring someone who can navigate the system such as lawyers, advisers, and lobbyists means that the average citizen is largely excluded from the political process which they are, nevertheless, led to believe is open and democratic. As the bureaucracy becomes more opaque and difficult to navigate those within the system are able to deflect and defer responsibility to others in an endless chain and thus many are able to function with near impunity.

4.7 Forming the Taxi Workers Alliance

In response to what they saw as the Philadelphia Parking Authority overstepping its role as regulator many of the drivers have attempted to contest the new regulations and the GPS in particular. Their efforts highlight a number of difficulties faced by many workers and demand a rethinking of many traditional assumptions about labour relations. With the growth in numbers of independent contractors, perma-temps, and temporary workers concurrent with a disillusionment and decline in labour unions there is an increasingly

large sector of the workforce excluded from the benefits of unions and who find it difficult to contest unfair practices.

Before the formation of the Taxi Workers Alliance the drivers went fourteen years without a fare increase (Tywman, 2005). This can be attributed both to the poor regulation from the Pennsylvania Utility Commission and the lack of an effective union to represent the interests of the drivers (Parker, 2005). There was a “Brotherhood” of Taxi Worker’s in the city which functioned as a quasi-union for years collecting dues from the drivers but doing very little to improve wages and working conditions for the drivers (Taxi Workers Alliance, 2007a). The group was also regarded as ineffective due to the fact that the Brotherhood was a group of drivers and owners together though the two groups often have conflicting interests (2007). Because the group was partly comprised of owners, the group exerted little pressure upon the owners and did little to prevent the owners from raising fees which the drivers must pay while neglecting to give them a fare increase. From an owners perspective, keeping fares low encourages more customers and the financial risks are passed of to the driver in the way of fees. So though not a traditional union, per se, the ‘Brotherhood’ is emblematic of a trend of disillusionment with labour unions. Decades ago, Henry Braverman criticised unions as “weakened” and that unions had “lost the will or ambition” and had turned ever more to “bargaining over labour’s share in the product” which was “ideologically destructive” (1974: 10). Similar to the situation in Philadelphia, Biju Mathew describes the decline of the taxicab union in New York City where the union became so influenced by government and owner interests that it fought against the interests of taxicab drivers and worked to prevent any opposition from drivers (2005).

Initially, a handful of motivated and politically aware drivers came together to lobby for a fare increase. This was shortly after the Philadelphia Parking Authority took over as regulator for the industry. Emboldened by their success when they won the fare increase they considered how to expand their group to more effectively lobby for the interests of the drivers (Taxi Workers Alliance, 2007a). Initially, they loosely worked with the Brotherhood, however, they quickly discerned the limitations of that relationship. They began a dialogue with the Taxi Workers Alliance of New York City co-founded by the charismatic Bhairavi Desai, a young activist committed to immigrant rights and the rights specifically of South Asian immigrants in New York City (Mathew, 2005). Biju Mathew, also a member of the TWA of NY wrote a book about the groups efforts entitled *Taxi!: Cabs and Capitalism in New York City* published in 2005. Motivated by the strong activist ideals of the Taxi Workers Alliance the drivers in Philadelphia decided to create a chapter of the TWA in Philadelphia in order to create a collective body that would be more dedicated to fighting for the rights of drivers.

Intent on organising an alternative to the “Brotherhood” a group of drivers, with guidance from the Taxi Workers Alliance of New York City, formed a Philadelphia chapter of the Alliance. However, they had a difficult time convincing a diverse group of 5000 drivers to join the group. First, there were many different types of drivers – there were part-time, full-time, night drivers, day drivers, owner-operators, those who only work the train station, and so on. While it may seem like a small distinction to those outside of the industry these different groups, historically, have had little contact with each other (Mathew,

2005). Those who own their own cab envision themselves as completely independent, immune from the difficulties of working with owners. They begin a shift without worrying about lease fees or that the car may break down during their shift due to actions from another driver. Owners and drivers continually disagree on who should be held responsible for the upkeep and repairs of vehicles. Owner operators are generally older and have been in the industry longer and have a stronger commitment to the profession while many of the younger newer drivers are more transient and view the job as a transition to something else (Mathew, 2005). Additionally, there is a different mindset between those that work the train station and airport versus those that work the city streets. Those working the train station and airport generally spend hours waiting in queues and the work is very tedious. The fares are more consistent and predictable but the work more monotonous. Also, from the hours spent waiting in the holding lots at the airport and train station a distinct subculture emerges (Mathew, 2005).

Secondly, there were the non-professional differences as the drivers are predominantly new immigrants from at least forty different nations, different religions, and different races (Shukur, 2010 and Diulio, 2011). Biju Mathew book focuses on how this complicates organising efforts. Different ethnic groups create their own subcultures and, particularly if language is an issue, are cut off from other drivers (Mathew, 2005). Sometimes this is the subgroup separating itself from the whole and sometimes the group is excluded from the whole. Mathew describes how upcoming actions had to be communicated to the different groups by representatives of their own ethnic group. Drivers of different ethnicities and languages sometimes further isolate themselves by

developing their own networks of owners and dispatchers who dispense calls in the native language (Mathew, 2005). Animosity amongst drivers of different ethnicities and nationalities can be deeply embedded. Many of these drivers have come to America to escape from war. However, allegiances remain when they come to the United States. Mathew describes the difficulties in getting Pakistani and Indian drivers to work with each other (2005). Cultural stereotypes, misconceptions of African Americans, and racist attitudes further complicate the relations as the new immigrant drivers expressed distrust and scepticism of African American drivers. This was particularly the case in Philadelphia as African TWA members expressed the difficulties in convincing fellow immigrant drivers to back the TWA president who was African American (Thompson, 2008).

Third, the drivers were sceptical that the Alliance would offer anything better than the previous “Brotherhood”. Many drivers had been paying dues to the “Brotherhood” and seen little for it. Drivers were resistant and cynical towards any new group claiming that they would work for their interests (Thompson, 2008). Some were reluctant to give support for a group that was to represent all drivers when perhaps they preferred, for any number of reasons including those mentioned above, to remain “independent”. In a climate of declining union participation there was a lack of understanding how collective bodies such as the TWA could work to improve the working conditions for drivers. While there are stereotypes and bad publicity regarding unions there is little widely available information, particularly for new immigrants, on how unions could help them. The TWA had to work against lack of information and misinformation.

Fourth, as a group of independent contractors it was difficult to convince the drivers that there would be any personal benefits to working together with other drivers. This conception is found throughout society with a focus upon independent individuals and a decline of citizens willing to work together. Zygmunt Bauman describes the difficulties of convincing individuals that their personal grievances can be shared interests as a “daunting task”. (2000: 35) Bauman describes the difference between the ‘citizen’ who is “inclined to seek her or his own welfare through the well-being of the city – while the individual tends to be ... wary about ‘common cause’ (2000: 35)” Though poorly paid and with many health and crime risks, drivers often justify their occupational choice by highlighting the ‘independence’ of the job (Mathew, 2005). They are on their own most of the day and choose how much interaction to have with customers and other drivers. Forming a collective body is, in some ways, counter to the whole perceived culture of taxicab drivers. There was a general lack of motivation to improve the working conditions as cynicism is widespread and many others, even if they end up working as drivers longer than initially planned, do not feel deeply invested in the profession. It is viewed, particularly for new immigrants, as a good entry-level job that does not require a lot of training or language skills (Diulio, 2011). Many see the job as temporary and, thus, do not see the point in becoming involved in a group. The goals of the Taxi Workers Alliance seem far off in the distance. It is difficult to motivate individuals to commit to a long-term fight. Many involved in the Taxi Workers Alliance saw themselves as pioneers working to improve labour relations for future generations within the taxicab industry but also to improve the situation for the working class as a whole (Taxi Workers Alliance, 2007a). While these are

ambitious and admirable goals the organisers found it difficult to motivate others who were less dedicated to such ideological positions.

This lack of a sense of community and desire to work collectively to improve conditions not just individually but as a group was a problem not only for organising the drivers but also re-emerged as a difficulty when the drivers worked to get public support for their efforts. Again, residents struggled to see how the conflict between the drivers and the Philadelphia Parking Authority affected them (Thompson, 2008 and Philebrity.com, 2007). Even though the organisers understood that their conflict with the Philadelphia Parking Authority was intrinsically related to wider issues in the city they struggled to articulate it effectively to the public. The issue is tied into the wider debates about urban renewal in the city, the growing inequality in the city, and the city's changing labour market but all of this is a rather complex argument which is difficult to convey in a press release, placard, or petition. The Parking Authority's surveillance measures is a pilot program which other industries and governments are watching closely. This attitude towards increased monitoring of employees is not isolated to the taxi cab industry and will likely spread to other industries. Since the Parking Authority installed GPS in the city's cabs, governments in New York City, Chicago, and Atlanta have begun to work on similar plans (Taxitronic, Inc., n.d.). However, the drivers continued to find it difficult to express to residents that this plan is a part of a wider programme throughout the city and that if they do not feel directly effected now they likely will in the future. Again related to Bauman's writings on this, it is unfortunate that the drivers feel that the only way they can get support from the public is through finding a way for the public to feel that it will effect them directly. There

is little sense of communal ties where residents would support their efforts merely because they agree with their position and feel that they have been wrongly discriminated against.

It is difficult to say now how many members are involved in the Taxi Workers Alliance in Philadelphia. Through their mobilisation efforts they received support from about 1200 drivers who they considered to be members (AllBusiness.com, 2007). However, in regards to those paying dues, the Alliance has about 100 true members (Taxi Workers Alliance, 2008). The organisers have spent countless hours talking to drivers and trying to prove their commitment to improving the industry (Thompson, 2008). The organisers held meetings and rallies to mobilise the drivers. They became fixtures in the waiting areas at the airport and train station, available to answer questions and discuss issues. Also, as those are also the areas most frequented by inspectors, organisers intervened and defended the drivers when inspectors became overzealous carrying out their duties (Thompson, 2008).

One factor potentially contributing to this is that the TWA struggled to receive any outside recognition particularly from labour organisations who, until very recently, excluded such non-traditional classifications of workers from access to their resources. After years of efforts, the TWA finally was able to join the AFL-CIO (the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Relations, the largest federation of unions in the United States, in 2011 (IBEW.org, 2011). If the Alliance were affiliated with a larger labour organisation earlier in their dispute they would have benefitted from the strengthened lobbying power, public relations resources, and increased funding. Such organisations give

advice and training to groups to educate them on the complicated processes and instruct them on how best to address their problems (IBEW.org, 2011). They would help them to understand the difficult legal system which is particularly bewildering for new immigrants. Labour organisations have generations of experience in industrial action, valuable experience to share with new organisers, resources for training, and established contacts with government officials, lawyers, and lobbyists. Without such support, governments and employers find it easy to impose strict regulations upon such groups as they have little clout to fight back. In this case, the Philadelphia Parking Authority and the government in general did not have to take the Taxi Workers Alliance seriously because they did not have much influence or clout. For years the TWA lacked the leverage that would come from affiliation with a large group of politically motivated workers who would be used to using their influence in election campaigns.

4.8 Opposition to the Parking Authority’s “Technology Enhancement Project”

The Taxi Workers Alliance of Philadelphia has been particularly motivated against the imposition of GPS which they view as an unacceptable invasion of their privacy. Quoting the Alliance president, Ronald Blount,

“As a driver when I come out in the morning and get my cup of coffee they follow me... In the afternoon, if I want to go to an AA (Alcoholics Anonymous) meeting or something they follow me and, in the evening, if I want to go to the mosque and pray they follow me. So, what happens is that I stop going to the mosque, I stop going to the AA meetings because I

do not want them into my personal business and we think that effects the driver's personal lifestyle" (Blount in Inskip, 2006).

As a result the Taxi Workers Alliance has opposed the GPS in a number of ways.

First, they filed a lawsuit. It alleges that the Authority did not go through the proper process of presenting the proposal to the public (Blount v. Philadelphia Parking Authority, 2006). Generally, there should have been public hearings for such plans. This would have given the drivers a chance to voice their concerns and to be actively involved in the process of designing the proposal and choosing what type of GPS would be most effective and appropriate and how it could most efficiently be implemented into the industry. The drivers claim that they are not necessarily opposed to all GPS systems but that they are particularly unhappy with the one that has been implemented (AllBusiness.com, 2007). They feel that the GPS could have been used to transform the dispatch system which is currently biased and inefficient. If an appropriate model was installed along with an overhaul of the system of dispatching calls the drivers would have been more willing to support the system. A system which would primarily be used for locating cabs and connecting them most efficiently with passengers would be an asset for drivers. Instead, they feel that the units chosen and the way they have been used prioritised monitoring and collecting data on the drivers rather than improving how the industry works (AllBusiness.com, 2007 and Inskip, 2006). Additionally, a public hearing would have forced the Parking Authority to be more transparent in regards to its financial system (Germantown Cab Company v. Philadelphia Parking Authority, 2012). It would have allowed citizens to question how such a proposal would be funded and how this is related to the Parking Authority's outstanding funding for the public

schools (Loeb, 2011). Lastly, it would have made the process for choosing a GPS vendor more transparent. The drivers feel that the choice of Taxitronic, Inc was politically motivated and involved behind the scenes negotiations (Volk, 2007). The individual who negotiated the deal for the Philadelphia Parking Authority left to take a post at Taxitronic after the lucrative deal was brokered (Volk, 2007).

Related to the dispute in Philadelphia, the Taxi Workers Alliance in New York City filed a suit to get an injunction to prevent the installation of GPS in the city's cabs in 2005 (Chan, 2007). It argued that privacy is a constitutionally protected right which had been infringed upon with the surveillance measures. The suit in NYC states that "Each driver regards his or her own pattern as proprietary" (Caruso, 2007). The TWA in New York suggests that a driver's movements are 'trade secrets' which they should not be compelled to divulge. A judge did not grant the injunction and stated that he was unconvinced by the privacy claims and found that the benefits of the GPS outweighed infringements upon the drivers' privacy (Chan, 2007). If the drivers had been successful this would have set an enormous precedent that could be used to limit a wide range of surveillance practices.

Beyond the lawsuits, the drivers have staged protests and strikes. A strike in May 2006 had participation of 98% of the drivers and included a rally at City Hall (Shukur, 2010 and Taxi Workers Alliance, 2007a). The Parking Authority, who permitted taxicabs from the suburbs to work in the city on that day, dismissed the event as ineffective (Volk, 2007). This again demonstrates the inequality in the power structure. The Parking Authority is able to quickly

change the rules and put in place an effective contingency plan to render attempts at industrial action by the drivers ineffective. The drivers also lose a day's worth of pay by taking the time off to participate. The strikes generally receive little press coverage.

An instance where the issue was covered by the television news occurred in March 2007. At the airport an inspector attempted to tow away the cab of a driver who refused to accept credit card payments. When the driver resisted the other cabs immediately went on strike causing disruptions at the airport (Taxi Workers Alliance, 2007b). TV news crews arrived to film the dramatic scenes of the driver being pulled from his car and arrested (2007b). The coverage gave no background context to the incident. The driver, of Eritrean nationality, was arrested and, because the disruption occurred at the airport, the Parking Authority filed charges against him under the Patriot Act suggesting that it was an act of terrorism (Thompson, 2008). This is a very local event which the Parking Authority successfully drew into wider issues of security and terrorism. The driver, who was an organiser with the Taxi Workers Alliance, struggled to defend himself in the courts and to pay for a lawyer to defend him. It was particularly difficult financially for him since the Parking Authority would not allow him to work while the charges were pending. The terrorism charges were eventually thrown out (Taxi Workers Alliance, 2007b).

In September of 2007 the Taxi Workers Alliance in Philadelphia joined with the Alliance chapter in New York City for a planned two day strike against GPS and credit card machines (background from Drivers.com, 2007 and AllBusiness.com, 2007). Press coverage focused on how little impact the strike

made in both cities. Nancy Solomon on National Public Radio commented that “without the kind of clout that the mass transit workers are able to wield it is unclear just how effective the two day strike will be” (Solomon, 2007). The Taxi and Limousine Commission in New York City dealt with the strike by encouraging public transportation, encouraging passengers to double-up, raising fares to encourage drivers to work, and establishing high flat fares for the most popular routes such as between the city and the airports. In Philadelphia the strike again had little impact as the Parking Authority implemented its contingency plan allowing suburban drivers to work in the city. The Taxi Workers Alliance in Philadelphia ended the two-day strike one day early (background from Drivers.com, 2007 and AllBusiness.com, 2007).

The most difficult challenge for the Alliance has been garnering public support for their opposition to GPS. There is a pervasive perception that taxicab drivers are dishonest and that GPS will prevent customers from being ripped off. A city entertainment blog described how the GPS system had crashed disabling the meters and advised readers to haggle over the prices and be beware of drivers who were sure to overcharge passengers when the meter machines were not working (Philebrity.com, 2007). A prime complaint from the drivers with the system put in place is that it often crashes or wipes out fare data and drivers are forced to come up with fares that passengers agree to and thus drivers, rather than gouging customers, generally lose out against the ‘hagglers’.

The Alliance has stood on street corners handing out information and gone door to door to talk to residents about their concerns over GPS. They point out that they are not the only ones being tracked; customers are tracked as well,

particularly if they are paying with credit card (Volk, 2007 and Campisi, 2010). They try to connect with the residents over relevant concerns. With the credit card machines installed in all cabs passengers are encouraged to use this method of payment. This means that the Parking Authority now holds their credit card information and a record of their trip. Drivers ask residents how they feel about the government tracking their movements throughout the city particularly if the trip is regarding a sensitive and private matter such as going to an abortion clinic or visiting a strip club (Inskeep, 2006). However, there is still a strong sentiment amongst the public that the GPS will prevent consumers from being ripped off by the dishonest drivers. This sentiment is continuously reinforced by the Parking Authority through their better funded public relations efforts (Ney, 2009).

4.9 How the Philadelphia Parking Authority responded

The Philadelphia Parking Authority launched a campaign in 2005 to transform the city's taxicab industry. The Authority was able to infiltrate into an industry as government regulator in an alarming way. The actions faced little protest except, of course, by those who were directly affected by the changes implemented. Since 2005 the Authority has exerted an unprecedented amount of influence on a private industry comprised primarily of independent contractors without any significant support from their employers, the government, or any union or labour body. While the drivers who mobilised and formed the Taxi Workers Alliance worked tirelessly to contest the Authority's authority despite lack of experience in fighting against such a difficult adversary, the Authority has responded to their efforts aggressively utilising all of the resources available to such a well funded organisation.

This section will briefly draw upon what has been mentioned above to reflect upon how the Philadelphia Parking Authority has handled this situation. First, the Parking Authority increased the monitoring of the private industry thereby increasing its power and control over the independent industry. This has been a concerted effort to bring the industry under greater government control and is part of a larger plan to clean up the city of Philadelphia by improving its image for tourists and consumers and is a part of the governments efforts to have more oversight over the service industries in the city to insure that there is a uniformity and predictability in how tourists and new middle class residents experience the revitalised Philadelphia. The increased monitoring has been implemented in a two-pronged approach. The Philadelphia Parking Authority hired a team of inspectors and introduced its technology enhancement project with the result that the monitoring increased both by individuals patrolling the street and through the use of new technologies such as GPS.

The inspectors serve as the face of the Parking Authority. The inspectors serve as a publicised reminder to the taxicabs to follow the newly implemented guidelines and they function to distribute fines to drivers which serve to further bring the industry in line with the Authority's expectations. The fines are a lucrative source of revenue for the Philadelphia Parking Authority and the city government continues to struggle to access these funds as was originally intended in the transfer deal (Loeb, 2011).

The Parking Authority implemented the GPS as a technologically progressive method of increased monitoring. The Parking Authority hired the services of an

expensive public relations company in order to keep the public debate over GPS in the Parking Authority's favour (Kase, 2012). They effectively marketed the proposal to consumers with assurances that the measures would improve the experience for consumers and protect their interests. They effectively created an image of taxicab drivers as unruly con-men who, without proper monitoring, would continue to rip-off passengers (Campisi, 2011 and AllBusiness.com, 2007). When the drivers pointed out that they were more often victimised by passengers than the other way around the Philadelphia Parking Authority repeatedly drew attention to the panic button in the cabs (McDonald, 2006). This is a panic button that connects to the dispatchers who then text a message back to the drivers asking them to describe the problem. This isn't much help for drivers who have been shot. Though the TWA questioned why the 'panic button' did not directly contact the police it was the Philadelphia Parking Authority who continued to control the media message (McDonald, 2006).

When these methods did not work the Philadelphia Parking Authority became even more aggressive in its campaign against the drivers and the Taxi Workers Alliance. This led to the stand-off at the airport when the driver refused to comply with the Philadelphia Parking Authority's demand that drivers accept credit card payments (discussed above, Taxi Workers Alliance, 2007. To counteract the negative publicity received after the images were televised of the police forcibly removing a man who was in tears from his vehicle (a vehicle which he owned himself) the PPA attempted to draw the controversy into the general public hysteria over terrorism by filing charges against the driver under the Patriot Act. More seriously, in 2008 a female passenger accused President of the TWA, Ronald Blount, of assault when she insisted on paying by credit card

(details from Thompson, 2008). She claimed that Blount choked her for two minutes and hit her head against the cab during their dispute. Blount knew nothing of the allegations until weeks later when he was called to the Philadelphia Parking Authority's headquarters where police arrested him amidst cheers from the PPA staff. Blount was exonerated of the charges. However, the Philadelphia Parking Authority then tried him for the same assault charges within their Administrative Court. He was also found not guilty of the assault charges (Wolfson, 2010). While the extent of the involvement of the Philadelphia Parking Authority in this case is unknown they certainly had a vested interest in discrediting Blount. When the charges were brought against him, he was brought to the Philadelphia Parking Authority to be arrested during which Philadelphia Parking Authority staff apparently cheered (Wolfson and Velis, 2010).

The Philadelphia Parking Authority's attempts to isolate the city's taxicab drivers has been largely successful and one of the most disheartening aspects of the whole dispute. The drivers are low paid and predominantly new immigrants. Already in a minority position based on economic and ethnic factors they are now further singled out as an "Other" that needs to be watched for fears of dishonesty. The Parking Authority highlighted this distinction in well publicised crackdown on illegal immigrants in 2010 (Sears, 2010). One hundred drivers were called to the Parking Authority and questioned with some temporarily detained. In the end, only four were arrested. However, the Philadelphia Parking Authority had succeeded in establishing the link between drivers and illegal immigrants. A prominent component of the Parking Authority's introduction of the GPS system was to establish the taxicab drivers as an

“Other” that needed to be watched. Taxicab drivers are 60 times more likely than those in any other profession to be murdered on the job and third highest rates of assault after police officers and security guards (U.S. Department of Labor, 2000). Despite these facts, the Parking Authority successfully persuaded the public that rather than a need to protect the drivers, there was a pressing need to protect the customers. The PPA portrayed drivers as dishonest and promised that the GPS would prevent drivers from cheating the customer (Ney, 2009). The tracking devices would also protect passengers in case of an altercation with the driver as they could easily determine which car was involved. It is not necessary to present any sort of evidence to prove that drivers are dishonest as the ideological message functions; the general impression is that if the Parking Authority felt the need to impose such a monitoring system then it must be because the drivers are dishonest. No one, besides the drivers, has questioned this assumption.

4.10 What the TWA has learned and what has been successful

Since 2005 the Taxi Workers Alliance have unsuccessfully tried to challenge the installation of Global Positioning Systems in all of the city’s cabs. The Taxi Workers Alliance has followed traditional routes of resistance through law suits, strikes, and rallies. These actions have done little to limit the control which the Philadelphia Parking Authority has exerted over the drivers (even though the results of *Germantown Cab Co. v. Philadelphia Parking Authority* may have large implications as it has established that the Philadelphia Parking Authority must go through appropriate processes within the state government to have their regulations approved). However, the Alliance has had some success. Starting out as a handful of drivers with no experience organising, working with

politicians and lawyers, and launching a public relations campaign the TWA has, over the past few years, greatly improved their tactics against the Philadelphia Parking Authority.

Everyday practices of non-compliance have been effective. Referring again to the credit card debate, the drivers attempted to oppose the GPS by refusing to accept credit card payments. They oppose the credit card system for a number of reasons (details following from Volk, 2007). First, the PPA takes a 5% surcharge on all transactions eating into the drivers already low earnings. Second, the Parking Authority takes sometimes weeks to process the transactions leaving drivers without their earnings and unable to effectively budget their finances since they do not know when they will receive their pay. The drivers also oppose the credit card machines because it can be used as another level of monitoring. The credit card system enables the Philadelphia Parking Authority to keep track of not only base earnings but tips as well. This financial information can be used during negotiations with drivers regarding fare increases. Lastly, the drivers oppose the machines because they must pay for their maintenance including the paper and ink for printing receipts. So, as the PPA makes a considerable amount of money off of the credit card machines, the drivers hoped that, by refusing to accept credit cards, they would be able to starve the system. This frustrated the PPA considerably, inspectors began to threaten drivers and give out fines for other offences to any driver refusing to accept credit cards, and the PPA issued an “executive order” demanding that all cabs accept credit cards. Those who do not are taken off the road and their vehicles seized until they agree to comply. This culminated in the stand-off at the airport mentioned above.

While the drivers are now forbidden to outright refuse to allow customers to pay by credit card, they manage to limit how many passengers pay by credit card. Drivers who are opposed to the system often claim that the credit card machines are broken (Volk, 2007). Also, as the passengers are essentially a captive audience for the duration of the trip many drivers use this opportunity to explain the situation. TWA President Ronald Blount claims that after doing so hardly anyone ever still insists on paying with credit card (Volk, 2007). The drivers have begrudgingly gone along with the systems and the orders but have managed to circumvent the intentions of the Philadelphia Parking Authority through their everyday practices of resistance.

In regards to their public relations campaign to garner support for their cause they have, unfortunately, also discovered that the public was not terribly concerned about the increased surveillance put upon drivers. However, the drivers were more successful in gathering negative attention to the Philadelphia Parking Authority. From the drivers highlighting concerns regarding the legitimacy of the Philadelphia Parking, Mayor Michael Nutter's demanded a public financial audit of the Philadelphia Parking Authority in 2007 (General Assembly of Pennsylvania, 2007). As the Philadelphia Parking Authority is hated by residents all too familiar with finding a boot on their vehicle the TWA successfully increased media and political pressure upon the Authority even if their personal concerns over the extensive monitoring was not the focus of the attention. The TWA discovered that they could apply pressure upon the Parking Authority and create a public debate on the control which the PPA wields in the city even if, again, the focus was not on their specific concerns and conflict with the Parking Authority. They learned to more effectively interact with the media

and the government. While they may have initially hoped to have launched a well publicised confrontation with the Parking Authority the TWA found that to be very difficult. The PPA found it easy to deflect the discussions back upon the drivers where the surveillance measures were concerned. The Parking Authority gathered public support by portraying the taxicab drivers as dishonest and created a sentiment that the industry needed to be more strictly monitored in order to protect the consumer. Again, the plans for cleaning up the industry was to make it more palatable and amiable for the consumer. The focus of the debate was on consumer satisfaction rather than on the rights of the workers. By shifting the criticism back upon the Parking Authority in the way that it has the TWA has followed the Parking Authority's own approach. The emphasis is put back upon the consumer who demands financial accountability from the government organisation. The focus is on how the Philadelphia Parking Authority has wasted the residents money and how the city's public schools have suffered as a result. The Taxi Workers Alliance has effectively used the Philadelphia Parking Authority's own strategies to their advantage.

The Taxi Workers Alliance discerned after their years of efforts that they needed to move the debate from one which focused on their own 'personal troubles' to one that moved the debate into the broader context of 'public issues' (Mills, 1959). Many residents of Philadelphia will remain apathetic to an issue as long as they did not feel that it affected them directly. The TWA managed to shift the focus of their complaints onto an issue that was more palatable for the wider public. Additionally, they needed to simplify the message. Motivating the public against the increased surveillance measures was difficult because it could not be summarised briefly. To speak to the public about the propriety of their driving

patterns isn't likely to get much support. A driver who explains how he does not like being followed because he feels like a second class citizen will find many who are sympathetic but also many who are still comforted by the fact that the driver will not be able to rip them off by taking circuitous routes because they have succumbed to the stereotype of cab drivers perpetuated by the Philadelphia Parking Authority.

While the drivers found a more effective route for motivating the public against the Philadelphia Parking Authority it is unfortunate that the debate was shifted away from the surveillance debate as this is an issue that residents will have to face sooner or later as the city government continues to introduce new surveillance measures. There is the need for a public debate in Philadelphia on whether or not increased surveillance is the best plan for the city in its attempts to revitalise. The introduction of GPS and the Taxi Workers Alliances dedicated efforts against the plan presented an opportunity for the city to engage in an intelligent and concerned dialogue over the future of not just Philadelphia but of all the other cities whose governments are carefully watching how things play out in Philadelphia. The Taxi Workers Alliance is an admirable and increasingly rare example of individuals who have attempted to raise awareness over the effectiveness, legality, and justification for the implementation of surveillant systems. The group raises important issues and has become increasingly adept at articulating these issues. It is a shame that the issue appears to be fading from the public debate and that a system will remain which all parties understand to be deeply flawed, even if that admission is begrudgingly (see Ney, 2009 for the PPA perspective).

The TWA were confronted with the difficulty of how to express opposition to a system which many supported. They struggled to explain how they were not against all GPS and were, rather, just opposed to the system put in place and the way it was introduced. Additionally, they found it difficult to get passengers to understand the problems with the monitoring when the passengers generally supported the monitoring as they believed the hype that it would protect the consumer. Focusing on the privacy aspects and pointing out that the government would know when passengers went to a strip club could also come across as paranoid hysteria. As Chapter 5 in this thesis discusses, surveillance systems are often supported and privacy claims discounted. The TWA struggled to articulate their opposition because it is more difficult to express than more traditional labour grievances. It is easier to form an opinion on dangerous working conditions or low wages than it is to form an opinion on a surveillance system which is seen to have plenty of advantages even if there are some disadvantages. This controversy highlights the continuing need for an informed and thoughtful discussion over the implementation of surveillance measures.

As the situation now stands the Global Positioning Systems remain in the city's cabs and the drivers continue to be forced to pay for their maintenance.

However, the Philadelphia Parking Authority admits that there are problems with the systems and that the data gathered from the monitoring is not necessarily accurate. The Philadelphia Parking Authority is involved in a dispute with the vendor, Taxitronic, regarding the needed improvements to the systems. The Parking Authority has only paid Taxitronic half the sum which was agreed upon and refuses to pay the rest until the problems with the systems are fixed. Taxitronic, conversely, refuses to fix the systems until they receive the other half

of the payment. The two continue to argue while the taxicab drivers are stuck with the machines in their cabs. They are forced to use a system which everyone understands is flawed. When the systems crash the drivers lose fares and neither Taxitronic nor the Philadelphia Parking Authority are likely to reimburse the drivers for this loss of income. If the artist Jill Magid (discussed in Chapter 6) refers to CCTV cameras as “gargoyles emptily representing safety” then the GPS in the cabs in Philadelphia can be seen as fuzzy dice emptily representing efficiency (Zacks, 2003). Unfortunately, even though the GPS is plagued with flaws there are proposals for similar systems emerging in cities across the United States.

4.11 Conclusions and implications

This chapter illustrates Henri Lefebvre’s depiction of everyday life as the “intersection between the non-dominated sector of reality and the dominated sector” (Lefebvre, 2003: 100). The struggle narrated in this chapter is at the level of everyday life. Surveillance systems often function to impose dominance upon these ‘non-dominated’ aspects of everyday life. The concern is over the impact upon the individual, in regards to how their everyday life is restricted by these systems - how their everyday rhythms are dictated and regulated by these electronic systems. While the contestation comes from the individuals who aim to challenge these systems, the implications are much broader. This reassertion of control over everyday life extends throughout the environment, as it is socially constructed, and a challenge to systems which seek to strictly regulate the individual is also a challenge to these processes which regulate the city. The city is defined by how it is used by those within it, and a challenge to monitoring

and regulating systems functions to give greater authority to the inhabitants to define the city.

Mark Purcell describes Lefebvre's notion of the right to the city as,

“an argument for profoundly reworking both the social relations of capitalism and the current structure of liberal-democratic citizenship” stressing the need to “restructure the power relations that underlie the production of urban space, fundamentally shifting control away from capital and the state and toward urban inhabitants” (Purcell, 2002: 101-102).

This chapter highlights the importance of Henri Lefebvre's concerns. While the aspirations to improve the city of Philadelphia are positive, the methods under which this project was undertaken were misplaced. Rather than involving the residents in the process to redefine the city, the inhabitants were regarded as unruly and requiring regulation. A relationship is established where urban renewal success is measured by the extent to which the city becomes orderly.

