ISTANBUL : AN URBAN PANOPTICON

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ABSTRACT

ISTANBUL: AN URBAN PANOPTICON

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In the twenty-first century that we are living, most of the contemporary metropolises are under constant visual electronic surveillance under the name of security and public safety. Istanbul as being one of the big cities has joined this surveilled metropolises; its streets and public spaces are under constant watch by the invisible watchers behind the MOBESE cameras. The way that the system works on how to impose power on the citizens with the constant observation has it roots in the design principle of Panopticon that Jeremy Bentham created long time ago. Today, Bentham's eighteenth century design Panopticon has dispersed and merged into the urban scale and replaced by these surveillance cameras. The observation tower and the guardian in panopticon have transformed into the main control room and the cameras. Citizens in Istanbul are under a panoptic power of surveillance. Ordinary citizen is being watched by the invisible guardians behind the cameras. The ones behind the cameras constantly see everything, but never seen by the citizens. This thesis attempts to discuss this assumption of Istanbul becoming an urban panopticon and its affects on the physical layout together with the social aspect of it in Istanbul. One of the main objectives is to investigate the consequences of this visual surveillance on the way that the public life and public spaces of Istanbul is affected.

ÖZ

ISTANBUL: KENTSEL PANOPTIKON

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İçinde bulunduğumuz yirmi birinci yüzyılda, çağdaş metropollerin bir çoğu güvenlik ve kamusal emniyet adı altında sürekli bir görsel elektronik gözetime maruz kalmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, İstanbul da gözetim altındaki metropoller arasındadır ve kentin kamusal mekanları, MOBESE kameralarının arkasındaki görünmez izleyiciler tarafından sürekli olarak izlenmektedir. Toplum üzerinde güç uygulamaya yönelik bu sistemin temelleri, Jeremy Bentham'ın Panoptikon tasarımına dayanır. Bugün, Bentham'ın on sekizinci yüzyıl tasarımı olan Panoptikon, artık kentsel ölçeğe karışmış ve elektronik gözetim kameraları ile yer değiştirmiştir. Panoptikon'daki gözetim kulesi ve gardiyan, merkez kontrol odası ve kameralara denk gelmektedir. Olağan kentli görünmez gardiyanlar tarafından kamera aracılığıyla izlenmekte; gözetleyenler ise, görünmez kılınmaktadır. Bu tez, İstanbul'un bir kentsel panoptikona dönüşmesi varsayımını ve bu durumun fiziksel mekandaki etkilerini sosyal yapısıyla birlikte tartışmaktadır. Çalışma bu anlamda, görsel gözetimin İstanbul'un kamusal hayat ve mekanlarındaki etkilerini araştırmaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Istanbul, Panoptikon, Gözetim, MOBESE, Kamusal Mekan.

To My Family,

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Surveillance cameras are becoming a part of urban infrastructure, an unavoidable part of the contemporary metropolises. In fact cameras and video recording are nothing new in the cities; they have existed inside the banks, ATM machines, and shopping malls or in any private offices for years. However rather than the private institutions, the visioning of the public areas by the CCTV (closed circuit television) cameras without the will of the citizens is very recent for most of the crowded big cities.

Public safety and security are essential concerns of the urban design in the twenty-first century. With the increase in terrorism all over the world as well as the inequalities inside the cities, the big metropolises are now counting on a visual electronic surveillance system to fight with the fear of crime. The use of this kind of surveillance is increasing each day all around the world and now it has reached to our country. Istanbul, as being an important metropolis among the world, has joined these surveilled metropolises recently. The major concern of this thesis is to investigate the consequences of this visual surveillance on the physical layout as well as the social aspect of it in Istanbul.

Public spaces and streets of Istanbul are now under constant electronic visual surveillance. The way that the system works reminds the idea of panopticon that Jeremy Bentham created long time ago. Citizens are under a panoptic power of surveillance. Ordinary citizen is being watched by the invisible guardians behind the cameras. Cameras are like the symbols of power, substitutes of the observation tower in panopticon, reminding the citizens to behave normal. The ones behind the cameras constantly see everything, but never seen by the citizens.

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Although it has passed centuries from the time that Bentham designed his panopticon as an architectural tool to obtain order and control; not the architectural building itself but the discourses it brought are still valid in our times. The notion of surveillance he proposed is being interpreted in various other forms; which this electronic visual surveillance can be counted as one of them. The cells of the panopticon may have been disappeared but the self-discipline that panopticon created on the observed ones is valid for CCTV surveillance. Istanbul, in this regard, after all these arguments can be assumed as an invisible and dispersed form of panopticon with all those cameras or rather shortly as an urban panopticon. The thesis attempts to discuss this assumption of Istanbul being an urban panopticon and throughout the study all the arguments are built up upon this assumption.

Although this kind of public surveillance has being spread in various other cities all over the world for decades; its reflection and realization in our country goes only three years back. Due to its recent application of this electronic visual surveillance in Istanbul, the significance and the main objective of this study is to observe the first impacts it has in Istanbul and be the first witnesses on the differences it creates of how city is experienced in our own culture and country.

As the methodology of discussion of the topic, instead of the general style of bringing up first the theoretical background and later the investigation of the case study; here in this thesis both notions are merged in each other in every chapter. Istanbul is being observed throughout the thesis along with the theoretical discussions supporting and contributing the study in each chapter.

Visual electronic surveillance is most of the time claimed to be the easiest and effective way for the protection of public spaces. Instead of preventing the reasons that provide crime to occur; this system tries to create places where the crime can be eliminated by the deterrence effect of the cameras. Its easiness may come from the possibility to adopt the system for already existing places in the cities rather than creating a total new urban place to fight with crime. However, the traces of the 'security obsessed urbanism' can also be seen in the cities besides the integration of cameras.

First, the thesis examines in chapter two how the contemporary cities are shaped up by the fear of crime and security reasons other than the surveillance camera installation. Mike Davis talks about the fortification of the cities and public places and the new architectural building types that are being created like the gated residential complexes; which are also similar situations that can be observed in Istanbul.

Other than the visible consequences, the will for security has created some other invisible aspects of surveillance in the city. In the contemporary times the surveillance is merged into every part of our lives, even in our ordinary everyday actions. As the technology develops the tools of the surveillances have increased. From credit cards used to the internet sites visited every action of an ordinary citizen can be traced; which make up a part of the discussion in chapter two. However as the scope of the thesis is to discuss only the visual electronic surveillance, the discussions about other dispersed kinds of surveillance technologies have not been developed much further in the thesis.

To create the background for the main discussion of the thesis of being an urban panopticon the aim of chapter three is to describe Jeremy Bentham's panopticon design and discuss the contribution of Michel Foucault on it and the discourse he created on panopticism. The *seeing and being seen* dyad that panopticon creates is the keystone for the arguments of this thesis. Citizens of Istanbul feeling the invisible power on them with the knowledge of being watched at any time resemble the inmates of the panopticon.

Foucault's contribution to the discourse of panopticon on the idea of creating power is inevitable and mentioned throughout the study, especially in chapter three. Foucault describes the panopticon as 'a marvelous machine which, whatever use one may wish to put it to, produces homogeneous effects of power.'[1] According to him 'whenever one is dealing with a multiplicity of individuals on whom a task or a particular form of behavior must be imposed, the panoptic schema may be used.'[2] Besides the inmates of the prison, Foucault found this schema as a way to impose power on the whole society, which maybe opened up the way to this visual surveillance. For him panopticism was a discipline mechanism such as 'a functional mechanism that must improve the exercise of power by making it lighter, more rapid, more effective, a design of subtle coercion for a

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[1] Michel Foucault. "Panopticism" Discipline and Punish. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977. pg.195-228
[2] ibid. pg.195-228

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society to come.'[3] Consequently due to the technology with all those cameras in Istanbul now the exercise of power is really slight and effective. Not the offenders but the whole society is awaiting a possible change under the power and discipline imposed on them.

With all the precautions done in the name of security to protect the citizens from the offenders, Istanbul has been transformed into something which can be perceived as an urban panopticon. The citizens are being normalized and controlled under the panoptic power shaping up the whole society like that Foucault argued. The tools that are used on this, the camera systems integrated for security, is called MOBESE for Istanbul. The streets of Istanbul are being watched twenty-four hours by the 570 cameras located around the city; which are exposed in detail in chapter four. As it is started with Istanbul in Turkey this visual surveillance, after three years is mentioned to be applied in other various cities such as Ankara, Diyarbakır and Gaziantep. The proliferation of the system is increasing in a sudden rate in Turkey also as well as the world.

The main objective of chapter five is to study the impacts of this surveillance in the public spaces of Istanbul on how it alters the perception and the interpretation of the public space. The analysis is being supported with the discourses about the public spaces throughout the chapter.

One of the first visible and obvious impacts these cameras made on Istanbul is the creation of a group who calls themselves NOBESE, nearly five months after the cameras started to operate. They are the reflection of Surveillance Camera Players group from New York, who come together to perform little acts in front of the MOBESE cameras in order to inform the public and show their reaction to the situation, arguing the loss of private lives that these cameras obtained. They are turning the streets of Istanbul into a stage for specific time intervals in which they create and propose a new function for the way public space is experienced, where everyone gets together including the performers, citizens and the police, affecting the social layout of the society with a new happening.

As Kevin Robins asserts 'there is the expectation- the fantasy of visibility and transparency in the urban scene, but this is overwhelmed by the sense of urban alienation,

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[3] ibid. pg.195-228

violence and horror.'[4] The visibility that these cameras create sometimes tears out the privacy of the citizens. As David Lyon puts out 'many unintended consequences follow from the tightening of security by surveillance. (...) The culture of control will colonize more areas of life, with our permission or without, because of the understandable desire for security.'[5] According to him 'the worsening of social divisions, paradoxically through surveillance for risk management, is one negative outcome of contemporary urban trends. It is one that calls for a renewed sense of what social justice in the city might comprise.'[6]

With the integration of the camera the intention is not only the prevention of bigger crimes but also the elimination of beggars, pickpockets and the pirated edition sellers, which are very common in Istanbul. These maybe some good examples, however, on the contrary, the ones that do not fit in the profile of the rest are also being excluded from the public areas, in other words the ones which do not have money. Throughout the fifth chapter of the study, the importance of the heterogeneous structure of the public space is discussed. However, with the implication of surveillance cameras the social structure of the public space is being altered. The unwanted people are being excluded from the public space leaving it to form a homogenous layout made up of similar people excluding the character of public space being public.

These exclusions from the public space mostly depend on the judgment of the one watching the images of the cameras, which can be affected depending on personal prejudices. This personal power that the system gives is one of the biggest arguments that it creates. How this power is being used and by whom makes up the biggest concern about this surveillance.

The fear of crime may alienate the citizens from each other also. This surveillance affects unconsciously the way that the citizens interact with each other under the pressure of being watched and observed constantly, in the end which leads to an internalization and isolation of individuals. As Philip Tabor asserts 'surveillance manufactures conscience-

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[4] Kevin Robins. "The City in the Field of Vision". Into the Image: Culture and Politics in the Field of Vision. London:Routledge, 1996. pg.138

[5] David Lyon. "Technology vs. 'Terrorism': Circuits of City Surveillance Since September 11, 2001". in Stephen Graham (ed.) Cities, War, and Terrorism Towards an Urban Geopolitics. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. Ltd., 2004. pg.310

[6] David Lyon. "Surveillance in the City". in Stephen Graham(ed.) "Editor's Introduction". The CyberCities Reader. London: Routledge, 2004. pg.304

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which, as the word implies, completes self-consciousness. It fortifies the individual's identity, and his or her place in the external world.'[7]

The impact of MOBESE cameras in Istanbul is not only about the concerns on the social agitation that could occur; but also the physical affects that it creates in the city. For decades the private institutions are designed with the concern of increased security. The gated residential complexes where a security hut is placed at the entrance questioning each visitor entering inside exist in Istanbul since very long years. As the most wealthy population of Turkey lives mostly in Istanbul the gap between the ordinary and this security concerned designs are very obvious in Istanbul.

On the contrary to all the arguments about the negative effects that it could create for most of the citizens, the existence of MOBESE cameras created a safe and reliable place image. Many citizens, by parking their cars to the places in the range of the cameras, created unplanned and new places in Istanbul unconsciously.[8] The integration of the cameras altered the way that the city is experienced creating new functions in Istanbul. The rents of the residents in the neighborhoods which contain cameras also increased after the integration of the system.[9] The quality of life seems to be affected by secure feeling that the cameras give. This also affects the layout of the city and its urban planning by creating new districts with higher prices and with new privatized neighborhoods with higher incomes excluding and pushing the ones with lower incomes to live in the cameraless zones, creating a division in the city depending on the existence of the cameras or not.

The authorities mentioned that after the installation of the cameras there was a decrease in the crimes in the zones having camera although on the contrary an increase in the zones which do not have camera in Istanbul. This displacement of the crime to the neighborhoods without cameras also strengthens the creation of the new layout of the city. As the crime rates increase in that zones people can exclude that area creating vacant places in the city. Or the opposite can occur where people under the will of not being surveilled would prefer to go to the zones which do not have cameras, creating new city

[7] Philip Tabor. "I Am a Videocam". in I. Borden (ed.) The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space. Cambridege: MIT Press, 2001. pg.128
[8] Devrim Tosunoğlu. Akşam Gazetesi. 27.04.2006. <http://www.tumgazeteler.com/?a=1143612> 02.12.2007
[9] Zaman Gazetesi. 01.04.2006. <http://www.tumgazeteler.com/?a=1425797> 02.12.2007

centers for the city. Since that kind of change in the city life would require too much time to occur and be observed, one of the aims of this thesis is just to outline and investigate the possible differences this surveillance could create on Istanbul for the further implications and studies on this topic.

These cameras have merged into the everyday of how city is perceived. In the news every day in one of the channels the images taken from the MOBESE cameras are shown in order to visualize the information given. As well as preventing crime the cameras are used to give order to the traffic. In the official web site of the police department of Istanbul, there is a link where the citizens can choose their routs on the map of Istanbul and achieve the images taken from the cameras to see the situation of those roads. These cameras are being also used in order to increase the conformity of the daily life of citizens.

MOBESE cameras have become like an urban furniture of Istanbul. Since their resemblance of a street light in their appearance, most of the places they are even not recognized. In the streets of Istanbul the life seems to continue unaffected by the ordinary citizen walking in the street trying to go somewhere, by who act as if they are not aware of the cameras. Nobody pays attention to them, lift their heads up and even look at them as it is observed during this study. At most of the places the columns that the cameras are mounted were used to hang up posters and commercials. This non-awareness of the cameras makes one think of the panopticism effect it could create on the citizens. The system will not work if the population goes on being uninformed of the system.

Finally, the system is new and unfamiliar for Istanbul. Although some sudden reactions to the system and some consequences of it could be observed initially, its real effects on the physical layout of the city and social alteration it will bring needs longer time interval to occur and still deserves some time to be observed and interpreted. Therefore, the goal of this thesis is to develop the argument of the study by emphasizing the possibilities that could happen according to the ones already observed as well as supporting it with the of the theoretical background of related arguments.

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CHAPTER 2

ISTANBUL: AS MODERN PRISON

2.1   Fortified City

The notion of fear and in order to cope with the crime as a precaution the security designs are among the biggest aspects that are generating the new layout for the metropolitan cities and contemporary life style. 'Gated residential communities, the private policing of office and shopping spaces, local curfews to reduce the risk of public disorder at night in the city-center streets, and the proliferation of public space CCTV surveillance systems are all increasingly common strategic responses to anxieties about crime and concern at declining consumer and business confidence in urban centers.'[1] Not only is the social behavior of citizens in the public spaces but also the appearance of the whole city is under a constant change. As Don Mitchell argues, 'public space had already been significantly fortified -or at least radically transformed- in the name of security over the past generation. Parks had been reconstructed and fenced, and special enclosed areas for children and their guardians had been established.'[2]

This situation according to Mike Davis, who teaches urban theory at the Southern California Institute of Architecture, has roots in the past decades. 'Obsession with physical security systems, and, collaterally, with the architectural policing of social boundaries, has become a zeitgeist of urban restructuring, a master narrative in the emerging built environment of the 1990's'.[3] Maybe in contemporary times, the solution suggestions for crime depend more on the technology, or even count on the technology

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[1] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Jon Bannister. "The Eyes Upon the Street Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance and the City". Images of The Street. London: Routledge, 1998. pg.256

[2] Don Mitchell. The Right to the City Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. London: The Guilford Press ,2003. pg.1

[3] Mike Davis. City of Quartz Excavating Future in Los Angeles. London: Verso,1990. pg.223

for the protection for its ease in the applying its system for already existing places. Fyfe and Bannister mention that 'the 'fortress impulse' in urban design is not new but the widespread introduction of CCTV surveillance cameras and other surveillance technologies has significantly increased what Rule calls 'surveillance capacity' in contemporary cities.'[4] With the introduction of the MOBESE cameras the fortification of Istanbul has also started slightly.

Davis, 'in City of Quartz and other writings, depicts Los Angels as a fortified city with bulging prisons, sadistic street environments, housing projects that have become strategic hamlets, gated and armed-guarded communities where signs say 'trepassers will be shot', and where the city is surveilled and patrolled by a high-tech space police.'[5] Edward Soja, University of California geographer and city planning professor, arguing City of Quartz further mentions that Davis,

> 'continues to inflame it with apocalyptic disasters in Ecology of Fear. All the warning signals are identified: the destruction of democratic public space, a rampant sense of foreboding and fear that breeds security-obsessed urbanism, a built environment increasingly filled with paranoic architecture and deterrent designs, (...) the enclavization of the affluent in fortified islands. What Davis sees and foresees is undoubtedly there in late twentieth-century Los Angeles and he must be applauded for his foresight and insight.'[6]

As Davis asserts, 'In cities like Los Angeles, on the bad edge of postmodernity, one observes an unprecedented tendency to merge urban design, architecture and the police apparatus into a single, comprehensive security effort.[7] Throughout one chapter of his book Davis strongly discusses the fortification of Los Angeles. He asserts that, 'we live in "fortress cities" brutally divided between "fortified cells" of affluent society and "places of terror" where the police battle the criminalized poor.'[8] He continues his arguments by giving examples. He talks about how for example, 'in Watts, developer Alexander Haagen demonstrates his strategy for recolonizing inner-city retail markets: a panopticon shopping mall surrounded by staked metal fences and a substation of the LAPD in a

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[4] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Jon Bannister. "The Eyes Upon the Street Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance and the City". Images of The Street. London: Routledge, 1998. pg.256
[5] Edward W. Soja. "Six Discourses on the Postmetropolis". in Sallie Westwood and John Williams(eds.) Imagining Cities Scripts, Signs, Memory. London: Routledge, 1997. pg.27
[6] Edward W. Soja. Postmetropolis Critical Studies of Cities and Regions. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000. pg. 319
[7] Mike Davis. City of Quartz Excavating Future in Los Angeles. London: Verso,1990. pg.224
[8] ibid. pg.224

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central surveillance tower.' [9] He further mentions that the 'new luxury developments outside the city limits have often become fortress cities, complete with encompassing walls, restricted entry points with guard posts, overlapping private and public police services, and even privatized roadways.' [10] This type of structuring in residential designs is nowadays very usual and regular, and even penetrated into our life styles, valid for also Istanbul. Davis continues on explaining the situation of Los Angeles mentioning that 'the very rich are yearning for high-tech castles. Where gates and walls along will not suffice (...)the house itself is redesigned to incorporate sophisticated, sometimes far-fetched, security functions. (...)Residential architects are borrowing design secrets from overseas embassies and military command posts. One of the features most in demand is the 'terrorist-proof security room' concealed in the house plan and accessed by sliding panels and secret doors.'[11]

Pointing on an interesting aspect about the city's new silhouette, Davis discusses that 'one solution to the conflict between carceral and commercial redevelopment is to use architectural camouflage to finesse jail space into the skyscape. If buildings and homes are becoming more prison -or fortress- like in exterior appearance, then prisons ironically are becoming architecturally naturalized as aesthetic objects. (...) Carceral structures have become the new frontier of public architecture.'[12]

'Responses to the fortress impulse in urban design, and the broader 'surveillance society' of which is a pat, range from optimism at the discovery of potential technological fixes to chronic urban problems, to despair at the creation of an Orwellian dystopia' according to Fyfe and Bannister'.[13] Further in the discussion, they mention that 'Ellin argues that while the gated residential communities, private policing and the surveillance systems do contribute to giving some people a greater sense of security, such developments can 'also contribute to accentuating fear by increasing paranoia and distrust among people.'[14] Davis describes briefly how the cities are changing shape under this paranoia as follows:

[9] ibid. pg.223
[10] ibid. pg.244
[11] ibid. pg.248
[12] ibid. pg.256
[13] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Jon Bannister. "The Eyes Upon the Street Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance and the City". Images of The Street. London: Routledge, 1998. pg.256
[14] ibid. pg.256

'To reduce contact with untouchables, urban redevelopment has converted once vital pedestrian streets into traffic sewers and transformed public parks into temporary receptacles for the homeless and wretched. The American City, as many critics have recognized, is being systematically turned inside out- or, rather, outside in. The valorized spaces of the new megastructures and super-malls are concentrated in the center, street frontage is denuded, public activity is sorted into strictly functional compartments, and circulation is internalized in corridors under the gaze of private police.' [15]

He furthermore almost summarizes the situation by asserting that 'the universal and ineluctable consequence of this crusade to secure the city is the destruction of accessible public space.'[16] On a similar aspect, Don Mitchell depicts that, 'the dream of perfectly ordered city is exactly the dream in which the city is fully alienated from its residents, placed under total control: it is an authoritarian, even totalitarian fantasy'.[17]

By trying to relate the fortification of cities with the panopticon Taner Oc and Steven Tiesdell claim that 'as well as fortress city, there is the 'panoptic city'. (...) It is the extension of the concept beyond buildings, to public spaces, city centers and even whole cities, that ushers in the related spectre of 'Big Brother' forms of oppressive state control.'[18] The panoptic city is maybe the further step or in other words the evolution of this urban fortification.

2.2   Virtual Panoptic City

The spread of the panoptic surveillance discourse through the urban context is not always physical and not always with the existence of a distinguishable gaze as in the invasion of surveillance cameras in the public spaces. According to French philosopher Gilles Deleuze, 'the disciplinary societies have now given way to societies of control. Emblematic of this is the shift from factories to corporations and from machines to

[15] Mike Davis. City of Quartz Excavating Future in Los Angeles. London: Verso,1990. pg.226
[16] Mike Davis. City of Quartz Excavating Future in Los Angeles. London: Verso,1990. pg.226
[17] Don Mitchell. The Right to the City Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. London: The Guilford Press ,2003. pg.230
[18] Taner Oc and Steven Tiesdell. (eds.) Safer City Centers Reviving the Public Realm. London: Paul Chapman Publishing, 1997. pg.x

computers. Physical discipline has been replaced by more gaseous systems of control, where credit card has supplanted the gaze of the foreman. Humankind is no longer enclosed by physical space, but forever trapped by debt, ensnared in a system of limitless postponement.'[19] He discusses how the surveillance system has become invisible and difficult to perceive like the impossibility to see the gases in the air.

