The atmosphere of CCTV: visibility, narrative, encounter

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Abstract

Departing from traditional research that measures the impact of closed-circuit television cameras (CCTV) as a crime prevention tool, this thesis interrogates its lesser-known effects in the city. While international evidence continues to demonstrate that CCTV does not prevent interpersonal crime, investment in this surveillance technology endures. Public support, often intensified in moments of extreme and public violence, also endures. The murder of Jill Meagher in 2012 is a primary example. Across Australia, public CCTV networks were (re)invested in after CCTV footage of Meagher and her killer emerged in the media. Far from demonstrating the failure of CCTV to protect Meagher, the footage guaranteed the persistence of CCTV, and facilitated further expansion of security camera networks. Such a dynamic of reinvestment after spectacular criminal event can be found elsewhere, notably in cities in the United Kingdom.

This thesis contributes a framework for understanding this and other paradoxes of CCTV. As a security camera and as a producer of a visual image, CCTV is often used to make narrative sense of violence, without a concomitant understanding of how its restricted framing of the city contributes to heightened anxieties about danger. Urban places are far more than just inanimate spaces. Concepts of the city are being created and recreated in a complex way, as people move through it, during day and night. Experiences of light and darkness, gender, narrative, and memory combine with surveillance technologies in unexpected ways. Extensive evidence demonstrates that if CCTV was intended to prevent crime or to produce safer streets, it fails. However, recent research also suggests that the uses of CCTV are expanding, through its use as a method of identification of suspects after
the commission of crime and through an increasing sense that it can assist in the governance of public spaces. The purpose of CCTV has thus evolved far from its role as a simple crime prevention tool.

Engaging with emergent research methods and theoretical paradigms in criminology, this thesis elucidates the continuing consequences of CCTV for everyday life in contemporary cities. It contributes to an ongoing critical analysis of governmental and private investment in CCTV, and focuses questions around the interconnectedness of CCTV use with broader securitisation strategies within surveillance networks, many of which are targeted towards the monitoring of marginalised populations. Read within the broader social, political, and historical context of CCTV in Melbourne, this thesis shows that CCTV produces a city that cannot ‘see’ without it.
Declaration of Authorship

This is to certify that:

i. The thesis comprises only my original work towards the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

ii. Due acknowledgment has been made in the text to all other material used,

iii. The thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices as approved by the Research Higher Degrees Committee

Caitlin Overington
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Chapter One

Violence and CCTV in the city

*I feel as though there is a black cloud hanging over our city, particularly the suburb of Brunswick.*

(Moreland City Council Mayor John Kavanagh, quoted in Collins 2012, no pagination)

It is Friday evening – the 21st September 2012 – and Jill Meagher has finished work for the week.¹ One night before the spring equinox, the air is fresh and she wears a light jacket. CCTV cameras record her as she walks, with a female colleague, out of the offices of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) in Southbank, Melbourne. They walk north towards the city, with pace and purpose. Elsewhere in the city, CCTV cameras also record Adrian Bayley. Wearing a pale blue shirt, he enters the Quiet Man Hotel in the northwest suburb of Flemington, accompanied by his girlfriend. Inside, still more cameras document the couple as they head to the bar for a drink. As Bayley waits to be served in the buzzing venue, he places his hand on the lower back of his partner. Soon after, a jolt in visual transmission indicates that time has passed. The two have disappeared and the bar is noticeably emptier. Bayley soon re-emerges. He finishes his drink and places the empty glass on the bar as he walks towards the exit. He and his girlfriend, now in the company of several friends, leave the pub all visibly in high spirits. Bayley’s girlfriend departs first, while Bayley

puts his hands around another man’s face and pulls him in for an animated discussion. The two men walk out the door together, cross the road, and move out of frame.

Jill Meagher’s evening has also progressed. She has changed her clothing and is accompanied by three friends as they enter the Brunswick Green, a bar on Sydney Road in the inner-north suburb of Brunswick. As soon as they enter, there is another jolt in visual transmission, again indicating the passing of time. Meagher is exiting the bar with one male friend.

Adrian Bayley is now alone. With a phone held to his ear, he searches through a hazy and grey crowd inside Lounge Bar, a venue in central Melbourne. Lumbering down a set of stairs, he exits the frame and returns to the street. After a brief chat with the bouncer, Bayley, still in his pale blue shirt, walks out of sight.

Returning to Brunswick, Meagher and her friend stroll along Sydney Road. A tram can be heard rumbling past as they walk. Another lapse in recording, and Meagher crosses Sydney Road unaccompanied. She stops briefly to chat with a group of three people walking in the opposite direction, having done so to ask for a cigarette. The encounter ends with Meagher warmly hugging two of them before continuing north, past Crust Pizza at 455 Sydney Road. From this point on, Meagher is walking alone.