As a result, measures were undertaken which, under the embraced guise of urban renewal, restricted the independence of the inhabitants. The taxi drivers offer an example of a group who came under scrutiny. New technologies were deployed to monitor and regulate a group that previously had been difficult to manage due to the mobile nature of their profession. Global Positioning Systems are an example of technologies which allow an “anticipatory form of seeing” (Crandall and Armitage, 2005: 20). The use of GPS highlights the conflict between linear and cyclical rhythms and the valorisation of technology over human knowledge (this ideology is discussed further in Chapter 5). These

GPS systems are often flawed, in one example, while a taxi driver could get a passenger to Cherry Hill, NJ in about 15 minutes by merely crossing the bridge which divides Philadelphia (Pennsylvania) from New Jersey, the GPS system in the cab stated that the journey would be over two hundred miles (AllBusiness.com, 2007). Beyond these technical flaws, the tacit knowledge regarding the contours and rhythms of the city are discounted. Taxi cab drivers live within the daily rhythms of the city everyday and are attuned to its ebbs and flows in ways in which align them with Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis. They have an ontological understanding of the city which can not be superseded by technology. GPS presents the city as static and can not account for traffic and accidents. Neither can it account for the extra-everyday events of festivals, fairs, tours, and so on which drive urban life. The over-reliance on technological forms of regulation in Philadelphia has the consequence of flattening these many layers of rhythms in return for the false promise of efficiency and predictability. The use of technological systems of monitoring does not merely sit in the background but, rather, imposes its narrow understanding of space and everyday life upon the city.

This is a perspective of understanding surveillance systems drawing upon Lefebvre's understanding of rhythms and conceptualising surveillance as processes which seek to conform everyday lived rhythms with rhythms of representation. This perspective, as illustrated with the case of GPS in Philadelphia taxicabs, is not one which utilised Panoptic metaphors. Returning to Haggerty, this case can be placed within his framework. The purpose of GPS in the taxis is complex but not Panoptic. The ideological messages implicit in the way in which the GPS was sold to the public is important to unpick. It was

wrapped up in rhetoric valorising technology and demonising the drivers. Concessions were made towards driver safety, but they were clearly not the focus. Examining the fee and fine structure that the Philadelphia Parking Authority introduced, the regulation of the taxi industry was a very lucrative project (Philadelphia Parking Authority, 2011 and discussed in *Germantown Cab Company v. Philadelphia Parking Authority, 2010*). If the purpose was purely to monitor and create a more efficient industry, the severity of these fees and fines are not justified. Additionally, and which was raised within the lawsuit which the drivers filed, the Philadelphia Parking Authority did not articulate a case justifying the need for the surveillance system (*Blount v. Philadelphia Parking Authority, 2009*). As a result, the Parking Authority has not yet had to defend the purpose behind this surveillance.

The hierarchies within this case also demonstrate the extent to which Panoptic metaphors are not appropriate. Rather, Lefebvre's understanding of many different layers of influences woven through everyday life is more appropriate. This case demonstrates the complexity around the management of contemporary cities and the power struggle between the city government, state government and the Parking Authority demonstrates that a narrow understanding of power through surveyor and surveilled does not work. Those who are able to exert control over the inhabitants of the city do not speak with one voice and there are, as demonstrated, many conflicts within these groups. Following from this, the agents of surveillance are not clear. It is not clear who was driving the increased surveillance in Philadelphia. Perhaps aspects were driven by the city government, such as with the installation of CCTV. Perhaps other aspects were driven ideologically by the state which regards the city (and

its government) as unruly. Or, perhaps the installation of GPS was the vision of the Philadelphia Parking Authority. The operations of these groups are not clearly made to the public.

Nevertheless, these surveillance systems show no sign of being dismantled despite their flaws and shortcomings. They have become ubiquitous and mundane aspects of everyday life. Returning to this theme from Chapter 3, Galloway and Thacker highlight that it is precisely this “everydayness - the banality of the digital” which produces the effect of universality and ubiquity (2007: 10). Practices of resistance to challenge such systems need to adapt to the extent to which these systems are already deeply embedded. The taxi drivers have not managed to have these systems removed. However, it is too early to say if they will be able to render the machines redundant and, thus, remove some of their impact. The taxi drivers have found methods of collective action a challenge due to the nature of their occupation and due to the weakening influence of collective action. Traditional methods of strikes and protests have not been effective.

However, other aspects of their efforts have been more successful. Since 2005 when they began their dispute they have greatly improved their public relations work. They now connect with other organisations and causes to align themselves with a broader project to fight for rights within the city (Thompson, 2008). They have also better connected with Leftist activist organisations who have been sympathetic to their cause (such as working with Jobs for Justice, Mobilizing Media Project and the Philadelphia Independent Media Center). Through doing so they have developed a voice and audience which they were

not able to foster or promote through practices such as strikes and protests.

They were able to utilise this to highlight, tying back into the overall framework developed in Chapters 2 and 3, the extent to which these surveillance practices impact upon everyone, the limitations and flaws of these systems and, lastly, through utilising the technology as a launching point for discussing the impact of regulations upon drivers and customers alike, they have managed to quietly subvert the technology by holding it up for inspection itself.

It is unfortunate that in the past few years they have shifted the focus away from the impact of the surveillance upon the drivers which was their primary focus in 2005. However, this adaptation has enabled them to capitalise on public opinion against the Philadelphia Parking Authority through highlighting the corruption of the Parking Authority through the push for the internal audit. This is a rather subversive move on the part of the TWA. While unsuccessful in garnering support towards an issue under which they were the primary targets, they have rather successfully moved the scrutiny away from the drivers and towards the operations of the Philadelphia Parking Authority. The recent court decision (*Germantown Cab Company v. Philadelphia Parking Authority*) has successfully challenged the Philadelphia Parking Authority's control of the industry. The implications of this will be seen in the next few years. However, there is potential that this will enable the drivers to assert a greater amount of control over their own everyday lives and develop ways in which these surveillance practices can be evaded.

This chapter has built upon the previous two theoretical chapters by providing a case study within which the issues raised in those two chapters can be explored.

This chapter highlights the implications of surveillance, the complexity of power relations within urban environments and the ideological foundations driving the introduction of surveillance. Through an exploration of how technologies discussed in Chapter 3 function within a particular case, the implications are highlighted as well as the difficulties which arise to challenge such systems. This case study has also explored and evaluated various practices of resistance deployed within these circumstances to further the development of an alternative framework for understanding resistance to surveillance. The following two chapters will continue this project examining two other sites of surveillance.

CHAPTER 5 - CONSUMING SURVEILLANCE CULTURE

5.1 Introduction

The overall purpose of this thesis is to develop an understanding of resistance to contemporary surveillance practices; this chapter seeks to explore and explain why there is a lack of resistance to surveillance. Beyond a lack of resistance to surveillance, these practices, on the contrary, are often appreciated, enjoyed and integrated into everyday life. Any attempt to conceive of developing practices of resistance to surveillance must first acknowledge how surveillance has become an often embraced component of contemporary life. Additionally, the ideological messages beneath this embrace which has driven cultural shifts towards privacy, interaction and identity needs to be exposed and explored. Through the development of new technology, surveillance has become embedded within a discourse which champions the empowerment of the consumer, the creative potential of interactivity, the democratic ideals in sharing while the expanding capabilities to process and store data has led to a vision of everyday life which prioritises the statistical representations of individuals and interactions. The underlying mechanisms of control within these surveillance practices needs to be extricated from this rhetoric. It is the reconfiguring of everyday life through the lens of consumption which leads to the valorisation of the investment in ever more sophisticated forms of technology to address longstanding problems, the enjoyment of watching and consuming the lives of others and the reduction of interactions to transactions and of individuals to data.

The chapter is organised as follows, first will be an analysis of the promise of new technology which leads to a shared technophilia between the police and the

public. Following along from this shared appreciation of the benefits of new technology, the domestication of surveillance will be explored where borrowing from the military and the police, individuals integrate these technologies into everyday life. Section four focuses on the cultural shifts in attitudes towards privacy as forms of voyeurism and exhibitionism become commonplace. The following section explores how this valorisation in sharing and the collection of data further normalises the consumption of surveillance. The final section examines iPhone applications as a final illustration of how surveillance, through its consumption, becomes accepted and enjoyed.

5.2 The Spectacle of Surveillance

5.2.1 Beyond the cutting edge

“We’re really beyond the cutting edge” stated Cmdr. Sid Heal, head of the technology exploration project at the Los Angeles Police Department in 2006 referring to the first test of an unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) by a United States urban police force (Marquez, 2006). At a gathering to demonstrate and publicise the ‘police drone’ the officials from the LAPD struggled to land the drone and it crash landed. Propelled by sentiments such as those expressed by Cmdr. Heal and undeterred by the technical and logistical hurdles, the use of drones for non-military purposes has continued to expand. Within the United States, UAV’s are used to patrol the Canadian and Mexican border (re-enacted as performance art in Jordan Crandall’s ‘Unmanned’). Within the border, groups such as motorcycle riders, in particular, are targeted for monitoring by drones in Maryland and North Carolina when they have held gatherings (Marquez, 2006 and McCullagh, 2006) which highlights the focus on relatively low-level crime such as anti-social behaviour. The potential for use (and mis-

use) is broad and, according to Mike Heintz of UNITE Alliance representing Boeing, Lockheed Martin and Northrup Grumman, “limited only by our imagination” (McCullagh, 2006). Imaginations do run wild and the compulsion to quietly monitor populations from above appears more tantalising than ethical concerns and evaluations regarding effectiveness.

The use of UAV’s or unmanned drones is an escalation of a long standing trajectory regarding the valorisation of technology for purposes of social control. In ‘Culture, Leisure and the Police’ the Situationists (1966) articulated the link between the embrace of technological means of control by the police (in their case referring to early implementation of infra-red CCTV) and the spectacle. The prioritising of scientific development towards the police related to the shift from a strictly repressive role to one that was also preventative according to the Situationists and this shift in roles also necessitated a shared culture between the population and the police (which emerges through the development of community centres, etc.) in order to establish common ground and improve communication. More so than in the past, living amidst the technological revolution which has dramatically influenced all areas of everyday life, the valorisation of technology acts as a shared culture, a shared appreciation between military, police and the populace. This technophilia verges on religious devotion enmeshed within a rhetoric of worshipful devotion (as documented through Campbell and La Pastina’s (2010) analysis of discourses around the iPhone and Ian Roderick’s (2010) discourse analysis around Explosive Ordnance Disposal robots). As such, the embrace of technology is disproportionate to (or, perhaps, is only tenuously related to) the efficacy of the device/programme/system, etc.

The use of cutting edge technology (adapted from military contexts) functions as a marketing tool to project a particular image of the police to the public (hence the demonstrations in front of the media). The devices are brought out along with press releases, interviews and demonstrations. The implementation and effectiveness - the after story - is much more difficult to uncover. Nonetheless, through a shared technological determinism the public understands the police strategy of tackling social ills with new technology. Through this mutual embrace, both parties then appear to be 'on the same side'. More so than with CCTV, the use of unmanned drones functions as a spectacle - a very visible, spectacular display of power and control, though a version of power and control which is diffused through technology and, thus, appearing more benign. The relationship between technology and religious devotion is to be expected, following Debord, as "the spectacle is the technological version of the exile of human powers into a 'world beyond'" such as religion (Debord, 1967/1995: 18). What is crucial when examining the rush to embrace technological solutions for domestic troubles is that those in power appear to be just as drawn in by the spectacle as the public they are trying to impress. The use of these technologies does not appear as an obfuscation on the part of the police, but, rather a genuine embrace and enthusiasm for technologically based solutions to long-standing domestic challenges.

The case of the purchase of a UAV by Merseyside police highlights the gulf between the expectation and the application of such technologies. In 2007 the Merseyside police launched the first 'police drone' (unmanned aerial vehicle or UAV) in the UK as a part of their 'Total Policing' approach focusing on "using

technology to tackle criminals” (Merseyside Police, 2007). In 2009, Merseyside police began using the drone. At £40,000, the assistant chief constable described it as a “cost effective way of helping to catch criminals” (BBC News, 2007). However, between November of 2009 and February of 2010 when the drone was grounded by the Civil Aviation Authority because the police had not obtained a license for use, it had led to just one arrest. In February 2010, the drone was used to track down a man who had run away from a stolen car (another man was arrested immediately). The man had hidden under some bushes but the thermo-imaging by the drone had located him. “The Force is continually looking to use new technology to help in its fight against crime and these arrests demonstrate the value of having something like the UAV as a resource” stated Chief Inspector Nick Gunatilleke from the Merseyside police’s Anti-Social Behaviour Taskforce (Merseyside Police, 2010).

Companies Air Robot UK and BAE systems have contracts with about 25 constabularies in the UK (Minton, 2010). They are primarily used to track anti-social behaviour and public protests and events. These devices were originally developed for military purposes. As discussed in Chapter 3, Stephen Graham (2008) describes how warfare is being urbanised and Jordan Crandall (2005), amongst others, points to the increasing militarisation of urban space as an explanation for increasing surveillance. While agreeing with Graham and Crandall’s arguments which contribute to explaining the increased use of hi-tech surveillance for domestic purposes, the fetishisation and consumption of technology *also* contribute to this by normalising and justifying the use of what we might argue is excessively sophisticated technology to deal with relatively routine offences and circumstances. Examining the mutual adoration and

technological determinism amongst the police, governments and the public seeks to explain the investment in (and publicising of) technology such as unmanned drones despite the lack of evidence in regards to effectiveness and questions regarding the appropriateness and the proportionality of using the devices for low level crime.

It is not just how the public are persuaded to embrace and support the use of devices such as police drones which is of interest here. What is significant and of concern is not just the technological determinism embraced by the public but, rather, how the police are also wrapped up in this mutual agreed upon adoration. The police are not a separate entity in this sense, but enmeshed in the similar culture made up of individuals also living in a society where technophilia is an accepted affliction. On the one hand, these devices separate the controller from the action which is beneficial in practical terms but also as a form of removing a level of agency. On the other hand, the way in which this is done is through an activity which feels familiar and is otherwise embraced as entertainment in the sense that controlling an unmanned drone is strongly reminiscent of a blend of playing with remote controlled toys and the virtual reality of playing video games. In a UN report on the use of military drones for targeted killing there was a concern that this would lead to a 'playstation' mentality for killing (Alston, 2010). A US military trainer has conceded that it is easier to teach the "video game generation" to control these drones and the use of drones for military purposes has become so widespread that it is referred to, by the US military, as "army crack" (Smith, 2010). A concern is if such technology could also become "police crack" in domestic urban environments.



Merseyside Police with Drone and Diagram from Merseyside Police. Source: Daily Mail (<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1250177/Police-make-arrest-using-unmanned-drone.html>)

Looking at photos of Merseyside police using these unmanned spy drones highlights this concern particularly when considering that such hi-tech gadgets are being used to deal with anti-social behaviour at street level. The officer is the emblem of cyborg wearing vision glasses and holding the controller with joystick. It looks considerably more appealing than walking up and directly confronting an offender or group of offenders. It looks downright entertaining and, again, appealing to the 'playstation' generation. What is missing is evidence that this is an effective device for policing. Leading to one arrest in four months is not impressive considering the cost. The police have justified the use of drones as cheaper and easier than a helicopter. That may be the case but that

does not, in itself, justify the investment. Instead, the drones are merely some hi-tech kit which offers a flashy diversion for the police and a great bit of publicity. The Merseyside police were happy to promote the scheme and papers such as the Daily Mail, unsurprisingly, echoed the enthusiasm with multiple articles brandishing the same large photos of the device and officers controlling it along with youtube video demonstrations (see Hull, 2010; Daily Mail Reporter, 2010a; McDermott, 2010 and then used *again* in an article on 'personal drones' Daily Mail Reporter, 2010b).

According to Norris, McCahill and Wood, the notion that "live televised images could be used in routine policing" dates back to 1947 when the London Metropolitan Police proposed that they should be allowed to 'evaluate' live BBC TV coverage (2004: 110). While the technology and tactics which passed as 'beyond cutting edge' then have changed the pattern remains similar. In their attempt to explain the explosion of CCTV they observe that the "rush to install CCTV in public spaces has also been carried out with little systematic attention to the issue of evaluation" (2004: 125). Instead, they point to the symbolic value of CCTV where the cameras function to send a message that something is being done about crime. Additionally, they provide an attractive "good news story" for the media with the additional advantage that it could be "dramatically visualised through the use of recorded images from the CCTV footage" (2004: 125).

Research into the effectiveness of CCTV has found rather unimpressive results (McCahill, Norris and Wood, 2004). And yet, there is a consistent stream of ever more sophisticated surveillance technologies unveiled and promoted by the police and government and through the media. The process goes on and on without much fuss being made about effectiveness. From the traditional CCTV

there came talking CCTV, facial recognition, gait recognition, thermal imaging, lip reading CCTV and so on. In this context spy drones are merely another hi-tech gadget purchased at great expense and fanfare but with little discussion on the appropriateness and effectiveness of the technology. The benefit is in the shared appreciation between the police, press and public that technological advances are synonymous with advances in policing.

The fate of the grounded Merseyside drone is telling. In October 2011, whilst on a 'routine training exercise' at the Riverside Police Social Club (used for police functions and celebrations), the drone crashed into the Mersey river after running out of battery power and is considered to be 'lost at sea' (Traynor, 2011). Because of budget cuts there are no plans by Merseyside police to replace the drone. Despite such setbacks, similar drones will be used to monitor the London 2012 Olympics and there will be a pilot to monitor the Channel for the UK Borders police with an aim to extend the program nationwide (Graham, 2010b).

5.2.2 Technological Determinism and the Myth of Technology

Despite evidence that police unmanned drones are ineffective and suffer from substantial practical limitations (such as difficulty landing and limited, and perhaps unpredictable, battery power) their use continues to grow within the domestic market (their use within military market also continues to grow exponentially despite growing controversy). The use of such devices and the general increase in technologically based forms of surveillance is the outcome of two trends. The first is a general technophilia or belief in the myth of technology. Within the spectacle, "a general rule" is that "everything which can

be done, must be done” including a pursuit of “continual technological innovation” (Debord, 1988/1998: 79-80). The promise of the technology functions as a form of myth such as described by Vincent Mosco in *The Digital Sublime: Myth, Power and Cyberspace (2005)* where anticipation of the changes which the technology may bring drives the investment and development, the continual innovation, but the reality does not necessarily meet the promise. The myth is not necessarily a falsehood, as Mosco points out, but, more significantly, represents “some important part of the collective mentality of a given age” and renders “socially and intellectually tolerable what would otherwise be experienced as incoherence” (Mosco, 2005:29). To explore the myth is to seek to understand why it is embraced despite contradictory evidence (Mosco, 2005). The use of UAV by domestic police forces is wrapped up in such a myth where in a society such as described by Ulrich Beck (1992) and Zygmunt Bauman (2006) driven by anxiety and fear the use of technological forms of surveillance promises to assuage these concerns. It is a solution and spectacle, all at the same time, obfuscating the reality or origins of the problem (such as why social disorder exists) and offering up a shiny hi-tech solution. A solution wrapped up within new technology has the veneer of being futuristic, of offering something beyond what has been tried before. Hence the incessant drive for technological innovation which offers the promise of new methods of dealing with old problems (even if this, in itself, is an increasingly dated method).

Alvaro De Miranda describes three aspects to how the relationship between technology and social change is represented within popular discourses: the technology is reified giving it an autonomy, it is offered as a ‘technical fix’ with “the implicit assumption that technology provides the only feasible solution to

complex social problems” and, third, the myth of technology is used to promote policies and to create particular ideologies (De Miranda, 2009:25). The push towards ever more sophisticated surveillance technologies is ideological and wrapped up in a rhetoric where the promise of new technology leads to a reification of the technology, it is given a level of agency. Along with technological determinist view, giving the technology a level of agency allows those implementing it a level of remove from the technology which is wrapped up in the rhetoric of many surveillance devices. There is not a ‘big brother’ watching, but, rather an automated system or a remote controlled system which is able to quietly sit in the background unobtrusively. In Ian Roderick’s (2005) analysis of press releases and media reports around Explosive Ordnance Disposal robots, he suggested that the fascination with the robots gave something for the public to attach themselves in regards to the war and, in effect, functioned as a quasi-propaganda tool for legitimation of the war. Surveillance technology functions similarly, through a general fascination and acceptance of the myth of technology, the devices are embraced and then, following, the surveillance practices are accepted. The use of sophisticated surveillance technologies function as a public relations tool in the sense of giving the image of addressing the social ill but also in aligning the surveillance efforts within a broader societal embrace and consumption of new technologies. Through additionally giving the technology a level of agency, this also dampens the notions of the police surveilling the public in the historical sense of individuals monitoring the public, instead, it is a mechanised system. It is through technology, and, therefore, has the appearance of seeming less ominous and totalitarian.

The second trend which has pushed the use of devices such as police drones is the growing perception of risk and insecurity. Zygmunt Bauman describes the rising 'fear' within contemporary society as a manifestation of uncertainty but, also, an 'ignorance of the threat and what is to be done' and a feeling that we are always susceptible to danger (2006:2-3). Perpetuated by media messages and popular culture in general, it is symptomatic of a number of factors of living in the contemporary world. Fear can be "commodified and technologised into risk and subsequently sold back to us as technical solutions" (Gold and Revill, 2003: 30). Surveillance technologies have become an increasingly accepted expense with the promise of safety and an overseeing watchful eye and have capitalised on this perceived fear. Surveillance is not something that is done to the public but is, instead, mutually embraced and consumed. Whereas in the past public sentiments may have been suspicious of police surveillance measures, it is now more generally accepted. For example, the rise of CCTV was not driven by evidence on effectiveness on reducing/preventing crime. Rather, the drive for increasing surveillance through CCTV was largely for the purpose of reducing fear of crime and reducing the 'public perception of risk' (Langstone, 2009: 123). Research has found that even in areas where crime was decreasing there may be an increase in perception of risk and that, in such areas, acceptance of CCTV was high (Langstone, 2009). CCTV functions as a strategy for decreasing perceptions of risk by offering a visible and prominent representation of the police 'doing something' to address crime. It is often tied up with plans for regeneration and to encourage investment in areas and public governments often 'vigorously market' the schemes (Langstone, 2009), again, functioning primarily as a public relations tool, just as with the police drones where the expense of was not justified by the one arrest but, rather, by the promotional

benefit of the appearance of the police tackling crime. Everyday police work which actually can reduce crime is generally less 'spectacular' even if more effective. Sophisticated surveillance technologies, however, are reliant upon the hype and myth making in order to "bolster [their] perceived effect" (Langstone, 2009: 126) and justify the expense.

CCTV and, now, increasingly, police drones offer a mythical promise such as described by Vincent Mosco (2005) that these technologies can lead to a better safer world. It is not easy to unmask this myth as it is one that everyone involved is desperate to hold on to because of the uncertainty of alternatives. These myths are "stories that animate individuals and societies by providing paths to transcendence that lift people out of the banality of everyday life" (Mosco, 2005: 3). The myth and spectacle offered by the increasing sophistication of surveillance technologies is more comforting than acknowledging the reality where the circumstances and solutions to these issues are actually quite complex. Such public relations campaigns struggle with complexity and prefer the simple message neatly symbolised through the introduction of new technology in a shared understanding of the promise of technologically based solutions.

The implications of this has been great. The myth of technology becomes wrapped up in an ideological symbolism of a society plagued by uncertainty and fears and an greater acceptance of infringements upon privacy in return for a perception that the exchange will be a safer society. Ideological messages gain currency and disseminate throughout society beyond the relationship between the public and the government and/or police. The same ideologies of

surveillance to address risk and a sense that only those who have something to hide would be opposed to surveillance become embedded within everyday life and the same attitude and shared belief in the myth of technology infiltrates not only relationships with institutional realms of power but in everyday relationships. The rest of this chapter explores the implications of the widespread adoption of this ideology. What emerges is a trend of fetishisation and domestication of surveillance technologies along with a valorisation of visibility over privacy in order to enjoy and consume surveillance. Technology is fetishised, voyeurism and exhibitionism become forms of entertainment and lateral surveillance (Andrejevic, 2005) becomes embraced as a response to risk and uncertainty in this diffusion of ideological messages around surveillance from the police and governments to the public at large. In such a scenario, opposition to surveillance often comes across as out of touch with the situation. Without understanding the attachment to this myth of technology, it is not possible to develop a clear and coherent resistance to surveillance which would be able to connect with a public which often supports surveillance measures introduced by governments and police and, more significantly, embraces these same technologies within everyday life as will be described below.

5.3 The Domestication of Surveillance Technologies

Surveillance technologies, the majority of which were developed and originally deployed for military purposes, are not just re-appropriated and consumed by police departments in a form of technophilia where sophisticated and expensive devices are used to address mundane and small domestic problems. They are disseminated even more deeply within society and repackaged as consumer products to be consumed. Through this process surveillance technologies

become domesticated and sink into the banality of everyday habits and consumption. The public, now consumers of surveillance, develop attachments to these technologies for a number of reasons whether because they offer a promise of safety, security, or, as is increasingly the case, entertainment. Through this integration into everyday life, as discussed in chapter 3, the technologies lose their attachment to military ideologies and become part of everyday practice. This banalisation of surveillance technologies is particularly problematic in that on the one hand the aspects of surveillance which would raise concerns slip into the background while the advantages offered to the consumer take prominence. On the other hand, as individuals engage with these technologies they become attached to them. These technologies have led to cultural shifts in attitudes towards privacy and security through becoming consumer products. As cultural attitudes adjust to allow for the widespread consumption of surveillance, it follows that opposition towards institutionally implemented surveillance is quietened. Global Positioning Systems (GPS) are a prime example of this where GPS devices are purchased and used for navigational assistance by many. It is then difficult to separate this everyday use of GPS and the convenience it offers to users from the use of GPS for more explicit surveillance purposes such as through monitoring employees by organisations or through monitoring suspicious persons by the police. Opposition to surveillance technologies is difficult when the devices have generally positive connotations and are enjoyed by many. It requires separating the device from the use of the device which is often a difficult distinction to impress upon the public.

This section will explore the consumption and domestication of surveillance technologies for purposes of security and for entertainment (and the inevitable intertwining of the two) before moving on, in the next section, to explore other ways in which the consumption of surveillance has led to cultural shifts in attitudes towards privacy. The consumption of surveillance for purposes of security functions in two often overlapping forms of first, consuming surveillance turned inwards for personal protection in response to a perceived threat and the second, turned outwards, as forms of monitoring others to gather evidence to prove or disprove suspicion. The rhetoric around such devices weaves these two functions together so that whichever is most convenient and benign can be used as justification. For example, parents may monitor their child's internet use proclaiming to be doing so for purposes of protecting their child from predators. However, such monitoring will also enable parents to oversee their child's activity and uncover inappropriate behaviour.

5.3.1 The consumption of surveillance and the risk society

Following along from a mutual agreement that perceived risks in the community should be addressed through the purchase and deployment of ever more sophisticated surveillance technologies, individuals, likewise, address this sense of individual risk with the purchase and consumption of ever more sophisticated surveillance technologies which have disseminated from the military sphere, to the police and now to the general domestic consumer market. Characteristic of the institutionalised individualisation described by Ulrich Beck and Elisabeth Beck-Gernsheim (2002) individuals feel a greater responsibility to address the uncertainty and fear of crime within contemporary society (even, as Beck and Beck-Gernsheim point out, and has been pointed out

above, this perception of risk is not tied in to actual risk in terms of crime rates which are often decreasing as perception of risk increases) and, increasingly, do not depend exclusively upon the police to ensure their safety but, in addition, take matters into their own hands. The perceived responsibility for protecting oneself lies increasingly within the individual and the market provides an overwhelming array of choices of products for consumption to aid in this goal and to allow the individual to partake, firsthand, in the myth of new technology and the promise of empowerment and control it proclaims to offer. Access to the means of do-it-yourself surveillance is “part of the promise of the interactive, information revolution” (Andrejevic, 2005: 482). Home security systems are a long-standing means of turning one’s home into a fortress with systems installed and monitored by the company (for a fee, of course) relying upon the notion of security through being watched in a more institutional setting (by workers in a control room, etc.). The website for the large security company ADT boasts photos of its control room which monitors homes at all times from “UK centres” (<http://www.adt.co.uk>). The responsibility for insuring security of one’s children, pets and possessions is put upon the individual with the repeated tagline on the site “What are you doing to protect your family and pets?”

However, with new technological developments the possibilities of home security systems have evolved to utilise mobile phones and home computers in order move the monitoring responsibility to the individual rather than the institution. There are now numerous systems (some discussed below) which allow the individual to monitor their home remotely through their mobile phone. This is a significant difference as the perception of addressing risk is through taking matters into one’s own hands, rather than placing faith in a corporation. This is not to say that traditional systems such as offered by ADT

are in decline, but, rather that new technologies have offered a greater level of agency upon the individual in insuring safety.

While home security systems, whatever the form, address fears regarding invasions of the home, there is a market for surveillance technologies which protect the individual more explicitly. The case of the rising use of RFID implants in Mexico highlights even more explicitly than has been highlighted earlier, the 'myth' of technology. Kidnappings in the country have risen over 300% in the past five years according to a government report (Miroff, 2011). Figures on kidnapping may be much higher as many are not reported with 'express' kidnappings common where individuals are briefly taken and forced to withdraw money from automated teller machines before being released. One independent report claimed that there were up to 7000 kidnappings in 2008 as opposed to the government statistic of 751 (Rosenberg, 2008). Whereas above the issue was around addressing perceived risk which did not always correspond with the reality of crime statistics, in this instance, the issue is around perceived security which does not always correspond with the reality of how the technology works. For \$2000 upfront and \$2000 annual fees the Mexican company, Xega, will implant an RFID chip into the client (Miroff, 2011). The chip connects to a GPS transmitting device which the owner must carry and is about the size of a mobile phone. The chip connects to the GPS transmitting device which transmits the location. (There are other companies which skip the RFID chip and just offer GPS devices that can attach to key chains and function as 'panic buttons' that get pressed and an alert is then transmitted.) What is unique about the system offered by Xega is that they claim that if the GPS unit is removed the RFID chip will still be able to transmit its location. According to

some reports there are up to 10,000 people in Mexico with RFID implants and even the Attorney General described how he had the chip implanted “so that I can be located at any moment wherever I am” (Miroff, 2011). Unfortunately, however, the facts do not live up to this myth. Generally, in kidnappings, devices such as mobile phones and GPS transmitters will be quickly disposed of so that they can not be used to alert others or to transmit location. Without the GPS transmitter to connect to the RFID implanted chip will not be able to broadcast the implantee’s whereabouts. RFID’s which are small enough to be implanted are passive and are not capable of broadcasting a signal. They can only be used for identification (which, in grimmer cases, might be useful) if a scanner is swiped over the chip (such as how they work with pet implants). In order to be able to transmit a signal to a satellite or mobile phone network the chip would need a battery and an antenna. The suggestion that the RFID chip implants offer security because they can transmit a signal is “nonsense” according to RFID researchers (Miroff, 2011). Despite the profound technological shortcoming of the RFID implant, the myth surrounding the possibilities of the technology is significant enough that when a former Mexican presidential candidate was kidnapped from his home in 2010 the kidnappers first cut out his RFID chip leaving it behind (Miroff, 2011). Additionally, the myth of promised security from RFID implants and GPS transmitters drives the growing industry where, similar to the implementation of CCTV and UAV by the police, individuals have the sense of ‘doing something’ to address the, in this case, real risk of abduction. The promise of technology goes beyond its technological capabilities and yet it perpetuated through popular mythologising through news reports and through popular culture (James Bond had an RFID implant cut out in *Casino Royale*). Consumers will continue to invest in products such as the

GPS transmitters and RFID implants as another component in the widespread consumption of surveillance seen as a means of addressing fears and uncertainties. These products proclaim to make individuals locatable, to give a concrete answer through the use of technology to what is generally, instead, a dark unknown, it addresses the fear of being 'off the grid' removed and untraceable. In this sense, these products appeal to those seeking the comfort of the surveillance gaze.