All these visible and invisible manners of the control societies continue to change the urban context, or at least alter the way the urban context is perceived and interpreted. Paul Virilio, states that "symbolically- but also practically- the city is no longer governed by physical boundaries but by systems of electronic surveillance".[20] He talks how this situation is affecting the city and claims that "where once one necessarily entered the city by means of a physical gateway, now one passes thorough an audiovisual protocol in which the methods of audience and surveillance have transformed even the forms of public greeting and daily reception".[21] 'An architect and urbanist by training; Virilio is a leading critical theorist of the links between cities, speed, technology, war, space and time', in Stephen Graham's words. [22]

Urban sociologist Manuel Castells, professor of city and regional planning at the University of California, Berkeley, asserts that 'we have entered a new age, the Information Age. Spatial transformation is a fundamental dimension of the overall process of structural change.'[23] According to him 'the new urban world arises from within the process of formation of a new society, the network society, characteristic of the Information Age.'[24] He defines 'the informational society' as 'the new social structure that characterizes our world' and continues explaining by saying that 'by this concept, I understand a social structure where the sources of economic productivity, cultural hegemony and political military power depend, fundamentally, on the capacity to retrieve, store, process and generate information and knowledge.'[25] This information and knowledge increases the capacity of observers to gain power on the citizens that is

[19] Gilles Deleuze. "Postscripts on the Societies of Control" in N. Leach(ed.). Rethinking Architecture. London: Routledge, 1997. pg.308
[20] Paul Virilio. "The Overexposed City". in The Lost Dimension. New York:Semiotext(e), 1991. pp.9-28
[21] ibid. pp.9-28
[22] Stephen Graham(ed.) "Editor's Introduction". The CyberCities Reader. London: Routledge, 2004. pg.78
[23] Manuel Castells. "Space of Flows, Space of Places: Materials for a Theory of Urbanism in the Information Age". in Stephen Graham(ed.) The CyberCities Reader. London: Routledge, 2004. pg.83
[24] ibid. pg.83
[25] Manuel Castells. "Europian Cities, the Informational Society, and the Global Economy". in Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout. (eds.) The City Reader. London: Routledge, 1996. pg.560

imposed by the urban surveillance. As we are living in the information age, the power gained on the citizens is obtained by the advanced information gathering society. 'Castells sees information technologies as the fundamental instrument of the new organizational logic transforming the world today. Accordingly he uses the adjective "informational" as a type o city as "industrial" or "colonial" city might have been used in the nineteenth century.'[26]

Discussing the idea of informational city of Castells, David Lyon comments that 'informational cities are also surveillance cities. (...) Whereas once surveillance in the city meant the use of street lights and physical architecture to keep watch and to contain deviance, it now also means keeping electronic tabs, including camera images, on the population at large.'[27]

As Stephen Graham, lecturer at the Center for Urban Technology in the University of Newcastle Department of Town and Country Planning, describes 'Castells centers his theorization on the notion that cities are caught up in a complex interplay of what he calls the 'space of flows' – the accelerating domains of translocal and transnational technological movement and flow- and the 'space of places' – the geographic spaces and communities of everyday life in cities.' [28] Accordingly Castells explains this in his own words as that 'the new spatial logic, characteristic of the Informational City, is determined by the preeminence of the space of flows over the space of places. By space of flows I refer the system of exchanges of information, capital and power that structures the basic processes of societies, economies and states between different localities, regardless of localization.' [29]

'Castells argues that what he calls the "space of flows" will increasingly govern the actions of power-holding organizations rather than territorially based institutions

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[26] Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout. (eds.) "Editors' Introduction". The City Reader. London: Routledge, 1996. pg.557
[27] David Lyon. Surveillance Society Monitoring Everyday Life. Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001. pg.57
[28] Stephen Graham(ed.) "Editor's Introduction". The CyberCities Reader. London: Routledge, 2004. pg.82
[29] Manuel Castells. "Europian Cities, the Informational Society, and the Global Economy". in Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout. (eds.) The City Reader. London: Routledge, 1996. pg.565

operating in the "space of places".[30] As a brief summary Castells comments on the relation of flows and spaces as the following:

> 'Cities do not disappear in the virtual networks. But they are transformed by the interface between electronic communication and physical interaction, by the combination of networks and places. As William Mitchell, from an urbanist perspective, and Barry Wellman, from a sociological perspective, have argued, the informational city is built around this double system of communication. Our cities are made up, at the same time, of flows and spaces, and of their relationships.'[31]

According to the architect William Mitchell, who was the dean of the School of Architecture and Planning at MIT in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 'the digital revolution, like the agricultural and industrial revolutions before it, opens up new possibilities for urban form and organization and creates powerful pressure for change.'[32] His hypothesis of 'city of bits' 'posits that contemporary cybercities are shaped by a dynamic, ongoing, and recombinant interplay between urban spaces, physical movements and information and communications technology mediation'.[33] All this proliferation of video surveillance in the urban spaces can be assumed as an inevitable product of this information, communication and network societies. The daily life of a contemporary citizen is evolved under these notions. As Graham and Marvin argues:

> 'The daily life of an urban resident leaves a continuous set of 'digital images' as it is mapped out by a wide array of surveillance systems- closed circuit TV cameras, electronic transaction systems, road transport informatics and the like. The fortressing of affluent neighborhoods relies on old-fashioned walls and gates linked into sophisticated electronic surveillance systems. The most ordinary suburbs of most cities now act as hubs in the growing electronic cacophony of global image and media flows and the ongoing participation of people in virtual communities, often on a global basis. Urban policies and strategies are increasingly directed to try to shape both urban places and electronic spaces.' [34]

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[30] Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout. (eds.) "Editors' Introduction". The City Reader. London: Routledge, 1996. pg.557

[31] Manuel Castells. "Space of Flows, Space of Places: Materials for a Theory of Urbanism in the Information Age". in Stephen Graham(ed.) The CyberCities Reader. London: Routledge, 2004. pg.85

[32] William Mitchell. "The City of Bits Hypothesis". in Stephen Graham(ed.) The CyberCities Reader. London: Routledge, 2004. pg.128

[33] Stephen Graham(ed.) "Editor's Introduction". The CyberCities Reader. London: Routledge, 2004. pg.123

[34] Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin. "Telecommunications and Urban Futures". in Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout (eds.) The City Reader. London: Routledge, 1996. pg.576

Urban places are thought to be shaped by or integrated with the electronic spaces. 'Many analysts suggest that the very nature of space has been transformed by developments in communications technology.(...)'They maintain that the electronic space of the media and computer networks has opened a new frontier of public space in which the material public spaces in the city are superseded by the forums of television, talk radio, and the web' as Don Mitchell mentions. [35] According to Alastair Hannay, 'the internet is even presented as a worldwide electronic agora serving much the same functions as its ancient predecessor but on a global scale.'[36]

'Urban culture finds representation or more exactly presence on the electronic screen' writes Kevin Robins[37]. With the broadening of internet in the homes, the daily life necessities now can be done just in front of the computer screen, excluding the obligation to go into the city centers. Through the representation of the urban facilities through the screen, now one can pay his phone bills, shop in the supermarket, or just order anything to be delivered to his house; limiting his social contacts with others and decreasing the citizen number in the public space. This new lifestyle affects slowly but profoundly the way that the city is used to be experienced. Graham and Marvin also talks about the potential of 'an increasingly home-based urban culture where people's working, shopping, access to services and social interaction may become mediated more via telematics than by social interaction in the public spaces of cities.'[38] As Graham further comments about this elsewhere, he mentions that "virtual cities' in electronic spaces based on systems like the Internet, with their informal 'electronic cafes' and interactive discussion groups are an electronic *antidote* to the depressing reality of real urban life.'[39] Accordingly, Robins asserts that 'in postmodern discourses, the city is imagined in terms of hyperreality, virtual reality, the simulacrum.' [40]

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[35] Don Mitchell. <u>The Right to the City Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space</u>. London: The Guilford Press ,2003. pg.144
[36] Alastair Hannay. <u>On the Public Thinking in Action.</u> London: Routledge, 2005. pg.125
[37] Kevin Robins. "The City in the Field of Vision". <u>Into the Image: Culture and Politics in the Field of Vision</u>. London:Routledge, 1996. pg.138
[38] Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin. "The Transformation of Cities: Towards Planetary Urban Networks" in Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout (eds.) <u>The City Reader</u>. London: Routledge, 1996. pg.570
[39] Stephen Graham. "Imagining the Real-Time City Telecommunication, Urban Paradigms and the Future of Cities". in Sallie Westwood and John Williams(eds.) <u>Imagining Cities Scripts, Signs, Memory</u>. London: Routledge, 1997. pg.41
[40] Kevin Robins. "The City in the Field of Vision". <u>Into the Image: Culture and Politics in the Field of Vision</u>. London:Routledge, 1996. pg.134

On the contrary, Graham and Marvin also mention that 'clearly, the growth of electronic spaces is not somehow leading to the dissolution of cities as so often argued by futurists and utopianists. Urban functions are not being completely substituted by dematerialized activities operating entirely within electronic spaces.'[41] As they further continue, 'urban places and electronic spaces can be seen to influence and shape each other, to be recursively linked; it is this recursive interaction which will define the future of cities.'[42]

As Alex Haw quotes 'media historian Mark Poster notes that 'today's circuits of communication and the databases they generate constitute a Superpanopticon, a system of surveillance without walls, windows, towers or guards.'[43] This can be assumed the gaseous state of surveillance, the invisible surveillance. Lyon comments on this as follows:

> 'Theoretically, what George Orwell feared was a state-organized central surveillance apparatus, a pyramid of power in which ruler and ruled were transparent to each other. As electronic forms of surveillance became more widely distributed, however, many turned to Foucault's treatment of Bentham's panopticon as a means of considering ubiquitous power based on continuous observation. It is partly a centralized scheme, though there is scope for its localization into the "capillary" levels in the minutiae of everyday life.'[44]

'One thing that is clear is that "privacy" and even "data protection" are inadequate as means of limiting today's newly augmented surveillance power.' says Lyon.[45] Claiming his right to say his particular perspective arguing the technology versus terrorism he asserts that the 'technology won't save us.'[46]

On the contrary, Lyon also argues that 'to the extent that surveillance depends on information technologies; the easier it will be for persons who wish to evade detection to

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[41] Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin. "Telecommunications and Urban Futures". in Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout (eds.) The City Reader. London: Routledge, 1996. pg.574

[42] ibid. pg.574

[43] Alex Haw. "CCTV London Internment, Entertainment and Other Optical Fortifications". AA Files, no 52. Summer 2005:55-61   quoting Mark Poster

[44] David Lyon. "Technology vs. 'Terrorism': Circuits of City Surveillance Since September 11, 2001". in Stephen Graham (ed.) Cities, War, and Terrorism Towards an Urban Geopolitics. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. Ltd., 2004. pg.308

[45] David Lyon. "Technology vs. 'Terrorism': Circuits of City Surveillance Since September 11, 2001". in Stephen Graham (ed.) Cities, War, and Terrorism Towards an Urban Geopolitics. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. Ltd., 2004. pg.309

[46] ibid. pg.311

do so, just because human beings are more flexible and imaginative than technologies. Any technology can be outwitted, given time and ingenuity' he says.[47] As Robins states 'whatever is visible always contains within the potential to be lost from view.'[48] Maybe the incidents of bombing happened in recent years at London, the most surveilled city of the whole world, despite all the millions of cameras, is the strongest proof of this idea.

2.3   Surveillance Societies

'The theoretical underpinnings of panopticism and disciplinary power and their relevance for understanding camera surveillance in towns and cities have been picked up and developed by various writers'.[49]

Stephen Graham talking about the surveillance as the observation from a distance, he mentions that, 'social devices and public spaces in cities have always been constructed and regulated through surveillance: the observation of social behavior at a distance. Indeed, all social relations have always involved an element of surveillance. This has been a constant from the use of the human gaze of those constructing and trying to maintain law and order in medieval cities, through the bureaucracies and welfare regimes of modern national and local states, to the design of the public spaces, and panopticon prisons.' [50] This same constant is now in our times the integration of the video cameras to the public space in the cities.

As Philip Tabor points out, the roots of the surveillance goes all the way back:

> 'surveillance, the process by which the few monitor the many and keep records of them, is as old as agriculture and taxation. The growth since the Renaissance of bureaucratic surveillance accompanied the emergence of the nation-state, welfare state, suffrage, total war, and total law. Bureaucratic surveillance, formerly a near-monopoly of the state, has been adopted

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[47] ibid. pg.310
[48] Kevin Robins. "The City in the Field of Vision". Into the Image: Culture and Politics in the Field of Vision. London:Routledge, 1996. pg.130
[49] Roy Coleman. Reclaiming the Streets Surveillance, Social Control and the City. Devon: Willan Publishing, 2004. pg.21
[50] Stephen Graham(ed.) "Editor's Introduction". The CyberCities Reader. London: Routledge, 2004. pg.299

privately- since the industrial revolution to control production, and since the advertising revolution to control consumption.'[51]

According to David Lyon 'the rise of surveillance society may be traced to modernity's impetus to coordinate and control.' [52] Jonathan Crary mentions that 'crucial to the development of the new disciplinary techniques of the subject was the fixing of quantitative and statistical *norms* of behavior. The assessment of 'normality' in medicine, psychology, and other fields became an essential part of the shaping of the individual to the requirements of institutional power in the nineteenth century.'[53] Accordingly, in the twenty first century nowadays the 'surveillance aims to 'normalize' urban space'[54] with the use of the CCTV cameras installed in the public space. More clearly it aims to normalize the citizen on the urban space. This normalization is in a way the panopticisation of the city which in the end affects the urban space. As Mitchell Gray asserts 'surveillance is a project in which watching the world changes the world.'[55] As Hille Koskela looking from a pessimist aspect asserts that 'the critique of increasing surveillance has focused on the presumed changes it might cause in space and social practices. It is feared that surveillance will lead to a 'vicious circle of defense'. It is likely to make urban space segregated, polarized, more difficult to approach and stay in, less lively, less spontaneous and even 'dead'.'[56] As Norris and Armstrong arguing the urban panopticon idea of the new public spaces they comment as the following:

> "While we do not disagree that introduction of CCTV to public space represents a move toward panopticisation, we need to recognize that the totalizing vision of the panoptic prison is not simply reproduced on the streets with the introduction of cameras.'[57]

Talking about disciplinary power and panopticism Roy Coleman argues that, 'disciplinary power, aimed at training the 'soul' of criminals and delinquents, developed in the new

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[51] Philip Tabor. "I Am a Videocam". in I. Borden (ed.) The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space. Cambridege: MIT Press, 2001. pg.135
[52] David Lyon. Surveillance Society Monitoring Everyday Life. Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001. pg.49
[53] Jonathan Crary. Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and modernity in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press., 1990. pg.16
[54] Hille Koskela. "'Cam Era' – The Contemporary Urban Panopticon". Surveillance & Society 1(3): 300. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/camera.pdf> 26.02.2006
[55] Mitchell Gray. "Urban Surveillance and Panopticism: will we recognize the facial recognition society?" Surveillance&Society 1(3): 322. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/facial.pdf> 26.02.2006
[56] Hille Koskela. "'Cam Era' – The Contemporary Urban Panopticon". Surveillance & Society 1(3): 294. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/camera.pdf> 26.02.2006
[57] Clive Norris. and G. Armstrong. The Maximum Surveillance Society: The Rise of CCTV. Oxford: Berg, 1999. pg.92

prisons where human existence through space and time became subject to processes of classification, surveillance and routinisation. (...) With the development of prison, the professional gaze instilled a new form of disciplinary power under the principle of panopticism.'[58] Today this professional gaze is the surveillance cameras.

David Garland talking about Foucault's book *Discipline and Punishment* mentions that 'despite being subtitled 'the birth of prison' and presented, for the most part, in the form of a historical narrative, the book works less well as a history of punishment than as a structural analysis of power, or to be more exact, of the peculiarly modern form of exercising power which Foucault calls 'discipline'.'[59] Foucault himself talking about how the panopticism can be used as a way to discipline the whole society mentions that:

> "Panopticism is the general principle of a new 'political anatomy' whose object and end are not the relations of sovereignty but the relations of discipline. The celebrated, transparent, circular cage, with its high towers powerful and knowing, may have been for Bentham a project of perfect disciplinary institution; but he also set out to show how one may 'unlock' the disciplines and get them to function in a diffused, multiple, polyvalent way throughout the whole social body."[60]

'According to Foucault, the usefulness of these panoptic, disciplinary principles was such that they were soon imitated in society's major institutions and eventually came to be generalized throughout the entire social body.'[61] Now this has realized as the CCTV cameras surveillance is being imposed on the society through its own government. Although not being guilty, the panopticism idea is being used to regulate the behaviors of the citizens in the public spaces as in Istanbul. Talking about Julius' contributions on panopticism, Foucault says that 'there was much more there than architectural ingenuity: it was an event in the 'history of the human mind'. In appearance, it is merely the solution of a technical problem; but, through it, a whole type of society emerges'[62] It can be assumed as our new surveillance society that has emerged.

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[58] Roy Coleman. Reclaiming the Streets Surveillance, Social Control and the City. Devon: Willan Publishing, 2004. pg.20
[59] David Garland. Punishment and Modern Society A Study in Social Theory. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990. pg.134
[60] Michel Foucault. "Panopticism" Discipline and Punish. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977. pg.195-228
[61] David Garland. Punishment and Modern Society A Study in Social Theory. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990. pg.146
[62] ibid. pg.195-228

The surveillance type occurred by the video cameras is not only regulating the citizens in the society but also the ones who are exerting this power on the citizens; the police themselves. In Istanbul, after the MOBESE cameras started to operate one of the first things that the cameras recorded was two policeman taking two boxes of cigarettes for themselves as a bribe after the arrest of a vehicle full with illegal cigarettes.[63] Another incident is that some other police officers not wearing their uniform properly are being caught in the images took the attention of the higher authorities during a visit to the main control room.[64] But the most striking one is that the eighteen policeman unplugging the tracing system computer in their vehicles in order to gain back their privacy and later claiming for the system to be broken as an explanation.[65]

As Taner Oc and Steven Tiesdell mentions 'perhaps the most positive benefit of CCTV systems is to enable the police to deploy and utilize their resources more efficiently and effectively. (...) What is less advantageous however is the anonymity and depersonalization that results as the police are further distanced from the population they serve'.[66] On the contrary maybe the distancing of police from the population can have a negative and unexpected affect on protecting the city, where the offenders who would abandon to commit a crime with the fear of being seen and caught by the police vehicle touring the streets, now would do the crime due to his unbelief to be identified and caught from the recorded images of camera.

'Foucault wrote about how modern societies are structured on a basic relationship of power/knowledge. Whereas monarchies and totalitarian political systems function through the over exercise and display of punishment for the violation of laws, such as public execution, in modern societies power relations are structured to produce citizens who will actively participate in self-regulating behavior.'[67]   As Tony Bennett mentions 'under both the *ancien regime* and the projects of the late-eighteenth-century reformers, punishment had formed part of a public system of representation. (...) With the

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[63] Aksam Gazetesi <http://www.aksam.com.tr/arsiv/aksam/2005/06/14/gundem/gundem7.html> 02.12.2007

[64] Devrim Tosunoğlu. Akşam Gazetesi. 19.09.2007. <http://www.tumgazeteler.com/?a=2247121> 02.12.2007

[65] ibid. 18.11.2007. <http://www.tumgazeteler.com/?a=2371560> 02.12.2007

[66] Taner Oc and Steven Tiesdell. (eds.) Safer City Centers Reviving the Public Realm. London: Paul Chapman Publishing, 1997. pg.141

[67] Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright. "Spectatorship, Power and Knowledge". Practices of Looking An Introduction to Visual Culture. Oxford: University Press : 2001. pg. 96

development of the carceral system, by contrast, punishment was removed from the public gaze in being enacted behind the closed walls of the penitentiary, and had in view not the production of signs for society but the correction of the offender'.[68]

'As opposed to the ruined prisons, littered with mechanisms of torture, (...) the Panopticon presents a cruel, ingenious cage' mentions Foucault for that time.[69] For Stephen Oetterman, 'the panopticon was conceived as a humane prison, where none of the corporal punishment usual at that time would be used.'[70] As Koskela mentions, 'panoptic surveillance is also claimed to ensure that there is no need for physical intervention. (..)Nevertheless, how 'force' is interpreted is contextual.'[71] MOBESE cameras are now like the panopticon of our times in Istanbul; no need for physical force, no cruel cages and it makes the public space a humane prison where the citizens can continue their normal activities of daily life. Hence the force is contextual. As Roy Coleman mentions 'for Foucault, disciplinary power displayed a tendency to become operative outside the prison walls as a new instrument of government that sought 'not to punish less, but to punish better', and with 'more universality and necessity; to insert the power to punish more deeply into the social body'.'[72]

Arguing the idea of whether the surveilled cities are becoming an urban panopticon or not Koskela writes as follows:

> 'In cities, people may sometimes be metaphorically imprisoned but, nevertheless, they are not under isolation but quite the opposite: a city is a space of endless encounters. Whereas a prison is an extremely homogenous space, a city is full of diversity. This diversity – of both spaces and social practices – makes it impossible to compare urban space simply and directly to the Panopticon. (...) However, there are several principles, characteristic to the mechanism of the Panopticon, which are clearly present in the surveillance of cities.'[73]

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[68] Tony Bennett. "The Exhibitionary Complex" in N. B. Dirks, G. Eley and S. B. Ortner(eds). Culture, Power, History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. pg.127
[69] Michel Foucault. "Panopticism" Discipline and Punish. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977. pg.195-228
[70] Stephan Oettermann. The Panorama History of a Mass Medium. New York: Zone Books, 1997. pg.40
[71] Hille Koskela. "'Cam Era' – The Contemporary Urban Panopticon". Surveillance & Society 1(3): 303. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/camera.pdf> 26.02.2006
[72] Roy Coleman. Reclaiming the Streets Surveillance, Social Control and the City. Devon: Willan Publishing, 2004. pg.21
[73] Hille Koskela. "'Cam Era' – The Contemporary Urban Panopticon". Surveillance & Society 1(3): 297. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/camera.pdf> 26.02.2006

Although Istanbul is not a prison the citizens are under total visual surveillance in the public spaces. One can not escape from the cameras doing his daily routines in the city, especially the ones in the city centers. Every move and action is recorded leading the citizens to a self correction of their behaviors and a loss of privacy. This situation of being always attended and controlling one's behaviors gives the citizens the feeling of guiltiness in spite of doing nothing wrong. As Roy Coleman asserts 'the targeting of the camera network raises issues that challenge the commonsense assumption that those who have nothing to hide have nothing to fear from CCTV'.[74] However, even though someone is not in the intention of doing something wrong, the stress of being carefully watched may create a pressure on the person which may lead to a paranoia of being understood wrongly in each action of his different than the other citizens. Everyone is now under the pressure of being seen as a potential criminal. As Alastair Hannay asserts 'in a society as privacy-based as ours the best way in public to avoid threats to privacy will always be to merge with the public, to toe the line, to be invisible in thought and habit.'[75]

If anybody would like to avoid this video surveillance and being recorded, he would have to live anywhere else than the contemporary city. No choice is left for the citizens without surveillance. A contemporary city lacking visual surveillance is going to extinct in a short while. As Koskela mentions 'a city can be seen as a possibility, a space of manifold activity, leisure and lust, a space of spectacle, as well as surveillance. People 'enter' it of their own free will and often enjoy being in it. Surveillance can create 'planned, controlled, ordered space' but the other side of urban life still remains. A city is not a punishment.'[76]

Living in a contemporary city shouldn't be a punishment or any burden to the citizens. Being assumed as a potential criminal takes away the authenticity of the life in the public spaces. In the fear of being misunderstood the relations between citizens are being torn off. This power of the cameras on preventing the crime before it happens reminds the 2002 dated Steven Spielberg movie 'Minority Report'. In the movie depending on the precognitions that precogs (psychics) see the government was arresting the offenders before the commitment of the crime. These previsions were so strongly believed that they

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[74] Roy Coleman. <u>Reclaiming the Streets Surveillance, Social Control and the City.</u> Devon: Willan Publishing, 2004. pg.188

[75] Alastair Hannay. <u>On the Public Thinking in Action.</u> London: Routledge, 2005. pg.89

[76] Hille Koskela. "'Cam Era' – The Contemporary Urban Panopticon". Surveillance & Society 1(3): 302. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/camera.pdf> 26.02.2006

were the enough proof to arrest the guilty people. Most of the times the offenders were even unaware that they would commit a crime out of a sudden anger just five minutes later. The CCTV cameras in the contemporary cities are like these precognitions, most of the times they elude the idea of the crime by their deterrence effect but in the case of a crime they record the vision not formerly but online. 'The video camera is a gun' said Philip Tabor.[77] It is like a warning to stop. With the fear of being shut any moment the citizens live under the presence of the barrel directed to them.

According to Oc and Tiesdell, 'CCTV technology is here to stay. While the technology ought to be tamed and used to the benefit of society as a whole, it is by no means certain that it will. The critical issues is how society chooses to use it; how it monitors that use; who uses it; who watches the screens; who has access to the tapes and when the tapes are erased; and what safeguards there are for the protection of individual freedoms and civil liberties.'[78] These are the main concerns shared by a lot of people about the system. Same concern has also shaped the general layout of the Tony Scott movie, 1998, 'The Enemy of the State' where the authorities were using the whole surveillance systems - from CCTV cameras to satellite images, and face recognition systems to the total electronic tracing- just for their own benefits. They use the power of the government just for their own purpose in order to clean their mess. The same can be done just to blame the innocent people for any unknown reason. Once the government has this kind of huge power on its citizens the way how this power is used is very crucial and it is what makes the total arguments of system and the rejections to it. This movie was also a way to argue and to show the approaching surveillance society and its potentials of using the power on the behalf of the power itself.

As the biggest punishment in our times the criminals are excluded from the other inmates and put in the cells instead of staying in the wards. To isolate a human being and cut his social and psychological relations with other and letting him uninformed of the rest is the most effective punishment that can be given to a human being. As with those surveillance cameras, the social relations among the citizens and their interaction with each other are being directed in a sneaky way without their obvious awareness. By the

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[77] Philip Tabor. "I Am a Videocam". in I. Borden (ed.) The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space. Cambridege: MIT Press, 2001. pg.132
[78] Taner Oc and Steven Tiesdell. (eds.) Safer City Centers Reviving the Public Realm. London: Paul Chapman Publishing, 1997. pg.142

fear that is insisted on them, the citizens reduce their contacts with others, turning more to a lonely and isolated life, in other words normalized life. Foucault talking about the cells in the panopticon he mentions that 'they are like so many cages, so many small theatres, in which each actor is alone, perfectly individualized and constantly visible.'[79] In the contemporary cities the same is going to happen for the citizens soon if this surveillance continues. Each citizen will act his being normal citizenship in the fear of doing something wrong under the constant watching cameras. This even in the long run has a potential of creating a society similar to Orwellian society where everyone lacks love, laughter and hope in the fear of the power.

