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## AN EMPIRICAL STUDY ON THE DETRIMENTAL EFFECTS OF EMPLOYEE SURVEILLANCE IN INDIA

**JIJO JAMES INDIPARAMBIL**  
**Ph. D. RESEARCH SCHOLAR**  
**KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT LEUVEN**  
**BELGIUM**

**ABSTRACT**

*The excessive use of Information Technology (IT) devices in the organizational workplace, among many other impacts, paves a path to multiple forms of surveillance on both the individual and the social level with its desirable and undesirable consequences that makes a fundamental change in how work is done. The literature on electronic surveillance in the workplace in Indian context is, if any, dominated by theoretical discussions with very minimal empirical study and that not definitively from employees' perspectives and with ethical frameworks. This empirical study with an explorative approach fills this lacuna qualitatively and contributes to the broad research scholarship by exploring the impact of the implementation of electronic monitoring technologies and systems on employees. It discovers, from employees' perspectives, the adverse effects of electronic monitoring on their attitude, job commitment and satisfaction, and their morale and behaviour. From employees' real-time experience analysis, this research shows that the negative impacts of workplace surveillance often surpass the expected benefits of surveillance.*

**KEYWORDS**

surveillance, privacy, ethics, control, freedom.

**INTRODUCTION**

The term surveillance, though once was reserved for police activities and intelligence gathering, now seems as a customary and as an unavoidable feature of everyday reality. For, it happens to us all, every moment, as we walk beneath street cameras, swipe cards for commercial or non-commercial activities and surf the Net at home and work (Lyon, 2003). The workplace is a major locus of human life, where possibilities for human interaction and growth are generated and endorsed. The excessive use of Information Technology (IT) devices and techniques begin to make possible now to measure and monitor employees as never before, with the promise of a fundamental change in how work is done – along with raising other individual and social concerns in the workplace. Moreover, the information age offers inexpensive and user-friendly devices and methods in the workplace to control, monitor, and process information pertaining to an individual and expose it to the public. A qualitative study on electronic surveillance in the workplace was conducted in Indian context, because, the literature on electronic surveillance in the workplace in Indian context is, if any, dominated by theoretical discussions with very minimal empirical study and that not definitively from employees' perspectives and with ethical frameworks. The present study fills this lacuna and contributes to the broad research scholarship in this matter. The socio-cultural and economic backgrounds and the present scenario of IT, ITeS, BPO affluence in Indian work culture, extend the significance and urgency of this investigative exploration.

**OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

The irony of electronic surveillance in the workplace is that it is much used and little understood (Vorvoreanu and Baton, 2000). The reason behind this concern is its individual and social impacts, which have not yet been sufficiently mapped in the researches. For instance, supporters of surveillance intensively and exclusively focus on its potential results and benefits, whereas the critics principally target the potential abuses of the process and techniques used for surveillance (Alder, 2001). It is therefore equally and critically important to balance the legitimate requirements to safeguard the organizational interests and the genuine human concerns of the employees. For, the issue is often a matter of conflicting rights and interests: employers have legitimate interests in increased productivity, efficiency and profit, direct and vicarious liability alleviation, guard against theft and fraud, etc., while employees have their own individual and social interests and rights to privacy, dignity, autonomy social status and justice, and self-actualization. Therefore, the aim of this study is to explore and examine the impact of the implementation of electronic monitoring technologies and systems in the organizational workplaces on employees. It tries to discover from employees' perspectives the adverse effects of electronic monitoring on their attitude, job commitment and satisfaction, and finally their morale and behaviour.

**REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

The workplace surveillance is a global phenomenon, not restricted to an organization, sector, society, region, or country, albe it has boundless ramifications, in both micro (motivation, competence, motivation) and macro (organizations or sectors) levels, on the cultural or environmental backgrounds and contexts of a given time and space (Cantor, 2016; Pitesa, 2012). Surveillance is regarded as a management technique useful in ensuring quality service and increased productivity (Sewell & Barker, 2006) and guaranteeing protection from theft, legal liabilities and over expenditures due to fraud, dishonesty, or misconduct (Allen et al., 2007; Findlay & McKinlay, 2003). It also obstructs external encroachment by way of data transactions and blocks the sensitive, confidential and sometimes dangerous information being received or sent outside of the company (Mujtaba, 2003). Electronic monitoring systems thus allow businesses to have good transactions, avoid mortgages and liabilities, conduct needed investigations and interactions, and help to ensure their success in a competitive global environment.