5.3.2 The consumption of surveillance in a culture of suspicion

Beyond the consumption of surveillance for protection of the home and the body, individuals engage in large amounts of peer-to-peer surveillance of those around them whether or not they may be loved ones needing protecting or those under suspicion posing a threat (or, often, a combination of the two). Andrejevic defines this form of surveillance as 'lateral' surveillance where, as opposed to top-down surveillance by authorities, this involves surveillance of one's peers, spouses, relatives or friends (2005). In an era of governance based upon risk, internalising the gaze, according to Andrejevic, means "not just turning it upon oneself (in anticipation of the possibility of being watched, but also directing it outwards towards others (as if to fill the gaps of the big Other's gaze, to *realize* this gaze in a skeptical era), in the name of responsibility towards oneself" (2005: 486 italics in original). The ideological message is that rather than regarding surveillance as inappropriate and an invasion of privacy, it is, on the contrary, insufficient. The institutional gaze is not enough and so individuals are offered an array of products to consume in order to participate directly with self-surveilling processes. Again relating to Beck and Beck-Gernsheim's (2002) institutionalised individualisation, not only are individuals

offered surveillance products to consume but, rather, it becomes the individuals responsibility to engage in lateral surveillance in order to insure their own safety and the safety of their loved ones. This notion along with the corresponding ideological message around surveillance where only those who have something to hide have something to fear in being surveilled pushes an industry which has exploded with surveillance products. The use of unmanned drones to monitor protesters is justified because if one is truly a peaceful protester then there is no concern, it is only for catching those with criminal intent. Similar justifications are brought out to justify the consumption and use of devices to monitor spouses, partners and children. There are products on the market to monitor online use, monitor key strokes, listen in on mobile phone conversations, access text messages, track individuals through GPS on their mobiles, or surreptitiously video record individuals through an endless array of devices. A simple search for 'spy cameras' on Amazon.co.uk alone turns up over a thousand results with cameras disguised as lighters, pens, key rings, clocks, watches, torches, smoke alarms and even clothes hooks. Then there are a wide array 'nanny cams' to spy on nannies but also children and spouses with cameras hidden. A Google search turns up hundreds of different nanny cams disguised as teddy bears with varying levels of sophistication (motion activated? sound activated? recording quality? storage capacity?). For more invasive monitoring there are kits for testing your loved ones for drugs from samples of urine, hair or saliva. With products marketed to parents for monitoring their children, the advertising for these products often plays upon parental anxieties regarding their child's safety. 'Netnanny' software which allows parents to monitor their child's online activities play up to sinister threats from the internet making an analogy of home intrusion with electronic forms of

intrusion. Advertising from the company Symantec bordered on surreal with a tagline “Best to keep some windows closed” accompanying an image of a girl playing on a computer with her bedroom window open and exposing a host of threatening looking individuals trying to climb through the window (Goddard and Geesin, 2011). Through such advertising and the vast availability of products such as those mentioned above, the result is what Andrejevic, in his discussion of websites offering background checks, refers to as “a culture of mutual detection characterized by generalized suspicion in which everyone can be treated similarly as a potential suspect” (Andrejevic, 2007: 219).

The use of mobile phones to monitor children points to another link between the increasing sophistication of surveillance devices and a consumer industry driving the development of such products. In Sergio Rizzo’s examination of the marketing of Disney Mobile he found the adverts equating security with surveillance and thus equating responsible parenting with ‘snooping’ and that this relationship between security and surveillance adopted in the ‘home’ emanated from broader post-9/11 policies with similarly equated security with increased surveillance in the ‘homeland’ (2008). The marketing of such products portrays the responsible and, in the case of Disney Mobile ‘cool’, parent as the one who takes on the role of snoop or surveyor. The interpellation is clear, if one aspires to identify as the cool parent who is both ‘hip’ with new technology and concerned with the security of their child, they will consume these products. Phones such as Disney Mobile and Teddyfone are marketed as products offering safety through monitoring to the parents and offering, simultaneously, freedom and individuality in the marketing to children. Children desire freedom of movement outside of the prying eye within the home

but parents seek to maintain monitoring of their children remotely. What emerges is a kind of 'electronic umbilical cord' which extends the territorial boundaries of parenting but, in doing so, according to Rizzo limits the freedom of the parent and the child by effectively 'keeping them tethered to one another' (Rizzo, 2008: 140). Through the marketing of such products the responsibility of parenting is increased and necessitates the purchase of ever more sophisticated surveillance devices. Mobile phones such as the Teddyfone, a phone in the shape of a bear offered in the gender specific colours of blue or pink, is marketed to parents as a 'specifically designed child safety phone' (http://www.teddyfone.com/about_teddyfone.shtml). Further emphasising the point that to identify oneself as a responsible parent is to purchase this phone the website points out that the potentially dangerous emissions from normal mobile phones are ten times less with the Teddyfone. The Teddyfone has no screen, no texting, no images and certainly no internet access. The features are focused on the parent allowing the parent to limit the use of the phone to four pre-programmed numbers, track the phone (and presumably the child) through an online system and use the phone as a microphone surreptitiously converting it into a eavesdropping device (Goddard and Geesin, 2011). The Teddyfone website statistics further drive home their message that the responsible parent will purchase their product for the safety of their child. According to the site 78% of children felt safer with a mobile and 73% of children had used a mobile phone to contact a loved one in an emergency (http://www.teddyfone.com/mobile_phone_usage.shtml).

5.3.4 Banalisation of surveillance devices

The domestication of surveillance technologies is not limited to the domestic use of surveillance technologies for monitoring purposes. Just as important is how surveillance technologies have been embedded into everyday life in ways in which their surveillance connotations have been removed. This is a further step in the banalisation and normalisation of surveillance technology which further complicates any attempt at raising concerns regarding their usage. Devices which are used for benign purposes based upon entertainment or convenience appear harmless. Their use for entertainment purposes removes them from their origins as technologies used for the purpose of monitoring. Likewise, individuals become attached to such devices and understanding how they might be used for unwarranted monitoring and may infringe upon privacy rights becomes complicated. These technologies become normalised and enter the general discourse as everyday items wrapped up, first and foremost, in a discourse around technophilia emphasising the positive and enjoyable aspects of embracing new technology. In so doing so, these devices, in effect, receive an image makeover in a public relations coup which allows the less benign applications of the technologies to expand under the radar while the entertainment spectacle offered by the technology is promoted. The spectacle obfuscates the true implications of the technology.

Blending the use of RFID chips with the rhetoric of social media the Internet of Things imagines a world where “everything can be both analogue and digitally approached” and in so doing reformulate “our relationships with objects - thing - as well as the objects themselves” (<http://www.theinternetofthings.eu/content/what-it>). Objects in the real will be given RFID tags in order to connect them with databases and to allow individuals to interact with the objects in

novel ways. At first, individuals interacted with the internet through the desktop computer, which became more mobile as a laptop and then became even more mobile with the use of the internet on mobile phones. The Internet of Things is part of a push to move use of the internet away from focused devices and, instead, that various objects would become, in a variety of ways, connected to the internet and we would interact with objects rather than with a general user interface whether from a mobile device or computer. Early experiments with this idea emerged from websites such as ‘Thinklink’ (<http://www.thinklink.com> though it has now shifted its focus). Artists utilised these websites to continue a relationship with their products and the consumers who purchased the products. Without needing to use RFID items such as ‘RealFakeWatches’ (<http://realfakewatches.com/>) were etched with a unique ‘thinglink’ identifier which allowed the purchaser to log in to the site and contribute their ideas about the watch, to tell a story about the watch and to connect with others who had purchased the watch. The idea was that the objects would have a documented history and relationship with the owner, the creator and others who appreciated it. Additionally, one could trace the genealogy of the watch as it was passed on from owners. Through its thinklink profile the watch would have a history documented with each of its owners. The aim was to “make the social networks around products visible and navigable” (<http://realfakewatches.com/thinglinks>). In this sense, individuals would partake in a monitoring of their purchases and the imbue a level of agency and life into the products which they own. In the relationship with ThinkLink, RealFakeWatches sought to imbue new forms of sociality to the purchase of what is otherwise an inanimate object which does not even tell the time (except, as the website rightly

points out, twice a day). It sought to turn the monitoring and tracking of purchases into an entertaining and social experience.

Other attempts to embrace the Internet of Things ethos include the Nabaztag, a rabbit which connects to the internet which was launched in 2005. In 2006 the updated version of the Nabaztag included an RFID reader and microphone. The Nabaztag could be used to 'animate' everyday objects and to allow the user to the internet in way which more explicitly brought it out into the physical world. For example, to find out the weather forecast for the day one would let Nabaztag 'sniff' (rub the RFID tag under Nabaztag's nose, of course) the RFID tag which had been placed on an umbrella and Nabaztag would report the weather forecast. A strip of RFID tags accompanied the Nabaztag which could be placed on any object and actions could be assigned to the RFID tag for the Nabaztag to perform when 'sniffed'. Nabaztag could alert and read out the subjects of e-mails when they arrived, read aloud messages sent directly to the Nabaztag's own e-mail address, announce the time, play internet radio or mp3s and read out the news headlines. Nabaztag could be used to count things (RFID tag cigarettes and swipe it each time and Nabaztag will keep track of the number consumed in a day, ostensibly to help cut-down smoking) or keep track of when things were used/consumed (RFID tag a medicine bottle and when sniffed Nabaztag gives the date and time of it's last use). In marketing to children (or, perhaps more appropriately, technophile parents), the website sold children's storybooks which included an RFID tag. Children would have the Nabaztag sniff the RFID tag on the book and Nabaztag would then read out the story.

Unfortunately, the business behind Nabaztag did not handle demand well frustrating Nabaztag owners with frequent server disruptions. In 2009 the

company filed for bankruptcy and Nabaztag went silent. The company Mindscape bought the company launching a new version of Nabaztag named Karotz and re-connected the original Nabaztag to the servers in December of 2011 but with very limited functionality and a preference for speaking French (where Nabaztag is based). In English, Nabaztag will not do much more than tell the time and give weather forecasts when stimulated by an RFID tag (research money used to purchase a number of the devices in 2009 was obviously well spent). Perhaps the original Nabaztags were a bit too early which is illustrated by their embrace by developers and hackers who created other applications for Nabaztag which are available at a number of sites such as Nabzone (<http://www.nabzone.com>) which enabled enthusiasts to bring Nabaztag back to life. Where Nabaztag was a bit lonely and struggled to make friends (it was possible, but complicated (and a bit creepy), to have Nabaztag communicate with other Nabaztags around the world), the new Karotz is placed in a better position taking advantage of social media and proclaims to be “the worlds first internet companion” (<http://www.karotz.com>). The website promotes the ‘community’ around Karotz and the trend of allowing developers to develop apps to enhance the Karotz (just as is now common with mobile phones and tablet computers). The RFID accessories are now more sophisticated and the Karotz also now includes a webcam so that one can see what the Karotz sees. One application enables Karotz to alert the user by text or e-mail when someone enters the house. The application suggests that it could be used to be notified when ones child arrives home.

The original Nabaztag and the new Karotz are further contributing to the domestication of surveillance technologies by, in a very literal and visual way,

making surveillance technologies cute and playful. These devices are friendly and they are marketed as ‘companions’. In a playful, friendly and nonthreatening manner, they allow individuals to engage in surveillance practices whether directed towards themselves (monitoring smoking habits) or others (through the use of the cameras). The relationship with technology such as RFID and the military fades in prominence as the technology builds a new image. Nigel Thrift finds it striking how much of the “information technology innovations of contemporary capitalism and the military complex are put into toys” but concludes that it should not be surprising as “toys have become a kind of gateway to the interactive world” (Thrift, 2006: 188). The significance of this often goes unnoticed because toys appear to be so mundane (Thrift, 2006). However, the banality of the toys is the significant aspect in the normalising and domestication of surveillance technologies. Karotz and Nabaztag provide applications for RFID which appear to push its image beyond that of surveillance and/or tracking device. Where RFID became mundane through the introduction of RFID chips into many common goods (such as everything at Walmart), devices like Karotz and Nabaztag have now made RFID fun and wrapped RFID within a rhetoric of sociability and connectedness. RFID, in the Internet of Things ethos, releases users from the tethering to computers and enables a deeper blurring of the distinction between on and offline interactions. Karotz and Nabaztag contribute to the re-branding of RFID placing RFID within the utopian promise of technology offering emancipation, freedom and sociability. Judging from website for Karotz, it seems that it will continue to expand its relationship with social media so that social networking can also move beyond the screen and become more seamlessly integrated with the physical world. Karotz will function as an anthropomorphised networked device

to keep users engaged with their social networks further emphasising the pleasure and entertainment in sharing information with others. The next section explores how social media and cultural products such as reality television also function to normalise the consumption of surveillance.

5.4 The Pleasure of the Consuming Surveillance

5.4.1 The spectacle persists

Michel Foucault famously proclaimed that “our society is not one of spectacle, but of surveillance” (1975/1995). It is possible that this was a direct address to Debord’s *Society of the Spectacle* (1967/2004) and an attempt to appropriate and alter the meaning in which Debord used the term, *spectacle* (Not Bored, 2004). Regardless of Foucault’s intent towards Debord, the statement, and *Discipline and Punish* (1975/1995), from whence the quote originates, establishes a historical distinction where, in the past, punishment was characterised by the “spectacle of the scaffold” which then shifted to a continuous discipline through the emergence of the surveillance society and the movement of punishment indoors and away from view within the penal system. Foucault, however, had little to say about consumer society (as discussed in Chapter 1). And, now, influenced by consumer society, the notion of the ever-present gaze within a panoptic society which Foucault described has become a spectacle itself. According to Weibel, “Surveillance can become spectacle and the people can enjoy surveillance as a spectacle because seeing is entangled with sexuality and power” (Weibel, 2002: 219). The gaze, as illustrated by Foucault with the panopticon, becomes internalised. Observation through surveillance emerges as a pleasurable activity, a form of entertainment and, through this, surveillance becomes a product to be consumed. Similar to the purchase and

deployment of unmanned drones and the consumption of toys utilising surveillance technologies as discussed above, the infiltration of surveillance into popular culture as media spectacle and source of entertainment leads to a normalising of surveillance where the public develops an attachment to surveillance practices and technologies from which it is difficult to extricate. This section seeks to explore how attitudes towards observation and surveillance are impacted by cultural products and practices where surveillance is cloaked within a rhetoric which values self-disclosure and sharing and champions these practices as leading to new forms of interactivity, connectivity and creativity. Through this process of rebranding the gaze, surveillance not only becomes normalised and thus loses its sinister edge but becomes embraced and desired. The consequences of this is a shift in attitudes towards privacy where visibility is valued and the monitoring gaze is courted. This offers an explanation for the lack of resistance to increasing technology and also highlights the complexities in developing a notion of resistance to surveillance practices and technologies. In order to develop a critique of surveillance which does not seem out of touch with contemporary habits and popular culture, the influence of the consumption of surveillance needs to be acknowledged and integrated into any critique. What follows is a consideration of how surveillance becomes a product to be consumed, how this then contributes to an ethos of self-disclosure and everyday exhibitionism and, lastly, how this process is driven by a consumer industry which markets surveillance under the promise of interactivity.

5.4.2 The pleasure of watching

Ouellette and Murray describe the overall genre of reality television as one which aims to provide viewers an “unmediated, voyeuristic, yet often playful look into what might be called the ‘entertaining real’” (2004: 8). It is the attachment to some sense of ‘authenticity’ (even if very very loosely defined) which distinguishes it from fictional television and acts as its primary selling point (Ouellette and Murray, 2004). The popularity of reality television programmes is phenomenal and the array of variations on the theme dizzying. Programmes have been produced with the apparent aim to appeal to groups of every age, gender, ethnicity, nationality, hobby and interest. The genre covers the lives of individuals that, before the advent of reality television, one would not necessarily think that others were interested in such as programmes which follow the lives of truck drivers who have to drive on icy roads (*Ice Road Truckers*), the dramatic lives of those who dish out parking tickets (*Parking Wars*) and the daily operations of a cake shop (*Ace of Cakes*) just to name a few. Programmes such as *Extreme Couponing* aim to make the mundane aspects of living everyday life during a recession... *extreme* rather than disappointing. The struggles of getting by during an economic downturn with high rates of unemployment becomes a game. These programmes offer the message that what may have seemed mundane can be exciting and that those who live ordinary lives can also be extraordinary. As Žižek comments, television originally was supposed to offer escapist entertainment - fiction far away from reality, however, with reality television, “reality itself is recreated and offered as the ultimate escapist fiction” (2002: 226). Debord’s critique of the spectacle offers a way to regard these forms of programming in terms of how they offer a mediated reappraisal of everyday life and social relations. The spectacle offers a distraction and obfuscation of reality but, at the same time, contributes to a

banalisation and demands a “passive acceptance” through its seeming “incontrovertibility” (Debord, 1967/2004). The notion of the spectacle facilitates “a valuable analysis of the ubiquitous messages, signs, and images which conspire to confuse appearance with reality and throw into question the possibility of distinguishing true experience, authentic desire, and real life from their fabricated, manipulated, and represented manifestations” (Plant, 1992: 9). In this instance, reality television functions to turn the mediocrity of everyday life and its actors into dramatic entertainment thereby offering the message that everyone’s life is potentially entertaining. There is a powerful allure in this message.

Reality television also normalises surveillance. “The spectator in front of the picture has the pleasure of the controlling gaze” states Peter Weibel (2002: 218). The surveillance gaze becomes a legitimate form of entertainment through reality television. While this still follows from Foucault’s conception of the surveillance gaze becoming internalised and functioning psychologically as a force to curtail individual desires, it is now ideologically manifested externally through the pleasure in watching which then transfers to a pleasure in being watched. While terms such as voyeurism and exhibitionism previously referred to psychological issues, they now enter mainstream popular culture as accepted activities. They have shifted to social norms “accompanied by a narcissistic identification with the all-seeing power of the observer and infantile castration fears of those who do not want to show all” (Weibel, 2002: 208). Through reality television watching others becomes an accepted pleasure, voyeurism becomes normalised. The insatiable desire of the spectator to watch more leads to an acceptance of the overlying ideological message that surveillance is

acceptable. Privacy becomes the illegitimate desire in this scenario and complaints against surveillance triggers suspicion and those who do not enjoy the gaze are presumed to have something to hide. This enjoyment of the gaze through reality television transfers to an acceptance of the the gaze for purposes of security. Peter Weibel sees this correlation as very explicit where he thinks that “to avoid civil revolt against the future surveillance state, the population is acquainted with, and adapted to, progressively increasing doses through entertainment media” (2002: 219). Perhaps the relationship is not as intentional and explicit as Weibel understands it, however, it remains that through reality television watching becomes an acceptable and pleasurable form of entertainment.

The enjoyment and popularity of reality television highlights the interrelationship between the panoptic and synoptic aspects of contemporary surveillance society. Foucault took the panopticon from Jeremy Bentham’s prison design where an unseen guard would be able to monitor many inmates at one time and used it as a metaphor to describe contemporary surveillance society. He used it to highlight how because individuals are not aware of exactly when they are being surveilled but, rather, constantly aware that they *could* be surveilled they internalise the gaze and regulate and conform their behaviours according to the notion of the potential gaze. However, contemporary society is not limited to this depiction of a few watching many and influences such as the media are not acknowledged at all in his book *Discipline and Punish*. Thomas Mathiesen argues that this is not only an omission but that inclusion of the media in his analysis “would necessarily in a basic way have changed his whole image of society as far as surveillance goes” (Mathiesen, 1997: 219). While the

increase in surveillance has contributed to many scenarios where small groups are able to surveil large groups the media also allows limitless opportunities for the opposite where large audiences are able to watch small numbers of individuals. So, according to Mathiesen, not only is contemporary society characterised by *panopticism* but also by *synopticism*. These two forms work together where the public who participate in the synoptic gaze through media products such as reality television grow accustomed to surveillance within everyday life and, as a result, feel less threatened by the panoptic gaze upon them. David Lyon argues that surveillance is accepted because so many forms of watching have become normalised within a 'viewer society' encouraged by popular culture (Lyon, 2006).

The relationship of the panopticon and synopticon is highlighted by the case of CCTV in the London neighbourhood of Shoreditch. In 2006, £12million was invested in the Digital Bridge project where 1,000 residents of a housing project would be able to watch the 11 CCTV cameras installed in their neighbourhood from their own homes for a weekly subscription of £3.50 which also includes local calls and high-speed internet (Allen, 2006 and BBC News, 2006). The scheme was successful enough that more of the residents tuned into their very own reality television (24% of those with access) as opposed to watching the manufactured version, *Big Brother* (24%)(Ballard, 2007). In research carried out by the Shoreditch Trust they found that residents felt safer in their neighbourhood because residents had access to the CCTV footage (2007). Apparently, the potential of being watched by ones neighbours was comforting. There was not a requirement that someone monitor the cameras at all times, but, rather, the internalisation of possibility of the gaze sufficed which echoes

Foucault's notion though in an inverted manner of the synopticon where the image is of residents sitting in their homes lit by the glow of the television screen broadcasting the scene from outside the door. Even more successful than the viewing figures for the CCTV were the viewing figures for a documentary programme developed to go along with the scheme which followed around two local bobbies entitled *Blues and Twos* which attracted 37% of viewers (2007). This is an even odder inverse of Foucault's panopticon where the many residents watch the watchers. According to the reports from the Shoreditch Trust residents embraced the pilot programme giving them access to their neighbourhood's CCTV and their only complaint was the low resolution of the feed which had been driven by the Information Commissioner's attempt to protect privacy through ensuring that individuals could not be identified. This pilot plan in Shoreditch demonstrates the blurring and interrelationship between the panopticon and the synopticon where the activity of surveillance was enjoyed regardless of who was watching and who was being watched. It was wrapped up in the rhetoric of fears of crime and the promise of safety through a mediatised spectacle such as it offered. It is difficult to imagine how individuals walking through the housing project were actually safer because of the potentiality that they were being watched by other residents on a system where the individuals could not even be identified (as opposed to having actual live human police officers patrolling an area). However, the perception of risk diminished because of this media intervention which also blurs the relationships between watcher and watched to the extent that all forms of watching are embraced. The allure of reality television and its extension through pilot programmes such as what was introduced in Shoreditch lead to an embrace of surveillance through the enjoyment and participation in surveillance

activities which it encourages. David Lyon points out that “the synoptic helps justify the panoptic” (2006: 51) but, through doing so, it also complicates the formulation of a critique of such surveillance practices. When surveillance is enjoyed in forms such as with reality television what is obfuscated is, as Weibel articulates it, “the advancing militarization of perception and the progressing armament of society” (2002: 219). The entertaining forms of surveillance create a market for surveillance as a consumable product that is embraced and integrated into cultural held attitudes towards privacy, exhibitionism and voyeurism. Any critique of surveillance needs to take this enjoyment of surveillance into account and to address the changing attitudes where forms of behaviour such as exhibitionism and voyeurism which were once seen as individual problems now emerge as legitimate practices and a concern for privacy evolves into a practice of the paranoid or of the suspicious.

5.4.3 The pleasure of being watched

It is both voyeurism and exhibitionism which is normalised and enjoyed through the consumption of surveillance. Reality television establishes a norm and expectation where not only does watching become a form of entertainment but so does being watched. As these programmes put forth an ideal of what is socially desirable the “longing of the audiences to manoeuvre themselves into the images” increases (Frohne, 2002: 256). These forms of television programme project the ideological message of embracing the gaze. The programmes do not just reflect reality but, rather, rely upon the participants to construct a version of reality through what is put on display. “The version of reality that is valorized ... is one that can be achieved only through full disclosure” according to Mark Andrejevic where this self-disclosure is valued as

“as a form of being honest with oneself and others” (Andrejevic, 2004: 48). The notion of confession runs throughout these programmes where one is not confronting their issue honestly unless it is shared with the spectators. To be worthy of the gaze, one must be ‘open’. In this scenario, to receive the pleasure of being watched one must court the watchers with ever deeper revelations. Programmes such as *Big Brother* and earlier programmes such as *The Real World* based their narratives around the confession room where the activity takes place in ‘public’, amongst all the participants, but the reflection and additional information necessary to propel the narrative take place in the confession booth. Constructed reality programmes such as *the Hills* and the newer programmes such as *Made in Chelsea* also rely upon the confession in their construction of the dramatic narrative but, because they try to present a superficial affect of reality they must dispense with the explicit confession booth and instead, rely upon the personal confession to a friend, family member, colleague, etc. in order to drive along the ‘story’. The confession is central to the ideological functioning of reality television where as Bev Skeggs and Helen Wood describe “the speaking of the self has become a key imperative in the spectacle of display” (2007). This valorisation of confession, of giving forth information in return for attention is then disseminated through popular culture and attitudes towards privacy and visibility. Žižek refers to this as a “tragi-comic reversal of the Bentham-Orwellian notions of the Panopticon” where rather than feeling anxiety about being watched, “anxiety seems to arise from the prospect of NOT being exposed to the Other’s gaze all the time, so that the subject needs the camera’s gaze as a kind of ontological guarantee of his/her being” (2002: 225).

The popularity of the use of webcams demonstrates this move from the pleasure of watching to the pleasure of being watched. With reality television not only does the viewer enjoy the watching, but the viewer also aspires to be similarly viewed and, in this desire, increasingly accepts and courts the gaze. Reality television offers the promise that anyone can be famous and that fame does not require any skill, it merely requires a willingness to disclose. However, for many, this promise still remained unattainable in comparison to the ease of garnering an audience through the internet. Inherited from reality television, many have a “compulsive desire to attain telepresence, to verify and validate one’s own existence” according to Ursula Frohne (2002:256). Furthermore, as she states, the internalisation of the gaze which Foucault described takes on a new dimension where rather than attempting to evade the gaze individuals anticipate “it’s attention as a focal point for the articulation of personal behavioural patterns and as a mirror of narcissistic self-presentation” (2002: 257). Webcams offer the advantage of the appearance of freedom and control (Chun, 2006). For those who broadcast their daily lives (or, as is often the case, the more explicit aspects of everyday life) there is a sense that it is their choice and that because they control what is broadcast, they are ultimately in control. In this sense they feel empowered by what is, in reality, surveillance by an unknown audience. In their justifications the webcam operators deploy the rhetoric of choice (it is their choice to be on camera) and freedom (of expression, to experiment, etc.) and highlight the “increasing irrelevance of liberal conceptions of privacy” (Chun, 2006: 284). However, with this freedom, the compulsion is often to tantalise the viewer through the suggestion or performance of sexual acts. The webcam operator needs the audience and must appeal to the audience’s desires. Stripping, for example, without an audience

would reduce the act to the everyday mundane task of getting undressed. In this sense, the webcam operators are not free since they actively perform in a manner in order to receive approval from the audience (even if there are displays of authority such as restricting view or explicitly refusing the demands of the audience). They must maintain the mediated spectacle between themselves and the viewers. In so doing they continually must perform in order to keep the attention of the gaze. In so doing, the sense in which the performer requires the gaze as a form of self-actualisation becomes clear.

The trend of webcams took on a new form with the development of the website “Chatroulette” (and similar alternatives) launched in 2009 which further highlights the extent to which individuals seek connection with others through self-disclosure. However, in this case they do this through the anonymity offered by the online experience. Chatroulette is a website which allows users to randomly pair their webcams with another user in order to interact through video, audio or text. At any point the user can select to be paired with another random user. So, one generally has seconds in which to attract the attention of the partner in order to avoid being skipped over. The website TechCrunch gathered data in the form of nearly 3000 Chatroulette sessions and found that 89% of the users were male, 13% were, as the site describes, ‘perverts’ as in the user was naked and/or was doing something sexually explicit (led by the United Kingdom where 22% of interactions were sexually explicit) and it was twice as likely that one would see a sign requesting female nudity than actually see female nudity (Moore, 2010). Chatroulette brings people together to interact but the interaction is fleeting, at best. It offers a brief glimpse into the privacy of others and, on the other hand, a detached form of connectivity with strangers.

David Kreps describes Chatroulette as offering a discourse of depersonalised sexuality in that there is an exchange but without any expectation of a physical encounter (2010). The ephemerality and predominance of sexually explicit interactions on Chatroulette leads the voyeurism and exhibitionism popularised through reality television and the early use of webcams to a dystopian logical extension. The dystopian nature of Chatroulette is highlighted by the popularity of fake suicides and the nonchalance with which they are received. One website which collates Chatroulette videos touts a video of a man holding a gun to his head with the tagline that the user is 'having some fun'. Franco Mattes's 'No Fun' (<http://0100101110101101.org/home/nofun/index.html>) draws attention to this aspect of Chatroulette where the artist fakes his suicide on Chatroulette and records the reactions from his random partners which broadly involves the spectators laughing and making fun of him (along with one guy who plays continues to play guitar, one guy who continues to masturbate and then one guy who phones the police who struggle to understand what he is talking about). Surveillance is consumed as a form of entertainment but the enjoyment it offers seems deeply limited with its focus on courting the attention of those with very brief attention spans along with the displays the exhibitionism through masturbation and demands of voyeurism in the form of posting a sign requesting a female, any female, to show her tits. The compulsion towards exhibitionism and voyeurism appears insatiable and leading to an almost desperate plea for the most superficial interactions on sites such as Chatroulette.

5.4.4 Selling surveillance as interactivity

Both reality television and webcams offer the promise of connecting with others through the different displays of voyeurism and exhibitionism. In programmes such as *Big Brother* the potential for interactivity is explicit through the voting for or against participants. Webcams offer a more direct interaction between the operator and the audience. Such trends function to reposition surveillance within society by highlighting the advantages of surveillance not just to the watchers but to the watched (Andrejevic, 2004). Beyond this, however, it also repositions surveillance by obfuscating the traditional power relationships implied within surveillance. The co-operation between panopticon and synopticon proffers that the ubiquity of surveillance in the form of few watching many is less threatening because it is merely one form of surveillance in a society flooded with many forms of surveillance whether it be panoptic or synoptic; for pleasure or for security. The distinctions between different forms of surveillance dissolve into a mass culture of consuming surveillance which is so widespread that surveillance emerges as a normalised form of interaction. Neighbourhoods brought together by residents sitting in their flats and watching each other on CCTV or connecting with strangers around the world through the apt metaphor of a roulette wheel, there emerges an image of a cultural shift where interaction is so debased within the spectacle that it becomes confused with true interactions. Individuals are so separated from the true conditions of everyday life obfuscated through the ideological messages of the consumer society that exhibitionism and voyeurism become valued forms of connectivity. These forms of behaviour are rebranded as true engagement. It is comforting to watch and be watched. The distinction between who is doing the watching and who is being watched fades in significance under such circumstances. There is a dual sensation of security and enjoyment through

surveillance which confuses the underlying motivations of surveillance practices by governments, the police and businesses. The gaze become so integrated into everyday life that it is accepted when it is noticed but, largely, little attention is paid to it. Residents feel safer when CCTV is monitored by fellow residents and then enjoy watching a light television programme following around their local police officers and the intertwining of surveillance and entertainment is solidified. The comfort from this process emanates from the promise of interaction from connecting with others.

This rhetoric of interactivity which pervades through the culture of consuming surveillance is most clearly demonstrated by the popularity and explosion of social media in recent years. Social media is used as an overall term to refer to sites which “integrate technology, social interaction and user-generated content” (Siapera, 2012: 202). In attempts to define social media the communicative aspects, the openness, the participatory elements and the connectivity and community building they offer are stressed (Siapera, 2012). Social networking sites, as a form of social media, function to allow for networking but, more so, to allow individuals to interact with their already existing social network and to use the sites, in addition, to make visible their social interactions and networks (boyd and Ellison, 2008). However, Dave Beer points out that what is at issue is not just what the users do on these sites but, rather, how the infrastructure and architecture of these sites direct the interactions and how, in the end, these are consumer sites driven by business principles (2008). Sites such as Facebook congratulate themselves as ‘revolutionising’ how individuals connect and interact (Cohen, 2008). Facebook’s main site proclaims that it enables users to “connect and share with

the people in your life” (<http://www.facebook.com>). The sites allow users to construct profiles which function as elaborate presentations of self and to “posit performances of taste that lead to sociocultural allegiances or differentiations” according to Zizi Papacharissi (2009: 215). These profiles function as place markers within the users social network (Livingstone, 2008) though this raises a tension between desires to design a positive self-presentation with concerns about accuracy (Ellison, Heino and Gibbs, 2006).

This ability to design your presentation highlights David Lyon’s point that “Once we may have thought of our identity as a given. Now it is much more of a project, or so it seems” (2007: 179). The popularity of social media has made this notion of creating your own identity so pervasive that Bernie Hogan suggests that as opposed to the often dragged out Goffman notion of a performance (see Papacharissi, 2002 and 2007; Ellison, Heino and Gibbs, 2006; Tufekci, 2007 and 2008; Zhao, Grasmuck and Martin, 2008 or Marwick and boyd, 2011 to name a few) it may perhaps be more accurately referred to as an exhibition (2010). In Hogan’s framework, such profiles function as exhibitions which can be curated whether through the viewer who sorts through the artefacts on a profile or through automated algorithms within the sites system. Hogan’s framework begins to highlight the surveillance aspects of social media because his conception of an exhibition points to how these profiles are generally used to view, gather or store data on individuals. The control is upon the viewer who chooses when to consume and view the ‘artefacts’ on a particular profile often without any interaction with the profile owner. The owner places information on the profile but has little control as to how it is consumed by others afterwards.

Social media pushes upon the user the value of sharing. Similarly to the ideological message behind reality television the value is in self-disclosure. To keep information private is to be excluded from the interaction. The more data provided the richer the interaction, according to this message. The more minutiae of everyday life placed shared with the public the greater the connection. The modern form of interaction is through placing artefacts or detritus of everyday online so that others can consume the information for entertainment. The user now depends on the gaze in order to be fed back his or her identity, individuals are “compelled to solicit the attention of others ... as if this were somehow the very condition of our existence, the marker of our worth” (Crandall, unknown date). The level of minutiae individuals are encouraged to share is staggering. Software called ‘Clean My Mac’ which does as the name suggests prompts users to tweet the amount of space freed up on their hard drive after each running of the application. The website Zooplus attempts to integrate itself into the everyday lives of its pet owning customers by offering many options for sharing and interacting with others. The level of sharing is such that when looking at reviews for cat litter individuals can also look at photos of the cats of other customers attesting to the effectiveness and preference of the product through direct use.