'CCTV systems can give relatively unregulated individuals or agencies considerable and largely invisible powers to decide who merits closer scrutiny and control, and who has free and unhindered access to an area. Such powers may inevitably be based on their prejudices about appearances and associations rather than by evidence' as it is mentioned by Oc and Tiesdell.[80] According to Sarah Duguid those 'people behind cameras, like the rest of us, can have prejudices, be wrong or allow ambition to distort their judgment.' [81] As Mitchell Gray argues 'urbanites often remain unaware they are being observed and even when aware, they generally have no access to information collected and therefore no ability to correct erroneous data.[82]

As John Fiske mentions 'the fact that the optical camera is, in part, subject to the laws of nature does lend a sense of objectivity that carries an injunction to believe what it shows.'[83] According to him 'it is, for instance, a technical feature of the surveillance camera that enables it to identify a person's race more clearly than his or her class or religion, but it is a racist society that transforms that information into knowledge.' [84]

Roy Coleman discusses that 'camera networks are positioned ideologically as 'techniques of freedom'. However, in delineating the parameters of risk in the city center the locally

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[79] Michel Foucault. "Panopticism" Discipline and Punish. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977. pg.195-228
[80] Taner Oc and Steven Tiesdell. (eds.) Safer City Centers Reviving the Public Realm. London: Paul Chapman Publishing, 1997. pg.140
[81] Sarah Duguid. "Crime Watch". FT Magazine. januray 28/29 2006: 17-20
[82] Mitchell Gray. "Urban Surveillance and Panopticism: will we recognize the facial recognition society?" Surveillance&Society 1(3): 318. http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/facial.pdf 26.02.2006
[83] John Fiske. "Videotech" in Nicholas Mirzoeff (ed.). The Visual Culture Reader. London: Routledge, 1998. pg. 387
[84] ibid. pg. 385

powerful are able to direct such networks to promote a kind of 'freedom' and 'agency' *for some* urban inhabitants while delimiting the freedom of movement and quality of life for others.'[85] As Oc and Tiesdell points it out 'there is a real concern that fear of crime will result in the loss of a 'public' life in cities.'[86]

Mike Davis argues how 'today's upscale, pseudo-public spaces- sumptuary malls, office centers, culture acropolises, and so on- are full of invisible signs warning off the underclass "Other".'[87] He further continues that 'the designers of malls and pseudo-public space attack the crowd by homogenizing it. They set up architectural and semiotic barriers to filter out 'undesirables'. They enclose the mass that remains, directing its circulation with behaviorist ferocity.'[88] As David Lyon mentions 'the more people are categorized and classified by surveillance systems, the more they are sorted and split up into segments of the population, with whom they have some traits in common. Surveillance often appears to be interested only in those fragmented interests, not in the whole person, let alone the whole community or city.'[89] He further concludes, 'if surveillance does not actually create inequalities in the city, it certainly tends to reinforce or accentuate them.'[90]

Fyfe and Bannister summarize their discussions about these issues as that 'the diffusion of CCTV surveillance cameras is set to continue, extending via the panopticon principle a network of socio-spatial control and discipline.(...) Although these electronic 'eyes upon the street' might reduce certain types of crime and increase business and consumer confidence in town and city centers, the price may be a high one. Under the constant gaze of CCTV surveillance cameras, Boddy's claim that streets 'symbolize public life, with all its human contact, conflict and tolerance' will be difficult to sustain.'[91]

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[85] Roy Coleman. <u>Reclaiming the Streets Surveillance, Social Control and the City.</u> Devon: Willan Publishing, 2004. pg.222

[86] Taner Oc and Steven Tiesdell. (eds.) <u>Safer City Centers Reviving the Public Realm</u>. London: Paul Chapman Publishing, 1997. pg.ix

[87] Mike Davis. <u>City of Quartz Excavating Future in Los Angeles</u>. London: Verso,1990. pg.226

[88] ibid. pg.257

[89] David Lyon. "Surveillance in the City". in Stephen Graham(ed.) "Editor's Introduction". T<u>he CyberCities Reader</u>. London: Routledge, 2004. pg.304

[90] ibid. pg.304

[91] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Jon Bannister. "The Eyes Upon the Street Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance and the City". Images of The Street. London: Routledge, 1998. pg.2645

On the contrary, looking from more optimistic view to the loss of privacy in the public spaces due to this surveillance Mike Davis argues as follows:

> 'Take, for example, the notion that public (versus private) space is being destroyed in the carceral postmetropolis. There is abundant evidence to suggest that this is indeed true, but there are also many who argue that the very distinction between public and private space has never been clear-cut and that what is happening today is more accurately described as a restructuring of both private and public spaces, accompanied by a reconceptualization of the categorical distinction between them.' [92]

He further continues, claiming that 'when seen in strictly dichotomous terms, there is a tendency to see changes in public space simply as a kind of undemocratic transfer to the private domain, resulting in an incontrovertible loss of civic freedom. Such thinking universalizes and homogenizes the public realm- as well as the privatization process- and protects them both from critical examination of how each is also affected by other processes of differentiation and change.'[93]

As Barry Schwartz claims 'surveillance may itself create the disorder which it seeks to prevent.'[94] The exclusion of the unwanted people from the public space may give no other chance for those to continue their life properly which in the end may force them to attempt in the undesired behaviors for their survival. If those unwanted people could not merge in to the crowd and be isolated then they would always be in relation with those similar to them and start a new alternative life far from the city center. When something brutal happens because of those unwanted people, then the necessity for the protection would increase one more time hardening the control and surveillance and putting these relations in an unsolvable endless recycle. As Oc and Tiesdell mention 'a further danger is that too great an emphasis on – and faith in – CCTV systems may lead to the neglect of other, perhaps better, policy options.'[95]

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[92] Edward W. Soja. Postmetropolis Critical Studies of Cities and Regions. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000. pg. 320
[93] ibid. pg. 320
[94] Barry Schwartz. "The Social Psychology of Privacy". in John Helmer and N. A. Eddington (Eds). Urbanman The Psychology of Urban Survival. London: Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1973. pg.124-125
[95] Taner Oc and Steven Tiesdell. (eds.) Safer City Centers Reviving the Public Realm. London: Paul Chapman Publishing, 1997. pg.141

CHAPTER 3

ISTANBUL: AN OBJECT OF PANOPTIC SURVEILLANCE

3.1   Bentham's Panopticon

Panopticon consisted of a circular building in the periphery which was divided into cells extending the whole width of the building and an observation tower in the center, the inspector's lounge, which had wide windows that opened to the inner side of the building. Among them there were the empty space which can be called as intermediate area. The cells of the building had two windows, one looking inside and the other outside of the building. As light entered the cell from the outside, the observer in the tower could see the inmates by the effect of the backlight while he himself remained unseen standing against the light. In order to hide the presence of the guardian in the tower, there were Venetian blinds in the windows as well as the partitions that intersected the hall at right angles. On these partitions instead of doors there were zig-zag openings to prevent the noise or any light which would betray the presence of the guardian. To maintain the same principle in the night, there were small lamps outside of each window of the lodge, backed by a reflector to throw the light into the corresponding cells. (Fig. 3.1)

Talking about the form of the building Jeremy Bentham tells that the annular form is not an obligation; however it is the most logical form, which he describes more briefly as follows:

'As to the general form of the building, the most commodious for most purposes seems to be the circular: but this is not an absolutely essential circumstance. Of all figures, however, this, you will observe, is the only one that affords a perfect view, and the same view, of an indefinite number of apartments of the same dimensions.'[1]

Jeremy Bentham was a social theorist that lived in the eighteenth century, who dedicated his life in criticizing the existing law and suggesting new ways for improving it. He was associated with the doctrine of Utilitarianism and the principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

Bentham wrote many books and letters in his life time. 'His writings on law, philosophy, and social policy have been influential far beyond the borders of his England.'[2] 'An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation' and 'Of Laws in General' are among his most famous books written. As David Lyons defines 'they contain his most complete discussion of the principle of utility and the nature of law.'[3] As Lyons continues to explain, 'from the mid 1760's onwards, Bentham chiefly devoted himself to a variety of political and philosophical projects that seem to manifest and to be unified by a great, continuing passion for sweeping reform in every corner of the law.'[4] His 'penitientry' or 'inspection house' project which he called 'The Panopticon' can be counted as a big part of these attempts.

'Utilitarian philosophy could not have materialized in anything as fitting as the Panopticon' asserts Thomas A. Markus. He further mentions that 'central surveillance achieved total and continuous control. The benefits of productive labor would accrue to the keeper who was contracted to run the prison'.[5]

Bentham himself in the preface of the letters that he wrote to describe the panopticon project which he has in his mind starts his word with the following:

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[1] Jeremy Bentham. <u>The Panopticon Writings.</u> Ed. Miran Bozovic. London: Verso, 1995. pg.29-95
[2] David Lyon. <u>In The Interest of the Governed. A Study in Bentham's Philosophy of Utility and Law.</u>
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973. pg. 4-11.
[3] ibid. pg. 4-11
[4] ibid pg. 4-11
[5] Thomas A. Markus. <u>Buildings and Power Freedom and Control in te Origin of Modern Building Types</u>.
London: Routledge, 1993. pg.123

"Morals reformed - health preserved - industry invigorated instruction diffused - public burthens lightened - Economy seated, as it were, upon a rock - the gordian knot of the Poor-Laws are not cut, but untied - all by a simple idea in Architecture!"[6]

as though he finds it as a perfect solution for his life time efforts and concerns.

It is not known widely that in fact the original invention of the panopticon belonged to Samuel Bentham, brother of Jeremy Bentham. As Catherine Pease talks in detail about this subject in her essay 'Betham's Panopticon and Dumont's Panoptique', she claims that 'Samuel Bentham was responsible for the construction of a Panopticon in Russia in 1806, and saw its foundations 'just peeping up above the ground' before he left the country'.[7] She describes the evolution of the invention as the following:

> "Jeremy Bentham's brother, Samuel, went to Russia in 1780, where he worked for several years for Prince Potemkin, the favorite of Catherine the Great. In 1784, Samuel arrived at Potemkin's estate at Cricheff, to be employed primarily as a shipbuilder. (...) Samuel Bentham, with very few competent assistants, soon took responsibility for the overall supervision of the estate, which had a large workforce of Russian peasants. It was at this time that Samuel Bentham, an inventor and engineer of genius, devised the Panopticon, to be constructed on the principle of central inspection, as a means of facilitating the supervision of large numbers of workers."[8]

In December 1786, while he was still in Russia, Bentham wrote a series of 'Panopticon Letters' that made up twenty one letters in total, explaining 'the plan and uses of a newly-imagined kind of building called an Inspection-house'.[9] In those letters he briefly explained what panopticon is, how it works, and the benefits of the project. Bentham sent those letters to his father Jeremiah Bentham, to London along with some instructions for their publications. However, no attempt was done to publish the letters.

Later in 1790, 'the Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, Sir John Parnell, became interested in the Panopticon, and began to make arrangements for the Letters to be printed in Dublin' as Catherine Pease Watkin mentions in her essay about this topic.[10] She

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[6] Jeremy Bentham. <u>The Panopticon Writings.</u> Ed. Miran Bozovic. London: Verso, 1995. pg.29-95
[7] Catherine Pease- Watkin. "Betham's Panopticon and Dumont's Panoptique" Bentham Project, Uniersity College London. <u>http://www.ucl.ac.uk/Bentham-Project/journal/cpwpan.htm 18.10.2007</u>. previously published in Basque in Jeremy Bentham, Panoptikoa, Donostia, 2002, pp.25-36.
[8] ibid, pp.25-36.
[9] ibid., pp.25-36.
[10] ibid. pp.25-36.

mentions that 'at Parnell's prompting, Bentham surveyed the Letters for publication, several years after their composition, and realized that they needed substantial revision. Thus it was that he set to work on the Postscripts, to fill in the gaps, and these Postscripts became very much longer than the original Letters'.[11] Watkin continues as follows:

> "Although there are many topics which appear both in the Letters and in the Postscripts, it is in the Postscripts that the ideas are elaborated and all details hammered out fully. Postscript I is predominantly concerned with architectural and technical detail. For example, Section XIX is concerned with materials; Bentham recommends either brick or iron, rather than wood, to obviate the risk of fire." [12]

One year after, 'in 1791, Bentham approached the French with his Panopticon scheme, as a proposed replacement for the Bicêtre prison. He sent a copy of the printed work to Garran de Coulon, a member of the National Assembly, along with an 'extract of it in French', entitled Panoptique, prepared by Étienne Dumont, Bentham's Swiss translator and editor'.[13] Watkin goes on as follows:

> 'Over the years, Dumont was to produce five editions of Bentham's works. Dumont's editions were not simple translations, but rather 'recensions'. (...) Through the medium of his recensions Dumont played a significant part in the dissemination and popularization of Bentham and his works in Europe'[14]

According to what Watkin mentions, these French versions of the letters were even more recognized and more widespread than the original English ones.

As Pease tells, after the two brothers were back in London, they started to work detailly on the scheme together for years. However Samuel Bentham did not show that much interest as Jeremy Bentham did, which lead Jeremy to go deeper in the design alone, at the same time researching and discussing it with the architects to get help in the architectural aspects.[15] 'Although the Panopticon building had been devised in an industrial context, Jeremy Bentham continued to concentrate on its potential as a penitentiary, and began what was to be a long campaign to interest the British

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[11] ibid. pp.25-36
[12] ibid. pp.25-36
[13] ibid. pp.25-36
[14] ibid. pp.25-36
[15] ibid. pp.25-36.

government in the design' Pease continues.[16] Although it is mostly perceived as a prison plan Bentham states that 'it will be found applicable, without exception, to all establishments whatsoever, in which, within a space not too large to be covered or commanded by buildings, a number of persons are meant to be kept under inspection.'[17]

This inspection opens up the argument of seeing and being seen. As Michel Foucault states, 'the Panopticon is a machine for dissociating the see/being seen dyad: in the peripheric ring, one is totally seen, without ever seeing; in the central tower, one sees everything without ever being seen."[18] He talks about the power imposed on prisoners with the invisibility of the guardian. 'This invisibility is a guarantee of order' he says and mentions about the visibility as a trap.[19]

This idea of seeing without being seen makes up the whole argument of this design. With this system the inmate doesn't know whether or when he is being looked. 'He is seen, but he does not see; he is the object of information, never a subject in communication.'[20] This leading to a self-surveillance which Foucault describes as follows in his book Discipline and Punish: "an inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its weight will end by interiorizing to point that he is his own overseer, each individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself."[21]

Istanbul, in respect of these arguments, with all those cameras can be assumed as an urban panopticon where the observation tower is replaced by the surveillance cameras and the control room that it is being governed. The boundaries of the panopticon and the range of the observation tower are enlarged into the urban scale and became invisible. There is no more real inspectors lodge anymore.

[16] ibid. pp.25-36.
[17] Jeremy Bentham. The Panopticon Writings. Ed. Miran Bozovic. London: Verso, 1995. pg.29-95
[18] Michel Foucault. "Panopticism" Discipline and Punish. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977. pg.195-228
[19] ibid. pg.195-228
[20] ibid. pg.195-228
[21] ibid.

Robin Evans talks about the inspector's lodge being the house of the prison's director and his family instead of the guardian himself alone, in his text talking about the panopticon.[22] In Bentham's writings this is mentioned as the following:

> 'A very material point is that room be allotted to the lodge, sufficient to adapt it to the purpose of a complete and constant habitation for the principal inspector or head-keeper, and his family. The more numerous also the family, the better; since, by this means, there will in fact be as many inspectors, as the family consists of persons, though only one be paid for it.'[23]

Bentham thought many ways to improve the efficiency of the design. Here, more people meant more eyes to observe the inmates, and yet the better working of the system and the more reciprocal gain; the family would have a house, and the prison would gain more guardians naturally. He continues his writing saying that 'It will supply in their instance the place of that great and constant fund of entertainment to the sedentary and vacant in towns - the looking out of the window'.[24] Alex Haw comments the situation as that the family 'surrounded in the 'utterly dark spot' at the centre of the building by a total panorama of transparent human activity, were promised an early version of the IMAX experience, an endlessly animated home cinema'. [25] Later Haw continues and tells that 'the family occupied the gloom of the world's first CCTV control room'. However as the idea of this house had lots of troubles and was expensive, it was abandoned and replaced by the tower only for the guardian himself.

3.2   Foucault's Panopticism

Michel Foucault (1926-1984), the French thinker who lived more or less a century and a half later than Bentham's time, is the touchstone for the arguments of panopticon and

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[22] Robin Evans. "Bentham'ın Panopticon'u: Mimarlığın Toplumsal Tarihinde Bir Olay". <u>Arradamento Mimarlık</u>. September 2000: 75-86

[23] Jeremy Bentham. <u>The Panopticon Writings.</u> Ed. Miran Bozovic. London: Verso, 1995. pg.29-95

[24] ibid.. pg.29-95

[25] Alex Haw. "CCTV in London. Internment, Entertainment and Other Optical Fortifications". <u>AA Files</u>. Summer 2005:55-61

the surveillance studies made upon it. This is why he is going to be mentioned extensively in the arguments of this thesis.

Among Foucault's many woks and discussions, the ones involved in the power and discipline are mostly related with the arguments about the panopticon. As Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright mention, 'Foucault wrote about how modern societies are structured on a basic relationship of power/knowledge. (...) In modern societies power relations are structured to produce citizens who will actively participate in self-regulating behavior.'[26] This self regulating power is the same that is imposed on the inmates in panopticon.

Michalis Lianos, a social theorist, looking from a social aspect, discusses Foucault's work as follows:

> 'Foucault's work, which was so important for the understanding of the grand enterprise of control launched by modernity (...) has acted as much as a critique of the social sciences, their involvement in the humanist project and their analysis of that project; but the critique Panopticon, and the technologies of control which Panopticon symbolized so perfectly, has been passively projected by analysts of all convictions onto every possible setting and device of social regulation.'[27]

In every institution or in every discussion of control and power; when anywhere any kind of surveillance is going to be made, Foucault's name is always the first to mention. Stuart Elden, a geographer, comments that 'Foucault's concerns with surveillance interrelate with concerns about society as a whole- not in the total institution of the prison, but in the realm of public health.'[28] This shows the effect of Foucault's arguments in shaping the society. According to Mitchell Gray, a freelance journalist, 'In *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault highlighted the transformative, disciplinary potential of surveillance, explaining the power inherent to the acts of information collection and analysis.'[29] Exercising power by the electronic surveillance in a city scale,

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[26] Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright. "Spectatorship, Power and Knowledge". Practices of Looking An Introduction to Visual Culture. Oxford: University Press : 2001. pg. 96
[27] Michalis Lianos. "Socail Control after Faucault" Surveilcce & Society 1 (3) pg.412-430 <htttp://www.surveillance-and-socite-org.> 26.02.2006
[28] Stuart Elden. "Plague, Panopticon, Police". Surveilcce & Society 1 (3) pg.240-253 <htttp://www.surveillance-and-socite-org.> 26.02.2006
[29] Mitchell Gray. "Urban Surveillance and Panopticism: Will We Recognize The Facial Recognition Society?". Surveillance & Society 1 (3) pg. 314-330 <htttp://www.surveillance-and-society-org.> 26.02.2006

for example in Istanbul, in order to discipline the crime may transform the society as well as the city itself.

'The rehabilitatory aspect of the Panopticon penitentiary draws on and develops Bentham's favorite themes of reform and improvement of the human condition' as Watkin states.[30] This reformatory part and its aspect of improving the society are discussed by Foucault as follows:

> "The Panopticon, has a role of amplification; although it arranges power, although it is intended to make it more economic and more effective, it does so not for power itself, nor for the immediate salvation of a threatened society: its aim is to strengthen the social forces - to increase production, to develop the economy, spread education, raise the level of public morality; to increase and multiply."[31]

'Michel Foucault has been crucial for its delineation of processes and institutions that rationalized and modernized the subject, in the context of social and economic transformations' as Jonathan Crary claims.[32]

'Foucault notes that there have been two principal models for medical organization in the Western World- the treatment of lepers and the organization of the plague' as Stuart Elden, geographer, states.[33] In his book *Discipline and Punish* under the title of 'Panopticism', Foucault talks about this the plague and how its organization leads him to the arguments about the panopticon.

> 'The constant division between the normal and the abnormal, to which every individual is subjected, brings us back to our own time, by applying the binary branding and exile of the leper to quite different objects; the existence of a whole set of techniques and institutions for measuring, supervising and correcting the abnormal brings into play the disciplinary mechanisms to which the fear of the plague gave rise.'[34]

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[30] Catherine Pease- Watkin. "Betham's Panopticon and Dumont's Panoptique" Bentham Project, Uniersity College London. <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/Bentham-Project/journal/cpwpan.htm> 18.10.2007. previously published in Basque in Jeremy Bentham, Panoptikoa, Donostia, 2002, pp.25-36.
[31] Michel Foucault. "Panopticism" Discipline and Punish. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977. pg.195-228
[32] Jonathan Crary. Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and modernity in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press., 1990. pg.15
[33] Stuart Elden. "Plague, Panopticon, Police". Surveillance & Society 1 (3) pg.240-253 <htttp://www.surveillance-and-society-org.> 26.02.2006
[34] Michel Foucault. "Panopticism" Discipline and Punish. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977. pg.195-228

To find the correct solutions for the problems caused by the plague, the attempt to give an order and discipline to that current situation in order to protect the people from the disease leads to an organization similar to that of panopticon.

Panopticon is a tool here to discuss the power and discipline relations, among with many other discussions, exposed on the people through this project and in a broader way through the electronic surveillance in Istanbul. As Foucault states:

> "the Panopticon must not be understood as a dream building: it is the diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form; its functioning, abstracted from any obstacle, resistance or friction, must be represented as a pure architectural and optical system: it is in fact a figure of political technology that may and must be detached from any specific use."[35]

As Tony Bennett mentions, quoting John MacArthur, 'the Panopticon is simply a technique, not itself a disciplinary regime or essentially a part of one, and, like all techniques, its potential effects are not exhausted by its deployment within any of the regimes in which it happens to be used.'[36]

For Foucault, Panopticon is more than an architectural project. Talking about it as a way of exercising power on individuals he continues as the following:

> "In each of its applications, it makes it possible to perfect the exercise of power. It does this in several ways: because it can reduce the number of those who exercise it, while increasing the number of those on whom it is exercised. Because it is possible to intervene at any moment and because the constant pressure acts even before the offences, mistakes or crimes have been committed"[37]

With only one guardian in the observation tower, multiplicity of individuals can be controlled. Through the watching gaze of the guardian, the inmate always feels the presence of the power on him. 'Hence the major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power (...)that this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it; in

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[35] ibid. pg.195-228
[36] Tony Bennett. "The Exhibitionary Complex" in N. B. Dirks, G. Eley and S. B. Ortner(eds). Culture, Power, History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. pg.131
[37] Michel Foucault. "Panopticism" Discipline and Punish. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977. pg.195-228

short, that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers.'[38] It is the guardian at first the inmate is afraid of, however there is a greater invisible power on him which makes him to behave better.

Foucault claims that in the early times prisons were not rehabilitating people as it was expected, instead they were the place where people having tendency to crime were gathered in order to be used for special purposes for the power's own sake.[39] However panopticon according to him, as a contrary, was a system for preventing crime by the effect of the watching gaze. In panopticon, the inmate feels the power at all times and regulates his behaviors according to it. "The major effect of panopticon is to induce the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power."[40]

'Panopticism is the general principle of a new 'political anatomy' whose object and end are not the relations of sovereignty but the relations of discipline' as Foucault states.[41] Talking about the discipline he asserts that:

> "'Discipline' may be identified neither with an institution nor with an apparatus; it is a type of power, (...) it is a 'physics' or an 'anatomy' of power, a technology. And it may be taken over either by 'specialized' institutions (the penitentiaries or 'houses of correction' of the nineteenth century), or by institutions that use it as an essential instrument for a particular end (schools, hospitals), or by pre-existing authorities that find in it a means of reinforcing or reorganizing their internal mechanisms of power"[42]

So panopticon was a way to reorganize the power by using the discipline as a type of it.