Though the specific parameters of surveillance vary both in quantitative and qualitative level in relation to the organizational differences, the performative and behavioural monitoring and the ubiquitous nature of its applications are largely increasing in the Indian workplaces and particularly in those enabled with ICT (Noronha & D'Cruz, 2009) and are extensively mounting in its challenges. According to a study done by the American Management Association (AMA, 2008) nearly 80 % of major companies monitor their workers, especially employees' use of email, internet or phone. They also have found that some industries, like the financial industry, are especially vigilant and over 90 % of these firms confirm some type of surveillance in their companies. Surveillance technologies and methods used in the workplace include video and audio surveillance (CCTV, phone taping); heat, light, motion, sound and olfactory sensors; night vision goggles; electronic tagging and biometric access devices; drug testing, DNA analysis; computer monitoring including email and web usage and the use of computer techniques such as expert systems, matching and profiling, data mining, mapping, and network analysis and simulation, etc. (Marx, 2007).

In India, new forms of labour challenges or employee setbacks emerge due to the volatile requirements of global standard business and its subsequent functional practice of direct or 'panoptical' control over the workers and the work process (Upadhya & Vasavi, 2006). This practice is called 'electronic panopticon' by Graham Sewell and Barry Wilkinson, "where a disembodied eye can overcome the constrains of architecture and space to bring its disciplinary gaze to bear at the very heart of the labour process" (Sewell & Wilkinson, 1992). It has a drilling effect on employees and becomes a contemporary challenge of Indian organizational workplaces. According to Babu P. Ramesh (2004, 495), "the degree of surveillance required at work is even comparable with the situation of 19<sup>th</sup> century prisons or Roman slave ships." For, when employees become subjects of incessant monitoring and all workplace interactions and behaviours are recorded and thus get the feeling of being constantly observed and scrutinized, also turns out to be a psychological torture for many (Remesh, 2008). To the same angle, the Foucauldian concept of 'panoptic gaze' in relation to workplace surveillance brings further implications such as, "the institutionalized acceptance of management prerogatives, [...] an inevitable extension of the managerially imposed control system, [...] the intensification of labour process" (Bain & Taylor, 2000: 4) and goes beyond the limit of disciplinary control. Thus, the work processes and behaviours that are closely monitored emerge to conflict with openness, individual initiative, loyalty, trust and informality (Upadhya & Vasavi, 2006), and causes for unequal power relationships, such as bestowing power on the monitoring agent over the monitored (Richards, 2013).

In the same vein, the rigid and panoptical systems and techniques of monitoring fasten the individual employee sturdily to the machine (Upadhy & Vasavi, 2006). It makes employees feel insecure and causes a dent in their morale and thus a gradual decline in the quality and duration of relationship. Likewise, along with disrupting employees’ “right to work at their own pace, [surveillance] guided by their own moral compass, [...] fosters mistrust” (Iyer, 2012) and becomes detrimental to productivity and overall performance of organizations. Some studies reveal that the decrease in monitoring causes to reduce the quit-rates in the organizations – high monitoring leads to high quit rates (Batt, et al., 2005). That means, extensive and repetitive monitoring along with high performance targets is said to have increased the attrition rates in the Indian organizational workplace (Deery, 2013). Several researchers observe in the same way that surveillance leads to high stress, towering depression, and emotional exhaustion and burnout (Batt, et al., 2005; Holman, 2004). Similarly, surveillance becomes detrimental to the normal expectations and concerns of an Indian employee regarding work, namely, freedom in job, creative performance, trust from employer and colleague, commitment, importance of data security, efficiency in work, and understanding and appreciation, etc. For, extensive monitoring reinforces the employees to work in a stereotypical way – like a robotic image or in a mechanized form – who are, as George Ritzer and Craig D. Liar (2009) present, overly regimented, dependent and overwhelmed by this practice of control, and thus becomes devoid of any autonomy and fails to bring their ‘selves’ to work.

**RESEARCH QUESTION AND METHODOLOGY**

A qualitative research methodology is employed in this study in view of getting a comprehensive understanding of the real-time experience of employees who are in the field. Though exploratory in nature, of the manifold methods, such as analytical induction and interpretive phenomenological analysis available in qualitative research, this study takes phenomenography (Akerlind, 2012; Marton, 1986), which explores the diverse ways in which different people experience a reality differently or even contrarily, as its general-background approach in conducting the research and describing the data. Phenomenography enables a researcher to generate an integral meaning of the phenomenon under discussion by contextually interpreting the collected data. The primary research question around which this whole study revolves is: as an employee, describe your feelings about working under 24/7 electronic surveillance/monitoring at work. This study, thus, presents an overview of employee perspectives in Indian context, methodologically reviews literature to substantiate the employee experiences, and thus describes a heuristic framework that organizes research on employee reactions to electronic monitoring.

**DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS**

Of the manifold forms of sample collection such as surveys, interviews, focus groups discussion, observation extraction, and secondary data sources, for this study, survey research is used. The data is collected online through a narrative inquiry (narrative response collection through emails and social networks), which enables the researcher to achieve deeper understanding of the many ways and means that both an individual and group of individuals organize and derive meaning from an event. Among the broad range of companies situated in various parts of India, for this study, data are collected from business executives and professionals belonged to IT, ITeS, BPO sectors in South India and thus ensured the precision and accuracy of the data and of the study. Sample size taken for this study is 134. All responses are combined by the researcher and few examples of both positive and negative responses are given in table 1.

**TABLE 1: EMPLOYEE RESPONSES**

Employee Concerns (Positive)	Employee Concerns (Negative)
It is a good measure for security.	Please don't even ask about CCTV modern slaveryism.
I actually don't bother having it at my workplace, as long as it is used mostly for security. But to be productive, no need of monitoring, but is need for security purpose and even to find the lost thing.	I feel being spied on and untrusted and [I] loses trust to the management. It also affects my health and diminishes my self-confidence.
CCTV ensures security. Also sees to it that people follow the rules and agreement as agreed upon with the clients. Thus, increases the trust of Clients resulting in company's and in turn employer benefit.	I am not a slave to work like this. It takes away my privacy and work-satisfaction. It also affects my health and diminishes my self-confidence.
I feel it is good. If in case of any problems tracking becomes easy. I actually don't bother having it at my workplace, as long as it is used mostly for security.	Our personal privacy is sometimes compromised, when we are aware that, we are being monitored then we tend to be more conscious unsettled.
It is good in a responsible work environment. Most of the times I don't care much about it, for me it makes no difference whether if it is under electronic surveillance or not.	I feel always being looked with suspicion and is stressful. I change my behaviour to please the authority. Feeling exhausted, think to quit the job.
Monitoring can make a worker more productive on the job by cutting down the mistakes made while also allowing for greater, efficient use of one's time. This practice could make the workplace safer.	Sometimes it's really irritating, staffs mend to hide their faces and work. Privacy is getting monitored.
It helps the management to know how faithfully the employees spend the work time and accordingly measure the employee productivity and take other decisions.	Do they not trust us? Surveillance inhibits freedom at work. The more we are restricted the more rage with others we become.

Among the participants 35.3% positively responded to workplace surveillance denoting mostly to security, keeping rules and moral check, increasing productivity, and a good substitute for supervisor. Few of the respondents don't bother about any surveillance, if it leads to security. However, along with these positive notes, several of them unfailingly express other concerns like privacy invasion, lack of freedom, trust, self-responsibility, manipulation of data like CCTV footages and other personal and work life details, and increased stress and health issues. The other 64.7% feel totally negatively or rather skeptic about the intentions of surveillance systems used in their workplaces. The more recurrent issues expressed by employees are related to privacy, freedom and lack of trust. Few of the respondents were concerned about health-related hazards as they feel more stressful and exhausted being under highly monitored working situations, which in turn generate fear of camera. They doubt about the fear tactic used by the employers who spy on employees with suspicion. This make them feel being treated as robots and prisoners and reduces their self-confidence. Moreover, surveillance is perceived as modern slaveryism and increases job-attrition and job-absenteeism.

Other important and often neglected views are related to the behavioural alterations resulted from the post-surveilled working conditions. Staffs tend to hide their face from CCTV cameras and try to express themselves in a way that satisfies the desires and interests of the authority and thus creates an artificial professional behaviour. For, technically talented and trained persons can escape from being caught. There is an increasing opinion that it is unprofessional to have surveillance disregarding the individual differences in a working condition and there is no need of external monitoring to be productive. It has become significantly important to consider the risks and rights of both employer and employee, but seems more interference with 'personal space' in each situation. Few of the respondents say that it is just for formality and do not work under open data commons and it increases the initial expense and extra maintenance costs. Though employees sometimes accept the monitoring for security reasons, they feel insecure since monitoring is now on employees rather than on their work or performance. Thus, they feel lack of respect to their needs and wants as human being and perceive it as an insult to human dignity. It is a common experience in the organizational workplace that the more restricted, the more rage with others. All these experiences, views and observations of the employees must be discussed in detail to derive and offer a conclusive ethical response.