What this ethos of disclosure, sharing and connecting does is obfuscate the surveillance practices which drive these websites. Sites like Facebook valorise surveillance reframing it as a form of entertainment, consumption and interaction. However, the form of entertainment and interaction is one which necessitates sharing information in order to participate. Additionally, the form

of participation is through surveillance under the guise of viewing the profiles of others as a form of everyday voyeurism. One can keep in contact with their social network by viewing their activities as documented on Facebook. So, the surveillance works both ways on social networking sites where the user is both surveiller and surveilled. This process normalises surveillance and emphasises the benefits of visibility. To be anonymous, to be excluded is to lack this constant verification of one's self-worth through the accumulation of 'friends' which become quantified and through the accumulation of vapid interactions through engagement with one's wall in the case of Facebook. Individuals pick and choose carefully the tags which will signpost their identity through the choice of favourite bands, books, television shows, quotes etc. The site is dependent upon the constant divulgement and consumption from the users. In this respect, as Nicole Cohen explains, "Surveillance is the main strategy by which the company retains members and keeps them returning to the site" (2008: 8).

Sites like Facebook are free but what lies behind the interface is the manner in which Facebook profits from this load of information provided by the users. The users are commodified and their data harnessed for marketing purposes. Facebook sells adspace to companies which are then able to fine tune their promotional message to their exact intended audience. They use the data which comprises the users online presentation or exhibition in order to choose who receives the ad on the side of their page. The companies utilise a number of devices in order to integrate the product and brand into the network of the user. Facebook provides the 'like' button so that individuals can signpost their affection to a particular product or brand. Then their friends will have the ad on

the side of their profile with the additional information that it is already liked by the particular friends who have 'liked' it. The companies also create interactive ads which deploy a discourse of friendliness and inclusion within the network. For example, an advert for Cobra beer asks the viewer to participate in a quiz question related to the users preferred way of having a curry and the question is phrased emphasising the inclusion of the brand within the social network with words such as 'we' and 'join us' (Goddard and Geesin, 2011). However, participating in the quiz question or 'liking' a brand results in acquiescing more information from the users profile to the company. Through the rhetoric of connectivity and sharing Facebook enables companies to access ever greater amounts of information on their customers. The overt surveillance practices are obfuscated through the discourse of both Facebook and the advertising messages. Papacharissi's 'performances of taste' (2009) are uncovered as merely aligning one's identity with a brand which demonstrates the functioning manipulation which social media is based upon. Users are encouraged to express themselves and to share their everyday lives with others in a great swelling of interactivity but what emerges from these websites is that identity is defined through consumption or, at least, these are the aspects of identity which are interesting enough to be worth sharing.

In the interactive era, the rhetoric of participation leads individuals to embrace their own manipulation and to embrace and enjoy the surveillance practices lying beneath these products. Andrejevic draws upon Guy Debord stating that not only is the public undisturbed by this but that the "public participates in the spectacle of its own manipulation" because it is passed off as "democratic empowerment" and functions as a "participatory spectacle" (2007: 243). The

spectacle of interaction offered by social media further separates individuals from true relations replacing them with interactions based purely upon consumption (or the reduction of all aspects of everyday life to consumable artefacts). Social media primarily functions to bring people together through consumption thus separating them from and suppressing more active forms of political engagement. Political engagement itself becomes a consumable artefact on Facebook where individuals make a political statement through 'liking' a particular political cause which is a very weak form of involvement. Judging from the rhetoric from social media it appears that all the problems in the world can be solved through signing a petition. Making a choice, echoing the long-standing critique from the Frankfurt School, the Situationists and Henri Lefebvre, is limited to choosing a particular brand of a particular product. The newly launched ad campaign for 'interest-based advertising' includes adverts which applaud the freedom of the user on the internet who has the *choice* between ads targeted to their interests through the mining of their web surfing habits or ads which do not take advantage of this data mining and thus will be for products of which the user likely has no interest (Shevach, 2011). This is not really much of a choice. As Lev Manovich points out the extent to which social media is driven by business interests in broad as it is championed not only by the sites which are dependent upon users generating content and visiting their sites in order to sell advertising and usage data but also by the consumer electronics industry who seek to have users purchase their products for the creation of user-generated content (such as all the video cameras, digital cameras and mobile phones which market their use for generating social media) (Manovich, 2008). Social media functions to normalise surveillance and complicate articulating opposition to surveillance in a number of ways. It

further integrates surveillance into everyday life normalising both watching and being watched to the extent that individuals become dependent upon the gratification of 'friends'. In exchange for free use of the site it functions as a surveillance device through the selling of user information and providing access to users to businesses. And, lastly, through its rhetoric of community, engagement, empowerment and interactivity based, in the end, upon consumption is dampens the development of more profound forms of citizen engagement and political consciousness. The limits of social media in terms of fulfilling its promise of true interaction and its obfuscation and normalisation of surveillance and the weakening of political engagement demonstrate what Sadie Plant states where "above all, the notion of the spectacle conveyed the sense in which alienated individuals are condemned to lives effectively watching themselves" (Plant, 1992: 10).

5.5 The consumption of everyday life through data

5.5.1 Data as everyday life

Social media is based upon a pattern of sharing and consuming data. Individual profiles on social networking sites act as social markers signposted with artefacts which are then viewed and consumed by others. Social networking sites function as both exhibitionism and voyeurism through the broadcasting and consuming of everyday life. Other social media sites function similarly, sites such as Youtube would be an empty shell without the users sharing videos through the site. The pressure is to generate traffic so individuals are encouraged to upload videos and encouraged to engage with the video content through viewing, rating, tagging and commenting on the videos. Because these sites primarily generate revenue through advertising and data mining their

success depends upon users generating and consuming content on these sites. Social media offers a particular business model based on the prosumption of its users, a point which has been raised often by those questioning the value of the interaction through social media (Manovich, 2008; Cohen, 2008; Ritzer and Jurgenson, 2010 and Fuchs, 2011 to name a few). Such a model allows these websites to “capitalise on time spent participating in communicative activity and information sharing” (Cohen, 2008). Websites are all too happy to provide free storage space and free tools for the users to share their thoughts and their everyday lives (Manovich, 2008) and, in their current push, to offer these applications on as many devices as possible so that they can be integrated into the broadest number of scenarios in everyday life as they become more mobile based (Fuchs, 2011).

However, as users internalise the messages from these applications and websites which promote the value in limitless sharing, there emerges an ever-increasing compulsion to share. In such circumstances the focus draws in as individuals provide an ever closer level of detail regarding their everyday lives. The act of broadcasting minutiae becomes the entertainment in itself demonstrated by the sheer level of banality of most ‘tweets’ on Twitter or status updates on Facebook. Along with notions of life-casting where all the details of an individual’s life is broadcasted for all to consume everyday life is reduced to consumable bites uploaded to the internet to be shared. The fine details of everyday life are apparently less mundane if shared. Users look for affirmation of their lifestyle choices through websites which encourage them to share everything they listen to, read, eat, etc. Facebook in particular is becoming a clearing house for what used to be a disparate list of applications which kept all

the logs separate. They can now live together on a Facebook profile where every news article read on the Guardian or song played on Spotify is shared within the network so that the user can receive approval for their consumption choices. This is courting surveillance as a form of self-affirmation. Additionally, and more importantly, it posits a positive value upon surveillance with the tacit agreement that individuals can be judged by their virtual representation just as suspects can be judged by their representation on a CCTV video or an individual can be deemed as irresponsible and denied a mortgage through their representation in a database of financial transactions. Surveillance in these circumstances functions through tracking and individuals engage in this tracking enthusiastically through social media where they are happy to share their consumption habits, tastes and web activity with their network. As a result, tracking does not feel intrusive or like a form of control but, as Jordan Crandall describes, “as a medium of self-reflection and awareness” and a “part of a new sociality” (Crandall and Armitage, 2005: 20).

The website Last.fm is a good example of this relationship between prosumption, tracking and the reduction of everyday life to a display of data. Last.fm is a site focused on music where users sign-up for an account and install a piece of software on their computer which ‘scrobbles’ their music listening habits. ‘Scrobbling’ is a word devised by Last.fm which means that every time a song is listened to either through software such as iTunes or directly through the Last.fm site it is logged into the Last.fm database which, according to the site has currently amassed 43 billion ‘scrobbles’ (<http://www.last.fm/about>). Users sign up for an account and download software which allows Last.fm to surveil their music listening habits. In return, Last.fm is able to process through

the data generated and offer to the user personalised recommendations based upon their personal listening habits. It will generate a 'radio station' personalised for the individual to play music that they have played in the past and/or music that is recommended to them by the Last.fm algorithms which process the billions of bits of data received. In addition, the music listening habits are used to develop Last.fm's database of how music is related to improve the connections and recommendations. If one listens to x, they might also like to listen to y because other users have demonstrated this preference. 43 billion scrobbles assures a level of accuracy with these connections. Last.fm, of course, as a form of social media encourages users to interact through the site and to improve the data through tagging artists. The accuracy of this is less assured than leaving it to the algorithm as the French/English electronic-pop band Stereolab is tagged as 'japanese' and 'punk'. The site can be used by artists, promoters, and/or record labels to promote albums, sell music, give away free tracks, advertise upcoming concerts, etc. Users can also post comments in a shoutbox for each artist, album or track. In this space they can merely post a comment for others to see or to engage in a conversation with other users. Additionally, users can interact with others through discussion forums and, of course, through the accumulation of friends on a personal profile. Through the profile users can engage with others through private messages or via their own shoutbox. Individual profiles offer a variety of statistics regarding music listening including number of tracks played in total, recently listened to tracks, tracks tagged as 'loved', top artists which includes how many times tracks have been played by a particular artist over a particular time period. The site can be used by artists, promoters, and/or record labels to promote albums, sell music, give away free tracks, advertise upcoming concerts, etc. Just as with individual

user profiles artist profiles are inundated with statistics regarding how many times particular tracks have been played over a particular time period. Keeping with Stereolab, the site reports that the band has 10,322,895 plays and 426,423 listeners. Through the page it can be determined who are the biggest listeners of the band and which tracks are listened to the most in a particular time period. Individual profiles are connected to the profile which list the exact number of plays down to the level of artists or tracks.

On Last.fm ones profile is, more or less, restricted to a collection of statistics based upon music listening. Through this list of statistics, users are able to find others to connect with who have similar tastes in music. Last.fm even suggests friends to you based upon your listening. While it is obvious that the site is dependent upon the presumption of its users in order to develop its sophisticated algorithms and, of course, in order to be profitable through ad revenue, more significant is the overall message where everyday life is quantified. The personal connection that users have with music is reduced to a page of statistics. Their opinions and feelings towards music are numerated. It encourages not just the consumption of music but the consumption of data and an embrace of tracking. It is surveillance which individuals willingly submit to and invite in through the installation of the scrobber. Tracking becomes a form of entertainment and the list of listening statistics becomes a form of interaction. Through sites such as Last.fm not only are the artefacts logged representative of consumption but, beyond this, everyday life is consumed as data. It is reduced to quantifiable chunks which can be logged, shared and processed as an activity in itself. The surveillance is enjoyed and embraced. It is then difficult to articulate an opposition to surveillance practices to which

individuals willingly submit. It is likewise difficult to distinguish the significant differences between these forms of data collection through social media and other forms of dataveillance which have greater consequences.

5.5.2 Rhythmanalyst versus statistician

In *Rhythmanalysis: space, time and everyday life* Henri Lefebvre describes the rhythmanalyst as closer to a poet than to a psychoanalyst or a statistician (1992/2004). The statistician merely counts things and “describes them in their immobility” (Lefebvre, 1992/2004: 23). The rhythmanalyst is interested in presence rather than the present which imitates and the focus is on the act which “does not imprison itself in the ideology of the thing” (1992/2004: 23). Rhythmanalysis is a ‘dramatic becoming’ transforming ‘things’ into ‘presences’. This is only problematic for those who design their world around ‘things’ which are immobile and, in reality or presence, exposed as being without meaning. Drawing upon Lefebvre’s analysis, surveillance functions to design lives around things, around observable facts. Social media, as a form of surveillance of everyday life, reduces identities, interactions and daily lives to consumable artefacts, items to be viewed, stored and processed. It is a life of ‘things’ where individuals are separated (in the sense Debord refers to in *the Society of the Spectacle* (1967/2004) from the real conditions of existence, from presence. This focus on things and reducing life to consumable items is an attempt to render the mobility of everyday life, mobile in the sense not just of moving around but also as dynamic and ever-changing, static. Surveillance depends upon rendering movement and identities as static in order to be adequately observable. It relies upon this static nature in order to predict future behaviours which so much of the algorithmic systems developed to process data are built to

do whether it be predicting the actions of potential terrorists or the purchases of consumers. Taking what was once “ephemeral, transient, unmappable and invisible” the tracking of everyday life through social media attempts to make everyday life “permanent, mappable and viewable” (Manovich, 2008). In this sense, the rhythm analyst which seeks instead to explore the rhythms and movement of everyday life with a focus on the real conditions through the presence rather than the representation through the present opposes the data gathering and processing of the statistician who surveils through dataveillance. Nonetheless, this sharing and consuming of data persists as it is wrapped up in a rhetoric of consumer empowerment and freedom which obfuscates the mechanisms of control embedded within these surveillance systems.

5.5.3 Social sorting and the consumption of surveillance

Beyond social media, there are many forms of dataveillance which are embraced within a rhetoric of empowering consumers. However, such practices often function by offering an aspect or version of the data to placate consumers while, on the other hand, using this information to maximise profit and/or through determining access through social sorting mechanisms. In doing so, the true purpose of the dataveillance is obfuscated while the information is presented as if it is giving consumers the knowledge necessary to make informed decisions. It is presented as if the data is collected and processed in the interest of the user/consumer. However, rather than offering choices, these forms of dataveillance and social sorting may limit them. Social sorting, according to David Lyon, “highlights the classifying drive of contemporary surveillance” (Lyon, 2003: 13). However, these classification systems operate on a number of levels and require an acquiescence on the part of the consumer to ever detailed tracking and data

gathering. For example, consumers are generally aware that businesses and marketers track their behaviour and are often happy to give up privacy in return for convenience and personalisation (Schulman, 2008). With Amazon.com, customers are pleased with the personalised service where Amazon tracks their purchases and presents ever more accurate recommendations. Amazon uses an elaborate system to process the data of past purchases and aggregates of others who have made similar purchases in order to suggest to individuals products they may like (similar to how Last.fm recommends music as described above). However, the appreciation of this personalisation is less keen when these same algorithms lead to differential pricing structures where certain users are charged higher prices than others (Heffernan, 2010). Users are willing to share information in order to get something in return, in this case personalised choices, or to feel like the information they are given gives them the power to make informed decisions. What then slips under the radar is how these same dataveillance practices which are accepted for what consumers regard as preferential treatment are also used to discriminate against some consumers. Such algorithmic structures cut across the spheres of consumption, transportation and state surveillance but generally functions to conceal “the architectures of enmity” through which they function (Amoore, 2009: 57).

Geo-demographic classification systems work similarly. Such systems aggregate statistical information on individuals and process this data in order to create generalised classification systems based on where people live. In the sense that these systems are made available to consumers, these systems allow individuals to take advantage of the access to this data through ‘sorting themselves out’ (Burrows and Gane, 2006). Websites such as Sperling’s Best Places (<http://>

www.bestplaces.net) allow individuals to access this market information in order to make an 'informed' decision through their large database of lists and information including sites such as 'Americas Manliest Cities' while websites such as Findyourspot.com offers a quiz so that individuals can tap into their resources and be told where they would be happiest to live. However, on the other hand, just as consumers embrace having access to this sort of data in order to inform decisions in a rhetoric of empowerment, these same sorts of classification systems are then used in ways which then discriminate based upon geographical locations of individuals impacting upon decisions such as place in a telephone queue or, more seriously, credit ratings (Burrows and Gane, 2006). Corporations specialising in designing these classification systems are big business and through offering consumers a slice of the information gathered the consumers are then placated. Just as with Amazon.com above, individuals accept a greater amount of surveillance when they have the impression that in return they are receiving something back. However, by and large, these companies keep most of the information they gather hidden and call it private property in what Marc Andrejevic refers to as an "assymetrical loss of privacy" where individuals become increasingly transparent as governments and businesses gather larger amounts of information but the actions and functions of such organisations remains opaque (2007: 7).

While the information collected through these surveillance and data gathering systems grow exponentially due to increasing processing capabilities, developing a critique against such systems is complicated. In some cases, there is a trade-off where consumers accept that their data will be gathered and processed but they have the impression that there will be sufficient

compensation in the form of personalisation or convenience. In other instances, slices of the information is offered to consumers under the rhetoric of empowering the consumers to make informed choices. However, in reality, the vast majority of the data gathered and the processes by which it is collated and processed is kept hidden. In both circumstances, the social sorting mechanisms embedded within this form of surveillance which discriminates against consumers and/or citizens impacting upon access to resources goes without notice by most consumers. The challenge is to develop a critique which articulately highlights the implications and exposes the processes. Without such a critique, resistance to these forms of surveillance is complicated when the visible manifestations of these systems are enjoyed, consumed, expected and demanded from consumers.

5.6 iPhones and the pleasurable consumption of surveillance

The widespread consumption of diverse forms of surveillance throughout contemporary society highlights the complexity in developing a critique against the growing surveillance society. The technology is enjoyed and embedded within everyday life as a form of entertainment or through offering comfort, easing anxieties. The result of the extent to which surveillance is embraced and enjoyed is that attitudes towards privacy and surveillance and towards notions of identity and interaction have shifted in light of the rhetoric under which these surveillance practices are marketed to the public. The gradual embedding of the consumption of surveillance within everyday life can be illustrated by an examination of the iPhone and the applications for the phone which enable users to consume a wide variety of forms of surveillance. This remaining section to this chapter will look at a number of iPhone applications with a consideration

of how such devices further normalise and integrate surveillance practices into everyday life.

In the section above which examined the domestication of surveillance technologies a number of overtly surveillance related products were mentioned which allow individuals to engage in the consumption of surveillance for the purposes of personal security and/or monitoring others. The iPhone, however, is not marketed as a surveillance device. Campbell and La Pastina, in their discourse analysis of the religious imagery embedded in the hype around the iPhone, refer to Steve Jobs' (Apple's then president) promise that the phone would "work like magic" by combining many devices such as a mobile phone, mp3 player, PDA and camera into one device and that it would provide "your life in your pocket" (Jobs quoted in Campbell and La Pastina, 2010: 2). As the hype around the phone suggests, it is not merely a phone but a device imbued with all the promises of new technology as Vincent Mosco highlights in *The Digital Sublime* (2005). It appeals to those enthralled with the myths of new technology as the phone not only offers a number of technical functions but, almost more importantly, it offers an identity through the brand association. It is the pinnacle of what Lev Manovich describes as the "aestheticisation of information tools" where the device becomes an "intimate companion" in the lives of the user (2007). Apple, through the iPhone, is selling a particular lifestyle and identity through the brand and product and must do so in order to justify the high-price of the product in a saturated market. However, it is through the installation of applications where individuals can self-tailor this identity and configure their iPhone to suit their needs. The iPhone application store boasts the availability of 500,000 applications to choose from. Within

these 500,000 there are a vast array of applications which allow individuals to engage in some form of surveillance. Some of these are very overtly surveillance related functioning as merely mobile versions of some of the technology mentioned above in domestication of surveillance. Others, a large number of the applications, are less obviously surveillance. The popularity of social media applications alone highlights how the iPhone further contributes to the integration of surveillance into everyday life and the embrace of these practices. Such devices take advantage of the mobility of the iPhone and the ease of its interface to encourage users to log ever more specific details about their everyday habits. While many of these applications are free, they generally are not truly so when considering how the information logged is then sold or used for marketing advertising purposes.

5.6.1 Tapping into surveillance

Breaking the surveillance related applications into broad categories, first, there are applications which are overtly surveillance related. Some allow the users to tap into already existing surveillance systems. “iSpy Cameras” (<http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/ispy-cameras/id329506639?mt=8>) is one of many such applications which allow users to tap into CCTV feeds from all around the world. This particular application boasts that it has “thousands of cameras” in its database and that it enables the user to rate the camera feed, zoom in and out and search by location. It claims to be live feeds (as opposed to a repeated database of loops) and to be the number 1 paid entertainment application in Japan, Australia, Sweden and the UK. The application allows for the storing of camera images and, additionally, provides instructions for individuals to connect their own camera feeds to the list. The application is a demonstration of

the enjoyment individuals find in discreet voyeurism, the allure to “drop-in” anywhere in the world.

Less overtly voyeuristic in the sense that there does seem to be a clearer practical use, “Traffic View London” (<http://itunes.apple.com/gb/app/traffic-view-london/id293744920?mt=8>) makes “location based traffic information simple and convenient” by allowing individuals to see what is being filmed by traffic cameras in London. This is one of a large number of applications where individuals are given access to the surveillance which is gathered by authorities everyday. Through doing so, individuals will feel the benefit of such surveillance which is embedded into the urban infrastructure because, rather than an intrusion, it may be seen as offering a convenience. Additionally, under such circumstances, the image of the police using surveillance as a method of control through observing the population is replaced with a notion that through sharing access to these CCTV the police and the public are working together, in the interests of the public.

5.6.2 DIY surveillance

For those who prefer to do their own gathering of surveillance as opposed to tapping into pre-existing feeds, there are applications such as “Surveillance Cameras” (<http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/surveillance-camera/id331398513?mt=8>) which allows users to use the iPhone as a CCTV camera. The videos captured can be streamed to any computer on any network. It can also function as a motion-detecting burglar alarm. When it is triggered the user can remotely programme any track in the their iTunes library to play as the alert.

Additionally, remotely, photos can be captured and stored. While ostensibly marketed as a burglar alarm it could easily be used more to spy on others.

There are many applications appealing to anxieties regarding home security. These applications often also allow for a vast array of possibilities for remotely monitoring and controlling aspects of the home. “Control 4 My Home” (<http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/control4-my-house/id293668646?mt=8>) was included in iPhone adverts demonstrating how it can be used to remotely adjust a number of gadgets in the home including the lights, heating, audio, video and, of course, CCTV system. Such applications appeal not just to the desires of individuals to address anxiety in terms of protecting their home but, as well, imbue the user with a sense of control over their home environment and a sense of benefitting from the conveniences provided through such monitoring applications.

5.6.3 Tracking applications

Beyond the focus on the visual there are a large number of iPhone applications which utilise features of the phone to allow individuals to engage in tracking. This may be in the form of applications which allow individuals to challenge the surveillance systems imposed upon them or to enable users to explore their suspicions about loved ones.

Potentially more subversive than the applications mentioned above, there are applications which allow individuals to return the gaze such as “Trapster” (<http://trapster.com/iphone.php>) which provides a map giving the location and an alert when individuals approach speed cameras or police check

points through connecting the users location to their map through GPS. It depends upon user-generated content as users are the ones who log in speed traps. These posts, along with accompanying photos, can also be linked to the users Twitter and Facebook accounts. The application boasts over a million traps reported which can be rated by users which is then put into a system which determines the ‘credibility’ of the post. The system also reports the users speed and the current speed limit for reference when it gives an alert. Users are encouraged to use the application more broadly to keep track of trips that they have made. While the service is free the privacy policy states that individuals who “opt out” of giving their personal details will not be allowed to use all of the services. Additionally, the personal information will be used to contact users about Trapster services or on behalf of third parties. The company also collects an array of other information which they may use to track and analyse usage of the site for “quality purposes”.

Turning the gaze towards those closer to home, there are a number of applications which allow and encourage the monitoring of loved ones. For example, “Family Tracker” (<http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/family-tracker/id349880412?mt=8>) which boldly states, “No more lies or excuses! You can now find out where [your spouse, partner or family member] are, at anytime, as long as they have their iPhones with them”. It uses GPS to plot individuals on a map and then uses the locators e-mail address to send a message to the phone of the person they are seeking to locate which then sends back the GPS location (without the iPhone users knowledge). Those tracked only need to consent to being tracked once when setting up the application, after that, they can be tracked without knowledge. The rhetoric on the website pushes the notion of

suspicion and that individuals are often not doing what they claim to be doing. The application demonstrates a reliance upon technology to step-in and provide a level of accuracy that can not be gained through human interaction.

Such suspicion is apparently widespread as the website for “iTrust” (<http://www.itrustiphone.com/?page=home>) proclaims that “a new British study says 67% of women check their boyfriend’s phone regularly” which is offered as a reason for installing the application. This application adds another level of surveillance as it allows individuals to determine whether or not someone has been looking through their iPhone. In essence, it surveils those surveilling in a rather dystopian depiction of modern romantic relationships. Individuals run the application when they leave their phone and it will log the activities and movements (with the suggested icon of a thumbprint) of the person surreptitiously checking the phone. This log can then be played back later as a video.

All of these applications mentioned so far highlight the ubiquity of the consumption of surveillance and the ease with which the iPhone can be used to gather large amounts of surveillance data in a wide variety of forms. They highlight the normalising effect that living under surveillance has where individuals accustomed to being under surveillance are now able to acquire access to the surveillance gathered by authorities, challenge the surveillance of authorities through their own surveillance, embrace the rhetoric of surveillance and security through monitoring their own home, take upon the role of surveyor themselves with devices which allow for highly intrusive surveillance of loved ones, and, finally, increase the layers of surveillance practices through the use of

the iPhone to monitor how others are monitoring them through the iPhone. The following applications explore how the iPhone can be used to engage in less explicit surveillance practices through the logging of data in a form of self-dataveillance and through social networking applications.

5.6.4 Mobile logging of the details of everyday life

iPhones offer a wide array of applications which can be used to track and follow to a high level of detail any aspect of everyday life. These applications illustrate Crandall's argument defining tracking as a new medium of self-reflection as discussed above (Crandall and Armitage, 2005). Some of them are extensions of long-standing practices such as bookkeeping but, as the data is logged and stored on a database managed by a third-party there are serious privacy concerns differentiate these applications from previous off-line practices. However, it is the convenience of the interface and the convenience of the 'cloud' which allows the information to be accessed from mobile devices which appeals to the consumer who accepts the trade-off of convenience for privacy. "Bills: On Your Table" (<http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/bills-on-your-table/id350387186?mt=8>) is one such application which assists with managing finances by allowing users to log transactions and set up bill reminder alerts. The privacy policy (<http://www.powerybase.com/legal/privacy.aspx>) states that data which personally identifies the user will not be sold or shared but does not explicitly state whether or not aggregate information is shared for marketing purposes.

There are many applications such as "My Fitness Pal" (<http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/calorie-counter-diet-tracker/id341232718?mt=8>) which is used to track

daily food consumption and exercise. Again, all the information is stored by the company including an enormous and valuable database regarding food consumed down to the brands. MyFitnessPal claims to take privacy seriously and states that the data is collected in order to give the user a comprehensive analysis of nutrition and activity levels including charts and graphs. The company makes clear in the privacy statement (http://www.myfitnesspal.com/welcome/privacy_policy) that they may also share aggregate data with “partners and advertisers” particularly where it concerns exploring which “meal patterns” are most effective for weight loss for “certain types of people”. More personal data is only shared amongst “friends” as the application makes use of social networking allowing users to interact with each other through forums and profiles. The emphasis on visibility carries over to the discussion community where posters have a banner underneath their posts which includes information regarding weight lost and personal goals.

Applications allow individuals to engage in forms of self-voyeurism through the logging and tracking of all manner of activities demonstrating this driving impetus to reduce everyday life to a series of transactions. Highlighting the sense that these forms of surveillance reduce social relationships to consumer interactions, there are applications such as “The Boyfriend Calculator” (<http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/the-boyfriend-calculator-bfc/id334121992?mt=8>) which allows users to rate and keep track of the positive and negative qualities of previous boyfriends which are then numerically assessed and compared to the profile developed of an ‘ideal’ boyfriend. For others who would like to further remove the emphasis upon individuals there are applications such as “Intimacy Tracker” (<http://itunes.apple.com/gb/app/intimacy-tracker/>

[id301160010?mt=8](#)) which states proudly that “Numbers do matter”! Rather than focusing on individuals and relationships this application allows users to keep track of ‘intimate acts’. Amongst many obvious uses, the site suggests that it might be handy for ‘bored housewives’ trying to keep track of extra-marital affairs and recently married men who want to keep track of newly consummated intimate acts. Users are, unfortunately, restricted to only four types of ‘act’ for their database.

Applications such as these encourage users to share, log and track the most minute details of everyday life. In a further manner, everyday life is quantified and the entertainment or convenience offered in this quantification acts as the draw to use these applications. However, this overlooks the extent to which individuals are daily working to build expansive commercial databases which provide valuable information for marketers and businesses. On the surface, such applications appear to put the user in control in the form of self-monitoring. Beyond the interface, however, the relationship is exposed as one in which the user is the one being surveilled.

5.6.5 Social Networking applications

The final category of iPhone applications which will be discussed here are applications which enhance social networking practices by making them more mobile and taking advantage of the locational tools provided on mobile phones. Applications such as “Friendjectory” (<http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/friendjectory/id333214417?mt=8> originally named “iMeet”) allow users to combine their online social network with their offline habits through the use of GPS to send and receive friend location data. Users are alerted when ‘friends’

are nearby and can use the service to message friends to arrange a face-to-face meeting. It is common for these applications to aggregate a number of social networks together. “Friendjectory” connects to Twitter but applications such as “Friends Around” (<http://friendsaround.com/>) go further by linking Twitter, Facebook and Foursquare accounts and it allows users to see if any other user is nearby, not just ‘friends’ within a social network. Through the celebrated auspices of social networking focused on connecting and interacting with others such applications allow individuals to willingly submit themselves to being followed and tracked. While some of the applications discussed above entice users to engage in surveillance practices appealing to their anxieties regarding safety and their suspicions regarding those around them, these applications which combine social networking with locational information, conversely, entice users with a rhetoric which seems to suggest that all around the user there are potential friends waiting to be noticed. Individuals, in this scenario, embrace the surveillance gaze to a staggering degree purely because of the enticement of social engagement.

Foursquare (<http://itunes.apple.com/us/app/foursquare/id306934924?mt=8>) is a highly popular application which has successfully integrated the commercial, social and locational aspects of mobile social networking. The service claims to “make the real world easier to use” and boasts 15 million users with 600,000 business partnerships (<https://foursquare.com/about/>). Subscribers use Foursquare to connect with friends and their network. However, the overtly commercial nature of Foursquare distinguishes it. Users are encouraged to “check-in” when they arrive at a location. To encourage users to do this as often as possible, users earn different “badges” on their profile for

different forms of high use. For example, if a particular user “checks-in” to their local Starbucks more than any other user they become the “Mayor” of that particular Starbucks. Businesses work with Foursquare to market their businesses to users. So, keeping with Starbucks, the company may offer a discount to every customer who shows that they have “checked-in” or may give a free coffee to the “Mayor”. Businesses also use the service to promote openings or events through Foursquare. Users are encouraged to give up information regarding their social networks, their movements and their consumption habits in return for the entertainment value of broadcasting their whereabouts to others, connecting with like-minded consumers and receiving perks from businesses. Foursquare’s privacy policy is in depth and long-winded (even offering a shortened ‘Privacy 101’) but, as most of the information is willingly shared and the divulging of one’s identity, location and consumption are the main activity there is not much that Foursquare would need to be discreet about in regards to what they do with the data. Users agree to the use the site because their information will be shared with businesses. They use the site specifically to be marketed to in a strange display of how far attitudes towards privacy have moved.

5.7 Conclusion

Kiyoshi Abe describes the “coexistence of the bright ubiquitous media society with the gloomy surveillance society” (2009, 78) On the one hand, new communication technologies have given so much in terms of enabling individuals to communicate and interact unrestricted by time and space. On the other hand, much of this same technology is used to monitor the very interactions which it has enabled. Ubiquitous media has emerged along with

ubiquitous surveillance. Abe thinks that sometimes our acceptance of this increased surveillance is due to lack of information, however, at other times, it is the surveillance itself which we are enjoying. Surveillance is embraced because of the allure of knowledge and control. Surveillance devices are consumed because of the popularised faith in the myth of technology. Where humans have failed, perhaps technology will succeed. Exploring surveillance as practices and technologies which are consumed and deeply embedded within the rhetoric of consumer culture highlights how surveillance loses its 'gloomy' connotations which Abe mentions.

Putting surveillance in the hands of consumers has a number of benefits in regards to assuaging concerns and appealing to the masses. The impact is that it is difficult to oppose surveillance in a society where it is so enjoyed everyday. Often surveillance critiques read like it is a universally understood given that surveillance is bad and an infringement upon freedom. However, these same technologies are enjoyed everyday and embraced within a rhetoric of freedom. Individuals are free to connect with anyone in the world, children can roam more freely if parents are comfortable that they can locate them or homeowners are free to secure their homes in however sophisticated a manner they prefer. Consumers are empowered by the information which surveillance provides whether its monitoring ones neighbourhood, challenging the installed speed cameras or making informed decisions as to where to reside. Contrary to those who focus on the panoptic depiction of surveillance power relations, many embrace the consumption of surveillance as a form of collaboration with those who are generally doing the surveilling. Or, at least, they feel that the power relations are not so explicit. Neighbourhood attitudes towards the police are

positive where residents have access to both the local CCTV feed and a reality tv style programme following around their, all from the convenience of their front room.