As Jonathan Crary asserts, 'using Bentham's panopticon as a primary theoretical object, Foucault relentlessly emphasizes the ways in which human subjects became objects of observation, in the form of institutional control or scientific and behavioral study.'[43] Following the Bentham's ideas about the panopticon being a laboratory, Foucault argues that 'it could be used as a machine to carry out experiments, to alter behavior, to train or

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[38] ibid. pg.195-228
[39] Michel Foucault. İktidarın Gözü. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları, 2003.
[40] Michel Foucault. "Panopticism" Discipline and Punish. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977. pg.201
[41] ibid. pg.195-228
[42] ibid. pg.195-228
[43] Jonathan Crary. Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and modernity in the Nineteenth Century. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press., 1990. pg.18

correct individuals.'[44] By doing so, at the same time it also 'functions as a kind of laboratory of power. Thanks to its mechanisms of observation, it gains in efficiency and in the ability to penetrate into men's behavior; knowledge follows the advances of power, discovering new objects of knowledge over all the surfaces on which power is exercised'.[45] In the case of Istanbul, surveilling the city with the cameras, other than to prevent the crime can also work as a city laboratory in many aspects where observations and discoveries could be made on citizens and city life.

According to Bentham one of the very important advantage of the panopticon was 'that the under keepers or inspectors, the servants and subordinates of every kind, will be under the same irresistible control with respect to the head keeper or inspector, as the prisoners or other persons to be governed are with respect to them.'[46] Foucault discusses the same thing in his own words as such:

> 'The Panopticon may even provide an apparatus for supervising its own mechanisms. In this central tower, the director may spy on all the employees that he has under his orders: nurses, doctors, foremen, teachers, warders; he will be able to judge them continuously, alter their behavior, impose upon them the methods he thinks best'[47]

The same self control also happens in the situation of electronic surveillance in Istanbul. The policemen are also being watched during the day as they are doing their normal jobs, in the same way that the guardians watch the other guardians. That the one of the first crimes monitored with the MOBESE cameras in Istanbul was the policemen taking bribery is like a proof of this self watching system.

3.3   Evolution and Reflection of Surveillance

Although all the great impact that panopticon gives on the discourses that it created, never a real panopticon itself has been built. Many thinkers have different comments for this situation.

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[44] ibid. pg.195-228
[45] ibid. pg.195-228
[46] Jeremy Bentham. The Panopticon Writings. Ed. Miran Bozovic. London: Verso, 1995. pg.29-95
[47] Michel Foucault. "Panopticism" Discipline and Punish. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977. pg.195-228

For example David Lyons, in his book while describing Bentham's life, states that Bentham's 'middle years were preoccupied with his unsuccessful struggle to have a prison built along the lines developed in his Panopticon papers'. [48] Later he continues about Bentham:

> 'He argued on utilitarian grounds for private administration of such an institution, and he wanted the first prison to be put under his personal direction. One jaundiced critic suggested recently that Bentham's only aim was personal profit*; in any event, critics then as now had little faith in such a scheme, however upright Bentham's own intentions. This prolonged episode caused Bentham great frustration and made him bitter. It also preceded(if it did not stimulate) his turn from conservatism to 'radicalism'.'[49]

On a softer approach, Catherine Pease-Watkin, mentions that 'Bentham never saw a Panopticon, although it is frequently perceived as a concrete manifestation of his philosophy' and defines the panopticon as 'the all-seeing Inspection-House, a building which in reality few ever saw'.[50] Later she talks about the disappointment of Bentham as follows:

> 'Ultimately the scheme was to fail, and although Jeremy Bentham did receive compensation from the government when his proposal to construct and manage a Panopticon in London was finally rejected, his disappointment at the failure of the elaborate and idiosyncratic project, in which he had invested so much time and labor, was great.'[51]

Besides these, as Foucault claims, although the extension of disciplinary methods, panopticon received little attention compared to other developments in technology. [52] Then he continues:

> "It is regarded as not much more than a bizarre little utopia, a perverse dream - rather as though Bentham had been the Fourier of a police society, and the Phalanstery had taken on the form of the Panopticon. (...) There were many reasons why it received little praise; the most obvious is that the

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[48] David Lyons. In The Interest of the Governed. A Study in Bentham's Philosophy of Utility and Law. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973. pg. 4-11.
[49] ibid. pg. 4-11.   * Gertrude Himmelfarb. 'The Haunted House of Jeremy Bentham', reprinted in Victorian Minds(Knopf, N.Y., 1968), pp. 32-81
[50] Catherine Pease- Watkin. "Betham's Panopticon and Dumont's Panoptique" Bentham Project, Uniersity College London. http://www.ucl.ac.uk/Bentham-Project/journal/cpwpan.htm 18.10.2007. previously published in Basque in Jeremy Bentham, Panoptikoa, Donostia, 2002, pp.25-36.
[51] ibid. pp.25-36.
[52] Michel Foucault. "Panopticism" Discipline and Punish. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977. pg.195-228

discourses to which it gave rise rarely acquired, except in the academic classifications, the status of sciences; but the real reason is no doubt that the power that it operates and which it augments is a direct, physical power that men exercise upon one another."[53]

Although Bentham could not succeed in to make his project built, later some examples similar to panopticon have been constructed in various places of the world. 'The first two panoptic penitentiaries were built by the Dutch, in Arnhem and Breda in 1880 and 1902 respectively, followed by Statesville, Illinois in 1916 and then Isla de Pinos in Cuba in 1932'.[54]

As Thomas A. Markus asserts 'though many centric prisons were built, some claiming to be Panopticons, with one exception none were. They lacked that total asymmetry of power which was an essential feature.'[55] Most of the other examples built were only similar to panopticon in their circular form and in their separate cell mentality.

Not a prison but Robert Barker's *Panorama*, invented in the year of the panopticon was also very similar in its architectural model to that of panopticon. It was an annular building with the viewing terrace in the middle where the observers standing in that terrace supposed to enjoy the paintings, mostly city views, which are drawn along the inner periphery of the building. The observer's tower of the panopticon is the terrace here and the inmate's cells are replaced with the drawing. (Fig. 3.3; 3.4)

'Both are round structures built around a central observation platform that is isolated from the periphery' notes Stephen Oetterman discussing the similarities between panopticon and panorama. He claims that 'another striking similarity is the roof construction. (..)'This type of roof was unprecedented at the time and was suggested by the aim of throwing as much overhead light as possible on the periphery of the building while leaving its center portion in the dark.(...)'The architecture leaves the subject to be observed totally exposed to the observer's gaze.'[56]

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[53] ibid. pg.195-228
[54] Alex Haw. "CCTV in London. Internment, Entertainment and Other Optical Fortifications". AA Files. Summer 2005:55-61
[55] Thomas A. Markus. Buildings and Power Freedom and Control in te Origin of Modern Building Types. London: Routledge, 1993. pg.123
[56] Stephan Oettermann. The Panorama History of a Mass Medium. New York: Zone Books, 1997. pg.41

Although panopticon's main intention was the social rehabilitation, panorama was a public attraction with an entrance fee which aims entertainment of the citizens. 'The basic aim of a panorama was to reproduce the real world so skillfully that spectators could believe what they were seeing was genuine.'[57]

Being similar in its architectural form and in the logic of the observation, the panorama can be assumed as a second step or an evolution of panopticon where it is associated with the urban scale in its attempt to let the spectators to have a visual dominance over the illustrated city view. Different than the panopticon, the ones that have power are the citizens in panorama. However it was, as Tony Bennett quotes 'only an imaginary dominance over the city, an illusory rather than substantive controlling vision, as Dana Brand suggests was the case with earlier panorama.'[58]

For the real visions of the city, for real panoramas, not the illusionary drawn ones, the towers or skyscrapers can be assumed as an observing terrace later on in the urban scale. For a bigger and wider panorama the tower was the perfect solution to control and experience the horizon and the whole city.

Talking about the Eiffel Tower, Tony Bennett states that it is 'a sight itself, it becomes the site for a sight; a place both to see and be seen from, which allows the individual to circulate between the object and subject positions of the dominating vision it affords over the city and its inhabitants.'[59] As Roland Barthes mentions, 'the Tower is the only blind point of the total optical system of which it is the center and Paris the circumference. But in this movement which seems to limit it, the Tower acquires a new power: an object when we look at it, it becomes a lookout in its turn when we visit it.(...)The Tower is an object which sees, a glance which is seen.'[60]

The seeing and being seen dyad spreads from the panopticon into the urban scale by the Eiffel Tower here. Bennett further expresses that:

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[57] ibid. pg.49
[58] Tony Bennett. "The Exhibitionary Complex" in N. B. Dirks, G. Eley and S. B. Ortner(eds). Culture, Power, History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. pg.129
[59] ibid. pg.149
[60] Roland Bathes. "The Eiffel Tower" in The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. pg.4

'the function of Eiffel Tower at the 1889 Paris exposition: too see and be seen, to survey yet always be under surveillance, the object of an unknown but controlling look: in these ways, as micro-words rendered constantly visible to themselves, expositions realized some of the ideals of panopticism in transforming the crowd into a constantly surveyed, self-watching, self-regulating, and, as the historical record suggests, consistently orderly public- a society watching over itself.'[61]

Another reflection of these arguments was done over an architectural building instead of the tower. As Bennett quotes, Graeme Davison suggests that 'the Crystal Palace might serve as the emblem of an architectural series (...) in its continuing concern with the display of objects to a great multitude:

"The Crystal Palace reversed the panoptical principle by fixing the eyes of the multitude upon an assemblage of glamorous commodities. The Panopticon was designed so that everyone could be seen; the Crystal Palace was designed so that everyone could see." [62]

As Markus has mentioned about the Crystal Palace, 'the transparency of the envelope makes almost everything visible at once.(...)It was nearer to the bird's-eye experience of a panorama than to the sequential programme of a museum.'[63] As Bennett comments on this, 'Crystal Palace consisted in the arrangement of relations between the public and exhibits so that, while everyone could see, there were also vantage points from which everyone could be seen, thus combining the functions of spectacle and surveillance.'[64]

In the contemporary cities as Paul Virilio states 'we are witnessing a paradoxical moment in which the opacity of building materials is reduced to zero. With the invention of the steel skeleton construction, curtain walls made of light and transparent materials, (..) replace stone façades.'[65] The Crystal palace was maybe the first example of this situation. In contemporary cities the proliferation of the glass skyscraper buildings fills up the city with many observation towers. 'Architects have long known that the window in the

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[61] Tony Bennett. "The Exhibitionary Complex" in N. B. Dirks, G. Eley and S. B. Ortner(eds). Culture, Power, History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. pg.133
[62] ibid.. pg.128
[63] Thomas A. Markus. Buildings and Power Freedom and Control in te Origin of Modern Building Types. London: Routledge, 1993. pg.226
[64] Tony Bennett. "The Exhibitionary Complex" in N. B. Dirks, G. Eley and S. B. Ortner(eds). Culture, Power, History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. pg.128
[65] Paul Virilio. "The Overexposed City", in The Lost Dimension. New York: Semiotext(e), 1991. pg.9-28

tower, the balcony in a facade, and the throne on its dais are to part of our mind occupied even when they are not- and to survey us, even when we know there is no one there.'[66] Istanbul is also one of these cities that everyday the number of glass buildings increase making it possible to survey the city from and be surveyed in each of them.

As it can be assumed as a consequence of these arguments in the modern times; Yevgeny Zamyatin, a Russian writer, in his dystopian novel called '*We*' describes a futuristic vision where each and every building in the state is made up of glass in order to enable a total transparency which provides every citizen to be constantly visible. [67] However in this scheme the guardian is also visible to all.

Another reflection to the surveillance discourses came from George Orwell in his dystopian novel *'Nineteen Eighty Four',* mostly associated with panoptic surveillance. It is a satire on a society ruled by rigid totalitarianism, where the citizens of Ocenia are in total visual surveillance by the two-way telescreens that works like both a video and a screen, located in every building and every public area, leaving the citizens with the fear of 'Big Brother' watching them at every second.[68] As Vita Fortunati mentions about this:

> In Ocenia, the telescreen rules everything and everyone; it becomes the principle of total visual control. (…) Ocenia is the panoptic society par excellence. The telescreen is the invisible eye which sees and controls everything. (…) In Ocenia, everyone is watched, in place of the guard there is the telescreen which is the medium through which the panoptic machine works. [69]

This novel may have been opened up the way to the surveillance cameras of today. '"Telescreen" seem very close to realization when one considers the closed circuit surveillance of stores.'[70] It is one of the first concrete realizations of the spread of the visual surveillance from the walls of the panopticon to the streets of the city. In the contemporary cities, and also in Istanbul, the guardians are the video cameras. The electronic surveillance removes the need to be in the center physically in order to observe

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[66] Philip Tabor. "I Am a Videocam". in I. Borden (ed.) The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space. Cambridege: MIT Press, 2001. pg.131

[67] Yevgeni Zamyatin. We. New York: Penguin Books, 1993

[68] George Orwell. Nineteen Eighty-Four. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1964

[69] Vita Fortunati "'It makes No Difference' : A Utopia of Simulation and Transparency". in Harold Bloom (ed.) George Orwell. Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers,1987 pg.145

[70] Peter Lewis. George Orwell The Road to 1984. London: Heinemann Quixote Press, 1981. pg.114

the people in periphery. The cameras are distributed around the city to collect images from various different places.

"'I don't believe that the kind of society I describe will arrive, but I believe something resembling it could arrive" wrote Orwell' as Peter Lewis quotes him.[71] As Nathaliel Coleman claims, 'utopia is searching criticism of conditions at the moment of crtique, reality is never complete and reinvention of its potential as an integrated whole is constant.' [72] In Nineteen Eighty Four, the negative utopia, the dystopia seems to be mostly realized which excludes it from being only a fiction anymore.

Istanbul is now full with a great range of cameras for private and public use. Kevin Robins writes, in his essay called 'The City in the Field of Vision', how cameras proliferate in the urban environment and that everything is continuously video-recorded. He defines this situation as "the distributed panopticon, the dispersed panorama of the city."[73]

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[71] ibid. pg.114

[72] Nathaliel Coleman. Utopias and Architecture. Oxon: Routledge, 2005. pg.41

[73] Kevin Robins. "The City in the Field of Vision" Into the Image: Culture and Politics in the Field of Vision. London: Routledge,1996. pg. 138
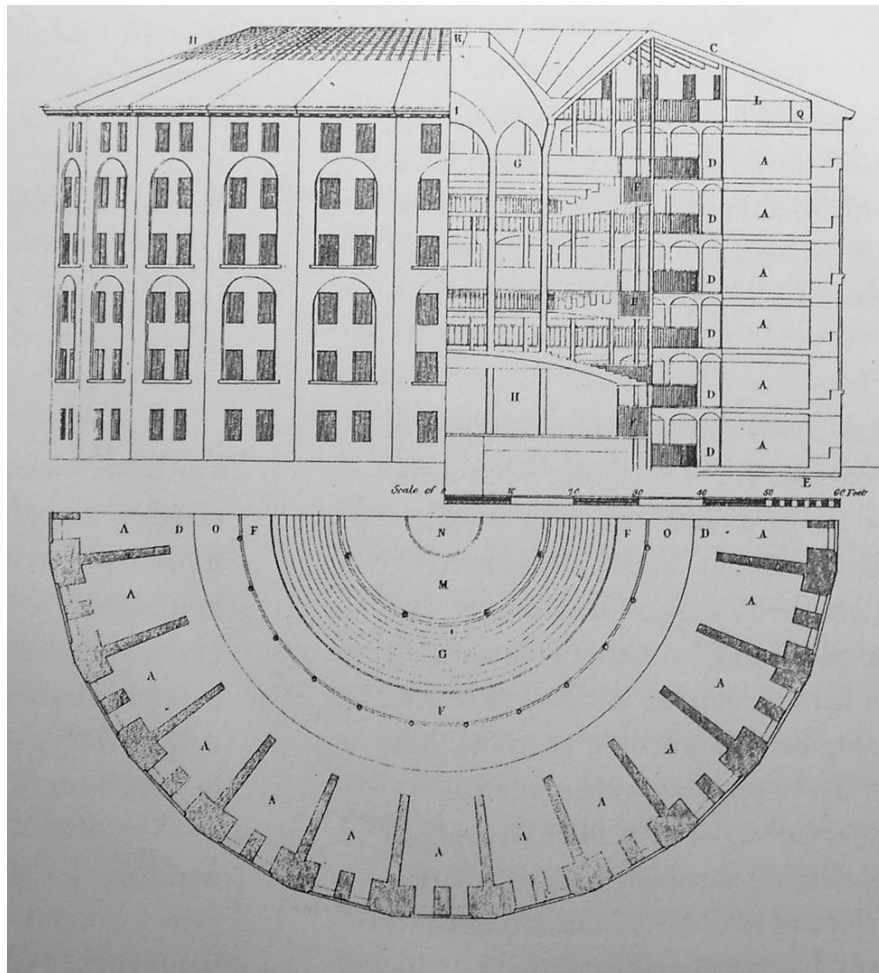
Figure 3. 1 Drawing of Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon

(Source: Michel Foucault. <u>Discipline and Punish</u>. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977.)
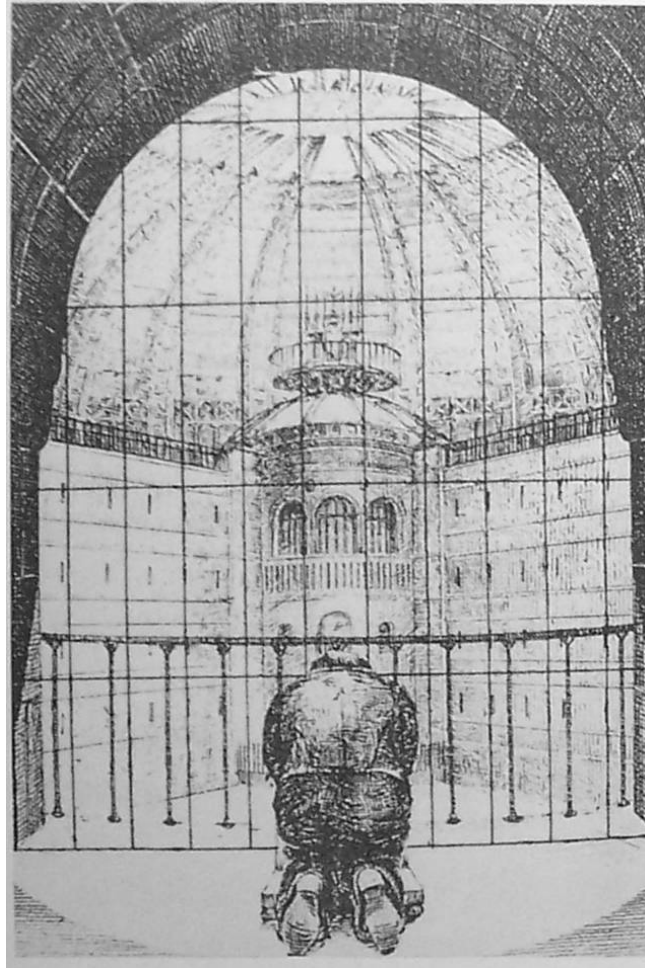
Figure 3. 2 N. Harou-Romain. Plan for a penitentiary, 1840. A prisoner, in his cell, knelling at prayer vefore the central inspection tower.

(Source: Michel Foucault. <u>Discipline and Punish</u>. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977.)
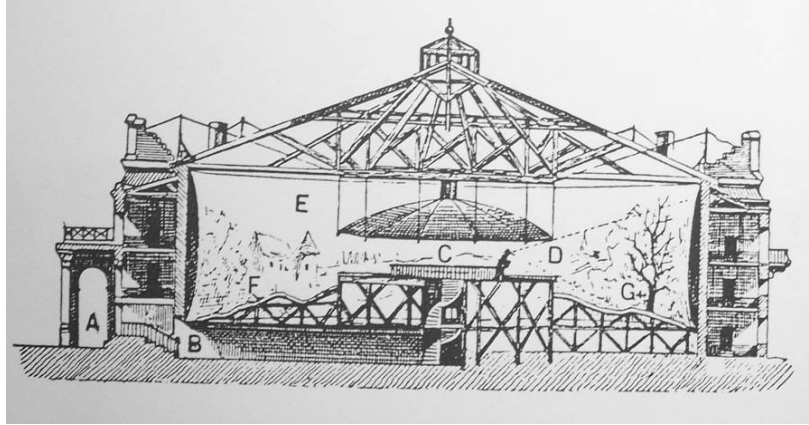
Figure 3. 3 Cross section of a panorama. (A) Entrance and box office. (B) Darkened corridor. (C) Observation platform. (D) Viewer's angle of vision. (E) Circular Canvas. (F) Three-dimensional foreground(false terrain). (G) Objects painted on the canvas in trompe l'oeil.

(Source: Stephan Oettermann,. The Panorama History of a Mass Medium. New York: Zone Books,1997.)
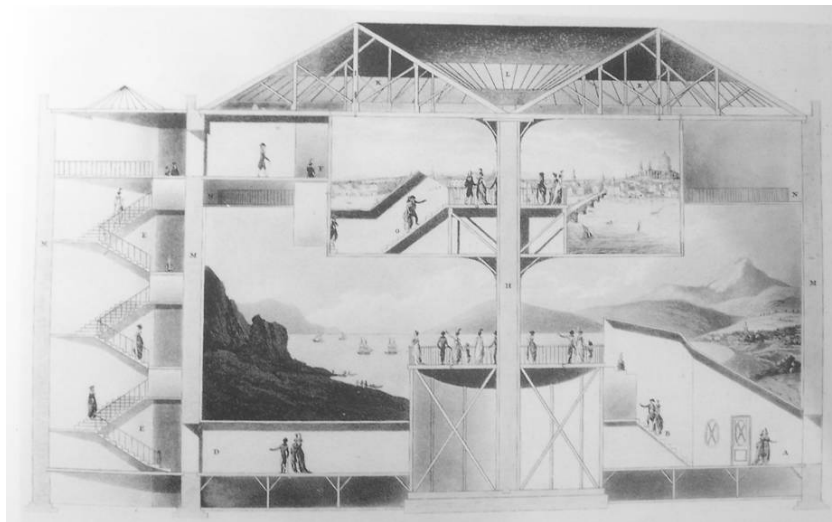
Figure 3. 4 Cross Section of Robert Barker's two level panorama rotunda in Leicester Square ca. 1798.

(Source: Stephan Oettermann,. The Panorama History of a Mass Medium. New York: Zone Books,1997.)
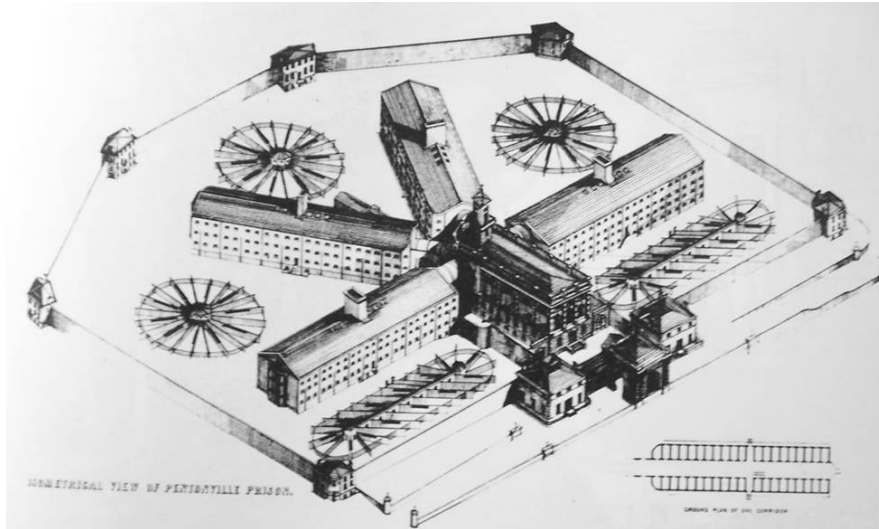
Figure 3. 5 Pentonville Prison (1840-2) aerial view.

(Source: Stephan Oettermann,. <u>The Panorama History of a Mass Medium</u>. New York: Zone Books,1997.)
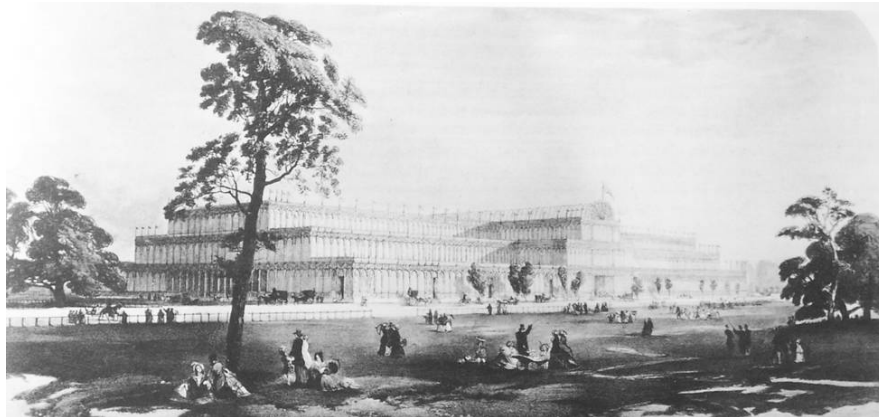
Figure 3. 6 The Crystal Palace (1851)

(Source: Thomas A. Markus. <u>Buildings and Power Freedom and Control in te Origin of Modern Building Types</u>. London: Routledge, 1993.)