**RESULT DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS**

This study has explored employees’ real-time experiences and reactions to the ongoing surveillance practices using electronic apparatus. The implementation and use of these technologies and methods are on the rise and now has become a routine in Indian organizational workplaces. The socio-cultural and economic situations, including commerce and trade, in India significantly support this scenario. This study also proves that the active monitoring systems in the workplaces

are increasing and the performance and communications of employees are under strict scrutiny and investigation. The purpose and the objective of the discussion section is to provide an interpretation of study results and substantiating it with evidences from further literature to make reasonable and convincing conclusions (Kaura, 2013). The managements of business organizations and corporations claim to have dramatically improved employee performance and thus increased level of productivity in the post implementation of electronic monitoring techniques. Few studies have conducted in this perspective (Al-Rjoub, Zabian & Qawasmeh, 2008; Nouwt, de Vries & Loermans, 2005; Bloom, Schachter & Steelman, 2003). However, this present study shows that employees feel otherwise, as they try to adhere with the organization's standard, compromising many of their personal and work-related desires and satisfaction. There are few studies conducted in this regard and back-ups this study (Karyda & Mitrou, 2008; Mitrou & Karyda, 2006; Martin & Freeman, 2003; Solove, 2006). The increasing level of distrust to the organization and among themselves directly causes employees feel job dissatisfaction.

Even while several employees further view workplace monitoring as a necessary security tool and try to understand and accept it in this way, they do not appreciate at the core being monitored, and don't want to work under 24/7 surveilled environment and exhibit the behavioural alterations to indicate the same. Though meant to function as a 'good watchdog' in general, these systems familiarize several negative feelings among the workers affecting their productivity and well-being. Several of the respondents who accept these systems as part of security, still express their concerns in terms of a sense of discomfort as they expose often their susceptibility and vulnerability. It also gives evidence that employees value his or her privacy, autonomy, freedom, fairness, etc. within the work life as it becomes the major channel to express the relationality and sociability. Continuous observation by implementing various technologies seem to reduce employees' motivation to commit extra in-role responsibilities. Many are concerned about and further commented on the cynical and pessimistic approach adopted by their employer, which increases detrimental relationship with the employers and with peer workers.

As Devasheesh P. Bhav (2014) expressed in his work on the electronic performance monitoring and employee job performance, this study also shows that the surveillance, no matter in excessive or non-excessive levels, becomes detrimental to employee performance. For instance, electronic monitoring inhibits freedom at work. Freedom at work is vital to construct a freedom centred approach leading to a freedom centred enterprise and authority. In the same manner, the arguments of crime prevention and liability alleviation are not always in consistent with the employee security argument. For instance, as one of the respondent opines, "... it is implemented as part of security, but I feel insecure working under it, and it also restricts my freedom and privacy. Now-a-days, monitoring is on ourselves [employees], not on our work or performance." These specific monitoring technologies are now targeted at employees rather than at work. There is a shift happening from monitoring work performance towards monitoring employees themselves and from employees' work lives to their private or personal lives. Besides, the ensuing imposed power over employees by employers now goes virtually unrestricted and unchallenged. In the same way, it must be noted, employees generally admit that stress, anxiety and other detrimental outcomes of surveillance lead also to aggressive behaviours and occupational violence.

Another significant recognition of this study is the necessity of the "personal space," which is highly demanded by employees. A female respondent expresses her concern in this regard, "For the management, it may act as a moral check on the employees, but I am too much stressed and feel very uncomfortable to work being under monitoring. Not allowing us to have or enjoy a bit of own space is like a crime done to our human self and shows the lack of respect to our needs and wants." Besides, the apparent necessity of personal space in the workplace is already discussed by few researchers like Philip Brey (2005). Similarly, employees feel and become overwhelmed when they are aware that disregarding their own personal space and time, every word they utter, every keystroke they make, every movement they take, every document they analyse are recorded and could be retrieved after a long time. According to this study, close to half of the respondents reported excessive pressure at work. Almost all of them pinned the blame on overwhelming productivity and performance strains demanded from employers through monitoring.