Developing a contemporary critique of surveillance practices and a framework for stimulating practices of resistance against surveillance requires consideration of how surveillance is enjoyed and the ideological shifts resulting from this enjoyment. Through the consumption of surveillance there are a number of messages which become commonplace even if they are often contradictory. It is common to regard the world outside one's well secured fortress with anxiety but to regard potential encounters with strangers (provided they have been vetted as like-minded consumers) with enthusiasm. It is acceptable to regard those around us, including loved ones with suspicion but it is likewise often necessary to take drastic measures to protect the ones we love. The police invest in the most sophisticated surveillance technology in order to protect us and one should only feel anxious if they have something to hide. Above all, the gaze is not threatening, those who seek to evade it are the threat. The gaze is self-affirming and individuals should offer all the fragments of their identity, interactions and everyday life in return for its approval. These cultural shifts complicate the discourse. Any development of a resistance to surveillance must take these views into account and challenge them effectively, articulating how these surveillance practices which are embraced are not benign and do not challenge traditional panoptic notions of power. In this sense, the synopticon functions as the spectacle distracting individuals from the reality of power relations within the surveillance society.

With regards to the overall project in this thesis, this chapter has sought to explore the seductive nature of surveillance. Through doing so, this chapter has highlighted why there is a lack of resistance and everyday challenges to surveillance systems. While the previous chapter examined the difficulties in developing a challenge to surveillance systems, this chapter has examined this further through exploring how surveillance has become deeply and ideologically embedded within everyday life. These are the cultural shifts which theorists seeking to develop a framework for thinking about resistance must acknowledge. Without acknowledging these shifts, theorists risk being out of touch with the lived everyday experiences of surveillance throughout society. These shifts demonstrates the resiliency of the spectacle which functions to legitimate surveillance and promote the extent to which it can be embraced offering both security and entertainment. Individuals are encouraged to consume surveillance and a myriad of possibilities are offered. The following chapter, Chapter 6, continues to develop a framework for conceptualising resistance to surveillance through an exploration of artistic engagements with surveillance. Many of the artists discussed engage directly with these seductive aspects of surveillance presented in this chapter and utilise them to develop a critique and challenge to surveillance following on from the framework of resistance developed in Chapters 2 and 3.

CHAPTER 6 - ARTISTIC ENGAGEMENTS WITH SURVEILLANCE

6.1. Introduction

Art was always a central component of the Situationist critique and pursuit to revolutionise everyday life. The movement was described as,

“an experimental investigation of possible ways for freely constructing everyday life, and as a contribution to the theoretical and practical development of a new revolutionary contestation” (Debord, 1963).

They developed a number of creative practices to deploy towards this investigation with the aim of unitary urbanism through the tactics of *dérive* and *détournement* (as defined in Chapter 2). These ideas continue to resonate within the art world (see Anton, 2011 and Fox and Higgie, 2011). Many artists, whether explicitly or implicitly, engage with these ideas within their work. In regards to this thesis in particular, there are a number of artists provocatively exploring surveillance through their work.

Through a survey of a number of different artists addressing the surveillance society in a variety of ways, this chapter presents these artworks as practical examples of the components of the theoretical framework as developed in Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis. These projects are vivid illustrations of *rhythmanalysis* in the manner in which these artists unpick the complex layers of influences within everyday life, hold them up for critical reflection and demonstrate tactics which can be used to both challenge and subvert these influences and technologies in order to provide opportunities for individuals to pursue a greater role in, as Debord states, their “freely constructing everyday” (Debord, 1963). Utilising the tactics of *rhythmanalysis*, *dérive* and *détournement*, they expose practices of surveillance, expose the limitations and

flaws of surveillance, suggest new ways of using surveillance technologies and provide opportunities or suggest methods for reinvigorating everyday life whether through physical or virtual spaces.

This chapter will first outline some of the difficulties in studying technology and surveillance which point to the need to engage with creative practitioners with these technologies. Second, this chapter will move on from this to explore what Scott Lash has labelled the ‘facticity of practice’ which highlights how artistic perspectives can inform academic discourses on power and resistance within the contemporary cultural and social context. Third, the role of art within contemporary culture will be discussed reflecting upon the position of artists in providing a critique of everyday life which will then be continued in the fourth section briefly underscoring the place of art within the projects of both the Situationists and Henri Lefebvre. The fifth and main section of this thesis will survey a number of different artworks which comment upon surveillance practices. To conclude, this chapter will reflect upon criticisms of such artworks before reflecting upon the contribution of these artists to the development of a theoretical framework for resistance to surveillance.

6.2 The challenge of studying surveillance

Social and cultural theorists wishing to look at the impact of emerging technologies upon social trends and practices are faced with a number of difficulties. These technologies are developing all the time and the social theorist must find a certain balance of perspective best outlined by Nigel Thrift where the analysis must “follow only a little way behind change” because if the writing is “too far behind” it becomes merely “academic” and if the technology is

too close the writing it takes on “the hyperbolic view of the future which is a part of how contemporary capitalism reproduces itself” (Thrift, 2005: vi). Academics then struggle to carry out research which does not come across as a mere historical analysis as soon as it is published and yet, on the other hand, does not exaggerate with predictions of the future which generally come across as woefully optimistic or dystopian. Communication and surveillance technologies are developing at a much faster pace than the “slow and patient affair” of social theory (Gane, 2006: 21). As a result, while it is unrealistic to expect social theorists to acquaint themselves with complex technologies falling outside of their expertise, it is imperative that they, instead, engage with those with whom these technologies are within their expertise.

This is particularly the case with research on surveillance (as discussed in Chapter 1) where theorists attempting to highlight the dangers of surveillance practices occasionally blur the distinction between technologies which are already implemented with those that have merely been imagined. While it is fair to suggest that the government and military may have plans or intentions for an alarming array of practices and devices it is important to clearly distinguish ambitions from reality. Discussions which revolve around future predictions and technologies which are not yet realised may be appropriate for arguments which advocate for increased awareness and advocacy but they are more problematic for issues of resistance against such systems. To speak of a resistance to surveillance technologies necessitates drawing a clear distinction between past, present, and future. There are different implications and demands when looking at the rhetoric behind what is merely imagined and

nearly realised, and theorists without technological expertise or engagement are at the risk of simplifying the distinction between the two.

Another complication with analysing emerging surveillance systems is that often they do not work as intended. It is difficult to discuss the power relations embedded with these technologies when the technologies themselves complicate this discussion. As mentioned previously in Chapter 4, in relation to Philadelphia, while the Parking Authority instituted a plan for increased monitoring of the taxicab drivers and the taxicab drivers resisted this plan, the ineffectiveness of the Global Positioning Systems rendered the discussions to the realm of ambitions rather than of fact. This is of particular concern in regards to forming a resistance to such a technology as the drivers had to articulate their opposition to the Parking Authority's aspirations rather than to the monitoring as it actually functioned. Generally, social and cultural theorists are not actively engaged with the technologies and thus struggle to parse out the issues in regards to how effectively these systems function. However, again, to discuss issues of resistance to such systems it is crucial to have a good understanding of how effectively the systems function. Theories of resistance may focus on how to highlight the flaws or to exploit the flaws for purposes of evasion or opposition. There is a need to be able to blend the theoretical notions with practical application which can only be achieved if there is an understanding of both without one prioritised over the other.

Beyond difficulties which social and cultural theorists face in regards to engagement with the technology, difficulties also arise in regards to the theorists engagement with the social practices surrounding these technologies.

Much of this is reminiscent of Dave Beer's recent essay on the sociological problem of being "cool" (Beer, 2009). Theorists may write emotively on the dangers of surveillance and yet fall short in understanding how these systems are intertwined with aspects of popular culture such as Web 2.0 and Reality TV. Concerned with the implications of loss of privacy some theorists, because of cultural or generational gaps, fail to critically reflect upon the seductive aspects of surveillance which are increasingly pervasive throughout contemporary everyday life as discussed in Chapter 5. Theorists are inevitably forced to comment on these phenomena from a distance if they are not engaged with them themselves. The normative position of surveillance studies is that surveillance is uniformly bad (Haggerty, 2006), this attachment to this stance places them in a particularly difficult position when discussing resistance to such systems as they present lack of privacy and concerns over discrimination as self-evident and risk a certain arrogance in the tone of their work aligning ignorance of the implications of surveillance as the cause of a lack of resistance. There is a need to think differently about resistance under these circumstances which has been one of the themes of this thesis. It is crucial to understand the relationship between the public and these technologies and the relationship between increased surveillance and the emergence of what Jordan Crandall refers to as "presentational culture" (n.d.) as there can not be an understanding of how to resist these systems without an acknowledgement and understanding of how they are also tolerated and embraced by many (as explored in Chapter 5).

This chapter calls upon theorists within surveillance studies to increase their engagement with artists who comment upon surveillance within their work.

They can provide theorists with a wealth of knowledge regarding the technical aspects of these systems and a more direct engagement with the public in order to bring a greater level of critical reflection upon surveillance within popular discourses. Artists are able to offer another perspective for social theorists because they are actively engaged with the technologies and because they intrinsically involved in the creative industries. They are intertwined with the practices and trends in which surveillance systems have emerged and are able to reflexively evaluate the relationship between surveillance practices and ideological shifts towards privacy and identity emanating from popular culture.

6.3 Facticity of Practice

In Scott Lash's essay on post-hegemony, he refers to Adorno and Horkheimer's prediction of the increasing relationship between culture and industry (2007). Cultural practices have been increasingly infiltrated by the practices of industry as the two predicted. The "Culture Industries" have largely adopted capitalist practices of production and distribution. The art world has become a big business with a focus on use-value and profit margins (see Davoudi, 2011 for a review of the Frieze art fair within the Financial Times). Additionally, cultural research has, at times, combined with the cultural industries and as the focus has moved towards communication practices the two are less distinctly separated (Lash, 2007). However, as Lash points out, this exchange has also worked conversely as there is, increasingly, a "culturification" of industry as the principles of cultural production have overlapped with industry. He states this exchange of influence as,

"On the one hand, the deadening abstract homogeneity of industry suffocates the being, the life, of culture. On the other, culturification

brings life and indeed ontology to the mechanism of industry.” (Lash, 2007: 74)

Industry has profited from an increased focus on design and branding, employing artists and designers. Additionally, there is recognition of how this relates to the use of technologies and their level of embeddedness in everyday lives. Lev Manovich, in “Interaction as an Aesthetic Event”, describes how we come to regard technologies not just as a tool or a means to an end but as a central component of daily lives (2007). Individuals have relationships with these technologies and through the aestheticisation of these technologies come to see them as a part of their identities. Mobile phones, Global Positioning Units, and mobile music devices become not just tools with a functional purposes but accessories through which individuals identify themselves and form their identity around. One who embraces devices such as the Apple iPhone does so with the explicit understanding of what statement their purchase makes about them just as much as someone who holds onto an out-dated mobile phone. Identity and participation in subgroups or subcultures are tied into relationships with technologies. Additionally, as detailed in Chapters 4 and 5 there is a rhetoric behind the embrace of technology that suggests that the enthusiast is progressive and forward thinking. The negative aspects of technologies or the surveillance systems which lie in the background (GPS in the iPhone, for example) are not emphasised in marketing campaigns but, rather, the relationship between the technology and the formation of identity highlighted.

If culture and industry are increasingly related and the distinction between cultural criticism and cultural production is blurred then there is a need for a deeper engagement with these fields. A critique of surveillance may originate from within academia but this needs to take into account the cultural context under which these technologies have emerged. Chapter 5 in this thesis provided an initial overview of these myriad processes which highlight the seductive aspects of surveillance. In order to effectively investigate these processes, Scott Lash calls for social and cultural theorists to more actively work with the culture industries (“with art, the media, architecture, design, information and communications technology, software and protocol design, and urbanism”) as well as with the sciences and technosciences (Lash, 2007: 74). He argues that these areas are expanding and that interventions need to be made in these fields. Cultural studies is no longer a place outside of the capitalist system or outside of mainstream culture but, rather, increasingly complicit in these systems. As a result, cultural theorists must approach critiques of these systems from the perspective of an active user. Conversely, the sociologist risks becoming irrelevant if he or she does not make connections with these industries in order to learn how these systems work from the inside. Rather than trying to gauge from afar what technologies have arrived, which are not quite there, and which are more ambitions than reality, social theorists should increase hands-on interaction with practitioners in these areas and work directly with these technologies as much as possible. While there are obvious limitations in regards to how much technological experience and expertise can realistically be expected from a social theorist this only further underlines the need for increased collaborations and connections between disciplines. Scott Lash calls for cultural studies to “engage with such practice and [to] train its

students in theoretically infused hands-on work in new media, art, architecture, cultural policy and politics” (Lash, 2007: 75). He recommends the formation of “project-networks of practitioners and theorists [who] will work in laboratories and studios” (ibid., 75). By becoming more involved in the construction of these systems and better understanding the relationship between how these technologies are designed, used, and the impact which they have on everyday practices there could be potential for a renewed political involvement. These collaborations are political and demonstrate a willingness to understand how these systems work more thoroughly than a detached observation. As resistance can increasingly be viewed as a critique and action from within these practices there needs to be a greater effort on the part of social theorists to get into these technologies.

Artists are actively taking part in this critique from within surveillance systems through their work and this chapter will survey a number of examples in order to illustrate the variety of perspectives and practices which they highlight in their work. These artists are directly involved in a practical engagement with surveillance in a number of ways. First, there are many artists who use the technologies in their work. This could be filmmakers using CCTV footage for raw material or hackers deliberately altering the technologies with the purpose of either uncovering how these systems function or by disrupting their function. They have the technical skills to work with the technologies thereby offering insights for the theorist without such skills on how these systems work, the limitations of their functioning, and the possibilities for disrupting the systems (as discussed in Chapter 3). Because they are directly using the technology they can offer insights which go beyond rhetoric from governments, militaries, or

marketers who aim to sell these proposals and technologies to the public.

Additionally, artists have the privileged position of commenting on the culture industries from within these industries. They produce reflexive works which comment on the role of culture in producing ideological positions which embrace or are apathetic towards increased surveillance. This reflexivity and critique from within the systems is, again, something from which social theorists can benefit as they often are generally commenting from outside of these systems.

A collaboration with artists who address surveillance is beneficial for the social theorist as many of these artists are better equipped to communicate with the public, to highlight the dangers of increasing surveillance and to suggest possibilities for resistance than, perhaps, the social theorist. They often put the theories into an interactive or visual form that uses the techniques of the culture industries to attract interest and attention. Additionally, by using the technologies themselves subversively, as a form of détournement, the theoretical perspective is embedded in a cultural item which is already familiar and understood.

This thesis argues that these artists are directly engaged in a form of political activism which acknowledges the complexities surrounding debates over surveillance which focus on power relations, the use of technologies, and the changing experiential knowledge of places and movements within a space. These artists draw attention to the fact that power and politics are present in how surveillance systems are navigated and how they are represented in mainstream culture even if the public are not always acutely aware. As Lash

states this is not just an era of “ubiquitous computing and ubiquitous media” but also of “ubiquitous politics” (Lash, 2007: 75). There is a need increase critical awareness and involvement in these processes. Artists who take surveillance and everyday practices within the city as their subject can potentially serve as the bridge between the theoretical perspectives of social theorists and the public as it is often difficult to articulate to the public the problematic consequences of surveillance in light of the seductive nature of these technologies (as seen in Chapter 4).

Lastly, collaborations with artists can help to reinvigorate a sense of political engagement amongst theorists. Artists, through their work, uncover new possibilities for addressing increased surveillance and resisting against such systems of monitoring. Jordan Crandall suggests that theorists and artists need to be open to the possibility of “new sites of transformative agency” within these systems and that there is a need to “attune oneself to be able to see it and in many ways to become a participant to a kind of jump in shift from distanced critical perspective to a more implicated one” where one must “experiment with roles and degrees of implication” (2001: 2). The potential gains of collaborations with artists or, at least, the benefits of taking a closer examination of their work is that they may uncover or at least offer a new way to articulate the issues with which theorists are concerned.

6.4 The role of art in contemporary culture

While a part of the wider culture industries and closely related to other fields, the artist does hold a particular place within contemporary cultural criticism. Though the media may be as involved with images as the visual artist, for

example, and they may even adopt images from each other, the artist is often more interested in a critique of images and the ideological representations behind them rather than merely interested in the production of such images. As a form of criticism, “the art context is almost irreplaceable because it is particularly well suited for critically analysing and challenging the claims of the media-driven zeitgeist” (Groys, 2005: 975). For example, while both the media and artists produce works related to Reality TV, artists are examining this trend critically and looking at how it effects the actors, the viewers, and our attitudes towards privacy and exhibitionism. By using the same raw materials, however, the artist can more effectively confront the public with this critique as it is implicated in the familiar discourse. The artists can challenge perceptions by utilising familiar references and representations.

One of the central functions of art is experimentation and to force the viewer to “reflexively examine the way reality is perceived” (Katti, 2002). Thus the artist works from a privileged position from within media offering insights into how this industry works including works which critique the viewers relationship to the media particularly in relation to current debates over how individuals have embraced exhibitionism, voyeurism and celebrity culture and this has led to a decreased interest in maintaining privacy. Lyotard suggests that art “makes seen what makes one see, and not what is visible” (quoted in Malpas, 2002: 199). It has the ability to “disrupt established ways of viewing and conceiving reality” (Malpas, 2002: 200). The artist offers a perspective which, in the case of surveillance, acknowledges the complicity of those surveyed in the emergence of these systems and highlights how these technologies, used for monitoring and

surveillance, are embraced. Again, the artists are able to critique the media from within the media utilising the same materials and technologies.

Lyotard sees art, philosophy, and politics as “inextricably intertwined” (Malpas, 2002). Art functions to disrupt systems of thought and raises questions that are forced into philosophical and political discussions (2002). The artist, according to Lyotard examines the current ideologies, exposes the gaps in the dominant ideology and pursues instabilities challenging existing rules and functions as the “inspiration for the political imagination” (Gane, 2004: 108). The contemporary artist has the power to “point to the possibility of a future that differs from what appears permissible for thought and action in the present” (Malpas, 2002: 200).

As applied to surveillance, artists are able to articulate the limitations of surveillance and highlight possibilities for evasion. While this may not stimulate an all out revolt, in terms of an everyday practice of resistance, these are powerful politically engaged statements. Artists who hack into systems, create their own mock surveillance systems, or design programs with the specific purpose of escaping detection are making direct challenges not only to the surveillance systems directly but also to the public’s general apathy and acceptance of surveillance. These artists force the viewer to acknowledge these systems and to draw attention to the level in which they have become so embedded in our daily lives that they are hardly noticed. The converse opinion, that by drawing attention to these systems these artists are further embedding these systems into normal practice will be addressed at the end of this chapter. While theorists such as Baudrillard (2005) find that art has been too fully co-opted by capitalist ideologies to offer any real political dissent, the art world is

wide and varied and there are artists working on all levels of political engagement. Even amongst artists who use surveillance as subject matter there is a divide between those whose work is a direct and implicated critique of these systems and those artists who merely use surveillance as a gimmick.

Lastly, artists have a particular relationship with technology with the potential to offer the social theorists new insights and perspectives on how these technologies function and how alter social practices and the experiences of urban environments. Art can help us understand the meaning and pleasure behind our increasing dependence upon digital technologies (Broeckmann, 2007). Artists, such as Marcel Duchamp, early on articulated that all individuals are in a dialogue with technology and the devices that we use on a daily basis. In this dialogue both the individual and the technology are constantly re-negotiating and adapting this relationship (Cubitt, 1999). Artists who are practically engaged with emerging technologies have a better understanding of the both the limitations and potential of such technologies. Through use and close scrutiny they unpack the technologies and can thus better express the potential concerns of such technologies and the potential tactics of subversion to get around the technologies. Compared to posturing by governments, militaries, and the media, artists function both as practitioners and critics better equipped than both those promoting the technologies and those critiquing the technologies in regards of predicting the potential use and implications of how, specifically, surveillance technologies may be used. With regards to resistance, they are well placed to discuss how the technologies will impact lives in the future and how the impact can be minimized or, perhaps, more fully embraced in the present. Marshal McLuhan described art as a “distant early warning

system” while Jack Burnham described art as a means for “preparing man for physical and mental changes which he will in time make upon himself” (both quoted in Shanken, 2007: 50). For the social theorist considering the development of a everyday practices of resistance and contestation of the expansion of surveillance systems the contributions from such artists offer privileged insights into the functions of such systems because the artists work with technology in the multiple possible roles of subject, user, practitioner, hacker and critic.

6.5 The Situationists and Henri Lefebvre on Art

Through the construction of ‘situations’ the Situationists sought to create “momentary ambiances of life and their transformation into a superior passional quality” (Debord, 1957). Saul Anton, in his consideration of the contemporary relevance of Situationist strategies, concludes that these brief moments are not meant to “create an aesthetic shock in the spectator” but, rather, to interrupt “the closed-circuit of information and sharply [call] into [question] the fantasy of an archive identical to the society that produces it” (Anton, 2011: 113). Akin to Lefebvre’s rhythmanalysis, the aim is to create moments which bring the individual out of the everyday and into the extra-everyday (2004) or, rather, to, for a moment, expose the distinction between lived reality and the spectacle (Debord, 1995). If the individual, even for a moment, is able to, in a sense, externally reflect upon the reality of everyday life and see the functioning of the spectacle, this can lead to a questioning of the ideologically driven representations through which the spectacle functions.

As a result, art was centrally important to the critique of everyday life as espoused by Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists. However, with a consideration of forms of artistic production which exist within the spectacle, they sought to define art more broadly and remove artistic practices from the specialised domain of the art industry.

“We believe that the hanging of a painting in a gallery is... inevitably uninteresting” and “any use of the current framework of intellectual commerce surrenders ground to ideological confusionism” (Debord, 2002: 27).

Debord’s position on whether or not art could supersede the spectacle wavers from the earlier proto-Situationist, Lettrist International period, when he was more influenced by artists such as Constant and Asger Jorn to a more critical and skeptical stance later when he was more influenced by Raoul Vaneigem. (This is a simplistic summary of his complex relationship to art which is more thoroughly discussed in Sadler, 1999). Regardless, however, Debord called for art not to exist in a separate realm extricated from everyday life but, rather, to be brought into the level of the everyday and incorporated as a strategy through its critique of everyday life and creation of situations existing outside of the spectacle. Lefebvre similarly highlights a distinction between these two perceptions of art in Volume 3 of *Critique of Everyday Life*. He distinguishes between art and ‘kitsch’ where ‘kitsch’, as an industrial product, comforts and, as a result, contributes to the legitimacy of the spectacle. On the other hand, art, “born out of anguish that has or has not been mastered, disturbs” (Lefebvre, 2008b: 96). It is the potential of disturbance through art which underlies their interest in art in the everyday.

The artworks presented in this chapter work, in the spirit of the Situationists and Henri Lefebvre, at the level of the everyday. Artists, in the form espoused by Lefebvre and the Situationists, “sought to invade everyday space and dismantle the barriers that separate it from art” (Bonnett, 1992: 70). At times, this invasion is quite literal as with Geraldine Juarez and Adam Bobbette. At other times, this process is more subtle in the sense that the works integrate into everyday practice and subtly subvert it. These are all works which seek to directly engage with the public whether through eliciting their interaction or through opening up the often obfuscated practices of surveillance within everyday life in order to stimulate the audience to contemplate not only surveillance practices but their own role within these practices. The Situationists, according to Guy Debord, considered “cultural activity... as an experimental method for constructing daily life” (Debord, 1997: 90). These works present everyday life as it is, but unmask an element of everyday practice which generally goes unnoticed such as with the work of Jill Magid where she seeks to draw the mundane into the visible. These works seek to present the everyday for reflection.

The role of art within the Situationist project is pivotal within the creation of situations, as mentioned above, and through their conception of Unitary Urbanism. Debord defines Unitary Urbanism as “the use of all arts and techniques as means contributing to the composition of a unified milieu” (Debord, 1957). It was through Unitary Urbanism manifested through creative practices that, as Lefebvre described, one can “unify what has a certain unity, but a lost unity, a disappearing unity” (Ross, 1997: 81). Unitary Urbanism, deployed through artistic practices, functions to encourage

individual to establish new connections and understandings of and within space. These connections are driven by individual desires and needs and seek to subvert and excoriate the prescribed understandings of space. Everyday space is “where routine, conformist, and unimaginative social roles are played out”, according to Alistair Bonnett (1992: 70). The challenge, within the established perspective that the practices of the artist do not play out in everyday space, is to inject creativity in these spaces which are “not sites of legitimate creativity” (Bonnett, 1992: 70). Many of the artworks discussed in this chapter are deeply embedded within everyday life and everyday spaces and manifest the political nature of doing so. Bringing creative practices into everyday spaces enables them to highlight the restrictive influences upon how they are used and enables them to subvert these influences by leading individuals to question these processes and by encouraging individuals to seek out novel ways of understanding space. These works enable audiences to create new connections driven by their own lived experiences, needs and desires.

For the Situationists, according to Bradley Macdonald, “art represents the pinnacle of human creativity whose existence as a separate realm disappears once there is the realization of everyday creativity for all individuals” (1999: 99). Many of the works presented in this chapter collapse the hierarchical relationship between artist and audience and, rather, work to facilitate participation and reflection from the audience. The audience can not be passive, neither literally nor conceptually. The individual is placed in the role of surveyor (Hasan Elahi’s ‘Tracking Transcience’ or Michelle Teran’s ‘Life: A User’s Manual’) or surveilled (Marie Sester’s ‘Access’ or Da Costa, Schulte, and Singer’s ‘Swipe Bar’). However, an overarching theme for many of the artworks

discussed within this chapter is the provocation to bring a greater level of individual agency into everyday life. As such, art not only represents the pinnacle of human creativity but art also provides a vivid manifestation of Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis in practice. At times, the relationship between the artist and rhythmanalysis appears quite overt as with the work by David Rokeby. At other times, however, the extent to which works such as 'Landscape/Portrait' encourage individuals to challenge representations of physical space with accounts of their own lived experiences demonstrate how artists, as rhythmanalysts, work with the audience to re-invigorate everyday life. The power of these artworks is that they provide the context, means and space for individuals to inject a greater level of agency towards their everyday experience. This is a central component of the Situationists project. Shaleph O'Neill states that, "the aim of reclaiming everyday experience for ones own ends is, without doubt, a radical proposition" (2009: 164). Tying this in with Lefebvre, he goes on to emphasise how this process "relies upon the body" and explicit engagement (ibid., 164). "It is not enough to watch or to reflect upon the nature of the Spectacle. What is important is to be able to take part" (ibid., 164). This perspective and spirit runs throughout the works which will now be presented.

6.6 Art and post-hegemonic resistance: a survey of works

(Appendix provides images, details and links for artworks)

6.6.1 Historical perspective

To give a historical perspective to how artists have addressed surveillance through their works I will begin with Peter Weibel and Bruce Nauman who began creating interactive mixed-media installations addressing the role of the

observer and the complicity of the user or the observed in the late 1960's and early 1970's. To put this into context, it is significant to point out that Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* was not published until 1975 and was translated into English in 1977. Additionally, Oscar Gandy's *The Panoptic Sort* was not published until 1993 and David Lyon's *The Electronic Eye: The Rise of Surveillance Society* was published in 1994.

German media artist, Peter Weibel, addressed surveillance in many of his early installation works including *The Audience as Exhibit* (1969), *Video Lumina* (1969), *Observing Observation: Uncertainty* (1973) and *The Guard as Bandit* (1978). All of these works were closed circuit video installations engaging with Norbert Wiener and Heinz von Foerster's theories on cybernetics and the problem of observing the observer. In the installations the observer becomes the observed and, thus, complicit in the closed circuit surveillance system. Additionally, the installations highlight the limitations of observation as the system contains blind spots which can only be seen by a second observer. Capitalizing on blind spots within surveillance systems offers a form of resistance through evasion and non-participation in the monitoring. These works, referring back to the framework which has been developed thus far within this thesis, challenge the legitimacy of surveillance systems through exposing the limitations of such systems and through engaging the observer to question both the hierarchical relationships which surveillance systems set to establish and to question their own place within these systems. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, due to the extent to which surveillance is pervasive and ubiquitous throughout everyday life, individuals are presented with many instances in which they are both observer and observed.

In *Observing Observation: Uncertainty*, the observer enters a circle of televisions but the cameras are arranged such that only the back of the observer is transmitted to the televisions. The participation of the spectator turns out to be a form of subjugation (Rosen, 2002). Weibel highlights the fact that the observed object is transformed by the act of observation and points out the level of uncertainty within this process. Within the relationship which Weibel establishes in this piece, there is “supervision of the supervisors, a control of the controllers” (Weibel quoted in Rosen, 2002: 75). Beyond Foucault’s ‘disciplinary’ society, Weibel’s work questions the hierarchical nature of surveillance systems and through the disconcerting experience of watching one’s self being watched confronts the observer to reflect upon the experience of being observed. As a form of rhythmanalysis or *dérive*, Weibel’s work presents an aspect of everyday life which generally goes without notice and provides a visible demonstration of unseen practices pervasive throughout everyday life.

The installation *The Guard as Bandit* was installed in a bank in Vienna. Weibel installed a camera and monitor to observe one of the bank’s cameras which was covered with a mesh stocking to suggest stereotypes of a masked bank robber. In this case, the camera which observes the customers is itself being observed. Weibel is also playing with the dual meanings behind the word “monitor” which can refer to a television monitor as well as connotations of an overseer. As such, Weibel’s art is injected into the space of everyday life such as advocated by Lefebvre and the Situationists and through the somewhat playful representation of the bank robber elicits the observer to reflect upon the rhetoric of surveillance, the relationships it establishes and the extent to which it can fulfill

its promise of security and safety.

Bruce Nauman also works with video installations and tries to move beyond what is “visually tangible to what can be physically-emotionally experienced” (Zbikowski, 2002: 67). He is one of the founders of video art and in the late 60’s began creating works which provoked audience participation. Like Weibel’s work discussed above, these works are often closed-circuit television installations where the audience is filmed and transmitted on the televisions. His pieces, *Live/Taped Video Corridor* (1969-1970), *Video Surveillance Piece: Public Room, Private Room* (1969-1970), and *Audio Piece for London, Ontario* (1969-1970), most directly address surveillance systems and the tensions between real space and the image of space which can be manipulated. In *Live/Taped Video Corridor* the closer one gets to the monitor the further away they appear in the transmission on the screen creating a clash between rational orientation and emotional insecurity where the individual must monitor their own activities (Zbikowski, 2002). In *Video Surveillance Piece: Public Room, Private Room* again, the participant is forced into the position of observing and being observed. The experience of this is ‘frightening’ and ‘menacing’ as it is “unnerving for you not to know who is monitoring you, and to what purpose” (Zbikowski, 2002). In *Audio Piece for London, Ontario* Nauman sets up a camera in an empty room which the viewer can see on a monitor. The room is empty and nothing is going on yet there is an audio track broadcast from the room which gives the illusion that someone must be in the room thereby raising questions regarding the purpose and functionality of closed-circuit systems.

Bruce Nauman's installations question the reliability of the representations of space as provided by CCTV cameras. He confronts the viewer to question the stability of the relationship between representation and lived experience.

Nauman highlights the extent to which surveillance through technological means is a simulation as described by Bogard (1996). The introduction of doubt into surveillance processes powerfully challenges the legitimacy of these systems. Nauman, through subverting how individuals experience these technologies everyday disorients the viewer thus, for a moment, bringing them outside of their accepted assumptions and drawing them to reflect upon the ideological function of surveillance.

This disorientation towards mundane practices developed in the work of both Nauman and Weibel demonstrates how, through leading the viewer to interact with the work, they sought to create 'situations' or 'moments' in the sense espoused by Lefebvre and the Situationists. In both Nauman and Weibel's work the spectator becomes involved in the work and the processes of observation which the artists are experimenting. The spectator is forced to be viscerally aware of the processes of surveillance which otherwise are often ignored or go unnoticed. The works also highlight the individual's potential complicity in these systems of observation and he or she is forced to acknowledge and reflect upon themselves as observers and the purpose and function of such systems. Finally, both artists détourn conventional surveillance technologies, reconfiguring and tampering with them. The manipulation to these devices, however, importantly, draws the observer to think more critically about these technologies when presented with them in context outside of the everyday norm.

6.6.2 Uncovering practices of surveillance

While Nauman and Weibel created work drawing attention to the practices of observation many artists more directly challenge surveillance systems by attempting to uncover the practices of surveillance which often go unnoticed in everyday life. The next two works seek to uncover the practices of observation through CCTV and question the legitimacy of such practices. The first is Jill Magid's "Evidence Locker" where she spent a month in Liverpool and developed a very unique and close relationship with the CCTV camera operators in the city. In this relationship they became complicit in her art project. She would notify them of where she would be and the operators would follow her with the cameras. The relationship intensified to the point where on numerous occasions she would walk through the city with her eyes closed and the CCTV operators would direct her through the phone. To then gain access to the footage she had to write 31 request letters for each day.