CHAPTER 4

ISTANBUL: METROPOLIS AS AN URBAN PANOPTICON

4.1 Urban Surveillance

Most of the metropolises are under a constant change in the name of obtaining security. As Mitchell Gray asserts 'questions of security and public safety influence profoundly the ways cities are designed and experienced.'[1] According to what David Lyon mentions 'making the city visible so that it could be a place of safety and of public order is nothing new. But in modern times spaces in cities frequently are designed to permit maximum visibility, to discourage deviance and to promote public safety. To see was to ensure social control, to plan for order.'[2]

In the twenty-first century this visibility is being applied by the visual surveillance of the CCTV- closed circuit television- positioned all around the cities. As Lyon points it out, 'to create safe, secure and attractive places for consumption, entertainment and tourism, many cities have turned to a camera system.'[3] Istanbul as being one of the metropolis cities of our times is among the ones witnessing that kind of surveillance for its security.

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[1] Mitchell Gray. "Urban Surveillance and Panopticism: will we recognize the facial recognition society?" Surveillance&Society 1(3): 319. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/facial.pdf> 26.02.2006
[2] David Lyon. "Surveillance in the City". in Stephen Graham(ed.) "Editor's Introduction". The CyberCities Reader. London: Routledge, 2004. pg.300
[3] David Lyon. Surveillance Society Monitoring Everyday Life. Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001. pg.61

According to Alex Haw, 'the advent of broadcast television brought CCTV and the proliferation of real-time surveillance into the public realm'[4]

'Safety, security, and social order are all seen by most people as positive accomplishments' writes Lyon. For him 'many surveillance practices and devices are intended to improve city life in significant respects and are welcomed as such.'[5] The market value of security in most of the metropolis cities as well as in Istanbul is increasing. 'The political argument used to defend the expansion of electronic surveillance' is that, as Hille Koskela writes, 'it is claimed to be easy and effective'.[6] However, as Mike Davis depicts 'the market provision of "security" generates its own paranoid demand'.[7]

Looking from a more privatized and institutional aspect Nicholas Fyfe and Jon Bannister mention that 'the ability to maintain property values in the gentrified enclaves of inner cities and profits in the malls, restaurants and cultural centers of downtown, are increasingly bound up with the questions of security. To use Ellin's stark phrase, 'form follows fear' in the contemporary city'.[8] Fear of the crime is shaping up the contemporary cities. As Lyon depicts 'surveillance is now a commonplace feature of city life'.[9]

As Roy Coleman argues how 'in recent years 'surveillance studies' has emerged as an accompaniment to the social control literature. (...) This has meant a focus on the panopticon as a tool to understand the rise of visual surveillance, its impact upon behavior in public space, and the meaning, construction and varied perceptions of public space itself.'[10] Kevin Robins mentions about the relation of the cameras and the panopticon as the following:

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[4] Alex Haw. "CCTV London Internment, Entertainment and Other Optical Fortifications". AA Files, no 52. Summer 2005:55-61
[5] David Lyon. Surveillance Society Monitoring Everyday Life. Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001. pg.53
[6] Hille Koskela. "'Cam Era' – The Contemporary Urban Panopticon". Surveillance & Society 1(3): 299. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/camera.pdf> 26.02.2006
[7] Mike Davis. City of Quartz Excavating Future in Los Angeles. London: Verso,1990. pg.224
[8] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Jon Bannister. "The Eyes Upon the Street Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance and the City". Images of The Street. London: Routledge, 1998. pg.254
[9] David Lyon. "Surveillance in the City". in Stephen Graham(ed.) "Editor's Introduction". The CyberCities Reader. London: Routledge, 2004. pg.300
[10] Roy Coleman. Reclaiming the Streets Surveillance, Social Control and the City. Devon: Willan Publishing, 2004. pg.35

'Cameras proliferate in the (postmodern) urban environment. All around us-
in the streets, in public buildings, in department stores, in corner shops-
their lenses watch us, creating a new scanscape. A growing number of city
centers are monitored by an extensive network of cameras recording
everything that moves. Wee see images of ourselves as we pass shop
windows, as we walk through shopping malls, as we stand in banks or post-
offices. Everything is video-recorded continuously, indiscriminately. It is the
distributed panopticon, the dispersed panorama of the city.'[11]

The discourse of surveillance imposed in the panopticon is now being carried out by
these cameras installed in the urban spaces on the ordinary citizen living in the
metropolis. 'The camera is often simply a visible presence of the inspecting gaze that we
imagine, whether it is there or not, visible to us or not. In other words, the camera does
not need to be turned on or even in place for the inspecting gaze to exist; merely its
potential to exist will have this effect.'[12] The idea of citizens not knowing whether being
recorded or not, is the main principle of the camera surveillance; following the trend of
the panopticon of seeing without being seen. As an emphasis on how this works Alex
Haw talks about the dummy cameras which 'are frequently employed to give illusion of
extensive, institutionalized surveillance.'[13]

Talking about the proliferation of the cameras in the cities, Lyon mentions that 'we take
for granted the ubiquitous signs in stores and on streets warning of constant video
surveillance.'[14] As Thomas J. Campanella mentions 'video cameras are a ubiquitous part
of the urban landscape, so much so that we scarcely notice them; we are watched
constantly, and have been for years.'[15] According to Davis 'surveillance cameras are
universal ornaments on every building'.[16] With the increase on their number and
placement of all around the city, the cameras have become like an urban infrastructure of
the urban context. In Istanbul, the appearance of the surveillance cameras similar to a
street light makes them even easier to merge into the city appearance without being

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[11] Kevin Robins. "The City in the Field of Vision". Into the Image: Culture and Politics in the Field of
Vision. London:Routledge, 1996. pg.138
[12] Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright. "Spectatorship, Power and Knowledge". Practices of Looking An
Introduction to Visual Culture. Oxford: University Press : 2001. pg. 99
[13] Alex Haw. "CCTV London Internment, Entertainment and Other Optical Fortifications". AA Files, no 52.
Summer 2005:55-61
[14] David Lyon. "Surveillance in the City". in Stephen Graham(ed.) "Editor's Introduction". The CyberCities
Reader. London: Routledge, 2004. pg.300
[15] Thomas J. Campanella. "Eden by Wire Webcameras and the telepresent landscape". in Nicholas Mirzoeff
(ed.). The Visual Culture Reader. London: Routledge, 1998. pg. 276
[16] Mike Davis. City of Quartz Excavating Future in Los Angeles. London: Verso,1990. pg.254

noticed. As Lyon talking about Stephen Graham he mentions that Graham even 'suggests that cameras will soon be a 'fifth utility' like water, gas, electricity and telephones.'[17]

London is the leading city in the visual surveillance of the cameras. 'There are four million closed-circuit television cameras in the UK –one for every 14 people. If you live in London you are likely to be on camera 300 times a day' as Sarah Duguid mentions.[18] This number is only 570 cameras for Istanbul so far. As Thomas Y. Levin says 'regulation of surveillance differs dramatically from country to country: while the use of CCTV systems in public space is severely constrained in some (such as Denmark and Germany), in others (such as Great Britain) it remains virtually unchecked.'[19]

According to Levin 'our sense of future –and increasingly of the present- has been marked by the fear of being watched, controlled, and robbed of our privacy. Indeed, one could argue that one of the hallmark characteristics of the early twenty-first century is precisely the realization of Orwell's worst nightmare(and this even where, as in United States post 11 September, it is being increasingly welcomed with enthusiasm rather than alarm.)'[20]

Talking about a more general surveillance in the city Lyon says that 'today, surveillance has been dispersed, decentred, disorganized, and is a feature of all organization in every city.'[21] As he mentions, 'on a daily basis life in the city spells surveillance in constantly increasing contexts. From the road tolling system to the mobile phone call, the camera in the subway station to the barcoded office door key, the loyalty program in the store to the Internet usage checks at work, surveillance webs are thick in the city.'[22] Surveillance is not something only exposed by the government on the citizens but it is also being carried out almost by each and every institution in the city. Further more, with the use of computer; surveillance is spreading to the cyberspace. "It has been argued that the real

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[17] David Lyon. <u>Surveillance Society Monitoring Everyday Life</u>. Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001. pg.62

[18] Sarah Duguid. "Crime Watch". <u>FT Magazine</u>. januray 28/29 2006: 17-20

[19] Thomas Y. Levin. "Rhetoric of the Temporal Index: Surveillant Narration and the Cinema of 'Real Time'" in T.Y.Levin, U. Frohne and P. Weibel(eds) . <u>CTRL[SPACE]: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother</u>. ZKM Center for Art and Media: Karlsruhe. pg.580

[20] ibid. pg.578

[21] David Lyon. "Surveillance in the City". in Stephen Graham(ed.) "Editor's Introduction". T<u>he CyberCities Reader</u>. London: Routledge, 2004. pg.302

[22] David Lyon. <u>Surveillance Society Monitoring Everyday Life</u>. Buckingham: Open University Press, 2001. pg.54

'superpanopticon' exists in electronic environments -in the 'world wide web of surveillance'".[23] However, as it is beyond the scope of this thesis to outline all the surveillance notions exercised in the city, the thesis is limited with the visual electronic surveillance of Istanbul.

On the other hand, there is the counter part of this surveillance. As Kevin Robins mentions 'surveillance is not just something that is now undertaken by public and official agencies. It is an activity that thousands of individual urban citizens are increasingly involving themselves in.'[24] According to him 'the city now constitutes a mosaic of micro-visions and micro-visibilities. With the camcording of the city, we have the fragmentation and devolution of vision-as-control to the individual level. Vigilante taping is a means through which individuals strive to protect themselves against the lurking and encroaching threats of the city.'[25]

Mentioning about the counter attack of web cameras to the surveillance cameras John Fiske argues that 'opportunist tactics are set against strategically deployed power; the handheld home video camera has a mobility that makes it a good guerilla weapon, whereas carefully located surveillance cameras are typical of a powerful strategy that is well planned and highly efficient, but cumbersome.' [26] Furthermore, talking about the potentials of web cameras than to the CCTV cameras Campanella discusses as follows:

> 'Steve Mann has argued, institutions and the government have for years been 'shooting' cameras at us; what web cameras enable is a chance to 'shoot back' at Big Brother. Then again, when one considers the enormous potential audience at the receiving end of web-camera, the seemingly innocent device on the window ledge becomes a threat indeed –Little Brother is also watching, and he is hitched to a global network, indeed, persons in web camera view are theoretically exposed to millions of users on the Net, not just a half-awake night guard at a security desk.'[27]

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[23] Hille Koskela. "'Cam Era' – the contemporary urban Panopticon". Surveillance & Society. 18 Dec 2005 <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org> pg.294

[24] Kevin Robins. "The City in the Field of Vision". Into the Image: Culture and Politics in the Field of Vision. London:Routledge, 1996. pg.138

[25] ibid. pg.139

[26] John Fiske. "Videotech" in Nicholas Mirzoeff (ed.). The Visual Culture Reader. London: Routledge, 1998. pg. 391

[27] Thomas J. Campanella. "Eden by Wire Webcameras and the telepresent landscape". in Nicholas Mirzoeff (ed.). The Visual Culture Reader. London: Routledge, 1998. pg. 276

'There may be fascination in being seen, as the amount of 'webcams' showing public as well as private daily lives demonstrate' says Koskela.[28] She argues that 'many people are seeking to increase their visibility' and that 'no longer is panoptic surveillance, necessarily, interpreted as a threat but rather 'as a chance to display oneself under the gaze of the camera'' quoting Groombridge and Ernst respectively.[29] Organized in Istanbul also, all those reality shows and big brother competition houses, in where people are voluntarily involved to live in a house filled with cameras under the gaze of the whole country are just some examples of this desire to be seen. 'Baudrillard insisted that the masses were actually people like the Loudes [*a 'real family' documented for a reality based TV show*], who needed no coercing, didn't resist, kept no secrets, and were in fact quite willing to be surveilled round-the-clock and have their private lives made transparent to the voyeuristic eyes of the entire TV-watching world.'[30]

The contemporary city is under the gaze of millions of cameras; private or not, inside buildings or outside in the public space but constantly spreading all over around the city. The ones watching are also being watched. This visual craziness under the name of protection is shaking the layout of the contemporary city profoundly; in a way turning it into an urban panopticon.

4.2   The Spirit of Istanbul Metropolis and "MOBESE"

In the twenty-first century that we are living, cities are being watched by the hidden watchers behind the surveillance cameras recording every movement of each citizen on public spaces, resembling the surveillance discourse of the panopticon. The use of this kind of surveillance is increasing each day all around the world and now it has reached to our country; Istanbul is under surveillance of the electronic cameras. With its cameras

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[28] Hille Koskela. "'Cam Era' – The Contemporary Urban Panopticon". Surveillance & Society 1(3): 301. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/camera.pdf> 26.02.2006
[29] ibid.
[30] Insignia of the U.S. Army Night Vision And Electronic Sensors Directorate. "Time in the Shadows of Anonymity: Against Surveillance, Transparency and Globalized Capitalism". ". 18 December 2005 <http://www.notbored.org/transparent.html>

Istanbul can be assumed as an urban panopticon in which the central tower is replaced by the surveillance cameras. However, the periphery ring of the panopticon is dispersed and the range of the observation tower is enlarged into the urban scale.

Istanbul is the biggest city of Turkey as well as being the cultural and financial center of the country with a population around twelve millions. It holds a great range of varieties of citizens in itself with an increasing moving in rate. Its historic sides and cultural aspects are important tourist attractions for the millions all around the world.

However, being a big city with that size and population carries its own problems; being so much crowded with its mixed texture and because of the uneven distribution of the incomes of the citizens there has become a collision between classes leading to an increase in the crime rates. This has reached even to extreme levels according to the numbers given for 2005 crimes which lead into the integration of a new system of control and surveillance for obtaining safety in Istanbul.

MOBESE (Mobile Electronic System Integration) is the name of the surveillance tool used by the police department in Istanbul which is briefly defined as 'The City Information and Security System'. In more general it is described as a unity of the systems, for the surveillance of police vehicles live in the digital map, for the easy and quick communication of police with the main control center and for every police team to use actively the information in the database of the system.[31]

It has started functioning on the 17th of January 2005, with its 570 cameras located around Istanbul watching the city twenty four hours it aims to prevent crime and to increase the self control of the police.

The cameras, which are the substitutes of the watching gaze of the guardian tower of panopticon, are located at the specific places in Istanbul where the population and crime rates are high; the greatest numbers of cameras are at Eminönü, Beyoğlu, Kadıköy, Bakırköy and Şişli respectively. 370 of the cameras are placed inside the city while the rest is at the bridges and the critic points of the motorways. The main control room, where

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[31] MOBESE Mobil Elektronik Sistem Entegrasyonu. <http://mobese.iem.gov.tr/ > 28.03.2006

the images are being recorded and observed, is located in the main police station complex at Vatan Street.

In the main control room, there are twelve 2x1,5 meter long, one 3x2 meter long and 9x16,5 meter long huge screens where the activities and actions of the polices can be watched on the satellite maps of Istanbul. The images coming from the cameras 24 hours are broadcasted on the screens in groups of four views, which are grouped by their regions. The authorities when necessary could transmit any of these views to the huge screen formed by 16 screens. When the number of the cameras increases, the views change periodically. (Fig. 4.1; 4.2)

In Istanbul the camera images recorded are not kept more than one week and do not have any archive qualification, neither they are accepted as evidence in the crimes yet. The legacy of the camera images is still an ongoing argument for MOBESE. However as the authorities asserts that in the case of the court's request they would surely send the images to them.

One advantage of this system is the possibility it creates for the self-control of police officers in the streets as well as the observers in the control room. In order to prevent the misuse of the system, the employees watching the screens are also being watched; resembling the guardian in the central tower of the panopticon inspecting the other guardians of the prison along with the inmates. In the main control room of MOBESE the ones trying to watch any other thing than the crimes are being determined.

On the other hand, for the arguments it creates about the intervention these cameras make on the private life of the citizens; as a defense the authorities claim that the cameras never record any private place. The software is programmed to put a black image in front of the private areas of the buildings. The same is applied in the CCTV system of London, the most surveilled city, but instead of black image there the view is pixilated to obscure the area in order to block the view of private areas. Yet the use of the system for the vouyerist monitoring is still in question depending on the zoom capabilities of the cameras.

Another argument done is the power that the watching guard in front of the screen gains. With his prejudices the images can be distorted or mislead depending on the personal interpretation. As the cameras do not record any audio, the body language and general outfit of a person creates all the attention.

Before having prejudices maybe the reasons driving the person to crime should be understand by the observers in front of the cameras. A more moderate attitude would help better to fight with the crime.

One of the biggest reasons of the increase in crime is caused by the sudden and constant increase in the population of Istanbul. Most of the families from east parts of Turkey escaping from the terror come to Istanbul with hope of better living conditions but end up by unemployment and lower life qualities in the shadow of the lifestyles that they see around themselves everyday. Sociologists say that most of them could not even integrate in the urban life nor do they leave the old habits of living in rural areas; and live in contradictions which cause unhappiness and stress on them, leading to find better solutions to deal with the hard conditions of life; like as stealing.

One other reason of the tendency of the crime depends on the new broken family relations, the increase in the divorces and the children stuck in the middle without care and attention. Lack of education is also among the big factors. There are many reasons more than these which force people to commit crime in Istanbul but in general the main cause can be claimed to be the uneven distribution of incomes and the social injustice. Rather than obtaining the reasons causing crime and trying to eliminate those; the solution that the government suggests to fight with the crime is this visual electronic surveillance, which creates only a temporary solution not decreasing the crime but making it invisible; at least not visible for the camera zones.

MOBESE cameras are mostly proliferated at Beyoğlu, Eminönü, Kadıköy and Şişli due to their special fabrics; the rest of the cameras are distributed around the city. (Fig. 4.3- 4.20) Some main cores and arteries of the cameras locations can be counted as the following:

Esenyurt Square.
Avcılar.
Papaz Bridge in front of Mc Donalds.

Güneşli Square.
Bağcılar Square.
Çobançeşme in front of Teda.
Halkalı Square.
Kuleli in front of Colins.
Şirinevler Square.
In front of Şirinevler Municipallity.
Basın sitesi Adnan Kahveci Square.
Bakırköy Square.
Cevizlibağ the stop of Yeşil Kundur.
In front of Zeytinburnu Municipallity.
Aksaray Metro.
Istiklal Street
Yenikapı entrance.
Laleli University (both parts of the road).
Beyazıt Square.
Sultanahmet Square.
Eminönü Square and bus stops.
Taksim Square.
Beşiktaş.
Şişli-Abide-i Hürriyet Square.
Mecidiyeköy in front of AKP Building.
Edirnekapı Square.
Gaziosmanpaşa Square,
In frıont of Gazi Cemevi.

Eminönü is referred as the historic peninsula of Istanbul and holds many important historical buildings and many tourist attractions as well as being one of the commerce centers of the city. The great number of people and the tourists around that area attracts the pickpockets there making Eminönü one of the districts with the highest rate of pickpockets and the district with the biggest number of MOBESE cameras.

Beyoğlu is the second leading district in Istanbul in the number of MOBESE cameras. Beyoğlu is mostly popular with its mixed culture of people and life styles that it holds. On one side it has the art galleries, the fancy shops, cinemas and theaters; on other side it has all kinds of stores for all kinds of budgets, restaurants and fast foods. It is one of the entertainment and cultural centers of Istanbul as well as being a business center. It is a district that does not sleep twenty four hours a day.

Taksim is the main square for people where they can get together incase of an event. Istiklal Street is another important artery which holds a heterogeneous type of citizens and mixture of architectural layout trying to join the past with the present. With the

integration of the new business centers and private offices there is a tendency on changing the social structure of Beyoğlu. On the other hand it also holds the homeless people and the street children taking drugs. Due to its great mixture and crowd Beyoğlu requires great attention in the protection of citizens. In Istiklal Street only there are more than five cameras. Every two or three corners there is one camera located which can see through the street. Due to its narrow architecture of the streets most of the cameras at Istiklal Street are located at the street junctions, just near a building's window, which creates the inconvenience situation for the ones living in those apartments as living face to face with a camera.

Because of its crowded structure in the streets the number of pickpocket incidents in Beyoğlu is very high. One other specialty of Beyoğlu is the fights and physical injuries that happen so commonly due to its bars and clubs night life creating many drunk people walking around at night.

Beyoğlu, by itself can be assumed as a small Istanbul. Due to its heterogenic structure and by being the commercial, cultural and business center of the city; it can represent the general outline of Istanbul in itself and in a way can be a sufficient example to discuss briefly the panopticization of Istanbul.

In the path going from Taksim to the Tunel along the İstiklal Street, the number of MOBESE cameras is remarkably high. The number of cameras being located mostly at Beyoğlu in Istanbul makes one to derive some inferences or assumptions about Beyoğlu and to wonder what does it have to be watched and observed so much.

Taksim square, due to its historic background and its physically large scale, is the place where people get together to protest and react to the things that they are opposed to. In Beyoğlu lots of demonstrations are being held as well as the holiday or New Year celebrations. The existence of the cameras here may have the intention to control these protest actions that are opposed to the system or to easily catch those protesters during an incident. However the main intention of locating cameras to that square may be to protect the authority by eliminating the availability of the places for the society to come together and protest.

The existence of embassies in Beyoğlu may also have some affects on the positioning of that many cameras to those areas. One of the aims of watching may be to control the settled foreign population of Istanbul located at Beyoğlu and to observe their actions in order to protect the country and to prevent them to gain more power on Istanbul.

The variety of the population, the mixture of high class and lower class, that Beyoğlu hosts, creates a doubt on the intention of the ones watching there. Who is especially being watched and by which reason is never known. The system may watch different classes for different reasons. In any case in most of the time it can be assumed that as well as protecting the citizens from the harm, the system also watches everyone mostly in order to protect itself.

Şişli is another district of Istanbul that holds many MOBESE cameras. Hosting great numbers of banks, tax offices and financial institutions; Şişli is one of the commerce and business centers of Istanbul with many human and money traffic. Tracing the citizens and following them after the work hours for robbing is widely happened incident for Şişli and Beyoğlu. Şişli also holds the new modern layout of Istanbul. In Maslak the cityscape is drawn by the skyscrapers competing with each other. The headquarters of the universal companies and modern financial centers are being built up at Şişli among with the cultural and art centers. In spite of the MOBESE cameras in those new modern cultural and financial centers; the private cameras located inside of each and every building will not let citizens to feel any lack of the street cameras.

Nişantaşı is a neighborhood where the higher income citizens prefer to live. Most of the shops that once were at Istiklal Street are now moving to Nişantaşı. All this higher income businesses and great amount of money traffic increases the rates of pickpockets and nurse snatching.

House robbery is very common in mostly Şişli and Beşiktaş, especially when in the summer the owners go to the seaside leaving the house empty. Another reason of the increase rate of house robbery is the probability of the big number of the working woman living in those areas, again leaving the house unoccupied in the working hours.

Kadıköy also shares the same destiny with Şişli as being a crowded and lively commercial and business district with lots of money income and lots of MOBESE cameras.

In the city, MOBESE cameras are mostly located at just in the middle of the squares or pedestrian ways in an inconvenient way for the circulation, without a concern on the spatial design, where they can be clearly seen and felt, and maybe even probably to be hit. Their scale relative to the pedestrians is also so small that it makes them recognizable for the citizen's sight; which caused their columns most of the times to be used for poster integrations for commercial aims, or as a meeting point to be wait by leaning on them.

The cameras are mostly situated in the street corners which enable them to see the most available vision, to observe the most range of street views. At most of the squares the cameras are placed just near the roadside at the outer side of the square in order to be able to observe the traffic in the street and the people on the square at the same time. Kadıköy square, Üsküdar square and Eminönü square are some examples to this situation. In Istiklal Street for example, where the street is narrower, to increase the vision the cameras are located at the junctions of the perpendicular streets nearly in the middle of the corner.