Victoria Police recreated this visual storyline as video evidence, used when charges were later brought against Adrian Bayley for the rape and murder of Jill Meagher in
the early hours of Saturday 22nd September 2012. A compilation of the footage from a variety of different cameras, this edited film was released to media in March 2013, after Bayley’s committal hearing. It was intended to contextualise the CCTV footage of Meagher and Bayley interacting on Sydney Road that had been released after Meagher was reported missing in September 2012; footage that showed Meagher and Bayley, dressed in a blue hoodie rather than the pale blue shirt he had worn earlier, as they walked north along Sydney Road, moments after Meagher walked past Crust Pizza. The March 2013 release of this extended CCTV footage prompted The Australian (a national broadsheet newspaper) to describe it as a visual representation of the night ‘two worlds collide[d]’ (Legge 2013, no pagination).

Figure 1 Flyer of missing Jill Meagher (Stephen Harman: Herald Sun)
Jill Meagher was reported missing to the Victoria Police by her husband, Tom, early on Saturday 22nd September 2012, after she failed to return home. A Facebook page, ‘Help us find Jill Meagher’ was established on the Sunday (Milivojevic and McGovern 2014, 22) before the Victoria Police’s Homicide Squad took over the investigation the following day (Levy 2012). The case sparked public fascination, with the Facebook page attracting 90,000 ‘likes’ in its first four days, and Twitter hashtags incorporating Meagher’s name also trending on the social media platform (Ainsworth and Casey 2012). Surges in Twitter activity by Australian users were traced to key moments in the case, including most significantly the first release of CCTV footage by police on Tuesday 25th September 2012 and the arrest of Bayley on Thursday 27th September 2012 (Powell, Overington and Hamilton 2017). This initial CCTV footage shows the last known images of Jill Meagher alive. Roughly two minutes of footage was pulled from a fixed security camera positioned at the entrance of the Duchess Boutique, situated at 517 Sydney Road in Brunswick, and less than 200 metres from Crust Pizza. In this clip, key evidence in an active investigation, seven separate individuals enter and exit its frame. At the time of its release, only one was identified – Jill Meagher, as she walked home. When released, police singled out the ‘man in the blue hoodie’, as a person of special interest. The others captured in the frame were also encouraged to come forward by media, politicians, and their own social networks (Flower and Dowsley 2012).

Online social media circles took up the challenge of naming this ‘man in the blue hoodie’, and of searching for ‘clues’ in the footage. News media, too, engaged extensively with this video. Media analysis of Meagher in the footage describes her as ‘looking nervously back down the footpath’ (Oakes 2012, 4), and being ‘coached’
by Bayley ‘like you would a child’ (Butt 2012, 4). Bayley’s body was also subject to considerable scrutiny, with claims circulated on social media and reported by news outlets that he held a gun (Flower and Dowsley 2012). As more footage was released after her fate was known (the footage described at the beginning of this chapter), further emphasis on Meagher’s vulnerability was articulated, her body read as ‘a gangly doe oblivious to its predator’ as she walked, alone, past Crust Pizza and towards the Duchess Boutique (Legge 2013, no pagination).

During the investigation into Meagher’s disappearance, representatives of local, State and national governments provided significant fiscal and political support for CCTV. An audit of CCTV networks in Melbourne (to be undertaken by Victoria Police) was requested by the State government, alongside announcements for $3 million in grants to be made available ‘for local councils to install new cameras’ (Rolfe 2012, no pagination). At the same time, the then Leader of the Opposition in Federal politics, Tony Abbott, announced as an election promise a national $50 million dollar CCTV network upgrade (Rolfe 2012). At the local level, the Lord Mayor of the City of Melbourne, Robert Doyle, expressed his intention to expand the City of Melbourne’s security camera network with further funding. The Mayor of Moreland City Council (the municipality where Meagher was killed), John Kavanagh, signalled plans to provisionally accept funding from Victorian State Government to build a public CCTV network (Rolfe 2012). At the time, Moreland City Council had no CCTV network established. After community debate, the council accepted

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2 As of 2017, Victoria Police has not released the findings of any audit of CCTV cameras in Melbourne.
3 Tony Abbott and his Coalition party were elected to government the following year.
4 The City of Melbourne was subsequently awarded $250,000 by the State Government to expand their CCTV network (Victorian Government 2017).
$250,000 from the State Government to establish a nine-camera network along Sydney Road, themselves adding a further $125,000 to cover the costs of installation. In September 2014, the CCTV network became fully operational (Moreland City Council 2017).