This study shows that the electronic surveillance, from an employee perspective and experiences, is a poor solution to workplace concerns. There are many more concerns expressed by employees to confirm this argument. Employees openly speak about their privacy issues that "our personal privacy is sometimes compromised, when we are aware that, we are being monitored then we tend to be more conscious, unsettled." It leads also to unnecessary fear, as one employee rightly noted, "... much like public speaking, as soon as we step in front of the camera, our knees and hands start to tremble, our voice get soft, it feels like someone looking straight into your eyes and judging you." Few female employees very harshly responded to it. For instance, one says, "it limits my freedom, when there is no freedom there is no creativity. We are not robots to monitor all-time during the work. It makes me exhausted at work and feel the same when I am back home." Another one exclaims, "do they not trust us? Surveillance inhibits freedom at work. The more we are restricted the more rage with others we become." Yet another female employee asks, "am I a prisoner to be always watched over? Workplace should not be equated with prisons. Why should a stranger observe women's privacy in the name of surveillance?" These are the real experiences and concerns of employees who are in the field and become the direct subjects of the gaze of a Big Brother.

In equal worth, few female employees also speak about distrust, power control and related stress, that: "I feel the element of distrust is the key here. It [surveillance] also leads to the creation of artificial professional behaviour. It is the indication from the management that they do suspect us. It is used because, with a fear tactic, the management wants to get full control over us. For me it creates an atmosphere of mistrust at work." The end-result of this phenomenon is the cavernous feeling of alienation, which is reflected in the workplace in the form of absenteeism, presenteeism and high level of employee attrition. Employees are concerned also about totally private and personal things that cannot be publicized. So, this forced intrusion into one's private sphere leads to the violation of human dignity. Therefore, analysing all these responses it seems that, 'on/off the job' surveillance, from employees' perspectives, is not an easy or readymade resolution for employers that can fix all the problems arising in the workplace.

What, then, the employees themselves seek and stand for? When employees strongly uphold and express that "I am sure that in order to be productive and responsible I do not need an external monitoring," a self-emerging employee need and ability of being self-disciplined in the workplace is revealed. Moreover, majority of the respondents prefers to work without being monitored and feel uncomfortable with surveillance practices in the workplace. It is expressed as they opine "it [surveillance] takes away my work satisfaction" and "I am not a slave to work like this," and "I feel I have the dedication and commitment towards the work which I'm doing. My responsibility does not change according to the level of external monitoring," etc. These employees are ready to take any responsibility without outward force or constrains of external monitoring, as they feel these surveillance practices as behavioural bondage in the workplace.

To sum up, the compiled responses of employees show that the electronic surveillance conveys a reduced sense of privacy, self-esteem, workplace communication and increased uncertainty, employee vulnerability and behavioural alterations. It directly and indirectly envisages reduced job performance and negative job attitudes with lower job satisfaction and effective commitment through decreased perceived power control among employees. This also fosters employee turnover and reduced organizational citizenship behaviours. It adversely affects employees triggering increased stress and bondage of suspicion and distrust. Reducing the intensity of surveillance does not deteriorate employee performance; rather improve innovation, creativity and freedom, and thus bigger life-chances and enhanced quality of life. Therefore, it is critically important to balance the legitimate requirements to safeguard the organizational interests and the genuine human concerns of employee regarding privacy, dignity and social status.

## LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The job nature and the position of survey respondents would seem to limit the generalizability of the results. Errors that occur in the data from incorrect or manipulated responses due to the fear of being mistreated or even punished by the authority. In the same way, the individual response may not always represent the self, rather bias answering. As in every narrative-response study, it is difficult to analyse or compare the open-ended questions. So, respondents' point of view is focused than making any generalization about individual attitude, job commitment and interpersonal behaviours in the workplace.

## CONCLUSION

The present study qualitatively demonstrates and affirms the adverse effects of employee surveillance and the complexity and limitations to understand the same. From employees' real-time experience analysis, this research shows that the negative impacts of workplace surveillance often surpass the expected benefits of surveillance. Though the researches in this area draw mostly on administrative and legal perspectives, this study recognizes an explicit need for a socio-ethical perspective. Employees possess totally different attitudinal and behavioural positions when they are being covered and not being covered under surveillance.

Workplace monitoring owns a significant hold on the concerns of employee's morale, job attitude, workplace behaviour, trust and faith in employer and the commitment towards the job and life. Workers resist or express discontent in various forms about such workplace systems and strategies. Employees consider factors such as privacy and data security, freedom in job, trust from employer and impartial treatment in the workplace to be of immense importance. Any external monitoring or control is not recognized as a significant factor to be productive and efficient in the work. Therefore, from employees' perspectives, electronic monitoring is not a viable solution for workplace problems.

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