The cameras are fixed at the top of six meter long columns. These columns are resistant to the strokes and crushes that may come from the citizens and they are said to be impossible to be tore down. Their appearance is more like a city light than a generally known camera; which makes them more similar to an urban furniture than a tool for the deterrent of crime. It is the biggest reason why the citizens in Istanbul are not still aware of these cameras after almost three years of their installation. On the other hand the cameras in London are all in shape of an obvious camera which is used to warn and remind people of the constant surveillance. Even more, the cameras in London are being constantly reminded to the citizens also by the posters or commercials pointing to the watching eyes around the city. (Fig. 4.20; 4.21)

According to the Istanbul's governor office declares, due to the numbers of 2006 data, Istanbul among the other world cities, in spite of its huge population, is the city with the least crime rates. They assert that there was a decrease in the crime rate in Istanbul at

2006 and among many other reasons he concluded this fall to be the reason of the MOBESE cameras.[32]

The same confidence in the cameras continued also during the year 2007 and it is mentioned that during the first eleven months of 2007 there was a decrease of 30.38 percent in the crime rates of Istanbul. The authorities of the MOBESE assert that the biggest role in this crime decrease depends on these cameras.[33]

As the authorities are very content of the results of the reduced crime in Istanbul now after three years of its installation, it is mentioned that the system will be spread to other various cities of Turkey such as in first step to Ankara, Diyarbakır and Gaziantep. The system was opened to auction in other various 13 cities of the country; however at most of them the project is postponed due to financial reasons.

This electronic surveillance is very common in most of the populated contemporary cities. What makes Istanbul different and special depends on its geographical location and appearance and the culture that lives inside it. The reflection of the surveillance and the reactions to it is lying behind the culture and knowledge of the society as well as the authority that governs the country.

As most of the population in the Istanbul comes from the smaller cities or rural areas of Turkey, for most of them it is difficult to catch the contemporary improvements and to integrate with the technological age that affects the city. Maybe that is why that the MOBESE cameras are a totally new and extraordinary technology for Istanbul although it is widely used and accepted for most other foreign countries. The same reason is why so many citizens do not perceive the way it works and stay unconcerned about the cameras; and most of the time even they stay unnoticed and unaware of the cameras. As can be seen in the Figure 4.7, at Eminönü two youngsters jumping on the bench just under the MOBESE camera, while they were in exact view of the camera, shows the reckless and unconcerned attitude of the citizens of Istanbul on the visual surveillance.

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[32] Akif Erdem. "İstabul'da Suç Oranı Düştü". <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2007/03/21/yasam/as01.html> 20.01.2008
[33] "Mobese Kameralarının Etkisi".27.12.2007 <http://www.polis.web.tr/article_view.php?aid=17335> 20.01.2008

One other difference of the system in Istanbul is the lack of legacy on the camera views that are being recorded of not being counted as legal evidences. Without the sanction power, the citizens do not fear from the cameras because of the distrust on the juridical system of Turkey. Even if the police can catch the criminal the belief that the offender will get out of the prison in a short time kills the hopes on the reliance of the electronic visual system.

Sellers of pirated movies or the cracked versions of computer programs in the streets are very common and those people are merged into our society. As walking in the street some goods of fake copies of the famous brands are being sold. In a city with lots of people with lower incomes, these are the best way to buy the necessary things for most of the people. These MOBESE cameras as well as the offenders in the city, fight with those pirated editions and fake copy sellers. The elimination of these street venders affects the social layout of Istanbul streets.

One further alteration on the integration of the system comes from its physical layout. Due to its geographical conditions binding the two continents Istanbul counts on the two bridges constructed. However they are insufficient for the amount of population living in the city and affect negatively the living conditions of Istanbul by creating too many traffic problems. Along with protecting the public spaces one other aim of these MOBESE cameras is to control and give order to the traffic with those cameras. To help the citizens to get rid of the traffic loads, from the internet the citizens can choose their route and see the amount of vehicles on the path before getting to the road and can decide to change their route to a less denser zone. (Fig. 4.22; 4.22)

Along with preventing crime, the other hidden intentions of this surveillance may have, and its consequences on changing the social and spatial aspects of Istanbul are most of the time being neglected and the system is being welcomed with great acceptance. Since it has not been too much time that the electronic surveillance was started in Istanbul, the impacts that it could create is still unknown and maybe it is too soon to comment on it now. But maybe the arguments done about the surveillance cameras can create some questions in citizens' minds who have welcomed the system so willingly.

After all, the main intention of this thesis is not to discuss the obvious and hidden reasons of the surveillance but to investigate the consequences of the electronic visual surveillance in the alteration of the physical layout and social structure of Istanbul.

Figure 4. 1 The main control room of MOBESE

(Source: http://mobese.iem.gov.tr/images/imagesmbs/64.jpg)

Figure 4. 2 Detailled picture of the main control room of MOBESE

(Source: http://mobese.iem.gov.tr/images/imagesmbs/30.jpg)
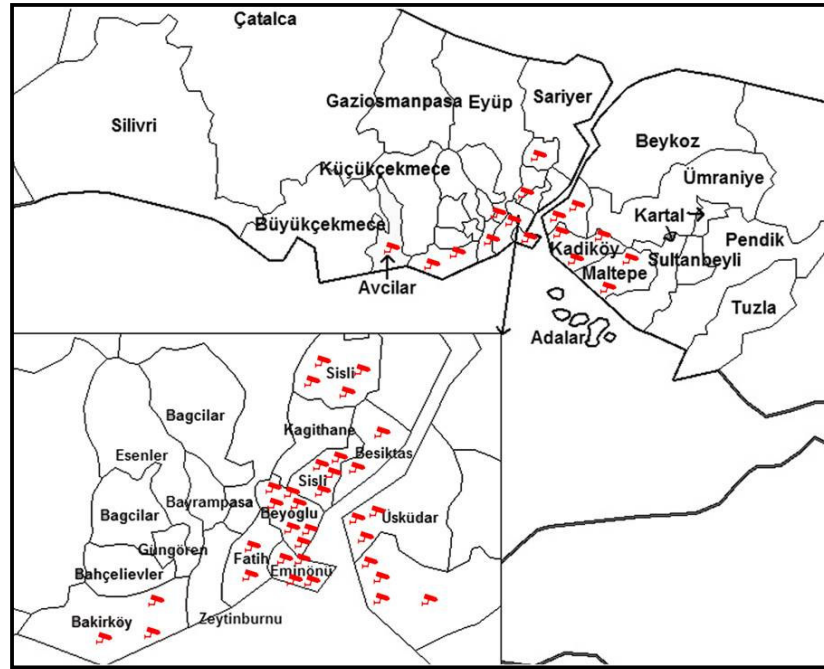
Figure 4. 3 Map showing the density of MOBESE cameras in different districts of Istanbul

(Source: prepared by the author)
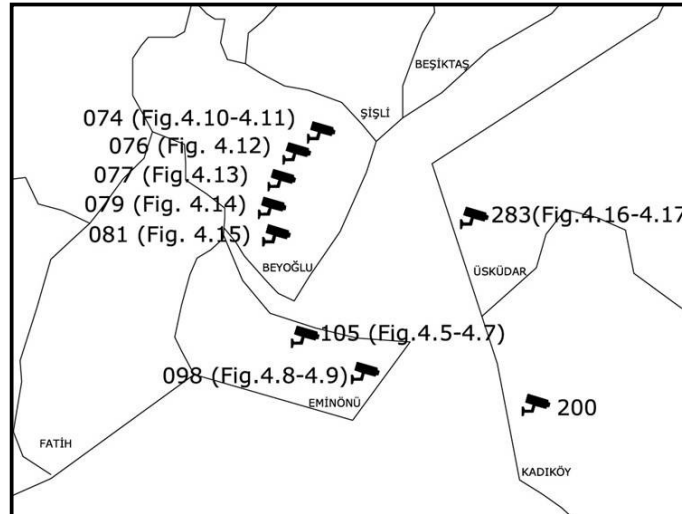
Figure 4. 4 Schematically map demonstrating the official numbers of several MOBESE cameras and the figure numbers of their pictures.

(Source: prepared by the author)

Figure 4. 12 MOBESE Camera no:105, Eminönü.
(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)

Figure 4. 13 Aerial view of the location of the camera no:105
(Source: Goggle Earth)

Figure 4. 14 Detail picture of the same camera at Eminönü.

Two people jumping to the other side of the bench just under the camera.
(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)

Figure 4. 8   MOBESE Camera no:098, Sultanahmet.

(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)

Figure 4. 9   Detail picture of the same camera in Sultanahmet.

(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)

Figure 4. 15 MOBESE Camera no:074, Taksim.

(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)

Figure 4. 11 Detail picture of the same camera in Taksim.

(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)

Figure 4. 17 MOBESE Camera no:076, İstiklal Street..

(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)
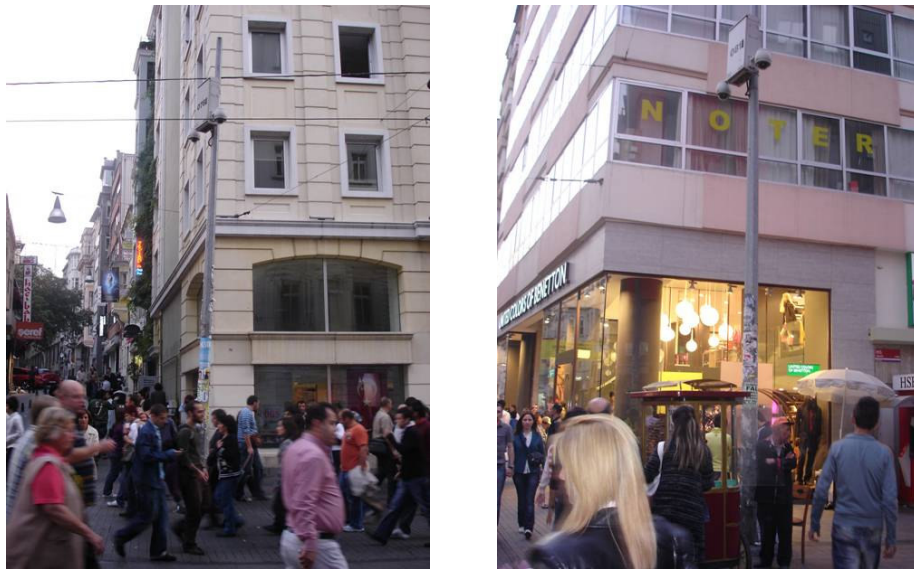
Figure 4. 16 On left MOBESE Camera no: 076, on right camera no: 077, İstiklal Street.

They are located in the middle of the street corners without any spatial concerns.

(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)

Figure 4. 19 MOBESE Camera no:079, İstiklal Street.

(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)

Figure 4. 18 MOBESE Camera no:081, İstiklal Street.

(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)

Figure 4. 21 MOBESE Camera no:283, Üsküdar.

The camera is located just at the middle of the square. However it has transformed itself into a spot -a reference point- in the square where citizens decide to meet each other under.

(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)
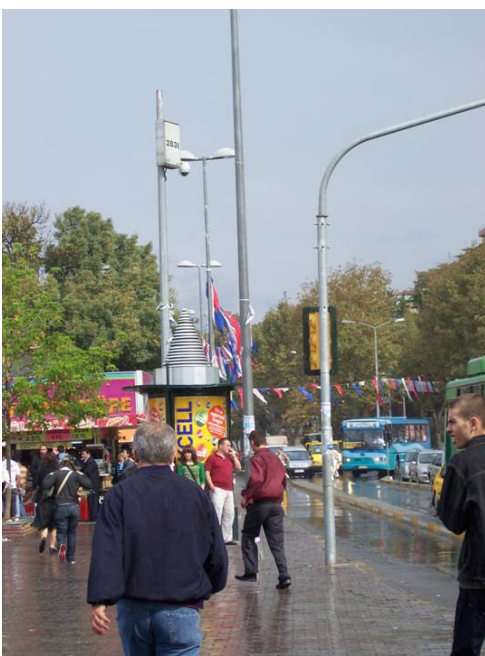
Figure 4. 20 MOBESE Camera no:283, Üsküdar.

(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)

Figure 4. 22 MOBESE Camera at Kadıköy.

(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)

Figure 4. 19 MOBESE Camera no: 200, Kadıköy.

(Source: photographed by the author on 20.10.2007)

Figure 4. 24 Warning of the CCTV surveillance in the neighborhood in London.

(Source:http://www.secureng.co.uk/images/gallery/CCTV%20Warning%20Sign.JPG)
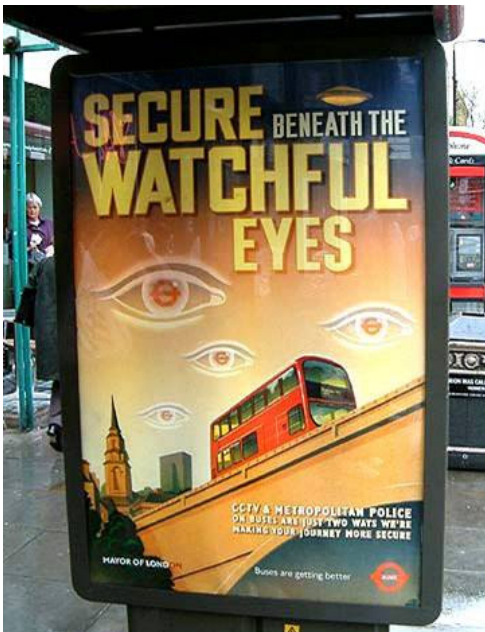
Figure 4. 23 Poster showing the visual surveillance in the buses and metros of London.

(Source: http://www.notbored.org/london-metro.jpg)

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Figure 4. 26 Map showing the routes of the cameras for traffic control in İstanbul.
(Source: http://tkm.ibb.gov.tr/yolDurumu/SiraliKameralar.aspx)

Figure 4. 25 Detailled version of the previous map.
(Source: http://tkm.ibb.gov.tr/yolDurumu/Kameralar.aspx)

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CHAPTER 5

ISTANBUL: PUBLIC SPACE AS CONTEMPORARY PANOPTICON

5.1.   Public Space Becoming a Stage

'We may think of the city in terms of a 'mode of seeing', a 'structure of visibility' as Kevin Robins notes in his essay 'The City in the Field of vision' mentioning about the arguments off James Donald.[1] Robins further expresses that 'we need the urban scene to be a visible focus of experience and meaning (conscious and unconscious). We should sustain our visual relationship to the city'. [2] According to him 'the city gives prominence to the activity of the eye. It is a place of visual encounter and experience. (...) It is through its visibility that we know the city'.[3] The pursuit of visibility in order to know the city reminds the arguments in the panopticon, where the guardian asserts power on the inmates by his own vision on their visibility. In this situation, the citizens know the city by visual encounter of them and the city through city's visibility. By knowing the city they gain some kind of power on the city. Talking about how Le Corbusier believed that the city design must stand for clarity, Robins asserts that 'the city should be transparent. This involves another kind of vision: the distance perspective of the panorama and panopticon, the encompassing gaze of the survey and of surveillance, through which the city is visually possessed.'[4] This possession can be gained by the visual contact on the city.

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[1] Kevin Robins. "The City in the Field of Vision". <u>Into the Image: Culture and Politics in the Field of Vision</u>. London:Routledge, 1996. pg.129
[2] ibid. pg.138
[3] ibid. pg.130
[4] ibid. pg.131

In metropolis cities such as Istanbul this visibility is expanding each day for various scales and mediums in various directions, both in favor of the citizen as well as in the favor of others who wants to have power on the citizens. As Chris Jenks asserts 'the 'gaze' and the conscious manipulation of images are the dual instruments in the exercise and function of modern systems of power and social control.'[5] As he continues, 'modern power has the deft touch of a 'look' in interaction. (...) Through a 'look' it can absorb all and do so without being notices, or say all without ever revealing its true intentions.'[6] The visual surveillance build on Istanbul makes an example of this increased visibility of the city in favor of the others, with the look of the cameras in order to supposedly protect the city, giving a new social order with its secret power.

As Jenks asserts, '"observation" is no longer regarded as the empirical exercise of the optic senses. More subtle and more consciously dialectical methodological metaphors have arisen in modern socio-cultural analysis to take account of the recognition.' [7] The proliferation of the surveillance cameras can be counted as one of the new form of this observation; instead of the real optic vision there is the camera replaced by the real eye to make the observation. John Fiske mentions about this situation as the following:

> 'Video monitoring and video knowledge are directed upon the body, for it is there that power is made visible. The strategizing of social alliances, the intentions and internal lives of people, and the abstract lines of social power all lie beyond video's capabilities. Video knowledge is that of the application of power to the body, its terrain is that in which broad social interests appear in their embodied form.' [8]

Jonathan Crary talks about how problems of vision are 'fundamentally questions about the body and the operation of social power.'[9] According to him 'beginning early in the nineteenth century, a new set of relations between the body on one hand and forms of institutional and discursive power on the other redefined the status of an observing subject.'[10] Before being observed by the cameras, there were people in the city who

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[5] Chris Jenks.(ed.)"The Centrality of the Eye in Western Culture". <u>Visual Culture</u>. London: Routledge, 1995. pg.15

[6] ibid. pg.15

[7] ibid. pg.145

[8] John Fiske. "Videotech" in Nicholas Mirzoeff (ed.). The Visual Culture Reader. London: Routledge, 1998. pg. 391

[9] Jonathan Crary. <u>Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and modernity in the Nineteenth Century</u>. Cambridge MA: The MIT Press., 1990. pg.3

[10] ibid. pg.3

intentionally observed the city itself; people who owned the possession of the city with their visual inspection. The *flâneur* that occurred in the nineteenth century can be counted as one set of this relation with the city and the observing subject.

'The *flâneur* is the metaphoric figure originally brought into being by Baudelaire, as the spectator and depicter of modern life. The *flâneur* moves through the space and among the people with a viscosity that both enables and privileges vision.' [11] Talking about the flâneur Jenks further expresses that:

> "The spectacle indicates rules of what to see and how to see it, it is the 'seenness', the (re)presentational aspect of phenomena that are promoted, not the politics or aesthetics of their being 'see-worthy'. From within this critical concept the *flâneur* can deduce, and thus claim distance from, the necessity of objects-to-be-seen as appearing in the form of commodities. (...) the *flâneur* should/could not merely mingle with the crowd, but is an interactor and thus a constitutor of the people's crowdlike-ness. Social life is degraded rather than honored by its transformation into the realm of 'the spectacle." [12]

As Anne Friedberg mentions, 'the trope of flânerie delineates a mode of visual practice coincident with –but antithetical to- the panoptic gaze. Like the panopticon system, flânerie relied on the visual register but with a converse instrumentalism, emphasizing mobility and fluid subjectivity rather than restraint and interpellated reform.'[13] Differing from the panopticon, without the intension of the social control; the flâneur by just wondering around the public spaces with his look gains a separate place in the city which differentiates him from the rest, giving him a privilege position arising from his gaze. He investigates the city in order to learn and experience by observing it. This knowledge that he gains gives him power on the others. He gains the power of being able to judge the rest. Jenks defines the 'original *flâneur*s' as the 'urban spectators'.[14] In this respect the urban space and the things happen in the city life can be assumed as an urban spectacle, which makes the public spaces a kind of stage for that spectacle to occur.

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[11] Chris Jenks. "Watching Your Step The history and practice of the flaneur" <u>Visual Culture.</u> London: Routledge, 1995 pg.146

[12] ibid. pg.155

[13] Anne Friedberg. "The Mobilized and Virtual Gaze in Modernity Flâneur/Flâneuse". in Nicholas Mirzoeff (ed.). The Visual Culture Reader. London: Routledge, 1998. pg. 396

[14] Chris Jenks. "Watching Your Step The history and practice of the flaneur" <u>Visual Culture.</u> London: Routledge, 1995 pg.152

More recently, in the twentieth century, there were a group of people who were against the idea of city life losing its authenticity and becoming more like a spectacle, and tried to avoid this manner of life by trying to awaken people. 'Formed as a group in 1957 and disbanded in 1972, the situationists positioned themselves as the arch-enemy of contemporary consumer capitalist society, a position given its theoretical underpinning by Guy Debord in his famous book Society of the Spectacle(1967).'[15] As Nathaniel Coleman describes the situation briefly;

> 'All societies whose economies are based on modern techniques of production, consumption and communication, tend toward a world picture conditioned by spectacle. All aspects of the spectacle instigate passivity and are generally destructive of everyday life. Increasing passivity in response to the over-stimulation of perpetual entertainment, which coincides with tranquillizing regimentation, would result in banality, which the situationists saw as symptomatic of a severe mental disease sweeping the planet.'[16]

In his book 'Discipline and Punish', Foucault quoting Julius makes a comparison between the society of antiquity and his time: "antiquity had been a civilization of spectacle. 'To render accessible to a multitude of men the inspection of a small number of objects': this was the problem to which the architecture of temples, theaters and circuses responded. (…)The modern age poses the opposite problem: 'To procure for a small number, or even for a single individual, the instantaneous view of a great multitude'."[17] As Foucault continues further he asserts that "our society is one not of spectacle, but of surveillance'. According to him 'we are much less Greeks than we believe. We are neither in the amphitheatre, nor on the stage, but in the panoptic machine, invested by its effects of power which we bring to ourselves since we are part of its mechanism."[18]

In Tony Bennett's terms; 'the principle of spectacle- that, as Foucault summarizes it, of rendering a small number of objects accessible to the inspection of a multitude of men- did not fall into abeyance in the nineteenth century; it was surpassed through the development of technologies of vision which rendered the multitude accessible to its

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[15] Nathaniel Coleman. Utopias and Architecture. Oxon: Routledge, 2005. pg.42
[16] ibid. pg.42
[17] Michel Foucault. "Panopticism" Discipline and Punish. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books,1977. pg.195-228
[18] ibid. pg.195-228

own inspection'[19]. In the twenty-first century these technologies of rendering have given way to the surveillance cameras in the cities, like Istanbul, for the city's own inspection. As Bennett claims, 'while the depths of city life were penetrated by developing networks of surveillance, cities increasingly opened up their processes to public inspection, laying their secrets open not merely to the gaze of power but, in principle, to that of everyone; indeed, making the specular dominance of the eye of power available to all.'[20] Increasing the visibility of the city makes everyone inside it visible and available to each other. 'The tendency for society itself- in its constituent parts and as a whole- to be rendered as a spectacle'[21] gives way to some new way of happenings to born in the public spaces of the cities. If the spectacle is inevitable, then there occur some groups of people who intentionally stage in front of the others, even in front of the watching gaze.

'Drawing a good deal of political and methodological inspiration from the Situationists',[22] *The Surveillance Camera Players*, from New York City, (SCP) 'are a performance based activist-awareness group who openly, critically, and playfully engage various elements of public surveillance.'[23] 'Yet they are not protesting any specific policy. They are performers, but they do not consider themselves artists. They pose no physical threat, but make the authorities noticeably nervous.'[24] By their own words they define themselves as 'a small, informal group of people who are unconditionally opposed to the installation and use of video surveillance cameras in public places'.[25]

As Alastair Hannay argues the idea of audience in the public space, in a way he defines the public space as a place for interaction of players and spectators:

> 'Public space offers itself as an arena where individuals may form audiences and where, in a competitive minority of cases, they may also become the kind of public property - that itself attracts audience. Whatever else it may be besides, public space is a space of player-audience opportunities, and as

[19] Tony Bennett. "The Exhibitionary Complex" in N. B. Dirks, G. Eley and S. B. Ortner(eds). <u>Culture, Power, History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory</u>. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. pg.150

[20] ibid.pg.129

[21] ibid. pg.128

[22] Erich W. Schienke and Bill Brown. "Streets into Stages: an interview with Surveillance Camera Players'. Surveillance&Society 1(3): 356. <<u>http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/interview.pdf</u> > 26.02.2006

[23] ibid.

[24] ibid.