The documentation of the project was presented through installations but continues to be available through the website 'Evidence Locker' (<http://www.evidencelocker.net>). Viewers must register their e-mail address. After doing so they will receive, through individual e-mails, each of the 31 request letters. Additionally, each e-mail provides a link which opens another portions of the 'locker' on the website through which users can access the video footage obtained for that day. What is particularly engrossing about Magid's work is the relationship which she develops with the camera operators and the letters she writes to them. These letters adopt the tone of both a very personal diary and a love letter to the CCTV operators.

Beyond detailing her experiences in Liverpool, she documents her conversations with the operators. In one e-mail, after they express misgivings about her project, she responds,

“And I tell you hurting the city’s reputation is not my intention. Neither is it to judge what you do. Let the others do that. I tell you: I did not critique your system; I made love to it” (Magid, 2004).

By the end of the project, the operators admit that they have watched her apparently on dates and offer her relationship advice. In their last encounter they reminisce on the first time she walked through the city with her eyes closed,

“We talked about the day you walked for me, the first time. I told you again the intensity I had felt. That that moment was everything. After that, the cameras were only cameras. You told me you’d played it down, and had cried after. You said, At the end, when you smiled at me, the screen disappeared. You said, *You know, when you sat on that bench I could have made love to you.* And I said, You did” (Magid, 2004).

The e-mails disorient the reader with the adoption of such a unique tone and, yet, it is through this aspect under which the reader’s senses are heightened that the most shocking aspect of the project is revealed - the mundane normality and friendliness of the camera operators. They joke, they tease and have hobbies. They care about their work and think about it quite critically. They are also concerned with achieving an appropriate balance of protection of the public and respect to individual privacy. This is hardly a depiction of ‘Big Brother’ or the overseer within the Panopticon. Quite the contrary, the mundaneness of the surveillance as presented in Jill Magid’s ‘Evidence Locker’, highlights Lefebvre’s

depiction of power working quietly throughout the rhythms of everyday life both legitimated and obfuscated by a shared ideology developed to confirm the use of these systems.

Regarding the unique role of the artist, Magid was allowed a level of access and indulgence that regular citizens would not receive. Though her process seems peculiar, the narrative was convincing and enticing enough that the CCTV operators and their Systems Manager were candid and forthcoming with her even though they represent systems which are often veiled in secrecy. On the one hand, Magid exposes the extensiveness of these surveillance systems in place all over Britain and highlights the level of autonomy that these operators have in terms of focusing in on particular individuals and following them throughout the city without the individuals knowledge. However, she also exposes the banality of these systems which often gets left out of the more negative diatribes against surveillance. There isn't a Big Brother watching over us, there's just an employee who is just doing a job. The job is frequently boring, and they have to entertain themselves sometimes. While surveillance practices are about power and control when we focus into the everydayness of it this notion gets more complicated as we see that this 'power' and 'control' are fragmented and harder to find, as it is not a force above us but amongst us. The CCTV camera operators are not in control, they are with us.

Magid's work is fascinating because of this dual revelation in her work. The surveillance system is exposed as more extensive and enabling a greater level of focus upon individuals without accountability. 'Evidence Locker' unveils, through Magid's purposeful wanderings through Liverpool in the spirit of Debord's *dérive*, the expansive surveillance network which has been installed in

Liverpool (and documented in Coleman, 2003). However, while revealing the ubiquity of surveillance it also reveals the everydayness of these practices. Such surveillance systems are demonstrations of power and attempts at social control, but not as fitting within Panoptic metaphors. These are “complex relations of force” (Lefebvre, 2004: 100). The everydayness of the surveillance demonstrates the myriad levels of rhythms of surveillance which exert a subtle but tangible influence upon how individuals utilise public space and construct their everyday life. Magid’s letters provide an intimate depiction of living under the gaze highlighting the complexity of emotions this can generate. There is a threat to personal privacy. However, there is also the seduction of the attention, the security of the protective gaze and, importantly, the banality which emerges from its ubiquity. It is necessary to unpick those levels at which surveillance functions and to take them into account when seeking to challenge these systems.

The second work is Michelle Teran’s “Life: A User’s Manual”. Frequently dressed as a homeless person with a television in a shopping cart she gives tours in different cities as a form of performance art. Her television is connected to a system which can hack into surrounding wireless CCTV feeds. Her tour is then a form of *dérive* and exploration of the CCTV images in a given neighborhood. It is a form of “playful constructive behaviour” to “draw upon the psychogeographical effects” of a particular environment (Debord, 1956).

However, this project unveils an aspect of everyday life which is generally out of view. The data gathered by such cameras is rarely exposed, Teran’s work makes these processes visible and highlights through her tours how individuals are monitored without knowledge or consent as they travel through the city space.

Exploring the “constant currents” (Debord, 1956) of the environment, Teran renders visible the underlying processes of monitoring within a particular environment which have the underlying function of asserting who can or cannot utilise particular spaces and to ensure that they are using the spaces in the way which is imposed upon it. Teran exposes the mundane and everyday aspects of surveillance and renders it visible as a form of critique regarding the legitimacy, appropriateness and effectiveness of such systems. Her performances function as a form of *dérive* focusing on the technological processes woven through everyday spaces.

Additionally, her work is a powerful *détournement* as she hacks into the wireless CCTV feeds redefining the images as art rather than mere observations. She has subverted the technologies and reframed them in order to develop her challenge to the legitimacy of such systems. It is likely that no one would have ever watched the majority of the footage otherwise (such as footage within lifts) and so her *détournement* brings an audience to an otherwise lonely video feed. However, the seduction of Teran’s performance is the voyeurism it requires of the participant. Participants are captivated by the ability to get access to these cameras, flies on the wall, in these private spaces, behind closed doors. This highlights our own complicity in these systems and returns to Weibel’s notion of ‘scopophilia’ or how we love to watch. It illustrates the functioning of the spectacle within contemporary society where consumers are drawn to engage themselves in practices of surveillance and, then, as a result to regard such practices as a form of “power sharing” rather than submission (Žižek in Andrejevic, 2007: 15).

6.6.3 Narcissism, exhibitionism, voyeurism, and scopophilia

The pleasure of surveillance was discussed in depth within Chapter 5. To think critically about surveillance and contest the monitoring practices demands a consideration of how individuals also embrace or enjoy surveillance and thus are less interested in challenging the systems. What arises is a form of what Andrejevic refers to, drawing from Debord, as a ‘participatory spectacle’ where the public participates in the “spectacle of its own manipulation” (Andrejevic, 2007: 243). Artists provoke individuals through taking this enjoyment of surveillance out of its everyday context of whether from social media or Reality Television and directly draws the observers attention to their own complicity in this embrace of exhibitionism. By moving the site of this exhibitionism to the level of art the observer is encouraged to think critically about practices which generally go unnoticed in everyday lives. The everyday is brought out of the level of everyday so that it can be analysed, following on from Lefebvre’s methodology (2002). Additionally, the observer is forced to evaluate where personal limits of comfort towards exhibitionism and voyeurism lie. In the following two works the exhibitionism and voyeurism is conducted in real-time with the participants either interacting directly or at least more acutely aware of the processes of watching and being watched. These works vividly illustrate the seduction of surveillance and the extent to which individuals now seek the comfort of the gaze in the development of their own identity in a evolution of the spectacle.

Marie Sester’s “Access” is a permanent installation at ZKM (Center for Media and Art) in Karlsruhe, Germany. The installation consists of a spotlight which tracks visitors in the entrance hall of the center. The spotlight is controlled

remotely by users either on site or remotely through the website. There is a wide spectrum of responses to the installation as some run towards the spotlight and pose inside of it while others attempt to escape from its detection and feel uncomfortable about the lack of control over the observation. By making the monitoring unavoidable and obvious the viewer/user must think critically about how individuals respond to the gaze and have adapted to increasing surveillance.

Marie Sester explicitly places her work within the context of Situationist creative practices such as *détournement*. In an interview she states,

"Instead of influence, art's impact can rather disrupt, disturb, subvert, provoke, stimulate... Guy Debord uses the word "*détournement*," which I would freely translate to designate ways of destabilizing the predominant value-system. Art is more about asking questions than giving answers" (Sester in Debatty, 2006).

The idea is not to tell the viewer/user what to think about increased surveillance but, rather, to stimulate the user to think more critically about one's own involvement in these systems in order to engage the public and instigate a higher level of public discourse regarding the legitimacy of such systems. Marie Sester sees her work as directly political and echoes Lash and others who find that culture and politics are intrinsically intertwined. While arguably not terribly modest, she describes the potential of works such as hers as,

"when something blows your mind, it can change the way you look at the world, and open it up to meditation and contemplation, and finally to being more aware. This is what an artwork can do; it creates a distance between the common place and the inner space, and lets people think by

themselves. One might call this self-awareness.” (Sester in Debatty, 2006).

This distance which she describes echoes Lefebvre’s methodology of rhythmanalysis where through creating moments elevating above the everyday, the everyday can be critically evaluated. Obviously highly influenced by the Situationists she regards her work as introducing subversive elements into the system but doing so with humour. Less eloquently than Andrejevic (2004, 2005 and 2007) in articulating the relationship between increased surveillance and the rise of Reality TV and Webcams she states, “If we’re all performing... we don’t give a shit” (Debatty, 2006).

The second work critically addressing these trends is the Surveillance Video Entertainment Network (SVEN) by Amy Alexander, Wojciech Kosma, and Vincent Rabaud. This is a real-time video editing project which takes closed circuit video footage of unaware museum visitors and creates a music video blending the images of the visitor with images of well known celebrities such as Bono. The aim of the work is to critically and humorously draw attention to surveillance and how surveillance is carried out. Specifically the work draws attention to social sorting mechanisms and more sophisticated CCTV systems which are able to pick out certain individuals in the crowd. This is increasingly used to pick out potential criminals and terrorists out of a crowd with enormous implications in regards to discrimination and racial profiling. While in this installation the camera picks out people who resemble rock stars and places them in a music video, through doing so it draws attention to the wide ranging uses and implications of CCTV and other surveillance systems.

Relating back to the theoretical framework developed in Chapters 2 and 3, works such as SVEN expose practices of resistance demonstrating how they work. Processes such as facial recognition and social sorting are carried out without the awareness of individuals surveyed and these systems are technologically quite complex. However, with this project, the technology is presented in a way which is both entertaining and informative. The frivolity of the work and the extent to which the work itself capitalises upon the seduction of surveillance is the key to how it provokes participants to reflect upon these practices. Following on from work such as that from Bruce Nauman and Michelle Teran above, this work also serves as a critique and challenge to the authority of surveillance practices through subverting the use of the technology and reconfiguring it to be used for creative purposes rather than for monitoring.

6.6.4 Visualisations of data collected – “augmented space”

The following two artworks illustrate the processes of movements within space and expose the inherent conformity within our daily practices and how our movements within the city space can be tracked and monitored. These are both examples of what Manovich described as ‘augmented space’ where the physical space is overlaid with “dynamically changing information” (Manovich, 2004). Additionally, these are the artworks which most overtly represent manifestations of Lefebvre’s rhythmanalysis through a critique of surveillance and a utilisation of new forms of technology in order to carry out an analysis of everyday rhythms. These visualisations expose the conformity of everyday movements of space and, yet, through their aesthetic beauty also highlight the poetry of everyday life in a manner in which Lefebvre would likely appreciate. The extent to which these artworks carry out these processes using new

technology demonstrates the link between Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis and Crandall's articulation as to how technology is used to control spaces through "layering, interfacing, and collapsing... according to various rhythms or beats" (Crandall, 1999). These visualisations demonstrate the "brutal repetitions" of linear rhythms which conform the manner in which individuals utilise space and the detachment from "individual desires" (Lefebvre, 2002: 73). These explorations of the patterns and forces within everyday life vividly and profoundly represent technologically driven *dérives* and manifestations of Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis.

The first is entitled "Cabspotting" by Stamen Design which explores visualizations of GPS data in San Francisco taxicabs. From the artists' own description they state that the "patterns traced by each cab create a living and always-changing map of city life. This map hints at economic, social, and cultural trends that are otherwise invisible" (Stamen Design, n.d.) This map highlights what Debord described as the "contours, with constant currents, fixed points and vortexes that strongly discourage entry into or exit from certain zones" (Debord, 1956). We can get an idea of the routines of those who inhabit San Francisco and a sense of socio-economic disparities as some areas appear to be better served than others. For example, looking at the video still from the documentation there are two heavy red lines in the bottom right hand corner representing the highways that lead in and out of the city. The red lines indicate that the cabs are moving quickly, as on the highway, and the white lines indicate that the cabs are moving slowly, as through a neighbourhood with many pick-ups and drop-offs. The poorer neighbourhoods in San Francisco are around the same highway highlighted by the thick red lines. The lack of white lines in this

area suggests that residents in these areas are not well served by taxis. Through this work the power relationships driving the use of space within San Francisco are exposed and visualised and function as a strong critique in regards to the unequal distribution of the 'right to the city' within this space (Lefebvre, 1996).

This website is collaborative and visitors to the site are encouraged to take the data and create a unique mash-up and visualisation of the data. Other visualisations of the GPS attach stories and anecdotes from drivers to certain locations thereby enhancing the understanding of the space by adding a more personalised representation of the drivers' movements throughout the city. Again, this allows users to *détourner* the original uses of the technology and data and reconfigure it in order to develop a critique and challenge to monitoring practices and the ways in which everyday life is restricted within the particular urban environment.

Similarly David Rokeby's "Seen" uses video cameras to track the movements of pedestrians in Venice's Piazza San Marco. He put a delay on the footage expose a representation of the movements of individuals. In the video installation, the movements resemble brushstrokes. In areas with heavy pedestrian traffic the strokes are thick and bold, in less frequented areas they are light. Guy Debord, in his essay on the *dérive* mentions how Chombart de Lauwe had tracked the movements of a student in Paris for one year. Reminiscent of 'Cabspotting' and 'Seen', Debord refers to such studies as "examples of modern poetry capable of provoking sharp emotional reactions" (Debord, 1956). In the case of the student in Paris, Debord stated that his reaction was "outrage at the fact that anyone's life can be so limited" (1956). These works, through their demonstration of the

conformity in the way in which everyday spaces are used, challenges the power structures which drive this conformity and calls out for these directions to be subverted and for individuals to explore the areas of these maps left dark and undiscovered.

6.6.5 Visualisations of data – dataveillance and social sorting

The utilisation of surveillance technologies to generate visualisations of the ways in which physical spaces are used in order to develop a critique of the conforming influences upon how individuals use space demonstrates one aspect of creative practices engaging in a critique of dataveillance. However, there are also artworks which move that critique to the practice of everyday life within virtual realms. The following three artworks develop a critique of different forms of dataveillance. They persist as examples of rhythmanalysis but as moved to online practices and highlighting the implications of the dataveillance whether as related to information which is gathered on individuals or as related to information which individuals willingly ‘share’ online. This connects with themes raised in Chapters 3 and 5 and the discussion of how practices of the *dérive* and rhythmanalysis can be extended to challenging online monitoring practices. Additionally, these artworks form a critique, again, of the seductive aspects of surveillance wrapped up within the rhetoric of connectivity and interactivity as explored in Chapter 5.

The first example of this is Gavin Levin’s “The Dumpster” which demonstrates the connection between social media and the technological capacity to process data and present it in vividly informative forms (as explored in Chapters 3 and 5). It seems, initially, the most benign of the different visualisations of data

collection. It is an elaborate and sophisticated visualisation of data mined from blogs. The artist gathered all references to being 'dumped' and aggregated them into different levels of significance and placed these on a timeline. It also correlates the similarities between "break-ups". Lev Manovich in his essay on the piece entitled, "Social Data Browsing" suggests that the piece "can be related to traditional genres such as portraiture or documentary, as well as established new media genres such as visualization and database art, it is something new and different" (Manovich, 2006). However, the concern underlying the piece is the availability of such huge amounts of data.

In the past, this had less implications as putting the data together to draw conclusions was hindered by technical limitations. Now, however, as *The Dumpster* demonstrates, that large amounts of data can be presented in ways in which correlations and trends can be discerned. This information can then be used for monitoring and social sorting purposes. A work like *The Dumpster* allows the user to move in between the particular and the general, to easily move between an individual account and then see how it is related to the wider data pool. "The result is a group portrait appropriate for the age of data mining, large databases, and global surveillance programs such as Echelon" (Manovich, 2006). Reflecting back upon how this piece challenges surveillance practices, it exposes practices of surveillance and demonstrates what can be done with data shared online. These aggregates of the seemingly banal and mundane remnants and memories of everyday life as carried out within the blogosphere demonstrate how a detailed portrait of everyday life can be pieced together by anyone accessing the data which is freely available. Through doing so, this work highlights the capabilities of dataveillance and also encourages individuals to

critically reflect upon the seductive aspects of surveillance and the consequences of living everyday life so visibly online.

The second work critically examining data collection processes is more overtly an example of surveillance politics and a more explicit critique of surveillance through data gathering than “Dumpster”. “Landscape/Portrait” by Kevin Carter allows users to respond to postcode classification schemes directly challenging their accuracy in describing places. Users record videos answering a series of questions describing where they live and their impression and experience of living in that place. This video is then attached to a map and the corresponding postcode classification of where they live. This adds personal accounts to the spaces and can be compared with the descriptions of place which are imposed upon residents. This is a potentially powerful form of activism for those living in areas described negatively who can use the website as an opportunity to contest the stereotypes. However, the website could also be used by those creating these classificatory schemes in order to evaluate and improve the accuracy of their systems. This highlights one of the complications of such works which is that by providing more information on these places the artwork which aims to contest these practices of data collection could potentially supplement these systems.

However, this is not to discount the powerful critique within this work. It functions to challenge surveillance in a number of ways. It exposes the practices of surveillance, highlighting the role of geodemographic classification schemes. These schemes are widely utilised and have great implications upon individuals despite the extent to which they go unnoticed. The development and implications of geodemographic classification systems is discussed Burrows and

Gane (2006) and Burrows and Ellison (2004). 'Landscape/Portrait' also highlights the limitations and flaws of such systems as it highlights the discrepancy between the lived experience of a place and its virtual representation. Most importantly, it creates the opportunity to inject a greater level of individual agency into these processes by providing the forum for individuals to challenge these representations and stimulate debate and critical engagement with how these classification systems are used.

The last piece addressing data collection and monitoring practices is "Swipe Bar" created by Beatriz Da Costa, Jamie Schulte, and Brooke Singer. It is an installation where the artists set up a real functioning bar in a gallery or public space. The work is both social and critical. When visitors buy a drink the "bartenders" swipe the drivers license of the visitor. Then on the drink receipt the information that was just collected on the visitor is printed out including drivers license number, address, date of birth, etc. This is to highlight the everyday use of identification systems which collect and share information regarding individuals often without explicit consent. The groups is explicitly challenging government aspirations to collect as much information as possible and, often, to insist that individuals carry this information in the form of identification. Unlike in England, in the United States it is customary for bartenders to demand identification before serving drinks to verify age. However, individuals are rarely aware of the ease in which strangers can access their personal information. Swipe Bar effectively highlights the amount of data which is collected and then ease in which is it shared. Through doing so, they reveal surveillance practices to individuals in a creative and playful manner (as a form of technologically based *dérive*). Additionally, they also subvert these

systems through a détournement where the surveillance technologies which are used to monitor populations become the focus of attention.

6.6.6 Highlighting the limitations of surveillance

A central focus of artworks looking at surveillance is an attempt to discover and highlight the limitations of surveillance practices. In *System Azure* (<http://jillmagid.net/SystemAzure.php>) Jill Magid went to Amsterdam and decorated security cameras with rhinestones. In six months of negotiations she convinced the police that if the function of CCTV was to serve as a deterrent then it made sense to make the CCTV cameras more visible. Magid explains, “After a few meetings-when they decided that they did want the cameras to be seen- we got into aesthetics, and they forgot all about surveillance and security” (quoted in Zacks, 2003). This work highlights that surveillance is “more farce than science fiction” and that these systems are “filled with contradictions, and often no one actually watches the monitors after the cameras are put up” (quoted in Zacks, 2003). Magid’s work uncovers the falsity of assumptions that these systems will improve safety and also, again, uncovers that behind the curtain, there is not a centralized controlling power but rather bureaucrats who apparently have not contemplated these systems too critically or they would not be so enthusiastic about an artist’s plans to decorate their cameras in the colours of green for ‘justice’, red for ‘full of love’, blue for ‘strictness’, and white for ‘integrity’ without noticing the absurdity of the idea. Magid astutely compares CCTV cameras to ‘gargoyles’, “They are visual band-aids that emptily represent safety” (quoted in Zacks, 2003).

Jill Magid's work, again, is so provocative because of the manner in which it uncovers the realities behind surveillance practices. As with 'Evidence Locker', the agents of surveillance (as Haggerty (2006) highlighted) are exposed as far from notions of Big Brother or the Panoptic oversser. It also highlights the changing nature of the purpose of surveillance, shifted from the strictly disciplinary focus as outlined by Foucault (1977). Jill Magid's project forced the observers to critically reflect upon their role and the role of surveillance. If the purpose is disciplinary then why, as Magid points out, do the observers want their observation hidden. If individuals have no impression that they are being monitored, then the disciplinary influence is muted. However, when the visibility of the devices was adopted, this also made the observers uncomfortable. Magid's work exposes and challenges the rhetoric around surveillance and provokes those deploying these systems to decide whether they are for safety or for monitoring. Lastly, Magid's work détournes the CCTV cameras through adorning them and, thus, making them the focus of attention subverting their intended use.

Also highlighting the ineffectiveness of CCTV systems and engaging in an illuminating relationship with the data gatekeepers is Manu Luksch in her film "Faceless". She attempted to put together an entire film through requests for CCTV footage where she had been filmed. The film was scripted and she performed in front of cameras. Accompanying the film Luksch published a "Manifesto for CCTV Filmmakers" (Luksch, n.d.). The Manifesto sets out rules and procedures for future artists attempting to create a film from CCTV footage. However, she had many difficulties in obtaining the CCTV footage despite the fact that the Data Protection Act is supposed to guarantee that right. She was

given many reasons why much of the footage was unavailable. Often the quality was too poor to identify her or the cameras were merely not working. In instances where others are in the film the CCTV operators, who are supposed to black out the other faces, would deem the task too laborious or expensive and would deny sending the footage.

Luksch's work draws attention to the ubiquity of CCTV systems while highlighting their inadequacies. Her work is overtly political and explicitly challenges and encourages the public to critically reflect upon surveillance practices. Additionally, through her encouragement for others to follow her lead in establishing an alternative form of film-making she is seeking to create situations through creative practice which also provoke a greater level of individual agency (in the spirit of Debord, 1957). As a dramatic form of *détournement* she subverts the intended use of the cameras and develops an alternative use for the devices. While this is a challenge to surveillance on its own, she goes further by encouraging others to do the same. Her work exposes practices of surveillance in the sense that she demonstrates where the cameras are filming. She also exposes the limitations and flaws within these systems through the documentation of the difficulties she faced in obtaining the footage and the extent to which the cameras did not work properly or did not work at all. Her work is also an attack upon the bureaucratic systems which direct the gathering of CCTV footage. If others were to follow her instructions and request footage in the same manner the system would quickly crumble under the demand. As long as individuals maintain the right to request this footage, there is the potential to, in effect, sabotage the system through the assertion of this right.

6.6.7 Suggesting possibilities for evasion

Following on from works which highlight the limitations in surveillance system is an interest in exploiting those limitations and finding “blind spots” or possibilities for evasion within the system as another manifestation of practices of *dérive* and *détournement*. Some of these are quite literal in the practical application of methods for evading detection (such as discussed in Chapter 3) while others are more theoretical suggesting ways to find a private space amidst the growth of surveillance and the embrace of exhibitionism (as discussed in Chapter 5).

In 2002, Hasan Elahi was arrested and questioned by the FBI when he was mistakenly placed on a list of suspected terrorists. He finally cleared his name but continued to be watched by the FBI who encouraged him to notify them before he travelled (which he did a lot as an artist). He took this idea further and began an immense project of self-surveillance with his website ‘Tracking Transience’ (<http://trackingtransience.net/>). With his mobile phone complete with a camera and GPS he tracks his every move on the website sometimes uploading a hundred photos a day documenting his every meal and room he has visited. The website tracks his location and he even posts his debit card transaction receipts to document every purchase he makes. He hopes to devalue the FBI file on him by flooding it with data. He also keeps a log of when his website is visited by different government security agencies and, essentially, monitors those monitoring him. Elahi describes his approach, “I’ve discovered that the best way to protect your privacy is to give it away” (quoted in Thompson, 2007). Though his website may seem hyperbolic in its presentation of data it is clear to see how Elahi feels that he is still protecting his privacy.

There are no pictures of Elahi and the images are primarily non-descript and mundane. By focusing on the meals he eats and all the airports he passes through, his work visually demonstrates the general uniformity of the ‘non-spaces’ (Augé, 1995) we inhabit. And through doing so gives possibilities for evading the system by, essentially, over compliance. He has flooded the database to the extent of ‘jamming’ it (Bogard, 1996). He is not confronting the FBI and insisting for them to right their wrong and by appearing to be going along with the system he has managed to evade it.

Hasan Elahi’s project is a powerful critique for a number of reasons. His project offers a proposition for ‘escape strategies’ from surveillance. Put within the context of Lefebvre’s rhythmanalysis, he has chosen to relentlessly document the linear rhythms of everyday life in his quest to preserve the privacy of his cyclical rhythms. In so doing, he provokes viewers to critically reflect upon their notions of privacy and to explore what are the aspects of everyday life which they would like to keep private. It encourages a nuanced discussion and redefinition of privacy in light of cultural and technological shifts. It requires a deeper understanding and evaluation the impact of surveillance and its consequences in terms of privacy and identity. Elahi’s project also, as with the case study discussed in Chapter 4, the extent to which surveillance practices are often used to exacerbate inequality through designating particular groups as necessitating surveillance. Through a case of mistaken identity, Elahi continues to be monitored by the authorities. Without any reason besides his name and ethnicity, Elahi is treated as suspicious despite the lack of any other evidence. Elahi’s work simultaneously exposes the spectacle of surveillance and the extent to which surveillance seduces through giving individuals the capacity to share

and document their everyday life while at the same time, unmasking the negative consequences of surveillance practices and the extent to which they are still used discriminately.

More explicitly offering a method for evading surveillance within the city is the Institute of Applied Autonomy's "iSee" which helps users navigate a path throughout the city where they will be captured by the least number of CCTV cameras thus enabling users to evade the surveillance practices within the city. Again, we see this notion of the derive as Lash described, not a direct opposition, merely an evasion, a refusal to enter into a dialogue with the system (Lash, 2007). The Institute of Applied Autonomy's work is explicitly political and directly engaged with practices of resistance towards increasing surveillance. Members of the group have been in a dispute with the FBI since the 2004 presidential election as their 'textmob' application was used by protesters (Debatty, 2007a). The FBI have subpoenaed the group demanding the records of those who registered for the 'textmob' application and filed charges against the group suggesting fraud. Through 'iSee' they have exposed practices of surveillance which are generally obfuscated in everyday life. They have also provided individuals with a device which allows them to have more control over the extent to which they are surveilled thus enabling a greater level of autonomy and individual agency within systems which seek to impose monitoring upon the public. This work also exposes quite literally the limitations of surveillance and the extent to which those monitoring through these systems may have panoptic aspirations, this is not a reality.

6.6.8 Re-invigorating space and creating new maps of the city

There are many works which attempt to re-invigorate cities directly influenced by the Situationists writings. These aim to suggest new possible uses for space which go beyond the everyday practices which are increasingly directed, monitored, and predicted (as discussed in Chapter 3). Often deploying the Situationists 'detournement' many of these works specifically address the use of technology in the city and suggest new uses other than those intended by those who create and implement them. This is an increasingly popular trend demonstrating Manovich's notion that while the 90's were about the 'virtual' we are now returning to an interest in the 'physical', how we can use technologies within physical space (2004). These works both illustrate the playful creative potential within the city space as a manifestation of unitary urbanism as outlined above. We can subvert the everyday banal uses of the city which are increasingly predictive and turn it into a playground or a theatre. Such creative practices have the potential to create 'moments' or 'situations' which extricate the individual from the everyday and suggest possibilities for a more vividly lived extra-everyday.

The first is "Canal Street Station" created by the performance group 31 Down. This is a bit of participatory theatre and a crime story. The creator viewed the payphone as an iconic symbol of the city space and noticed that they were not being used anymore as individuals almost all have mobiles. So he put together the story of this fake murder. Participants must solve the murder by wandering through the Canal Street Subway station in NYC and gathering hints by using the payphone to speak to the potential murderer. This game takes place in another of Augés 'non-places' a subway station. A place where people go to get

somewhere else and rarely take notice of. The murder mystery forces the participant to examine the subway station in a new way and re-enchants the subway station into its own theatre or playground in Lefebvre's notion to move beyond the 'banal' to the 'exceptional', to step outside of our everyday use of these spaces (2004). What is interesting about this piece is that it is by taking a fresh look at outdated technology that the artist critiques the ubiquity of new technologies and the effect that these technologies have on our experience and enjoyment of spaces.

The second is the participatory game "Shoot me if you can" where participants try to 'shoot' pictures of each other with their mobile phones and then send the images to their opponents posting them on the website when they are successful. Participants make teams, wear coloured shirts, and essentially run around trying to 'shoot' each other in a technologically enhanced version of . On the one hand, they are re-enchanting space and engaging with the city in a playful way. However, they are also making a statement about the violence of video games by putting the 'shooting' into the real and commenting on the ubiquity of surveillance cameras in the city space.

The next two works, while also creating participatory games and trying to re-enchant uses of space, employ surveillance technologies directly. So, while they both suggest new ways of enjoying the city they are also direct critiques and challenges to the surveillance systems in place which restrict movement and monitor how individuals use spaces. They are more overt demonstrations of how surveillance technologies can be challenged and subverted by redeploying them for creative purposes.

The Ludic Society's "Object of Desire" is a tribute to the ideas of Guy Debord with explicit claims that the game is a *dérive* and a *détournement*. It uses RFID tagging, wireless signals, and the Nintendo DS to create a game in which participants create a new map of the city which is based on the technological overlays and maps out the connectivity of the city through using the unrestricted wireless signals in the city. The idea is to create fictitious maps of the city as a form of resistance to tracking and monitoring systems. Similar to Hasan Elahi's work the aim is to jam the system and corrupt the data in order to damage the validity and use of the data. As they state on the website the aim is "to make online maps lie" (Ludic Society, 2007). Then, with their own Situationist slogan they proclaim, "Futility is resistance" (Ludic Society, 2007)! Through engaging the participants in a fun game which re-enchants the space the Ludic Society sees their work as a political intervention where they hope to contest, challenge, and damage surveillance systems.

The last of these games is Jenny Marketou's "Flying Spy Potatoes: Mission 21st Street". She created large balloons which participants use when walking around the neighbourhood/game board. The balloons have wireless cameras installed and send back images as the participants move through space. The aim of the artist is to create "a public space which brings people together and a place where people can use their imagination" (Marketou, 2005: 1032). However, the work is also an intervention which aims to subvert the everyday practices of movement within the city. Because of the use of surveillance technologies the work is also a critique of surveillance systems which invites the participants to use the technologies and to think more critically about how they are used by

governments and the police. In Marketou's "99 Red Balloons" she used the same balloons and walked around downtown as a form of a personal *dérive*. From this she was arrested by the FBI and the Port Authority police for suspicious and terrorist behavior. Thus, while games and interventions such as these may initially seem light and humorous they are still focused and coherent challenges to surveillance systems. The advantage of these works is that they present this critique of surveillance in a way which is not confrontational. These works do not tell the participant what to think but merely encourage the participant to more critically evaluate the increasing surveillance, the use of the technologies, and the impact that these systems have upon daily practices. These games function to transform the city space into a "new and unexpected environment" and, also, because of the collaborations they require, they "work to create and foster new social communities, or socio-technical communities through locative performances" (Crang and Graham, 2007).

6.6.9 Direct action and protest

While all of the works mentioned above offer potential ideas for stimulating public debate on surveillance and suggest methods for contesting increasing surveillance practices, the following works are more explicitly politically engaged. The first are the artistic 'Forays' of artists Geraldine Juarez and Adam Bobbette. Their works are direct interventions challenging the uses of space and contesting notions of private space in the public city. One consequence of increasing surveillance and efforts at urban renewal is a privatization of public spaces. Increasingly, limitations are put in place which direct how individuals can use spaces. The result is an urban experience which is less spontaneous and more restricted and predictable. Juarez and Bobbette actively challenge this

trend in a playful manner manifesting their own interpretation of Lefebvre's 'right to the city' (1996) through challenging the laws and attempting to re-define the experience of public spaces at the same time. For example, they created swings which they then suspended from scaffolding on private buildings in New York City and encouraged people to use the swings. This was an attempt to create a spontaneous experience in the increasingly controlled city. It was also a challenge to the division between public and private spaces. This is an example of what the Situationists imagined where cities could be détourned (Debord and Wolman, 1956). It is also a provocative example of individuals disrupting and subverting the influences which stifle human creativity within physical spaces. As a form of rhythmanalysis, Juarez and Bobbette have injected spontaneity, play and exceptional rhythms amidst the backdrop of the banal everyday. City streets lined with scaffolding, as part of the everyday mundane, are subverted, détourned and transformed into an urban playground.

