Opening the Black Box

The work of watching

Gavin J.D. Smith



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First published 2015 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

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British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Smith, Gavin J. D.

Opening the black box: the work of watching / by Gavin Smith. pages cm. – (Routledge advances in sociology)

1. Crime prevention—Social aspects. 2. Video surveillance—Social aspects. 3. Supervision. 4. Public safety—Social aspects. 5. Privacy, Right of—Social aspects. I. Title.

HV7431.S6145 2014

363.2'32-dc23

2014008549

ISBN: 978-0-415-58729-7 (hbk) ISBN: 978-0-203-51938-7 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman by Taylor & Francis Books

Opening the Black Box

Closed circuit television (CCTV) cameras are a prominent, if increasingly familiar, feature of urbanism. They symbolise the faith that spatial authorities place in technical interventions for the treatment of social problems. CCTV was principally introduced to sterilise municipalities, to govern conducts and to protect properties. Vast expenditure has been committed to these technologies without a clear sense of how they influence things. CCTV cameras might appear inanimate, but *Opening the Black Box* shows them to be vital mediums within relational circulations of supervision.

The book excavates the social relations entwining the everyday usage of CCTV. It takes the reader on a journey from living beneath the camera, to working behind the lens. Attention focuses on the labour exerted by camera operators as they source and profile distanced spectacles. These workers are paid to scan monitor screens in the search for disorderly vistas, visualising stimuli according to its perceived riskiness and/or allurement. However, the projection of this gaze can draw an unsettling reflection. It can mean enduring behavioural extremities as an impotent witness. It can also entail making spontaneous decisions that determine the course of justice.

Opening the Black Box, therefore, contemplates the seductive and traumatic dimensions of monitoring telemediated 'riskscapes' through the prism of camera circuitry. It probes the positioning of camera operators as 'vicarious' custodians of a precarious social order and engages their subjective experiences. It reveals the work of watching to be an ambiguous practice – as much about managing external disturbances on the street as managing internal disruptions in the self.

Gavin J.D. Smith is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the Australian National University. He is the author of many reviews, book chapters, journal articles and media reports on the social impacts and implications of surveillance diffusion. His current research explicates the dynamic interplay between systems and subjects of surveillance, particularly the interpretive meanings people attribute to their visibility and the labour they invest in managing their ascribed 'data-body'.

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John Clammer

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127 Opening the Black Box The work of watching *Gavin J.D. Smith*

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Acknowledgements

Writing and journeying share comparable properties. Each involves motion and indeterminacy of one form or another, commencing at a start place and terminating at an end point: a process of movement from one destination to the next, a transition of being into a state of becoming. Each activity evokes vistas of terrestrial topographies and encourages speculative projections on observed dimensions. The hope, for most writers and travellers, is that the undertaking will be rewarding and the carriage safe. Of course this is not an aspiration that can ever be guaranteed. There are too many influence-wielding intermediaries and interdependencies. Velocity, for instance, has a habit of interfering, as do the forces of nature. There are always hidden turbulences, fuel blockages and unexpected delays: a multitude of obstacles that were not anticipated, or a section in the plan that just does not make intuitive sense. For those trying to escape persecution or flee from environmental extremities, journeying seems a non-negotiable pursuit. It is a means of survival. For those privileged critters determining their own migratory itineraries, journeying can provide introspective openings and invite kudos. It is, in contrast, a means of enriching. Exactly how an arrival is made and in what mode of conveyance, influences the nature of the transit endured and the reception experienced, especially in human contexts. Ponder, for example, the contrasting ways in which undocumented refugees and documented industrialists get treated at international borders, notwithstanding their equivalent genetic constitutions and fleshy boundaries. Yet the wonder of journeying for all creatures of the world is essentially the same. It provides an experiential medium for storytelling and an opportunity to pit life and limb against the elements. The enchantment of voyaging, as writer or as wanderer, resides less in reasons for peregrination than in gradual realisation that a story you embark on is not necessarily the one you finish with.