[25] New York Surveillance Camera Players. "10-Year Report". New York, 2006. <<u>http://www.notbored.org/10-year-report.html</u>> 01.12.2007

one would expect of this particular relationship, it is a space that is biased heavily in favor of the audience'[26]

What these surveillance camera players do is to turn the public space into a stage in the urban concept; into an urban stage. 'Their basic rationale for resisting surveillance is simple – rather than seeking to evade the cameras, the Players seek them out and stage an array of performances'[27] in front of them. According to Koskela 'a camera represents total one-way-ness of the gaze by making it impossible to look back. (...)There is no 'mutual' gaze.' according to her.[28] However the SCP breaks this one way look, by positioning themselves just under the gaze of the cameras. 'By "looking them in the eye", the Players run an "interpellative" gaze back along the line of visibility, and use this counter-specularity to effect a judgment that either mocks the seriousness of the surveillance endeavor or subjects the watchers to the accusation of moral and political delinquency.'[29] As Schienke mentions, that in their own manifesto, the SCP explain their rationale as follows:

> "the surveillance cameras are attempting to stage a theater of conformity, so that even before artists or Situationists arrived to see the dramatic potential, they're already turning the streets into stages and people perform either by ignoring the cameras, or they know that they're there and perform in conformity with societal norms. So, what we do is attempt to meddle with the theater they have already established—a theater of performing non-conformity and resentment. A sense of protest." [30]

As Bill Brown, the founder of the group, argues, 'the moment you've put a security camera into a public space, you've actually privatized that place. Regardless of whether it is being monitored by a State agency, or a private business, we lose the anonymity and open quality of a public space.'[31] He mentions that what he is 'doing is struggling to

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[26] Alastair Hannay. On the Public Thinking in Action. London: Routledge, 2005. pg.82
[27] Majid Yar. "Panoptic Power and the Pathologisation of Vision: Critical Reflections on the Foucauldian Thesis". Surveillance & Society 1(3): 266. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/pathologisation.pdf >26.02.2006
[28] Hille Koskela. "'Cam Era' – The Contemporary Urban Panopticon". Surveillance & Society 1(3): 298. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/camera.pdf> 26.02.2006
[29] Majid Yar. "Panoptic Power and the Pathologisation of Vision: Critical Reflections on the Foucauldian Thesis". Surveillance & Society 1(3): 266. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/pathologisation.pdf >26.02.2006
[30] Erich W. Schienke and Bill Brown. "Streets into Stages: an interview with Surveillance Camera Players'. Surveillance&Society 1(3): 360. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/interview.pdf > 26.02.2006
[31] ibid.

remain un-paranoid'[32]. As he further continues, he argues that 'the government has something to gain from the destruction of public spaces that may not be financial, but that it makes the public easier to control. (..) But, it is also teaching people to stay in their own private lives, to no longer have a political awareness, in a sense, that your private life is always a public life.' [33]

Once the private life of the people becomes the ordinary and the public life, the consequences of it appear such as these temptations in order to be able to struggle and get away with that kind of lifestyle. As Majid Yar discusses:

> 'If one were to take at face value the claims for panoptic power, then the only seeming avenue of resistance would be evasion, to escape the "eye of power" by seeking out the gaps in the surveillant apparatus, thereby escaping its normalizing power. This would entail a kind of "agoraphobia", the organization of one's activities dominated by the avoidance of all monitored spaces. However, (...) the reflexive and creative capacities of the social subject permit alternative resistances that do not accept the power of the gaze, but contest it, that do seek to evade its omnipotence, but invite, enjoy and even "play" with it.'[34]

Maybe what these players do, can lead to a transition and start a new kind of behavior on the citizens which would change the entire social structure among the people. People would lose their authenticity in their relationships to other. However, to reach this kind of conclusion still needs some more time to see it. Now we are in the epoch of reacting only.

As Brown says that they don't want to add anybody in to the group like the Situationists since they do not prefer a big group. Instead 'the idea is just a proliferation of independent groups who have the name in common' he says.[35] The Turkish group which name themselves as 'NOBESE', is just a formation of surveillance camera players in Istanbul; as the proof of the realization of Brown's hopes and dreams of proliferation.

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[32] ibid.

[33] ibid.

[34] Majid Yar. "Panoptic Power and the Pathologisation of Vision: Critical Reflections on the Foucauldian Thesis". Surveillance & Society 1(3): 265. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/pathologisation.pdf >26.02.2006

[35] Erich W. Schienke and Bill Brown. "Streets into Stages: an interview with Surveillance Camera Players'. Surveillance&Society 1(3): 363. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/interview.pdf > 26.02.2006

Brown aims to spread these groups all around the surveilled cities; he explains their actions about this attempt briefly as follows:

> 'We have gone to other countries intending to plant seeds that would sprout—England was totally unsuccessful. The English have given up. (...) In Bologna Italy an SCP group took root there immediately and has been growing strong ever since. (...)The Germans have taken to us incredibly strongly. The French as well.'[36]

The reactions to the cameras and the way they are handled differ from country to country which may vary depending on the physical conditions of the city, to the government that commands it or even to the culture and living habits of the citizens. However it has spread all over the world till our own country, Istanbul and soon on the way to some other cities of Turkey. The way that we react to the situation is referred as NOBESE so far.

The name NOBESE comes as a satire for the name MOBESE; in order to show the neglecting view on it, to emphasize it by replacing the 'm' with 'n' to say 'no' to it. They are inspired from the original players and now realizing acts in different areas of Istanbul turning the public spaces into stages. But who the real spectator is not so absolute. As Brown narrates how the target of the plays have changed in time as follows:

> "The conceit was that it is boring to be a video camera watcher, therefore we'll give them something to watch. (...)Then, as the group became covered and actually began to be reach people it seemed the real focus switched to the people that wandered by actually seeing the staging of this strange spectacle. We began playing to them, because ultimately we're not going to convince the camera operator to smash his or her equipment and join us on this side. But, we're trying to work directly on the populous to inform them and agitate them."[37]

This is the same for NOBESE, who are trying to act more to the people walking around in the public space than to the people watching behind the camera in the control room. In Istanbul these people are gathered within certain time intervals where they arrange meetings in front of a different camera point each time and perform little acts. Ass. Prof. Semih Çelenk, from Dokuz Eylül University's Institute of Fine Arts, commented for

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[36] ibid.
[37] ibid.

these NOBESE acts that 'if we look from point or view of the theater art, we may see the Surveillance Camera Players as an event of "political theater".'[38]

Nearly five months after the cameras started to operate in Istanbul, NOBESE's first act is realized on 24th of June in 2005 around Galatasaray College and Mis Street and so far they have performed around twelve acts. (Fig. 5.1- 5.7) Mostly the plays last between fifteen minutes to half an hour. Each time they pick another topic or concept for their plays depending on the current headlines, such as the biennial, or Ramadan. When it was biennial time in Istanbul, they were inspired from a work in the biennial in which a statue was covered with some material; they wanted to do the same to the camera and covered the camera with that material in order to attract attention to it. Most of the time, the theme comes from their refusal towards the new public life with the presence of the cameras. For example, in one play they have celebrated a player's real birthday with eating his birthday cake in the streets claiming that there is no privacy left anywhere anyway and as a consequence they thought to share this event with the rest of the city and the camera watchers. Another week, in which they chose Sunday to play, their intention was to share their sunday morning newspaper joy with the public.

These performances are usually photographed and shared with the public via their official web site (http://www.izleniyoruz.net/php/index.php) along with other discussions, forums, and news. The New York Surveillance Camera Players also in addition 'perform before Web-cams at pre-established and advertised times, so that audiences around the world can watch the "programme" in real time'.[39] As Brown says about recording the performances to the videos:

> 'We got our most famous videotape of George Orwell's 1984 at the end of '98 and the police showed up during the room 101 torture scene and speak on camera, and the thing plays out as if it were scripted. Those tapes can be really useful, and it's because of that I think the cops no longer come anywhere near us because we're mic'd and have cameras and that they'll end up as some part of a newscast feature if they come near us.'[40]

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[38] Ayşe Durukan. BİA Haber Merkezi, İstanbul, 20.10.2005. <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/yazdir/69092> 16.12.2007
[39] Erich W. Schienke and Bill Brown. "Streets into Stages: an interview with Surveillance Camera Players'. Surveillance&Society 1(3): 360. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/interview.pdf > 26.02.2006
[40] ibid.

This shows that although the police are always watching the others by the cameras they personally also do not prefer to be filmed.

These performances are one influence that these cameras made a differentiation on the social life and usage of the public spaces in Istanbul. During these performances people get together. The surveillance camera players every time invite more players to join them. The citizens walking by come to see what is happening there and most of the times learn about the cameras which they didn't know and realized before. The journalists and reporters come to record the event as well as the police as surely always there to stop the event. By the cameras the officers in the control room also join the event although physically they are distant. All citizens become a part of the play and the public space becomes the stage. It is an action where the crowd gets together and entertains. Furthermore, this whole event as it repeats periodically starts to become involved in the public life like a national holiday celebration, merging with the social life and becoming a part of it. The players affect the way how the urban public space is perceived and interpreted. They play a big part in the evolution of the public space in Istanbul.

As this visual electronic surveillance is a very recent thing in Istanbul, most of the locals are not aware yet. The shape of the cameras in Istanbul, by being more similar to a street light than the camera acts maybe the biggest role in this as well as the lack of the information about the cameras given to public by the media. The NOBESE players perform intentionally in front of the cameras, however all these things happening is just like a reminder and maybe more like a warning to a lifestyle drawn in *The Truman Show,* 1998 Peter Weir movie, where the main character was in an unknown lifetime surveillance just for the entertainment of the others. The whole other characters in the movie, were consciously acting along with him. The NOBESE players are like these ones acting along with the locals to entertain the camera observes but also on the contrary, by celebrating a real birthday party in front of the camera, at the same time they are rather more like Truman who has learned and accepted everything. In Thomas Y. Levin's words, *The Truman Show*, chronicles 'a life subjected to continuous real time observation (..) the "real" presented as a spectacle managed in "real time". This film effectively creates

(and to some degree endorses) a spectatorial position that is in large part identical to that of the surveillance operator.' [41]

As Campanella mentions, 'The specter of surveillance and the violation of privacy are real and vexing issues, and the possibility of Orwellian over-exposure has made many people anxious and fearful of webcameras. Ubiquitous surveillance was the subject of the popular 1998 film The Truman Show, in which the feckless hero is since birth, the unwitting star in his own quotidian drama.'[42] Truman Show is like a more realizable story for the Orwellian society in our times, with the hidden desire in everyone to watch over the others real life. 'Besides the classic voyeurist pleasure of being able to watch someone who does not realize they are being observed, what marks the specificity of the attraction of the *Truman Show* qua spectacle is in fact its simultaneous *flaunting* and *containment* of surveillance.' [43]

Levin talking about the movie asserts that 'as the story of his coming to grips with a fundamentally paranoid world view (the insight that everyone is in fact watching me), *The Truman Show* functions as an allegory of surveillant literacy.'[44]

5.2   The Perception of Surveilled Public Space

The visual surveillance of Istanbul is expected to have significant effects on the social structure of the community which derives to regenerating the physical layout of the public space and the city according to this social change, as in other contemporary

[41] Thomas Y. Levin. "Rhetoric of the Temporal Index: Surveillant Narration and the Cinema of 'Real Time'" in T.Y.Levin, U. Frohne and P. Weibel(eds) . CTRL[SPACE]: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother. ZKM Center for Art and Media: Karlsruhe. pg.590
[42] Thomas J. Campanella. "Eden by Wire Webcameras and the telepresent landscape". in Nicholas Mirzoeff (ed.). The Visual Culture Reader. London: Routledge, 1998. pg. 275
[43] Thomas Y. Levin. "Rhetoric of the Temporal Index: Surveillant Narration and the Cinema of 'Real Time'" in T.Y.Levin, U. Frohne and P. Weibel(eds) . CTRL[SPACE]: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother. ZKM Center for Art and Media: Karlsruhe. pg.591
[44] ibid. pg.591

surveilled cities. As Fyfe and Bannister asserts, 'there are complex economic and political forces behind the expansion of CCTV surveillance in the public spaces of towns and cities and this is having significant intended and unintended consequences for social experience in urban areas.'[45] According to McCahill, the 'rise to strategies of control which instead of trying to change the individual offender, aim to alter the physical and social structures in which individuals behave'[46]

Don Mitchell mentions, 'in most American Cities, the solution to the perceived ills of urban public spaces over the past generation has been a combination of environmental change, behavior modification, and stringent policing.'[47] When the social experience differs in time it affects the physical layout, and then the altered environment effects back again one more time the social relations. Mitchell tries to explain the new build up character of the urban places that might emerge in near future as follows:

> 'face-recognition cameras on lamp poles; police or security officers on every corner; dogs and their handlers roaming the squares and parks; reinforced, more bunker-like buildings; traffic restrictions sensitive to changing conditions; the elimination of 'all above- and below- ground parking' near key public spaces and important buildings; continual broadcasts of public-service announcements throughout public squares; and the installation of numerous planters, bollards, and blast-resistant trash cans.'[48]

This is the scenario of the near future. For nowadays in Istanbul only the CCTV installation is carried out. However the surveillance of the public space has other effects on the urban scale rather than just preventing the crime. Alex Haw talks about the 'use of closed circuit television cameras to privatize a specific public space'[49]. Privatization of a public space makes it more like an un-public space. As Mitchell mentions that 'spaces of controlled spectacle narrow the list of people eligible to form "the public".'[50] As he

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[45] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Jon Bannister. "The Eyes Upon the Street Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance and the City". Images of The Street. London: Routledge, 1998. pg.256

[46] M. McChaill. "Beyond Foucault: Towards a Contemporary of Surveillance" in Clive Norris, Jade Morean and Gary Armstong (eds.) Surveillance, Closed Circuit Television and Social Control. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998. pg.41-65

[47] Don Mitchell. The Right to the City Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. London: The Guilford Press ,2003. pg.2

[48] ibid. pg.3

[49] Alex Haw. "CCTV London Internment, Entertainment and Other Optical Fortifications". AA Files, no 52. Summer 2005:55-61

[50] Don Mitchell. The Right to the City Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. London: The Guilford Press ,2003. pg.141

further continues, 'the public space of modern city has always been a hybrid, and certainly a contradictory, space'.[51]

'The need for heterogeneity has an important cultural as well as political dimension. The privatization of the public realm through CCTV surveillance risks impoverishing the urban experience in ways which are potentially damaging to the collective emotional culture of urban communities' as Fyfe and Bannister mentions quoting Robins.[52]

After the cameras are mounted on Istanbul now the inappropriate people with inappropriate behavior are determined and excluded from the public space by the police. Poor people begging for money, the street venders or drunks are being eliminated from the public spaces of Istanbul. 'Far from the streets being spaces that 'encounters between people of different classes, races, ages, religions, ideologies, cultures, and stances towards life', the potential impact of CCTV is the imposition of 'a middle-class tyranny on the last significant urban realm of refuge for other modes of life'.'[53]

According to Fyfe and Bannister, 'the use of town-center CCTV to mange out 'inappropriate' behavior provides stark confirmation of Davis's contention that 'the universal consequence of the crusade to secure the city is the destruction of any truly democratic urban space'[54]

'Rather than wonder how public spaces can be made secure and how much it might cost, Vidler argues that true security –or at least an urban life worth living- consists in publicness itself. The sorts of proposals put forth by the panel of security experts, Vidler insists, would create 'a world hardly worth living in and would inhibit the very contact through density that cities encourage" as Mitchell explains.[55] According to him 'public space is the space of justice. It is not only the space where the right to the city is struggled over; it is where it is implemented and represented.'[56] For him, 'public space is, in some senses, a utopia. The ideal of an unmediated space can never be met- nor can the ideal of

[51] ibid. pg.137
[52] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Jon Bannister. "The Eyes Upon the Street Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance and the City". Images of The Street. London: Routledge, 1998. pg.263   quoting K Robins.
[53] ibid. pg.263   quoting M Berman and T. Boddy respectively.
[54] ibid. pg.263
[55] Don Mitchell. The Right to the City Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. London: The Guilford Press ,2003. pg.3
[56] ibid. pg.235

a fully controlled space in which the public basks in the splendor of spectacle is never at any sort of "risk". [57]

Robins depicts that, 'urban culture is associated with the experience of aggression and violent behavior. (...)There is fear and anxiety. (...)Urban culture may be seen as a constant state of hostility and struggle. Feelings of anxiety and fear are, then, constitutive of urban life.' [58] As Fyfe and Bannister explains quoting Sennett:

> 'Urban renewal programs were destroying traditional sites of social gathering and rigid land-use zoning robbing neighborhoods of their social and functional differentiation. For Sennett the purification of disorder and difference from space had important psychological and behavioral consequences. (...)Without disorder and difference people do not learn to deal with conflict so that if conflicts do erupt they tend to be more violent. (...)Sennett notes that because individuals now have 'so little tolerance of disorder in their own lives and having shut themselves off so that they have little experience of disorder as well, the eruption of social tension becomes a situation in which the ultimate methods of aggression, violent force and reprisal, seem to become not only justified, but life preserving'.' [59]

What the surveillance cameras are trying to obtain is this fearless environment in the urban area, which can lead to create the contradictions that are mentioned above. 'Like Sennett, Robins believes painful events are worth encountering because 'fear and anxiety are the other side of the stimulation and challenge associated with cosmopolitanism' (...)The desire to purify space of any behavior likely to provoke anxiety and to insulate ourselves from the 'complexities of the city' may in fact deny 'the emotional stimulus and provocation necessary for us if we are to avoid, both individually and socially, stagnation and stasis'.'[60]

As Robins expresses 'the modern city was a place of physiological shock and excitement, a kind of vertigo machine.' [61] However the contemporary surveilled cities are fading away from this point of view.

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[57] ibid. pg.234
[58] Kevin Robins. "The City in the Field of Vision". Into the Image: Culture and Politics in the Field of Vision. London:Routledge, 1996. pg.130
[59] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Jon Bannister. "The Eyes Upon the Street Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance and the City". Images of The Street. London: Routledge, 1998. pg.264   quoting R. Sennett
[60] ibid. pg.264   quoting K Robins.
[61] Kevin Robins. "The City in the Field of Vision". Into the Image: Culture and Politics in the Field of Vision. London:Routledge, 1996. pg.131

"We can speak of a city' says Donatella Mazzoleni, 'as long as the totality of those who live in a collective construction constitute a collective anthropoid body, which maintains in some way an identity as a 'subject'. The city is therefore the site of an identification.' [62] As Kevin Robins explains more, 'the city may exist as a space of potentiality. But now, Mazzoleni argues, it has become difficult to make an identification.' [63]

As Martha Rosler argues, 'the position of the individual and the world of the 'private' over and against the 'public' space of the mass is constantly in question in modern culture.'[64] It is even more in question nowadays with the visual surveillance. According to Mitchell Gray, the 'surveillance systems jeopardize privacy, and the challenge as surveillance grows is to prevent security solutions from evolving into greater threats to the urban fabric than the ones they are meant to solve'.[65]

The boundaries drawn for the private life of the people seems very thin in the video surveillance varying on the capabilities of the system integrated on the city. For example 'in Mineapolis, USA, the Mall of America uses 109 cameras to monitor its customers and staff: each of them can zoom in on an object as small as an ID card.' [66] In London similar abilities are also present for the cameras in the public spaces rather than private institution. "'Theoretically' explained Newman "I could read a text message from here" ', the officer working in the CCTV of London.'[67] By being able to read a text message in a cellular phone the camera watchers gain power to attack to maybe the most personalized tool of an individual, reading his most private messages there. One argues here the limits of the privacy that is left for the community in the urban space.

For Istanbul, the videos recorded by the MOBESE can not be used as evidence legally yet. The authorities are working on to change the laws on the privacy policy and to let the

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[62] ibid. pg.133   quoting Donatella Mazzoleni
[63] ibid.. pg.133   quoting Donatella Mazzoleni
[64] Martha Rosler. "Video: Shedding the Utopian Moment". The BLOCK Reader in Visual Culture. London: Routledge, 1996. pg.259
[65] Mitchell Gray. "Urban Surveillance and Panopticism: will we recognize the facial recognition society?" Surveillance&Society 1(3): 317. http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/facial.pdf 26.02.2006
[66] John Fiske. "Videotech" in Nicholas Mirzoeff (ed.). The Visual Culture Reader. London: Routledge, 1998. pg. 384
[67] Sarah Duguid. "Crime Watch". FT Magazine. januray 28/29 2006: 17-20

images be counted as evidences. On the other hand in London, the images are sufficient to judge a suspect.

According to Gray, 'as the spaces of surveillance grow, private space shrinks. (...)Drawing the policy line too close to the public safety end of the spectrum could result in an undesirably restricted and unnecessarily transparent society'.[68] He further continues as the following:

> 'As panoptic surveillance continues to cover more of the urban space and be experienced more constantly and intrusively by urban dwellers, there is a theoretical threshold point beyond which the surveillance ceases to achieve control. If most members of a society develop the expectation that their mistakes and indiscretions have been recorded and may be revealed, the stigmatization of their behavior that encourages orderliness will slowly disappear. If an individual can no longer anticipate that his life - especially the rough edges - is safely hidden from view, there is less incentive for that person to maintain the false distinction between his actual and reported behavior. Society would gradually adopt new norms, ones that less strictly censure behaviors that were previously common yet concealed.'[69]

For him, 'as soon as society becomes accustomed to a type of surveillance, the reasonable expectation of privacy has disappeared. Urbanites have gradually seen many aspects of privacy disappear. Unlike twenty years ago, the watchful eye of the video camera at stores, casinos and many other businesses and government agencies goes almost unnoticed, and drivers submit readily to being photographed while breaking driving laws'. [70]

Besides these arguments, on the other hand there are some intermediary tendencies. For example, 'Britain's civil liberties watchdogs, Liberty and the Scottish Council for Civil Liberties, have argued that while they are 'in principle opposed to people being spied on in public places' they recognize that 'it can help prevent and detect crime in certain clearly defined circumstances (...) arguing for a balance between the right to the privacy and the right to security, rather than actively opposing CCTV'.[71]

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[68] Mitchell Gray. "Urban Surveillance and Panopticism: will we recognize the facial recognition society?" Surveillance&Society 1(3): 318. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/facial.pdf> 26.02.2006
[69] ibid.
[70] ibid.
[71] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Jon Bannister. "The Eyes Upon the Street Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance and the City". Images of The Street. London: Routledge, 1998. pg.260   citing from Scottish Council for Civil Liberties. "Rules for the Operation and Use of CCTV in Public Places". Glasgow: Scottish Council for Civil Liberties, 1995. p.5

5.3   The Evolution of Public Space

With the MOBESE cameras integrated into the city, the habitants of Istanbul are now facing a monitored epoch and living monitored lives. As Fyfe and Bannister mentions, 'to an unprecedented degree, people are now under surveillance in the routines of everyday life and thus more visible to invisible watchers than ever before.'[72] The entire time that people pass in the public spaces, every action of their daily routines done outside their house is now being watched. Hille Koskela defines this situation telling that 'what we are facing right now is *'the cam era'* – an era of endless representations'[73]

Due to the great number of cameras in London, one person is likely to be on camera 300 times a day. This probability of appearing on the camera has enrolled in the everyday life also in Manhattan, New York that "a billboard touting clothing reads: 'On an average day you will be captured on CCTV cameras at least a dozen times; are you dressed for it?'"[74]

In London most people with the intention of committing crime in the past used to wear pullovers with the hoods to cover their head in order to be unrecognized in the camera shots. This now has merged into the daily lives of British people where one sees a person wearing that kind of outfit they become alert unconsciously. This also brings in mind the question that by being able to hide behind the scarves, hats and umbrellas, if in winter is it easier to commit a crime.

These cameras have penetrated into the everyday lives of people and are now an inevitable part of the society. This has similar consequences at Istanbul also. Two movies have been made using the MOBESE shuts like as if proving the acceptance of it in the real life. The first was in 2005 a Mustafa Altıoklar movie called '*Beyza'nın Kadınları'* which

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[72] ibid. pg.256
[73] Hille Koskela. "'Cam Era' – The Contemporary Urban Panopticon". Surveillance & Society 1(3): 307. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/camera.pdf> 26.02.2006
[74] Thomas Y. Levin. "Rhetoric of the Temporal Index: Surveillant Narration and the Cinema of 'Real Time'". in T.Y.Levin, U. Frohne and P. Weibel(eds) . CTRL[SPACE]: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother. ZKM Center for Art and Media: Karlsruhe. pg.579

the officer in the movie was searching a woman from the screens of the observation center of MOBESE. The latter was a Charles Winker movie '*The Net 2*' in 2006 which used the shots taken from the cameras of MOBESE in the movie.

Further more, this penetration goes even deeper in real life that some citizens have used the cameras as their communication tool for sending personal messages to others. A family living in Alanya sent their Christmas wishes through the MOBESE cameras in Alanya to be watched online by their family in Switzerland from the internet side.[75]

Not all the people are against these cameras, like these ones there are some trying to turn them into an advantage for their personal life. Others that are happy from this application of the cameras are the camera venders. With the fear of crime, the new spirit of the metropolis, there was a sudden rise in the amount of cameras sold in Istanbul as it is indicated in the media. The proliferation of security systems also created new job opportunities like security guards and camera watchers also in the private sector.

It is of course not only in security sector that the new business possibilities occur. 'In Glasgow(...) the installation and operation of the CCTV system, known as Citywatch (....) was claimed that Citywatch would encourage 225,000 more visits to he city a year, creating 1,500 jobs and an additional 40 million pounds of income to city-center businesses.'[76] As Fyfe and Banister mentioned 'similar economic concerns with the commodification of public space have encouraged the introduction of CCTV surveillance in other towns and cities.'[77] Making the city a more secure place has also the intention of creating a more available place for the tourists to visit, and yet to increase the financial gain that the city will get. Another point of view is that these camera systems require a big amount of money to operate. If the government runs out of money in a surveilled city and the operation of cameras starts to malfunction then there is the risk of the life of people counting on these cameras for their personal protection. So it is a great importance for the city to gain a safe city image for the tourists in order to gain financial income.