What is specifically interesting however in regards to thinking about resistance and the advantages of the artist is how their interventions have been received.

“It's pretty hard not to love swings even when they are set in places they shouldn't be; they are pretty benign objects... But this is why they can be a decent introduction or gateway to more intense experiences of disruption, or of bending and twisting space” (Bobbette in Debatty, 2007b).

This use of benign objects has two advantages over a more direct confrontation or protest. First, it is easier to communicate with the public and engage in a dialogue which encourages the public to think more critically about the issue but without berating the point. The objects seem fun and inviting and it is only

upon reflection that the deeper significance emerges. Second, it complicates matters for those opposed to the interventions. While the public may be more sympathetic at attempts to remove a protest from in front of a private building the situation changes when those who wish to remove the objects are seen as “no fun.” Also, Juarez and Bobbette, like Magid, have discovered the particular position of the artist which allows them to provoke systems in ways in which a protester would not so indulged. Juarez describes,

“You would be surprised by how many public servants are tamed by the word “art”. It’s really the antidote or word you can use to dissolve confusion and tension. Those in positions of control (even if the power is quite limited as with a security guard) are more likely to accept something that appears, on the surface, more performance art than a political protest” (Juarez in Debatty, 2007b).

The Surveillance Camera Players are the last art group which will be examined and also one of the most well known for their challenges to surveillance.

Aligning themselves within the tradition of the Situationists they describe themselves as,

“a subversive reworking of avant-garde European theatre and situationist-inspired “détournement” tactics modified especially for the surveillance society” (Surveillance Camera Players, n.d.).

They have been performing in front of surveillance cameras for decades and are internationally well known for their performances and tours of surveillance in New York City. Their website contains immense documentation of their work complete with scripts of play and videos. They see their work as a direct protest of increasing surveillance in New York City. Their work serves as a powerful

resistance because it uncovers the practices of surveillance, challenges the legitimacy of such systems, and suggests possibilities for challenging and evading such systems. Through their years of efforts they have amassed an immense amount of data regarding surveillance in New York City. The group promotes active citizenship and seeks to inform residents of how they are being monitored. Their work is a challenge to the authorities as they seek to empower residents and stimulate public debate over increased surveillance. By performing in front of the cameras they are challenging the systems put in place and attracting attention in order to increase awareness of how these systems are used to monitor individuals. Often cameras are difficult to notice and recognize and authority's wish to limit the attention on these systems. The Surveillance Camera Players make the systems visible in an engaging manner. Finally, the camera players seek to subvert surveillance practices by subverting them and critiquing through the creative construction of situations through their performances.

6.7 Avant-garde of the Control Society?

While this chapter has argued that collaborations with artists and artistic projects and interventions which address issues related to surveillance have the potential to offer valuable insights in regards to resistance to such systems there is also a concern that the converse could be true. Critics suggest that some works reinforce the seductive and enjoyable aspects of surveillance rather than highlighting the negative implications of such systems. Referring to games in which surveillance technologies are used, "the unilateral focus on fun is evident from the fact that surveillance as a theme is seldom, if at all, addressed, discussed or problematised in the games' descriptions and

instructions” (Albrechtslund and Dubbeld, 2006). Also, there is a concern that through highlighting the surveillance practices these artists are further normalizing them into everyday practices. Both of these arguments simplify the artworks, simplify notions of resistance and simplify the difficult power relations embedded in surveillance practices. Additionally, the advantage of many of these works is that they function to encourage the participant to think more critically rather than confronting the participant with their own ideologies. This is reflective of forms of resistance espoused by the Situationists where are powerfully playful. It is about engagement and testing the limits of systems of monitoring and control rather than waging an all out confrontation. Additionally, participants/viewers are more sophisticated than critics would suggest and are accustomed to navigating the difficult relationship between privacy and transparency. The strength of these works is that they are not repeating messages which individuals can find elsewhere. There are plenty of polemics against surveillance in newspapers, magazines, and books. What these artworks offer is the possibility to stimulate a dialogue, an exchange of ideas rather than the dissemination of ideological perspectives, in a powerful new way. They suggest the possibilities for contesting surveillance systems and re-animating spaces. Suggesting new uses for public spaces and challenging the monitoring systems even if in a way which could be regarded as playful still demonstrates a powerful political engagement. If this was not the case then Jenny Marketou would not have been investigated by the FBI for terrorist activities. Many of these artists have been targeted by the police and governments because of these challenges. Thus, it is incorrect to suggest that these works are merely turning surveillance into ‘fun’.

6.8 Conclusion

Quoting Debord once more, “A society’s ‘culture’ both reflects and prefigures its possible ways of organizing life. Our era is characterized by the lagging of revolutionary political action behind the development of modern possibilities of production which call for a superior organization” (Debord, 1957). The advantage that new media artists have over academics within cultural studies or sociology is a direct engagement with the subject. Artists can address the mediatization of life as mediatized objects of their own. They can highlight the relationships established within the Spectacle and provoke discussion regarding the legitimacy of surveillance processes and the complicity of individuals within these practices. The facticity of practice as Lash suggested also points to the value of these works as they get into these systems, play with them, and then examine the results. This deep engagement with these surveillance practices is necessary in order to understand how they work, how they effect our everyday lives, and how we can negotiate or live with them, if not resist. Not only are these technologies seductive but there are aspects which are beneficial. It would not even be desirable to try to eliminate these technologies. The project, as explored in this thesis is to develop practices which allow individuals to reinvigorate everyday life and regain a greater level of agency within everyday practices within the surveillance society. Through doing so individuals will be able to expose practices of surveillance, expose the limitations and flaws in such systems, suggest alternative uses for the technologies as a form of subversion where, again, a greater level of human agency is injected into these surveillance systems. Traditional notions of resistance with a grand scale opposition to those in power, though, seems out of place with such contexts.

“Rhetoric is not enough and nor is eloquence” states Bruno Latour, “it requires the use of all the technologies – especially information technology – and the possibility for the arts to re-present anew what are the common stakes” (quoted in Tuters, 2007). Participating in the broader discourse on surveillance but from a different perspective than that of social theorists, the artists presented in this chapter have taken up this challenge and contributed to the development of a surveillance politics providing illustrations of how creative practices can highlight or mitigate the perceived excesses of surveillance and establish a “creative politics of space, demeanor and productive resistance” which has the potential to become a part of day-to-day routines (Haggerty, 2006: 34).

Placing this analysis of artistic engagements with surveillance practices within the context of this overall thesis, these artworks are a practical illustration of the framework developed in Chapters 2 and 3 providing a contemporary manifestation of the practices outlined by Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord and the Situationists. These artists demonstrate Henri Lefebvre’s rhythm analysis in practice with their focus on exposing the external forces imposing upon everyday life through surveillance; provoking individuals to contemplate their own position and complicity within these systems; and provide direction in the search for re-invigoration of everyday life. This is done through the injection of greater levels of individual autonomy within everyday practices and the prescription of methods for redefining and creating new relationships between aspects of everyday life through unitary urbanism. These artists, through their own practices closely aligned to those developed by the Situationists including the *dérive* and *détournement*, engage audiences to confront their own passivity within surveillance practices and provoke them to think more critically about

the impact of these systems upon human agency in everyday life. Taking a broad look at the overall themes within these works, they demonstrate the correlation between themes explored within the previous two 'sites' of surveillance presented in Chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 explored, through the context of urban renewal and resistance to GPS in Philadelphia, the relationships between urban renewal and panoptic aspirations, the limitations of surveillance practices and the difficulties of forming coherent strategies of resistance to such surveillance systems. Chapter 5 highlighted the many forms under which surveillance is seductive examining ways in which individuals consume, embrace and enjoy surveillance. These points are raised within the projects outlined within this chapter provoking participants to critically reflect upon surveillance within everyday life and, in doing so, also suggest practices with which to challenge such systems. This chapter illustrates the practices of resistance as developed within Chapters 2 and 3 and provokes critical reflection upon the themes explored within Chapters 4 and 5. Following on from this, the next chapter will conclude this thesis through a consideration of the primary themes of this thesis and a summary of how this thesis contributes to the field of surveillance studies.

CHAPTER 7 - CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter will summarise this thesis focusing on what has been accomplished in this project and how it contributes to the field of surveillance studies. The foundation of this thesis is to develop a critique of everyday life inspired by the work of Henri Lefebvre. Klaus Ronneberger points out that Lefebvre's critique explores everyday life in the sense of how people live but, importantly, it also serves as an "indictment against strategies from which the everyday emerges and reveals the arbitrariness of the dominant order" (Ronneberger, 2008: 135). This thesis, anchored in its focus on everyday life, has similarly explored the power relations running throughout everyday life through an examination of surveillance practices with an end goal of developing a conceptual framework for thinking about resistance to surveillance. This project is a study of control and power with an explicit focus on resistance to these forces with a look towards "the random and the certain, the achieved and the possible" (Lefebvre, 2002: 46) in its critique of everyday life.

7.1 What this thesis has achieved

Through the exploration of theoretical perspectives and investigation of three sites of surveillance this thesis has achieved three goals as set out in the introduction to this thesis. First, it has developed a critique of surveillance studies highlighting the limitations of present conceptual frameworks for understanding power and control. Second, it has gone to the work of Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord and the Situationists and analysed their ideas in order to explore alternative understandings of power and resistance. Through doing this and integrating their ideas with those of contemporary theorists commenting on

new forms of surveillance this thesis has, thirdly, developed an alternative framework for thinking about resistance.

7.1.1 Demolished...

Referring back, one last time, upon Haggerty's outline in 'Tear down the walls: on demolishing the Panopticon' (2006), this thesis has illustrated the ways in which he states that the Panopticon is an outdated metaphor for studying surveillance. The purpose of the Panopticon in Foucault's work is within a specific historical context which has been overly extended into analysing contemporary forms of surveillance. This thesis has shown that the purpose of surveillance is not exclusively disciplinary. Forms of surveillance based upon the processing of algorithms and tracking seek to anticipate movements in order to develop practices of managing populations (as discussed in Chapter 3 and 4 and expressed through some of the works discussed in Chapter 6). While the ideological position of such surveillance systems may be related to what can be referred to as 'panoptic aspirations', the purpose and functioning of these systems is quite different. Additionally, Chapter 5 and some of the artworks discussed in Chapter 6 explored the seduction of surveillance exploring many forms of self-surveillance and lateral surveillance which do not fit within the Panoptic paradigm.

This then leads to how the hierarchies within surveillance systems are not clear as they are within the Panoptic design. Foucault's Panopticon, based within the prison, is effective for considering institutional settings where there are clear hierarchies such as the prison or even educational settings as Foucault suggested (Foucault, 1980). However, Chapter 4 demonstrated the complexity

of these hierarchies when removed from such clearly established institutional settings. Surveillance, at the level of everyday life and particularly through the urban environment demonstrates a complicated hierarchy where different agencies both collaborate and clash. In the case in Chapter 4, the Philadelphia Parking Authority worked in conjunction with some of the agencies focused on tourism and business in the city and, yet, was involved in legal disputes with the city government. In this respect, the taxicab drivers, in developing their opposition to surveillance needed to navigate these complex relationships and forge links with the city government in their united but different criticisms of the Philadelphia Parking Authority. The lack of clarity of these hierarchies was also illustrated in Chapter 5 in the presentation of many forms of surveillance which do not fit within Panoptic metaphors. Contrary to feeling that, through surveillance, visibility is a 'trap' (Foucault in Haggerty, 2006), Chapter 5 explored a myriad of ways in which individuals enjoy and consume surveillance. It is seen as sometimes protective, as an example of power sharing between the public and police, or as a form of empowerment for individuals who take the technology into their own hands to surveil others including family and friends. On the other hand, many individuals crave the visibility of surveillance practices which have become pervasive throughout popular culture wrapped up in the rhetoric of interactivity and connectivity of social media. In these cases, individuals consume surveillance because of the extent to which it provides attention and connections. The artworks discussed in Chapter 6 explore these themes critically through unpicking the relationship between the seduction of surveillance and the consequences of lost privacy.

As the hierarchies of surveillance practices become increasingly complex and, at times, dissolve, the targets and agents of surveillance are thus also less clearly defined as this thesis has demonstrated. More apt is Lefebvre's conception of power functioning at many levels and as currents moving and working through everyday life as this takes into account the instability of these relationships while still acknowledging the restrictive impact that they have upon the everyday lived experience (as has been presented through Chapters 2 and 3). Chapters 5 and 6 explored how individuals are often complicit in the functioning of surveillance systems and that practices of consuming surveillance serve to legitimate these systems and reinforce the ideological positions which defend their use. The agents of surveillance are not a clear overseer as within the Panoptic system, but, rather anyone and everyone. Beyond this, as discussed in Chapter 3 (and illustrated through examples in each of the case studies), the technological advances in surveillance practices have developed to the extent that there is often no longer a need for a clear agent of surveillance. As these systems are automated, they function in the background, quietly monitoring and processing data in which the only actual engagement with the data by those driving the surveillance is in rare instances when something goes wrong. The agents then may be anyone, everyone or no one. The targets are similarly vague as it is often unclear what is being surveilled. Additionally, as highlighted in some of the artworks discussed in Chapter 6 and the flaws with the GPS and CCTV systems as highlighted in Chapter 4, it is sometimes the case that no one and nothing is being monitored when systems either do not work as they are intended or do not work at all.

Finally, before moving away from Haggerty's critique of the Panopticon, the practices outlined in this thesis and the theoretical engagements of this thesis have contributed to the development of a surveillance politics as Haggerty acknowledged as absent from the Panoptic paradigm. Foucault's depiction of the Panopticon was of a totalising system and the impact upon the individual within these systems. Attempts to align contemporary practices of surveillance in everyday life to Foucault's specific and oppressive institutional context works both to exaggerate the extent of surveillance in everyday life and stifle the development of a critically engaged surveillance politics within surveillance studies. This thesis responds to this difficulty through developing an alternative framework for understanding surveillance which gives more scope for thinking about resistance within these systems.

7.1.2 ...And the building of an alternative

Henri Lefebvre's *Rhythmanalysis* (2004) is the primary inspiration for this thesis. It is a provocative work and, yet, feels unfinished (and Lefebvre states as such). This thesis has sought to continue the trajectory developed in this book through the application of Lefebvre's ideas on rhythms and everyday life to form a critique of surveillance in everyday life with the final aim of challenging such processes through inspection. Along with his broader body of work and the work of Guy Debord and the Situationists, this thesis has utilised their ideas to develop a framework for conceptualising resistance in everyday life.

There are three main themes which have been taken from their work and integrated into this thesis. The first is a focus on everyday life as the site of struggle. Lefebvre's depiction of everyday life as the conjunction of opposing

cyclical and linear rhythms is a potent metaphor for understanding power.

Lefebvre states that within present daily life “the rhythmical is overwhelmed, suppressed by the linear” (Lefebvre, 2008b: 11). Daily life must include both forms of rhythms, according to Lefebvre, and so even if cyclical rhythms are heavily dominated by linear rhythms, they do not entirely cease to exist (Lefebvre, 2008b). This is a very useful way of conceptualising power through surveillance.

Surveillance functions as an imposition of linear over cyclical rhythms. This is particularly the case with contemporary forms of surveillance, they seek to drive individuals to fit into particular patterns of behaviour or to process through large amounts of data in order to predict behaviour (such as seen through processes of tracking and dataveillance as outlined in Chapters 3 and 5). What is useful about this conception of surveillance is that it can be deployed for understanding not only forms of surveillance carried out as monitoring such as with the use of GPS in Philadelphia (Chapter 4) but it can also be used be applied to self-surveillance and lateral surveillance, the seductive aspects of surveillance. These forms of surveillance can still be viewed through this framework of conflicting rhythms. For example, individuals who engage with forms of social media (as described in Chapter 5) increasingly correlate their identity with data and consumption. The data trails left, whether intentionally or unintentionally, still define identity and interaction through representations and patterns of data as opposed to lived experience (linear over cyclical). Further, as this data is then used and processed, individuals are led through networks in particular ways and to engage with particular products (as described in Chapters 3 and 5) again highlighting the imposition of linear

rhythms over cyclical rhythms. Lefebvre's understanding of everyday life through rhythms can be utilised equally to the lived everyday in physical space and through the virtual everyday online highlighting another way in which this metaphor is a powerful concept for understanding technological forms of surveillance.

Following on from Lefebvre's understanding of everyday life which was very similar to Guy Debord's, the second aspect of their work which has been utilised within this thesis is their understanding of the spectacle and the ideological forces within everyday life (as discussed in Chapters 1, 5 and 6). Both placed these forces as central to their critique of everyday life. The spectacle functions to both further separate individuals from lived everyday experience and obfuscates this process. Continuing to look at this through the perspective of rhythmanalysis, linear rhythms of representation separate individuals from being able to reflect upon their lived experience. Through consumption and leisure, argue both Lefebvre and Debord throughout their work, individuals are further separated from cyclical rhythms or the pursuit of their own desires. Instead, they are presented representations of desires which are then consumed. The function of the spectacle and mediatised rhythms is to legitimate the present circumstances. These mediatised rhythms legitimate the imposition of linear rhythms. As such, the seduction of surveillance as discussed in Chapter 5 functions to embed surveillance practices within everyday life, to give the appearance that they are common-place (as they become ubiquitous and banal) and, thereby, legitimate. The extent to which this understanding of ideology is embedded within their conception of power and everyday life is useful for

conceptualising how surveillance is woven through everyday life and to unpick how it is also ideologically integrated and legitimated.

Finally, the third theme of this thesis inspired by the work of Henri Lefebvre, Guy Debord and the Situationists more broadly is the emphasis upon resistance. Contrary to the totalising conceptions of power as offered by Foucault's 'Panopticon' and Deleuze's 'Control Society', resistance is always present in Henri Lefebvre's depiction of power in everyday life as exercised through the conflict between linear and cyclical rhythms. The cyclical rhythms can never be totally suppressed. There is a struggle, but there is never total domination. Resistance is the search for spaces to reassert individual agency in everyday life, to find a greater space for cyclical rhythms. Both the work of Lefebvre and the Situationists sought to explore these spaces and believed that through doing so avenues and possibilities could be opened and developed. This is central to Debord's *dérive*. The *dérive* is a search of the landscape in order to uncover the power relations within it with the goal of finding spaces for the creation of situations, or moments outside of the everyday (Debord, 1956 and 1957). Resistance is understood as the development of creative practices for challenging the imposing influences within everyday life. This is the understanding of resistance which this thesis has adopted and deployed throughout. Practical examples of this have been demonstrated throughout this thesis but most specifically within Chapter 6.

These ideas on everyday life, ideology and resistance have been integrated throughout this thesis in a number of ways. In Chapter 3, these ideas were aligned with contemporary theorists writing about technological forms of

surveillance. These theories on the impact of technology upon space and algorithmic forms of surveillance based upon processes of tracking and data processing were aligned with Lefebvre's ideas on rhythms and Debord's conception of the *dérive* to explore how these contemporary forms of surveillance can be challenged through practices which resonate with Lefebvre and Debord's conceptual tools.

In Chapter 4, these forms of surveillance were explored through the case study detailing the installation of GPS in the taxicabs in Philadelphia. This can be seen as an example of the 'production of space' (Thrift and French, 2002) within the urban environment utilising technological processes. Global Positioning Systems can be viewed as the imposition of linear rhythms as they seek to restrict and impose structure to the myriad possibilities of everyday life. They represent the prioritising of representations of rhythms and a valorisation of technology over the tacit knowledge and independence of individuals.

Traditional practices of resistance were shown as inadequate because of the nature of these forms of surveillance and the ideologies legitimating these systems. As such, this case demonstrates the need to develop alternative frameworks for conceptualising practices of resistance to surveillance.

Strategies more akin to Debord's *dérive* were more successful in subverting the GPS system than traditional practices of strikes and protests.

Chapter 5 incorporated Lefebvre's ideas on rhythms and Debord's notion of the spectacle to unpick the ideology of surveillance and how the seduction of surveillance is deployed to legitimate such systems. This chapter highlighted how dataveillance, whether through self-surveillance or externally, represents

the imposition of linear rhythms upon everyday life and how the spectacle presents this either as valuable for purposes of self-maintenance, presents rewards for participation or legitimates it through promises of security and access. Additionally, individuals seek the attention of the gaze and find entertainment in the spectacle of voyeurism and exhibitionism. This chapter, utilising the ideas of Debord and Lefebvre, explained the lack of resistance to surveillance in light of the myriad of ways in which surveillance is legitimated, normalised and consumed in everyday life.

Finally, Chapter 6 present vivid examples of creative practices of resistance. The artists explored sought to disrupt the rhythms of everyday life, holding up daily life for reflection, in order to develop a critique with a focus on exploring methods of resistance of such surveillance systems. The artworks explored demonstrated practical examples of the practices of resistance as developed in Chapters 2 and 3. The development of this framework is one of the central contributions of this thesis and will now be summarised once again.

7.1.3 Framework summarised

Within Chapters 2 and 3 a framework for conceptualising resistance to surveillance was developed. In Chapter 2, the ideas of Henri Lefebvre and Guy Debord (and the Situationists) were explored in order to pick out the conceptual tools which could be applied to contemporary forms of surveillance in order to develop a critique and challenge to these systems. The conceptual tools, outlined in Chapter 2, are rhythmanalysis, the *dérive*, *détournement* and the goal of unitary urbanism. In Chapter 3, these concepts were explored in the context of contemporary forms of surveillance. The conceptual tools were

considered and placed within discourses around contemporary forms of surveillance as outlined by a number of contemporary theorists whose ideas resonate with those of Henri Lefebvre and Guy Debord. Through doing so, this thesis developed a theoretical framework for understanding power and resistance to surveillance within everyday life and the outline of a number of practices of resistance.

First, practices of resistance seek to expose processes of surveillance. Though ubiquitous throughout everyday life, these processes are often hidden or obfuscated. Or, through their ubiquity, surveillance systems become banal and are no longer noticed. To make these processes visible, to expose the myriad levels at which they work and to critically reflect upon the impact upon everyday life is a powerful challenge to these processes which seek to stay hidden or functioning within the background of everyday life.

Second, practices of resistance expose the limitations of surveillance processes. This is to separate the rhetoric or aspirations of surveillance from the reality of how they function. Surveillance systems can be challenged and resisted through highlighting the limits of their control and capabilities. The taxicab drivers in Philadelphia resisted GPS through repeatedly pointing out that the technology was ill suited to urban environments. The technology was hindered by buildings and the static nature of the representations of the city did not match the dynamic real. Hasan Elahi's 'Tracking Transcience' quietly highlights the limitations of surveillance. While these systems can gather, harness and process the linear rhythms of everyday life, spaces or gaps can still be found to retain the privacy of cyclical rhythms.

Third, and more overtly political, resistance to surveillance can be practiced through exposing the flaws in surveillance process. As a form of updated *dérive*, systems can be undermined through exposing the ways in which they not only have embedded limitations but, also, by highlighting the flaws in these systems. In particular, the discrepancies between the representations of everyday life through surveillance and the actual lived everyday can be exposed. The fact that, because of a time delay, a system which sought to place taxicab drivers within a virtual map was always out of date is a serious flaw and threatens the functioning of the dispatch system which it was supposed to reform (as discussed in Chapter 4). Highlighting these flaws challenges the legitimacy of these systems. Similarly, Manu Luksch's work exposed the flaws within CCTV systems where the quality of the footage was too poor to identify individuals (thus rendering them useless) and through the discovery that many of the cameras did not work at all. This forms an overt resistance to the authority of such systems if their function has been subverted through exposing their flaws.

Fourth, resistance to surveillance can be conceptualised through practices which explicitly subvert the intended use of the technology and suggest new ways of using the technology. As a form of *détournement*, surveillance technologies can be used for alternative purposes. In Chapter 3, *détournement* was put within the contemporary context of hacking as a tactic of resistance against processes of control and monitoring. However, subverting the intended use of technology and suggesting or deploying it for alternative purposes serves to challenge and resist surveillance in a number of ways. First, the technology can be subverted in the sense of utilising the technology to draw scrutiny over

how it is used for surveillance. This was demonstrated through Michelle Teran's work which hacked into CCTV feeds in order to draw attention to surveillance practices. Marie Sester, explicitly engaging in a form of détournement, re-deployed the technology in a manner in which drew observers to consider their opinions regarding the gaze whether through overt forms of surveillance or, those forms of surveillance consumed through mediated acts of voyeurism or exhibitionism. Lastly, the Institute of Applied Autonomy, détourned surveillance technology of mapping in order to directly resist surveillance practices by offering users opportunities to evade detection by CCTV. Lastly, within this critique of everyday life, the final practice of resistance as developed in this thesis focuses on the creation of situations or extra-everyday moments in which a greater level of human agency is injected into everyday life. Practices which allow individuals to explore and develop greater levels of autonomy within everyday life are a potent method of resistance because they challenge the effectiveness of surveillance systems. Processes which seek to manage, control and predict behaviour are useless if individuals resist through behaving in ways other than expected. Such practices serve to reinvigorate everyday life. These practices can be simple and subversive such as hanging swings from scaffolding turning urban environments into playgrounds as demonstrated by Geraldine Juarez and Adam Bobbette.

Taken together, these practices provoke, challenge, subvert and resist surveillance systems. They redress the imbalanced struggle between linear and cyclical rhythms. Through so doing, they challenge the legitimacy of surveillance systems and return some levels of control of everyday life to the individual. While not dismantling these systems, these practices question their purpose and

functionality. Importantly, they provide methods for living a bit more freely within the surveillance society as a component of a critique of everyday life.

While drawing heavily upon the work of Henri Lefebvre and the Situationists, this thesis has made use of their conceptual tools, as outlined above, in a manner which is somewhat different to how they were originally intended (this is particularly so in regards to the Situationists who were quite polemical). The understanding of 'resistance' within this thesis is based solidly upon a notion of resistance in everyday life. This is a form of everyday resistance, a 'quiet resistance', which becomes integrated into everyday practices. Rather than attacking the problem directly or seeking to dismantle or destroy these systems, this is a form of resistance which functions to gradually chip away at the validity and viability of these systems by highlighting their flaws in a subtle way or by suggesting practices which provide individuals with space through which they can distance themselves or evade surveillance processes. This form of 'quiet resistance' which this thesis develops seeks to re-invigorate everyday life from the perspective of individual experience and does so through highlighting and encouraging increasing reflexivity of how surveillance processes impact upon everyday life. The forms of resistance are accessible and available to all. While not adopting the same revolutionary fervour, this project remains in the spirit of Lefebvre's 'Right to the City' (1996 and 2003) as it encourages greater involvement with the systems which direct and construct everyday life.

7.2 Contribution to the field

In conclusion, this thesis has advanced the field of surveillance studies in four ways. First, it provides a non-Panoptic understanding of power and

surveillance. Second, through this conceptual understanding of power and surveillance, the ideology of surveillance and the cultural shifts in attitudes towards privacy and identity are better taken into account in the development of a critique of contemporary forms of surveillance. Third, a theoretical framework for conceptualising practices of resistance against surveillance has been developed which can be utilised in future surveillance research more actively engaged with thinking about the development of practices of resistance to surveillance. Lastly, this thesis has demonstrated how social theory and surveillance studies can engage with the creative industries in order to inform their work with insights from these fields. Henri Lefebvre and Guy Debord recognised the importance and value in dismantling the barriers between everyday life and art in the development of their critique in a manner which is echoed by many contemporary artists. Similarly, this thesis re-establishes the link between theoretical work from the social sciences and creative practices in developing a critique of everyday life with the explicit aim of improving the everyday experience. Developing practices of resistance to surveillance in everyday life, the topic of this thesis, is advanced through engagement with a wide variety of disciplines as presented here.