Reaching the terminus of this journey would not have been possible without the obliging support of many carriers. Innumerable people have tendered encouragement, insight and succour, all in an effort to propel me along the path. There are, however, a number of conveyors to whom I owe special gratitude. I wish to thank the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) for awarding me a graduate studentship to research CCTV. I also wish to thank colleagues, staff and students at the University of Aberdeen, City University London, the University of Sydney

and the Australian National University, for listening to my ideas and augmenting my thinking while in residence. In particular, each of the following scholars has played a part in this escapade: the late Mike Hepworth, Richard Giulianotti, Norman Stockman, Andrew Blaikie, Karen O'Reilly, David Inglis, Mary Holmes, John Brewer, Archie Simpson, Alenka Jelen, Eugene McLaughlin, Chris Greer, Carrie-Anne Myers, David Lyon, Kevin D. Haggerty, David Murakami Wood, Kirstie Ball, Clive Norris, Sami Coll, Aaron K. Martin, Pat O'Malley, Amanda Elliot, Peter Rogers, Martijn Konings, Marios Elles, Simon Tormey, Peter Marks, Janet Chan, Lucia Zedner, Ian Loader, Mark Andrejevic, researchers at the Centre for Criminology at the University of Oxford, and members of the Surveillance and Everyday Life Research Group at the University of Sydney.

Chris Wright deserves special acknowledgement for his selfless provision of time, effort and acuity. The durable features of this book reflect his contribution, while the weaker aspects evince the author's deficiencies. Similarly, Martin French was a stalwart comrade when the going got tough, and a first-rate collaborator. Thanks for everything, both.

Enormous credit must go to my mother, Norma Smith, for her phenomenally proficient proofreading and for rendering unfaltering belief. My father, Euan Smith, has been a staunch benefactor and sponsor. I am indebted to my Aunt Linnie for her sage advice and ongoing companionship. My late grandmother deserves recognition for ensuring that my student years were more auspicious than they should have been. My confidants in each 'corner' of the globe have had, on many occasions, to tolerate an absent friend. Special thanks to Reidy, Johnboy and the Smith brothers for their patience, perseverance and all-round fabulousness. I also wish to thank my partner, Rebecca, for texturing each day with supportive blessedness and for being a more than adept ideas sounding board.

I wish to thank my publishers in the Taylor and Francis Group. In particular, special thanks to Gerhard Boomgaarden, Emily Briggs, Alyson Claffey and Dominic Corti for their efforts, for their encouragement and, more than anything, for their patience. Segments of this book have appeared, partially and/or in earlier drafts, in the journal Surveillance & Society (Chapter 4), and in the following edited volumes: Technologies of InSecurity: The Surveillance of Everyday Life, ed. Katja Franko Aas, Helene Oppen Gundhus and Heidi Mork Lomell (Routledge-Cavendish) (Chapter 6); Eyes Everywhere: The Global Growth of Camera Surveillance, ed. Aaron Doyle, Randy Lippert and David Lyon (Routledge) (Chapter 3); Routledge Handbook of Surveillance Studies, ed. Kirstie Ball, Kevin D. Haggerty and David Lyon (Routledge) (Chapter 5).

Last, but by no means least, significant thanks is owed to each of the camera operators and managers who participated in the research and who gracefully tolerated my inquisitive intrusiveness in their working milieux. I hope that the account presented here sufficiently reflects their experiences and, perhaps, incorporates several appreciative nuances.

Gavin John Douglas Smith February 2014

Contents

	Acknowledgements	xvii
	RT I oblematising and contextualising watching practices	1
1	Towards supervisory circulations: circuitry coordinates	3
	Sensing disruption: the work of watching 3 Interpreting dedicated watching: the surveillance fix 5 Flattening surveillance: envisioning supervisory circulations 12 A fusion of horizons: visibility-visuality alternations 15 Opening closed circuitries: purpose and focus 23 Chapter structure and content 23	
2	Engaging circuitries: researching supervisory circulations	27
	Setting the scene 27 The (un)visibility of CCTV: protecting the privileged, problematising the poor 37 Under the lens: research on CCTV 45 Contacting supervisory lifeworlds: issues and techniques 49	
	RT II	
En	gaging the means of watching	61
3	Instigating circuitries: inception and reception	63
	Sedimenting inflexibility: instigating circuitries 64 The socio-material sedimentation of expedience: structural and operational solidity 77 The socio-material sedimentation of improvidence: structural and operational fragility 83 Chapter 3 synopsis 102	

4	Construing circuitries: supervisory projection	105
	CCTV struggles: strategies and tactics 106 Contact points: supervisory circuitries as para-social mediums 108 Spectacle enchantment: the seduction of watching 113 Chapter 4 synopsis 124	
5	Enduring circuitries: supervisory subjection	126
	Affective labour: managing emotionality and caring for the self 127 Spectacle disenchantment: the work of watching 130 Techniques of neutralisation: managing external and internal disturbances 137 Chapter 5 synopsis 149	
6	Sustaining circuitries: supervisory fluctuation	151
	Empowered watchers: on capacities for influence 152 Disempowered workers: on experiences of impotence 155 Supervisory boxes of enlightenment 159	
		22112011
	References	164
	Index	175