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[75] Sefa Karacan. <u>Vatan Gazetesi</u>. 26.12.2006 <<u>http://www.tumgazeleter.com/?a=1867205</u>> 2.12.2007
[76] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Jon Bannister. "The Eyes Upon the Street Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance and the City". Images of The Street. London: Routledge, 1998. pg.258
[77] ibid. pg.258

Don Mitchell quoting Crilley mentions that 'the deliberate blurring of carefully controlled spaces (such as Disneyland, Boston's Fanueil Hall or New York's World Financial Center) with notions of public space "conspires to hide from us the widespread privatization of the public realm and its reduction to the status of commodity'.[78] Fyfe and Bannister also assert that 'the vision of a 'downtown as mall' has become just such a dominant representation of urban public space with its associated spatial practices of consumption and capital circulation.'[79] As they further continue, quoting Graham, they talk about how 'those perceived not to belong in commercial public spaces now risk being 'monitored and harassed, losing rights as citizens just because they aren't seen to be lucrative enough as consumers'. The result is a subtle privatization of public space as commercial imperatives define acceptable behavior, excluding those who detract from the consumption experience.'[80] This attitude creates public spaces with the presence of only similar kind of people, destroying the heterogenic structure of the urban life.

Besides all the social aspects of their affection on the city these cameras have also more concrete reflections on the city layout. With the fear of the car theft, in Istanbul citizens park their cars to the streets which are in the range of the MOBESE cameras, with the idea of it would be safer there, as it is mentioned in the media. This attitude of citizens creates and obtains new parking zones and as a consequence new public spaces in Istanbul or at least a new function on the existing ones.

MOBESE cameras are now like an urban furniture in Istanbul. They are like the telephone boxes or the traffic lights. As their appearance is very similar to a street light, this makes them even less recognizable in the urban context. They have become an ordinary part of the city. In Mitchell's terms, 'surveillance cameras had become an everyday part of the landscape.'[81]

Another impact on Istanbul of MOBESE cameras is that the rents of the houses and real estates in the districts containing cameras have increased. The confidence gained from

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[78] Don Mitchell. The Right to the City Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. London: The Guilford Press ,2003. pg.142

[79] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Jon Bannister. "The Eyes Upon the Street Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance and the City". Images of The Street. London: Routledge, 1998. pg.265

[80] ibid. pg.262   quoting S. Graham, J. Brooks and D. Heery. "Towns on the Television: closed circuit TV in British towns and cities" forthcoming in local Government Studies, 1996. 22(3): 19

[81] Don Mitchell. The Right to the City Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. London: The Guilford Press ,2003. pg.2

the existence of the cameras has given more quality to those districts which concluded in the increased rents. This tendency creates new districts in the urban context of Istanbul with higher income habitants creating inequalities in the urban context even more. The increase in the will for the housing complexes with the gated residential zones is also an increasing sector in the cosmopolitan lifestyle.

Sarah Duguid, interviewing the CCTV operators in London finds out that the impacts of those camera watchers on the city is more than just finding out the offenders. Talking about the camera watchers she mentions that 'they also alert councils if rubbish bags are not being collected and they manage the carnage after the weekend ritual of hen and stag parties.'[82] As it can be derived from this MOBESE cameras can also have some helpful sides for the tidy and neat image of Istanbul.

'While improved detection is one important benefit, it is the deterrence effect of CCTV that is claimed to be 'its strongest feature' as Fyfe and Bannister quotes Graham.'[83] As they mention 'reductions in recorded crime were found in Sutton town center where total crime decreased by 20 percent in the two months following the introduction of CCTV. (...) By contrast, in Sutton the number of crimes out of camera range increased.'[84] The same has happened in Istanbul also. According to the police officers with the integration of MOBESE cameras, the purse-snatching and theft events have decreased in the areas having cameras, shifting the crime through the places without surveillance.[85]

The authorities say that MOBESE has played a big role in obtaining the security of Istanbul since the day it has started functioning. As it is written in the media, by the April 2006, it has resolved so many security problems which can be summarized briefly as the following:

> "-Only from the fixed cameras located in the bridge and highway gates 25 million vehicles passing had been recorded which 503 of them found to be stolen. While from the other 574 cameras located around the city 125

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[82] Sarah Duguid. "Crime Watch". <u>FT Magazine</u>. januray 28/29 2006: 17-20

[83] Nicholas R. Fyfe and Jon Bannister. "The Eyes Upon the Street Closed-Circuit Television Surveillance and the City". Images of The Street. London: Routledge, 1998. pg.261   quoting S. Graham, J. Brooks and D. Heery. "Towns on the Television: closed circuit TV in British towns and cities" forthcoming in local Government Studies, 1996. 22(3): 3--27

[84] ibid. pg.262

[85] Devrim Tosunoğlu. <u>Akşam Gazetesi.</u> 27.04.2006. <<u>http://www.tumgazeteler.com/?a=1143612</u>> 02.12.2007

thousand 7 hundred vehicles have been questioned and 177 are found to be stolen.
-47 thousand pirated editions of CDs, books and DVD have been captured and 29 people got arrested.
-387 security events have been captured by the cameras and the related team has been sent to the incidents.
-475 wanted people got arrested." [86]

Duguid, in her interview also mentions about the operation of the surveillance system in London; 'for Rob McAllister, the manager of Westminster Control Center, "There is very fancy technology out there but it can't work unless you have people. It is about the intelligent use of the system." His teams can't work in isolation, he says. "It is the people on the street phoning in with information and the people operating the system".[87] The similar is also valid for Istanbul. The system works better with the cooperation of the community. The police department of Istanbul has recently started a new application that the citizens now can make denouncements via the official web site of the department with photos or videos that they have taken not exceeding 2 MB size.

The community, in order to be able to help the MOBESE cameras, should be aware of them initially; which is a general problem in Istanbul after almost three years of their installation. This reminds the question that if people are not aware, how these cameras can prevent crime by their deterrence effect. Majid Yar talking about this issue, he mentions that:

> 'the apparent lack of awareness on the part of the populace that an area is subject to CCTV surveillance has been mobilized as an explanatory resource to account for the lack of efficacy of CCTV schemes in initiatives aimed at reducing crime and/or other forms of undesirable ("anti-social") public behavior.(...)There are two implications here: (1) that low levels of public awareness about the presence of CCTV cameras accounted in part for the negligible deterrence effect (...) and that (2) conversely, if awareness were increased, the desired deterrence effect might become manifest.'[88]

The offenders should be aware of the camera in order to feel the panoptic power that is imposed on them. However on the other hand, the ordinary people walking in the streets also suffer from the same inconvenience. As Jar asserts, 'while we may be "aware" of the

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[86] ibid.
[87] Sarah Duguid. "Crime Watch". FT Magazine. januray 28/29 2006: 17-20
[88] Majid Yar. "Panoptic Power and the Pathologisation of Vision: Critical Reflections on the Foucauldian Thesis". Surveillance & Society 1(3): 262. <http://www.surveillance-and-society.org/articles1(3)/pathologisation.pdf >26.02.2006

presence of CCTV cameras in the first (empirical, cognitive sense), we often tend to take no practical cognizance of them as we go about our activities. If the logic of panoptic power is conditional upon the subjective awareness and sense-making activity of the individuals "subjected" to it, then it is by and large liable to have only limited impact in terms of the "normalization" of their actions.'[89]

[89] ibid.

Figure 5. 1 Poster of a NOBESE Performance

"International Protest Day Against Surveillance.
Performance 19 march '06 Sunday 14:02 at Mis Street"

(Source:http://izleniyoruz.net/php/mediagallery/media.php?f=0&sort=0
&s=20060728051150388)

Figure 5. 2 Poster of another NOBESE Performance

"Surveillance Camera Players, NOBES #8
Sultanahmet Square, 22 October 2005"

(Source:http://izleniyoruz.net/php/mediagallery/media.php?f=0&sor
t=0&s=20060731165601662)

Figure 5. 3 Performance of NOBESE Players at Mis Street.

(Source:http://izleniyoruz.net/php/mediagallery/media.php?f=0&sort=0&s=20
060728054100225)

Figure 5. 4 Performance of NOBESE Players, Galatasaray.

(Source:http://izleniyoruz.net/php/mediagallery/media.php?f=0&sort=0&s=2006
0728013213672)

Figure 5. 6 Performance of NOBESE Players, Galatasaray.

(Source:http://izleniyoruz.net/php/mediagallery/media.php?f
=0&sort=0&s=20060728013214795)

Figure 5. 5 Performance of NOBESE Players, Bakırköy

(Source:http://izleniyoruz.net/php/mediagallery/media.php?f
=0&sort=0&s=20060728044843959)

Figure 5. 4 The traditional memory picture taking of
NOBESE Players in front of the cameras, Beşiktaş.

(Source:http://izleniyoruz.net/php/mediagallery/media.php?f
=0&sort=0&s=20060728021443173)

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In the twenty-first century that we are living, Bentham's eighteenth century panopticon is dispersed and became invisible in the urban form and replaced by the surveillance cameras. The watching gaze is now being carried by the electronic visions that the cameras record. The observation tower is disappeared evolving into a control room with lots of screens showing the images taken from the cameras. Istanbul and its citizens are facing this same situation in our country since three years. The panoptic effects that the cameras create are forcing the citizens to behave normal and self regulate. The main objective of this thesis is to discuss this assumption of Istanbul being an urban panopticon and its consequences on the way that the public life and public spaces of Istanbul is affected.

Before starting to discuss Istanbul of being an urban panopticon first the process which has led to this situation, is being exposed in chapter two briefly to concretize the notion of surveillance in the twenty-first century. The main objective of the chapter is to discuss the security and surveillance solutions that are being held on the contemporary cities in various other forms. Not only had the fortification of the cities and building types but also some other dispersed kinds of affects that surveillance methods have are being mentioned. In the final parts of the chapter a brief pre-discussion focuses on the panoptic feeling that the visual surveillance brings to the city.

The power that panopticon owns and the disciplinary effect it has is now being used to protect the city centers with the watching camera. The inspecting gaze once again, after centuries, is used to obtain order and impose power on the ones that are being observed.

The only difference here is that the observed ones are not chosen to be done something wrong which needed to be carefully investigated.

The major purpose of chapter three is to discuss what panopticon is and how it is interpreted then and now. Jeremy Bentham designed panopticon for the institutions where the total inspection was necessary which could be used for discipline in any school, animal farm, hospital or a factory. But it is mostly perceived and used as a prison model. Michel Foucault mostly saw the panopticon as a disciplinary mechanism and as a laboratory which could affect and shape up the whole society.

In the further pats of chapter three the evolution of panopticon into the urban scale is being discussed. With the similar architecture to panopticon, the panorama created a new notion on obtaining power on the city with the inspecting gaze of the own seer. This time not the guardian but the citizens had that power. To see and being seen discourses continued in several other forms till our times inside the urban scale; from Crystal Palace to Eiffel Tower till the contemporary skyscrapers.

As set forth throughout the fourth chapter; this visibility and transparency are being obtained by the surveillance cameras integrated in the public spaces nowadays as in Istanbul. How Istanbul is becoming an urban panopticon and its tools that produce this situation are being exposed in detail during the chapter. MOBESE is the name for the system that is installed in Istanbul which started to operate nearly three years ago with its 570 cameras all around the city.

This electronic visual surveillance in Istanbul has both social and physical affects on the city. The first and sudden impacts can be observed mostly on the social relation it creates among the citizens and the way they react. By the alteration on the social relations, the way a city is experienced differs which leads to a physical change in the city. The main purpose of the study is to discuss the behavioral changes this urban panopticonization of Istanbul creates on the citizens and its direct consequences on the city.

Chapter five is mostly build up on the discourse of public space and the way it is perceived after the MOBESE cameras integrated. In the beginning of the chapter in a more theoretical background the notion of public space and its need to be heterogeneous

structure is discussed. However with the camera surveillance the public spaces are being homogenized by the exclusion of the unwanted and unsuitable people that the authorities decide. This whole system in the end leads to an individualization and an urban alienation in the society.

The creation of new functions to use the public space; either physically or sociologically is being observed in Istanbul. NOBESE group started to perform small acts which created a new happening and incident in the way that public space is experienced in certain time intervals, like a festival or holiday. More physical examples can also be seen like the unconscious creation of car parks or increased rents creating higher value land zones in Istanbul. Shifting of the crime into the areas lacking camera is another zoning that these cameras created in Istanbul affecting the living preferences of the neighborhoods. The presence of the cameras in a neighborhood may give confidence for the ones living there but at the same time for the ones that does not recognize that area may create a vision of being a dangerous zone that should be avoided. In the further parts of chapter five these consequences of the MOBESE cameras on Istanbul are being discussed.

Even thought MOBESE is said to decrease the crime rates in Istanbul, it is ambiguous that this system is really effective in fighting with crime. Although it is the strongest weapon in the protection of the city it is still not accurate enough to be the only protection system in Istanbul.

This protection system that MOBESE cameras create, as though they are recording twenty-four hours, is not sufficient enough to visualize clearly during the nights. Their technologies are limited for now and the authorities are trying to improve it with the night vision and face recognition systems. As the images recorded by the cameras can not officially be used as evidence the system still loses one more time its confidentiality. And yet still the lack of knowledge in the citizens about the presence of the cameras even supports this. If the technological background is not adequate then the deterrence effect of the cameras would prevent the crimes to occur. However as their appearance looks more like a street lamp this option also disappears.

The main thing in the panopticon system was the consciousness of the inmates of the observation tower and the guardian inside it, in order to feel the power on them all the

times; however with the lack of the knowledge of the MOBESE cameras this self-regulating system will not work properly in Istanbul.

Even if it does, the self regulating attitude is only valid in the zones containing cameras. The increase in the crime rates on the areas without cameras proves that the use of the disciplinary mechanism of the panopticon in order to discipline the whole society is not affective as much as Foucault has suggested. Accordingly, the use of the electronic surveillance system does not really decrease the crime in the city by disciplining the society and creating better individuals without the intention of the crime, but it is likely to create offenders who search for more invisible ways of committing crime. So this system instead of solving crime mostly shifts the place of it.

With the integration of the cameras, crime free zones are created inside the cities with homogenized people and physical appearance. The system decreases the places in the city with the availability to commit crime, but not the crime itself. By making these kinds of pure and safe places, the system will create a hygienic cover for the citizens, where inside they might live happily and unconsciously without knowing and facing the real dangers of life and when they get out of the zones protected with the cameras they might get sick easily because of their weak defense system to microbes.

Although that the only intention of the system is shown to be protection of the citizens and the safety of the public places; the surveillance power owns more than this on the urban scale. The use of the system just for the public safety is unconvincing. The panoptic power of watching enables the ones behind the screens to observe and gather information on everyone and every action. Collecting information and knowledge on someone or some group creates a privilege that allow them to use that knowledge in their own benefit. This awareness and cognition that the authority owns is scary. How this information is going to be used in unknown and uncertain.

Behind those cameras not only the people but their actions and relations with each other are also being watched. The way people get together, the others that they communicate, the places visited are all being observed and recorded which can be used later against that person. Associations, fellowships or other social formations are being controlled in the

city. The system makes social sorting on the society and puts the population into classifications.

One of the main objectives of this observing is to detect the ones that do not fit in the normal outline of the citizens; to detect those out of norms and to eliminate them from the public spaces. The different ones always creates problems for the authority, they create disorder in the society. Most of the times a silent and consent society is preferred and those people out of norms are the ones that wake up the others and disturbs the system. So, those ones are the ones that are being searched behind those cameras in order to protect the existing system and order.

As in the disciplinary power of the panopticon, these cameras force the citizens to behave normal in the public spaces with less abnormal attitudes. With the fear of being watched and also by the fear created of the others that they are dangerous for each other and that the cameras are there to protect them, the system creates citizens which do not interact with others. The homogenization of the society and creating a slavery society which do not go beyond the authority's demands is being tried to create.

The real owner of this power is also controversial. As observing the others creates power for the watcher on the observed one, here in this situation it is uncertain who has the biggest power; the authority, the ones that demand the others to watch the society from the cameras or the exact ones in front of the cameras. Maybe it depends on the ability to use that owned power. If the person in front of the screen does not interpret that information than he does not use the privileges of the power he gains and lets the others to own the power he gathered.

Another point is that the most authorized people on top of the system are also living in the same city and being watched time to time along with other citizens. In case of them doing something wrong that can be detected by the cameras, then who owns and gets the power to judge them and use that knowledge is also in doubt.

In fact all the negative arguments and assumptions done throughout the thesis, in a way, cannot go so much further than being a theory or even dystopian scenarios for now. The existing situation may not seem that black as it is argued. The real problem may be the

worries about what could happen under these improvements of the surveillance societies; the fear of the possible use of the system in unmoral ways for wrong purposes. The main cause of the problem is the huge amount of power given to the authorities with this system; the fear of disloyalty on the exercising this power. The public spaces were never private anyway. The real problem here is the limitless and undeserved power that the authority gains on the citizens and their personal life.

In the public spaces, the citizens were always under some gaze, the gaze of anyone around or someone in the building looking from window. However, the situation here is the ability of the cameras to record the images and its potential to be used later as a threat for some reason. Controlling the self behaviors under the pressure of being watched constantly in the end will make the citizens exhausted and stop paying attention to the cameras and neglecting them, which will destroy their panoptic effect.

Looking from a different aspect it can be said that by the choice of the places to locate the cameras, the authorities own another power of deciding the new zoning of the city. By installing the cameras, the city centers and the areas that the population is wanted to be concentrated are being insisted on the society without perceiving. Totally a new city center can be created with the integration of many cameras into an empty area in order to make it develop or the contrary can be occurred. One most frequented area can be filled with cameras creating a dangerous affect and left empty pushing the citizens to newer centers. This electronic surveillance system also owns to decide the new interpretation of the city centers.

As it can be claimed the real intention of this electronic surveillance can not only be to fight with the crime. If it were so, then some other precautions to fight with the problem and to destroy the reasons that force people to commit to crime would have been tried to be solved. However with the easiness to have control on the whole society this surveillance system is welcomed so willingly by many authorities.

In the end, as the main intention of the thesis is not to search the main reasons of the electronic surveillance in Istanbul but to discuss its affect on the way that the city is perceived and interpreted, the arguments are limited with the social and spatial consequences of this inevitable surveillance system.

In Istanbul it is too soon to judge the realization of all the worries since it has only passed nearly three years after the installation of MOBESE cameras. As a former example, on the other hand, London may be a better example to mention. London is under visual surveillance since many years but to conclude about a lost public life is still difficult. The numbers of cameras are increasing each year which exceeds millions now. In Istanbul this number is only 570. As the numbers of the cameras and the areas with the surveillance increase respectively the affects and reactions would be more obvious to examine. But it can be said that London is still among one of the most desired touristic places and its population is getting crowded each year. Being under surveillance doesn't affect the decision of most of the people in moving there, nor does it make many people to escape or move out of the city just because of these cameras.

After all, the panoptic side of Istanbul did not start with these cameras. Long before the panopticon has designed and after centuries has passed, one can find many examples in Istanbul which work in the similar notion of panopticon. For example, lots of towers were used in the past to watch for the fires in the city as Galata Kulesi was used to watch the ships coming. Further more, Topkapı Palace had lots of panoptic aspects in its architecture. Kız Kulesi can also be counted as an object in which one can watch the surrounding without being seen from the inside. Being in the middle of the sea it can be assumed as standing like a guardian tower in the center of the sea.

However, all these examples are panoptic only by themselves each and effective in their near environment. On the other hand, the integration of the MOBESE cameras is like an attempt in joining all these separate parts of the city in order to work like a total one object of watching and observing. As it is impossible to be in the main center of the whole city and observe everyone that exist in the city from that one point, the solution for the integration and realization of panoptic principle in the urban scale was the digitalization of the system. The mutation and re-interpretation of the architectural elements of panopticon and making them disperse in the whole city. The gaze of the guardian has been interpreted by the screen and camera relation. The need for the physical boundaries has disappeared in the contemporary times.

In a city through out the history lots of places or architectural buildings can be found which can be associated with the discourse of surveillance. Not always the intention was to change the society as in the case of the discourse of panopticism of Foucault's but to protect the city from the unexpected. In the old times the walls of the fortresses and the towers were used to protect the city and the citizens from the outsiders. The towers were built in the shapes which enable the archers to fight and throw arrows without being seen by the enemy. In those times architecture had a big role in the protection of the city. For example in the old days, narrower streets were designed to escape from the enemies and make them lost their way in the city. However, later in the modern times the roles have changed and in most of the cities the streets were designed larger and wider in order to prevent the escape of rebellions from the police and in order to be able to observe the outbreaks easily.

To observe the architectural consequences of the surveillance in the private sector is easier than the ones in the public surveillance. The physical reflections in the architecture are clearer in the private buildings. The gated communities are the obvious example of this for example. The fences surrounding the gardens and the security huts placed in front of nearly every building are merged in to the contemporary city appearance. In the shopping malls in Istanbul the entrances have became like the airport passport control areas, full with x-ray machine to search for dangerous objects. It made the entrance halls to be designed larger, creating a new approach on the shopping mall design. Airport design is another example where the surveillance and security precautions affect mostly the design of the building. The designs of the big office buildings or concert halls are all affected by the concern of surveillance in recent times.

In Istanbul a different project has been held to merge the private sector with the public life. Kanyon Project built recently in Istanbul is a multi-purpose project in which it hosts residences as well as an open shopping center which resembles a canyon in the appearance. Although it is an open space shopping area which meant to be like the public area; in the entrance from the street one passes from a door with x-ray machine in order for the protection. The design of these kinds of complexes is very popular in contemporary times where one has many different functions all in one building complex which is secured from the environment and dangers. In the contemporary cities even the public spaces are being watched by the cameras trying to be privatized or private projects

are being designed which try to act like a public space. The whole notion and perception of the public space in the city is under a deep change.

On the other hand, to see the direct affect of this surveillance and protection in the architecture of urban space is rather hidden and less clear than the private buildings. With the uprising technology, the solutions created for security are depending more to the electronic medium than the architecture itself. In a way architecture is losing its power on the design of the cities in the name of surveillance to the digital medium.

In the panopticonization of Istanbul, architecture is losing its elements replacing them with the electronic tools. Maybe in all this electronically built up panopticon, the main or maybe the only architectural element left is the observation room in Vatan Street, where all the images from the cameras are being observed. It is a part of an architectural building, a room with closed boundaries which enable people to work inside. Although it does not have windows to watch outside, all and each of those screens inside the room works like a different window showing images from different parts of Istanbul. In a way it works like a big building with lots of different windows which one can look outside from each and see all of Istanbul.

Bentham used an architectural object to realize his dreams in the notion of observation of the multitude of people. Architecture was only a tool for himself. The panopticism discourse now has got out of its architectural cover and is being realized in the electronic medium in most of the places. Architecture is mostly lost its relation with the surveillance discourse since its elements and scale have exceeded its limits to make the system function. In the old times the surveillance was limited with the physical limits and abilities of the architecture. On the contrary now it is mostly limited with the ability of the technological device used in the surveillance and its capabilities.

The 'clever buildings' are very popular in architecture in contemporary times; in which windows of the buildings open and close automatically for the ventilation, or the sun louvers change direction as the sun does. The building is surrounded with electronic medium which decides for the building's benefit. As it can be derived from these, the electronic enclosure is not used only for the panopticonization of the cities for the

surveillance but inside the buildings also. In this point, one wonders if the next step of this would be the formation of 'clever cities'.

If not by the cameras we are under surveillance in many other forms in the city. The technology age that we are living, divides the social interaction of the citizens more each day pushing it to a more digitized medium. Just a more extreme and pessimist scenario would be the one that with the improvements of the technology and internet in our daily lives, there could be no need any more to go out to street. All one need would be done from the inside his own house; all the social relations and friendships would be carried on the net and the work, education and food could be obtained through internet. This new life style emptying the cities and streets could make the surveillance cameras watch nothing but empty streets and as the final step causing the evolution of the surveillance from the video cameras to the virtual panopticons in the digital cities.

As this visual surveillance is a very recent implication in Istanbul only the first and obvious changes are put into the scope of the research. The significance of this study is to open the way of the urban panopticon discussions on our culture in Istanbul. As it is too early to observe a huge physical difference in the city now; the study further can be developed by examining these impacts during the following years on several time intervals to check if the proposed possibilities will come to reality.

The potential of the system and the capacity it brings to help the design of the city with the integration of the citizens can be searched in the further steps. With the direct data and numeric values gathered from these cameras; city planners, architects and sociologists can come together to integrate these information and can create a new and better city design which reflects the choices of its citizens. This system can be used to create a city design where the citizen can be the designer or the administrator of the system. It can be used as a city information system on creating new city planning programs to improve the city. By doing so, the disadvantages of the unconsciously created areas and new zoning of the city occurred by the affects of these cameras can be minimized.

As the proliferation of the cameras will increase it is mentioned that the system will spread into different cities of Turkey especially in the first step to Ankara, Diyarbakır and Gaziantep. The consequences of the integration of cameras can be observed in Istanbul

and used before placing the cameras in other cities formerly to merge the cameras into the city with the spatial concerns. One further implication of this study can be held by examining these cities for a broader aspect of the vision, like an urban panopticonization of Turkey, and see the differentiations according to the cities and in the end the study can be developed to be the creation of a new city planning program.

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