APPENDIX

PETER WEIBEL

The Audience as Exhibit (Publikum als Exponat), 1969 : http://peter-weibel.at/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=95&catid=13&Itemid=67



Video Lumina, 1969/1977 : http://peter-weibel.at/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=38&catid=13&Itemid=67



Observing Observation: Uncertainty (*Beobachtung der Beobachtung: Unbestimmtheit*), 1973 : http://peter-weibel.at/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=35&catid=13&Itemid=67
http://hosting.zkm.de/ctrlspace/d/texts/57_b?print-friendly=true



The Guard as Bandit (1978) : <http://ctrlspace.zkm.de/e/texts/57?print-friendly=true>

BRUCE NAUMAN

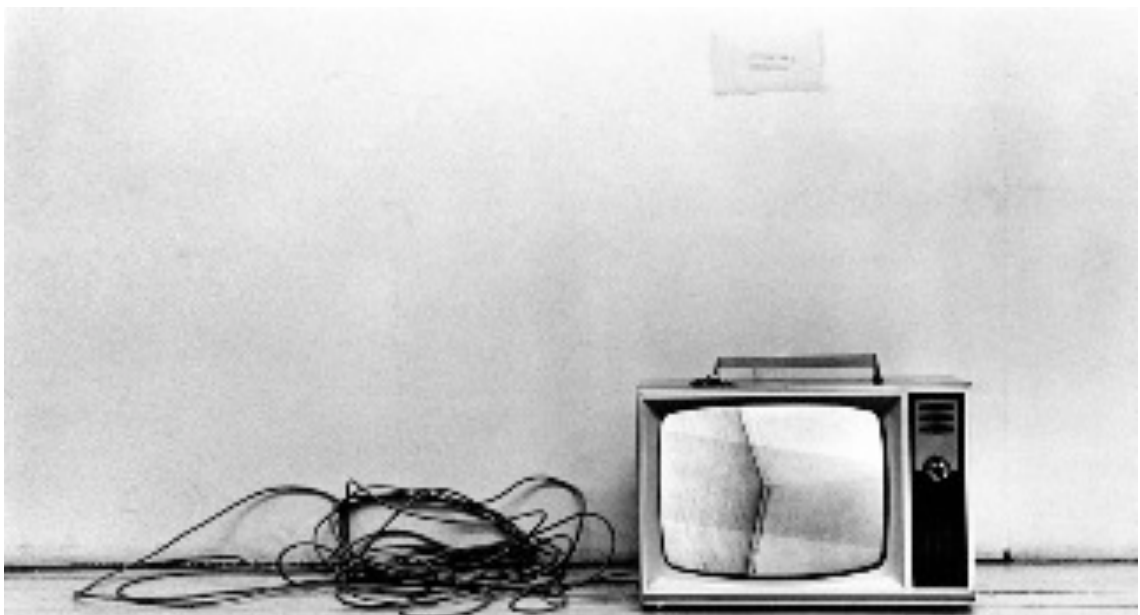
Live/Taped Video Corridor (1969-70) : <http://www.medienkunstnetz.de/works/live-taped-video-corridor/>



Video Surveillance Piece: Public Room, Private Room: <http://www.medienkunstnetz.de/works/video-surveillance-piece/>



Piece for London, Ontario (1969-70) : <http://hosting.zkm.de/ctrlspace/d/texts/41?print-friendly=true>



JILL MAGID “Evidence Locker” (2004) : <http://www.jillmagid.net/EvidenceLocker.php>
and <http://www.evidencelocker.net/story.php>



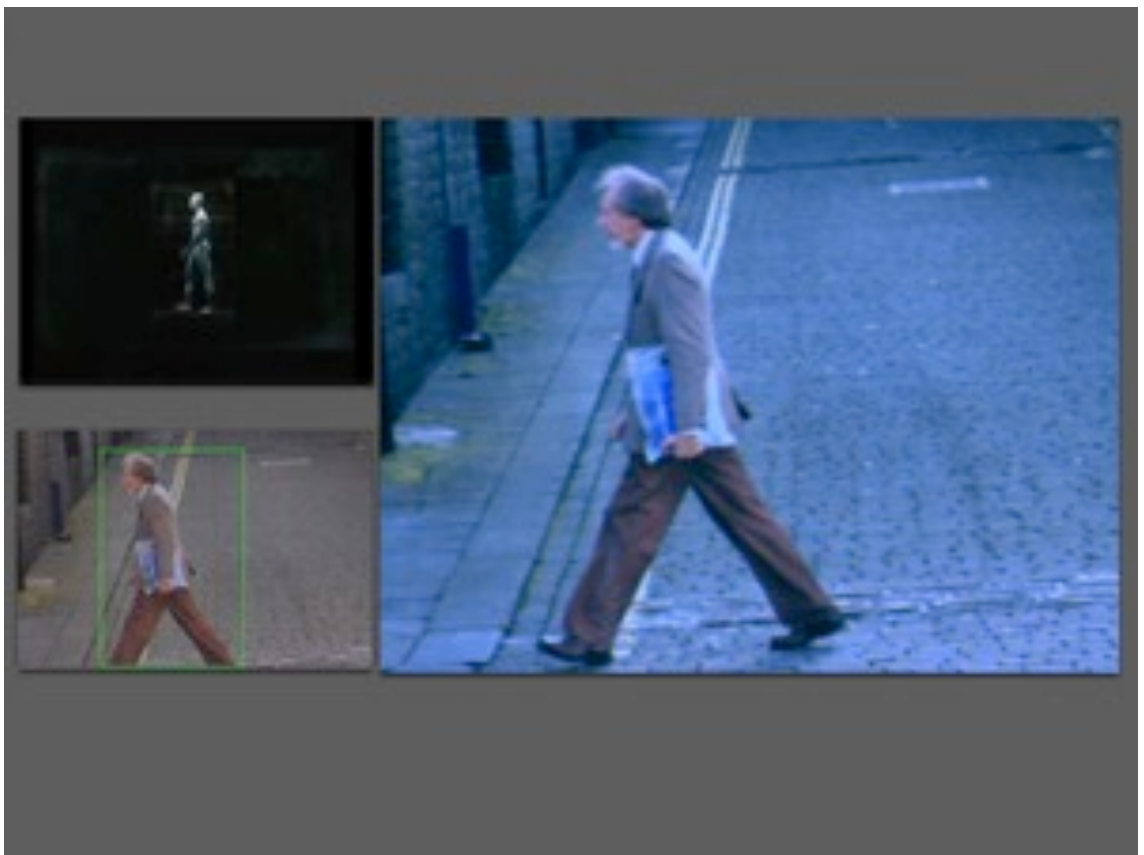
MICHELLE TERAN "Life: A User's Manual" : <http://www.ubermatic.org/life/>



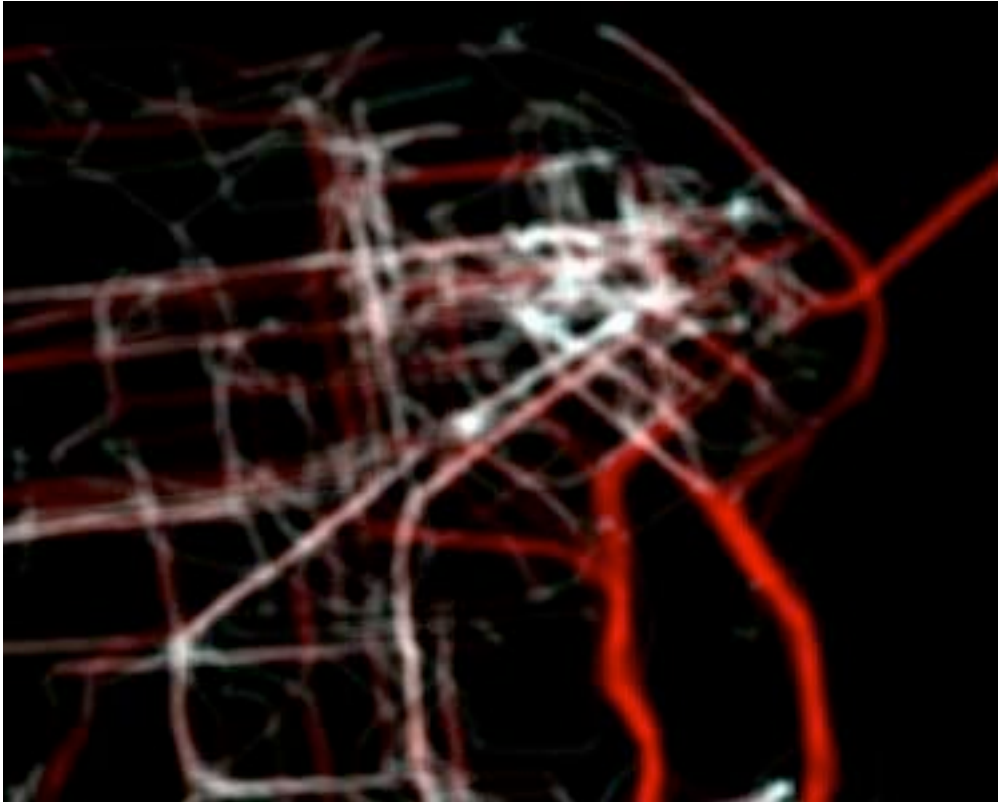
MARIE SESTER "Access" (2003) : <http://www.accessproject.net/>



AMY ALEXANDER, WOJCIECH KOSMA AND VINCENT RABAUD “SVEN: Surveillance Entertainment Network” : <http://deprogramming.us/ai/>



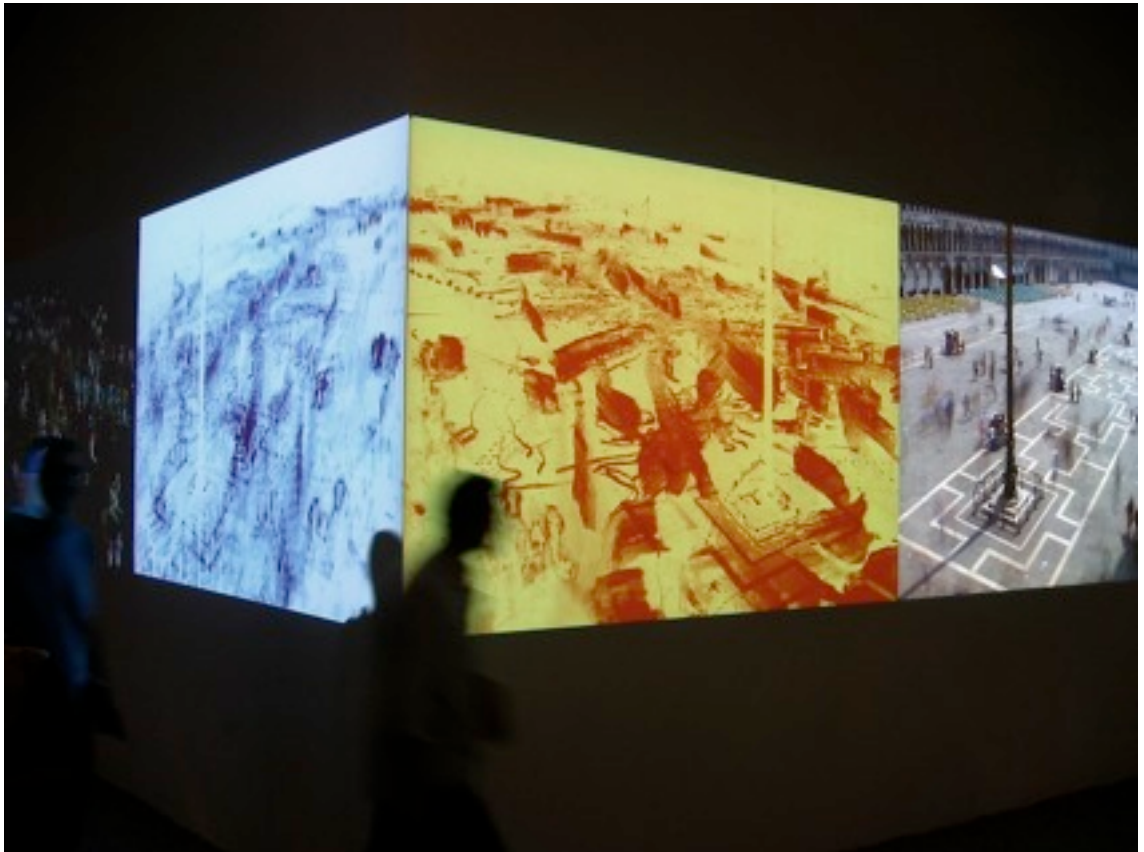
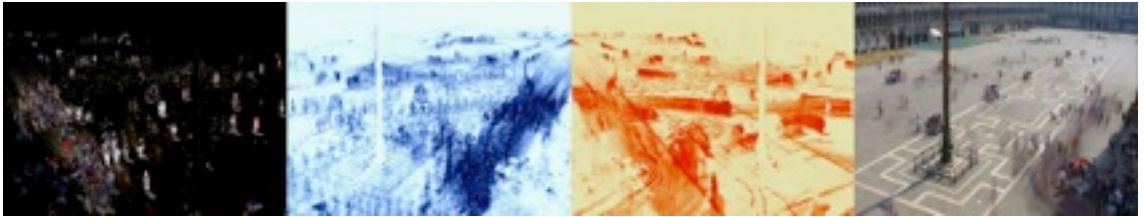
STAMEN DESIGN “Cabspotting” (2006) : <http://cabspotting.org/>



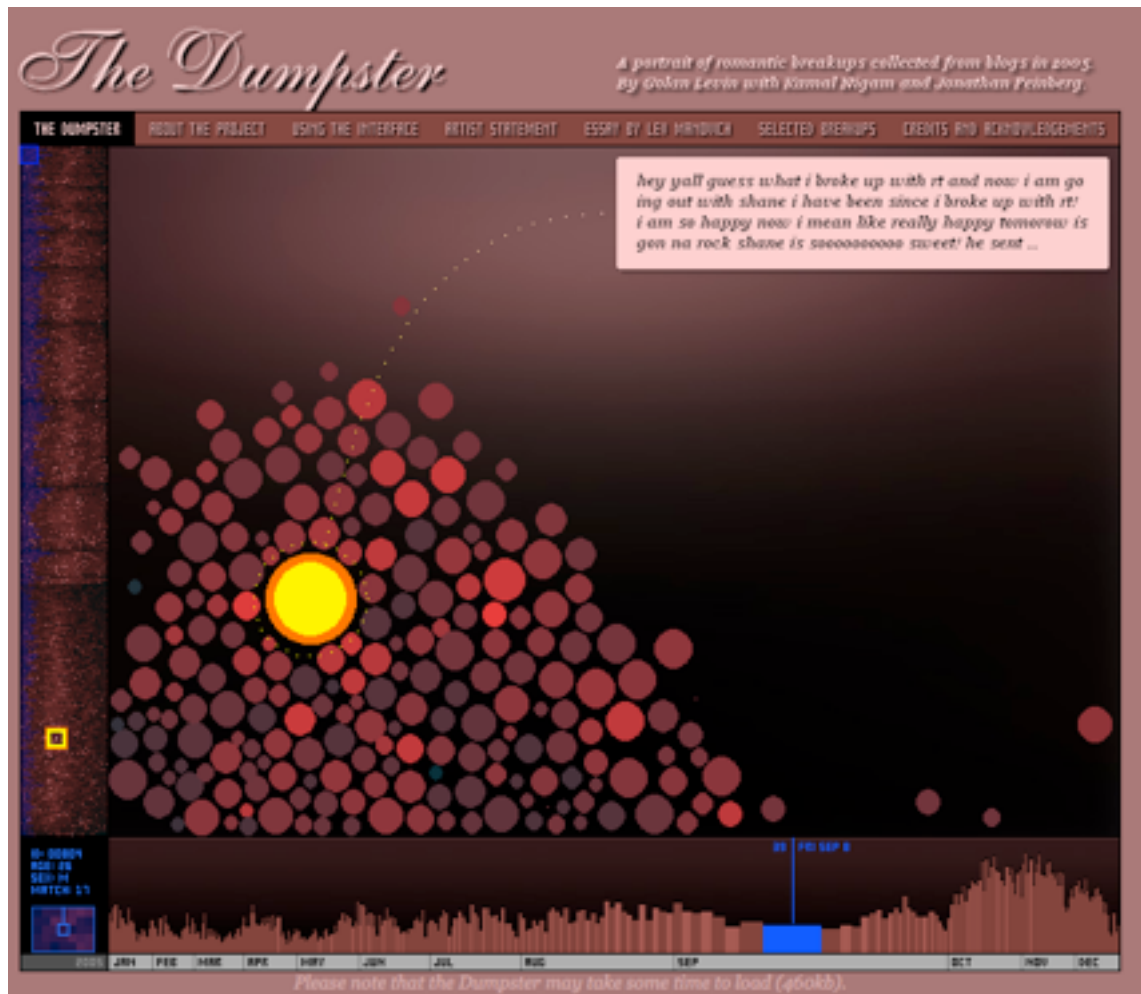
AMY BALKIN “In Transit” : <http://cabspotting.org/projects/intransit/>



DAVID ROKEBY "Seen" (2002) : <http://homepage.mac.com/davidrokeby/seen.html>



GAVIN LEVIN "Dumpster" (2005) : <http://artport.whitney.org/commissions/thedumpster/index.html>



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Suburban Privately Renting Professionals

These young people have made a lifestyle choice to reside close enough to the major conurbations, to obtain the benefits of the city without actually living in its centre. In their twenties and early thirties, they are well educated and are

RESIDENTS PORTRAITS:
 Use the left and right arrows to view all the users found in your SEARCH for : **NE2**

Jon Humphreys's Portrait (1 OF 11)
 Below are a selection of answers from Jon Humphreys

What would my dream job be?

LANDSCAPE / PORTRAIT

Katherine's VIDEO PORTRAIT:

Video one
 What is the area I live in like?

Video two
 What sort of people live in my neighbourhood?

◀ PREVIOUS PORTRAIT NEXT PORTRAIT ▶



DEMOGRAPHIC PORTRAIT:
NE2 2DT

Affluent Urban Professionals, Flats

These people live in affluent urban areas, where large attractive houses have often been converted into flats. Whilst many do own their home, the proportion of rented accommodation is relatively high.

People in this type are very highly qualified; one in four have postgraduate and professional qualifications. They work in professional and senior managerial occupations, with many spending very long hours at work.

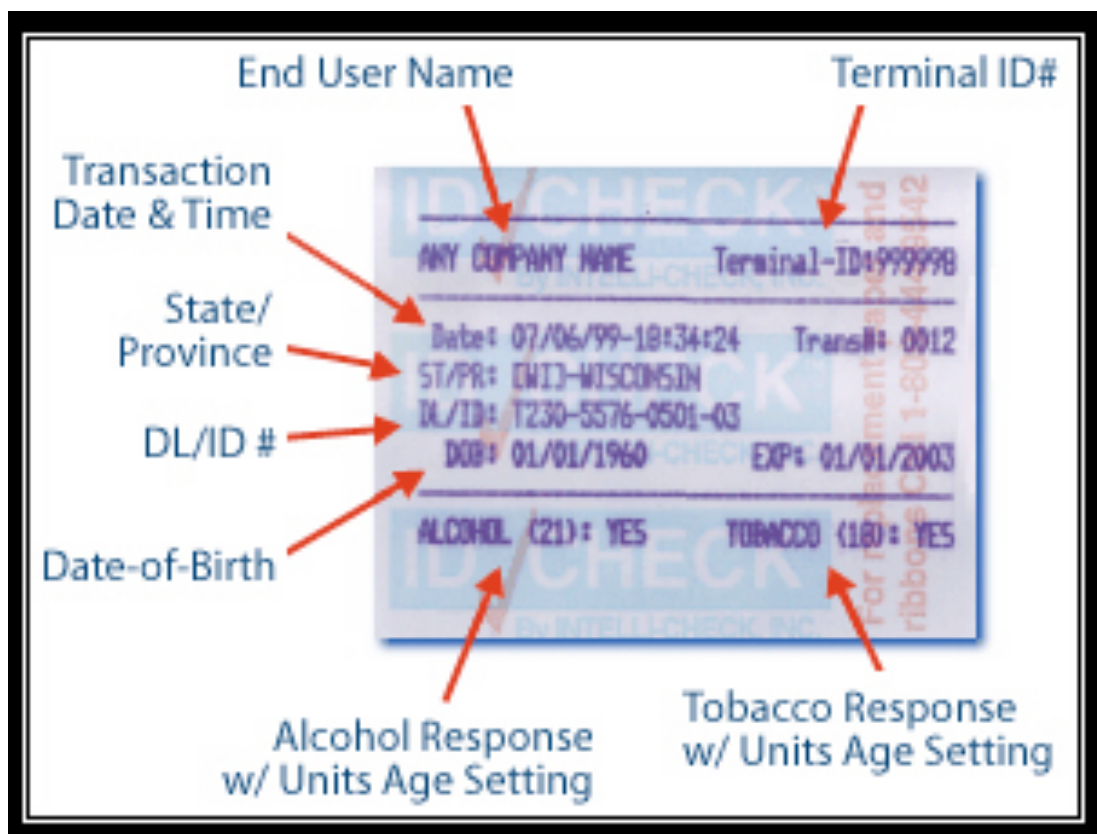
Most residents are either young singles or couples. There are very few children and those there are tend to be under five, which suggests that young families move on from these areas.

As one of the highest earning types, they have relatively

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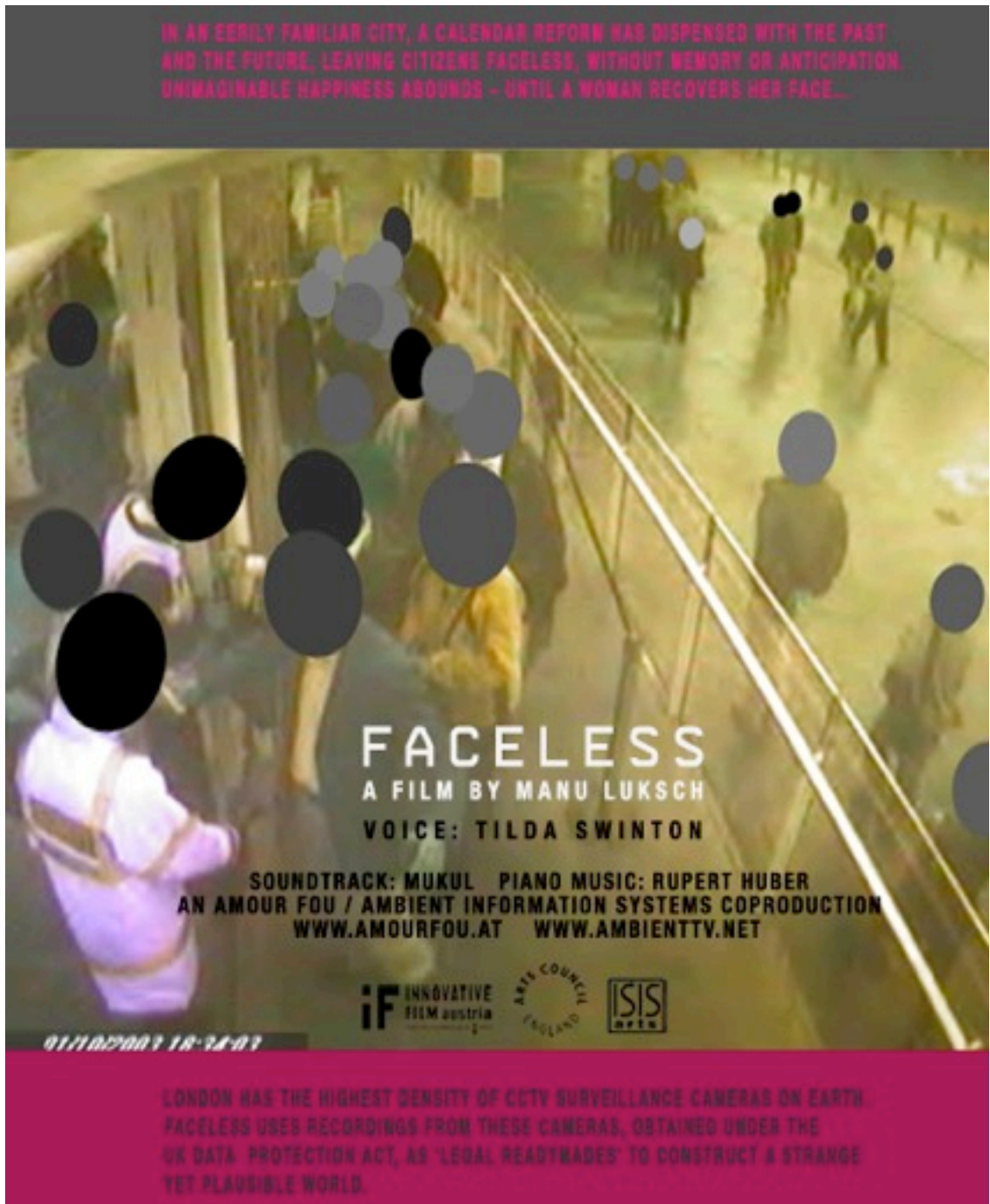
BEATRIZ DA COSTA, JAMIE SCHULTE AND BROOKE SINGER “Swipe Bar” :
<http://www.preemptivemedia.net/swipe/>



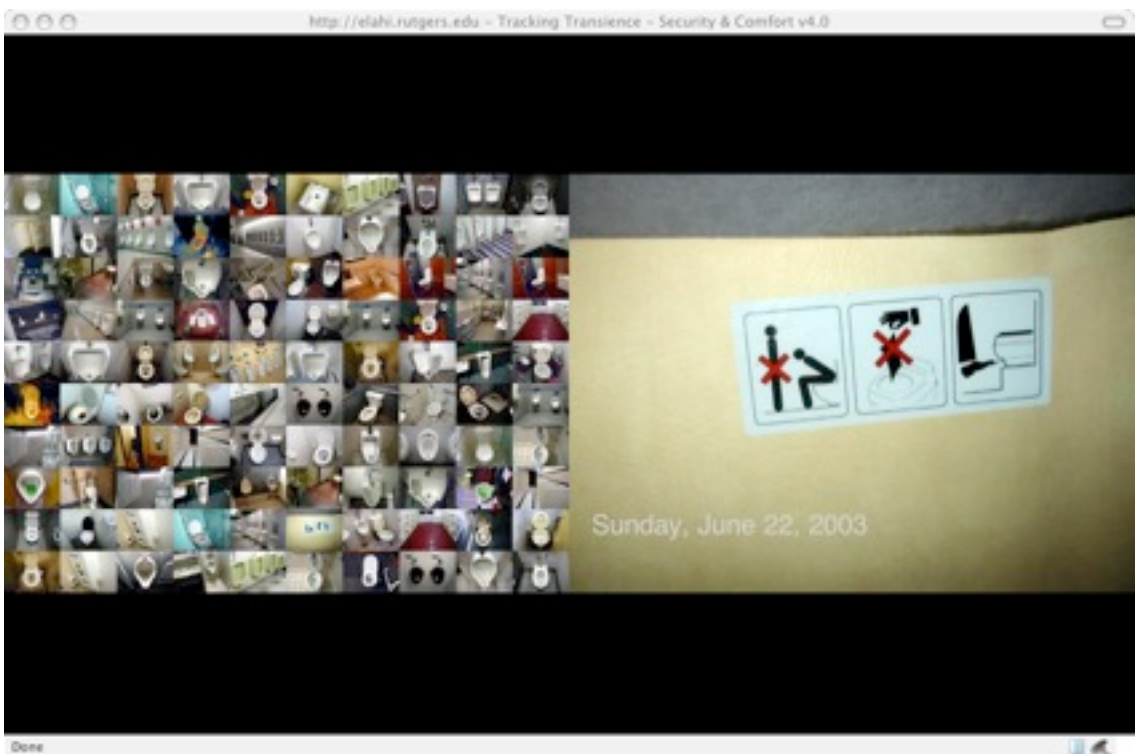
JILL MAGID "System Azure" : <http://www.jillmagid.net/SystemAzure.php>



MANU LUKSCH "Faceless" (2002-2008) : <http://www.ambienttv.net/content/?q=faceless>



HASAN ELAHI "Tracking Transience" : <http://trackingtransience.net/>





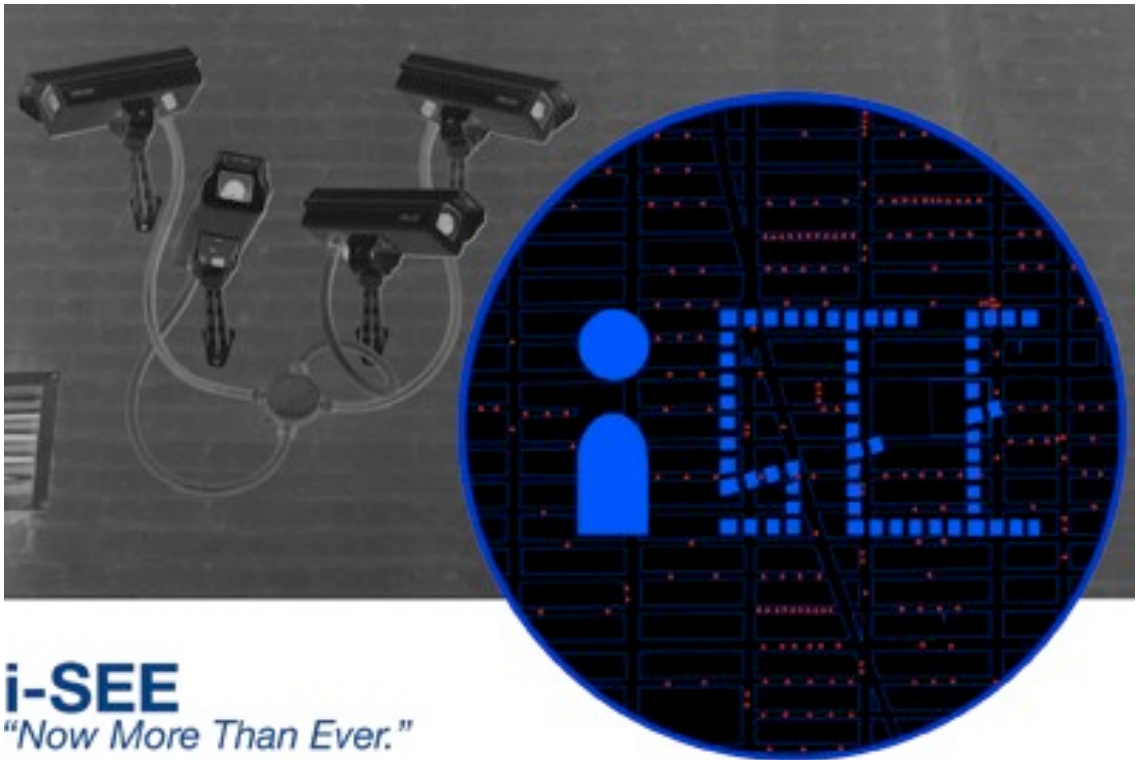
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31 DOWN “Canal Street Stations” (2007) : <http://31down.org/performances/CanalStreet.html>



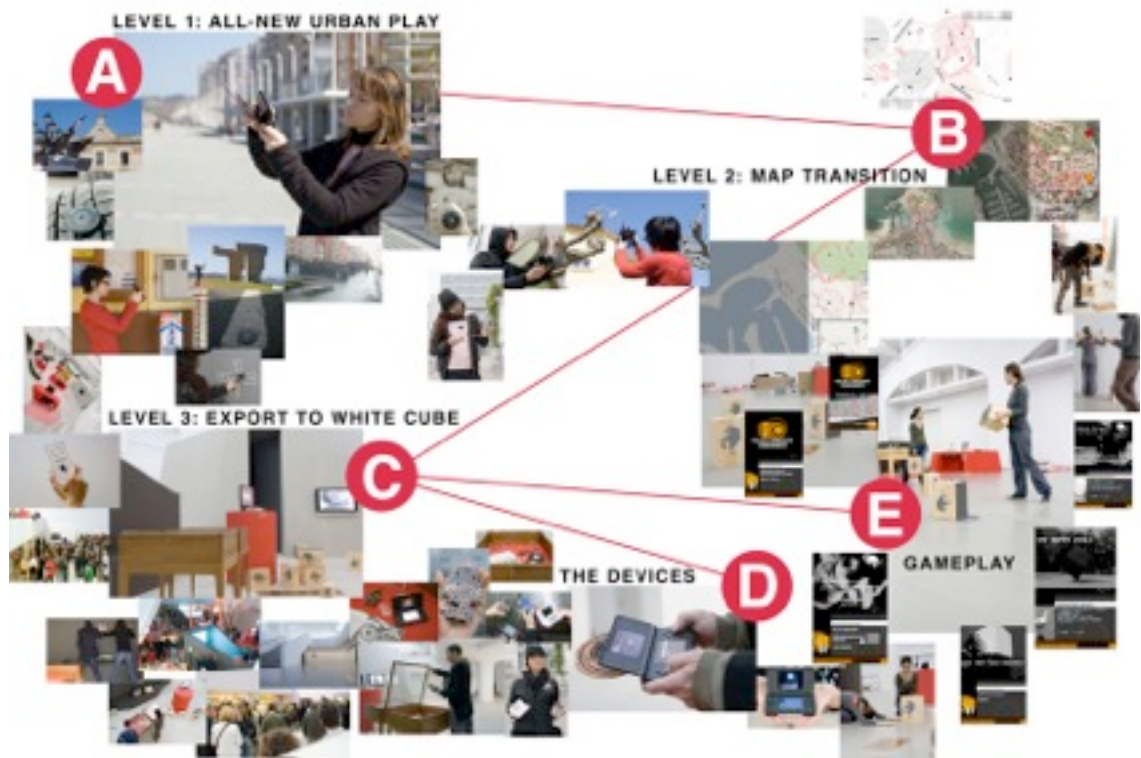
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URBAN MOBILE NETWORK GAME

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*INP2 발표 이벤트: '지금 여기(Here and Now) 김수근' 전시 행사

LUDIC SOCIETY “Objects of Desire” : <http://www.ludic-society.net/desire/>



JENNY MARKETOU “Flying Spy Potatoes” (2003-2004) : <http://www.jennymarketou.com/projects/FlyingSpyP.shtml>



FORAYS AKA GERALDINE JUAREZ AND ADAM BOBBETTE : <http://ct4ct.com/Forays> (original dedicated website no longer available)

“Swing Actions”



“Cocoon Project”



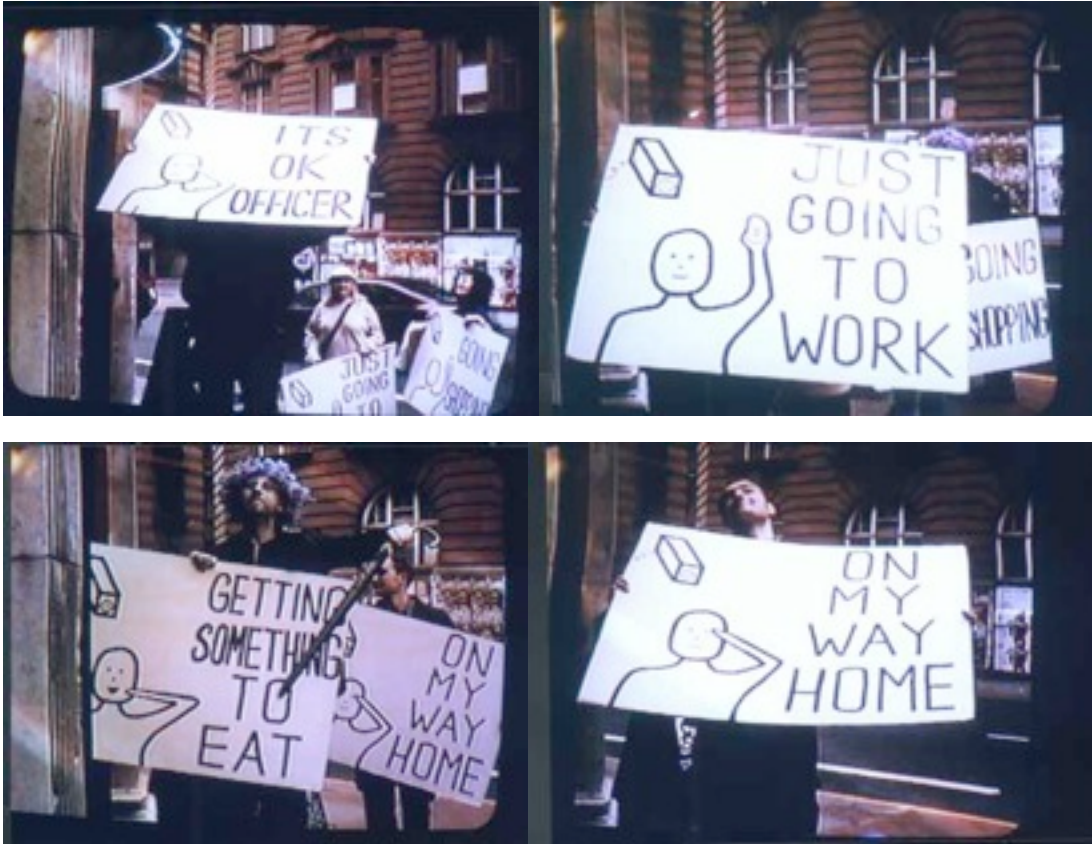
SURVEILLANCE CAMERA PLAYERS : <http://www.notbored.org/the-scp.html>



Still from performance 4 May, 2002 in New York City (<http://www.notbored.org/amnesia.html>)



Stills from performance 12 June, 2001 in Manchester, UK (<http://www.notbored.org/its-ok-officer.html>)



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