While the original clip of CCTV footage documenting Meagher and Bayley walking together was released on Tuesday 25th September 2012, it was not until Thursday 27th September 2012 that the ‘man in the blue hoodie’ was arrested and interviewed at the St Kilda Road Police Complex, located south of the city. Social media activity again peaked upon news of this arrest. After leading police 55 kilometres north west of Melbourne’s central business district, and to the site where he buried Meagher’s body, Adrian Bayley was charged with three counts of rape and one of murder in the early hours of Friday morning, almost one week after Meagher disappeared (Stack and Carty 2012).

Bayley’s image, as recorded by the CCTV camera from the Duchess Boutique, was reproduced extensively on television, in print, and uploaded onto numerous Internet domains and platforms. Identifying the ‘man in the blue hoodie’ ultimately came to symbolise the key moment in unlocking the then unknown fate of Jill Meagher. Circulation of these images was a response, and a stimulus, to the public’s fascination with the case and desire to see the mystery solved. Through the captured imagery of him, Bayley became the visual personification of risk, danger and violence in the night. These images were to have a profound impact on public perception of crime in Melbourne and of the operations of the criminal justice
system. As a young woman residing in Brunswick at the time, I too was caught up in wanting to solve the mystery. I watched the clip numerous times after Meagher’s disappearance, hoping that the next replay might reveal some key element in the footage. Amplified in the newspapers I read, Facebook news feeds I scrolled through, and social groups I connected with, Meagher’s disappearance dominated headlines for weeks. Female friends were encouraged to stay off the streets at night, and one male friend insisted on walking me home one evening, despite my house being in the opposite direction to his. When identified, Adrian Bayley was publicly demonised *en masse*, his criminal past and his being on parole and bail at the time of Meagher’s death leading to stricter legislative reform regarding parole in Victoria (Farnsworth 2015). With the emergence of Facebook pages calling for his public hanging or castration (Milivojevic and McGovern 2014), the impact of social media in criminal investigations and due process was interrogated (Lowe 2012). The potential for social media and online search engines to jeopardise trial proceedings was discussed with some alarm by mainstream news media outlets (Lowe 2012).

Emphasising his separation from society was a court order suppressing the use of Bayley’s image beyond the footage, rendering him an ongoing and unknown presence in the psyche of many Melbourne residents. His criminal history, including previous convictions as a sex offender, was not fully released until 11\textsuperscript{th} June 2013. Upon this announcement, Bayley was labelled again as an evil figure ‘never to be released’ (Bucci 2013, no pagination). Prior to the lifting of the court suppression order, information revealing Bayley’s convictions was leaked to public radio commentator Derryn Hinch. He published the material and spent time in jail for breaching the order (Anderson 2014). In my own social circle, a friend’s partner
claimed to be party to a private court hearing in October 2012 in which Bayley’s previous sexual assault convictions were mentioned. Facebook pages calling for Bayley to be hanged also included posts about his background (Hastings 2012). Australia’s eagerness to discuss and punish an ‘evil monster’ seemed to outweigh the wish to effect procedural justice. In these months, Bayley’s character was both magnified and obscured. The stories and images that leaked through the veil imposed by the criminal justice system contributed to a sense of his infamy. Throughout this time, CCTV footage of his final steps with Meagher continued to be readily available. I found myself wondering, how could it be that a piece of evidence, supposedly so key in recognising Bayley, was not also suppressed along with other photographic evidence and details of his identity?

The blue-hooded figure of Bayley was made monstrous through the recounting of his violent recidivism. Meanwhile, Meagher’s frozen smile – an image originating from the ‘missing’ posters Tom Meagher circulated on Facebook and pasted up on Sydney Road – came to personify the ‘ideal victim’ (Christie 1986). The stark contrast drawn between the characters of this narrative, between good and evil, contributed to a sustained socio-political climate that reverberated across other Australian states (Carr 2016). The names of both killer and victim still frequently appear in news media (see Alison 2017; Ford 2017). Federal Attorney-General George Brandis cited the murder of Meagher, and related CCTV footage, as evidence that other surveillance technologies also needed to be made available to police agencies. This included establishing mandatory telecommunications metadata
retention laws, to be used for counter-terrorism operations (Massola 2014). In the days, months and years following Meagher’s death, CCTV has been heralded as instrumental in identifying Bayley at the scene(s) of crime. Importance of CCTV within other criminal justice procedures was further established when CCTV footage was used as evidence when committing Bayley to stand trial for the rape and murder of Meagher. The utility of the footage as key evidence was cemented in legal procedure when mentioned on three occasions within the court’s sentencing of Bayley to life imprisonment with no parole for 35 years (The Queen v Bayley 2013).

Like the relationship between CCTV footage and solving crime, the perceived relationship between CCTV and crime reduction endures within social circles, news media and political campaigns, iterated still by reference back to the death of Jill Meagher. As subject matter and as a growing presence on the streets of Melbourne, CCTV compels responses around which social and personal anxieties coalesce.

A brief history of CCTV

Surveillance is not new, or a new technological phenomenon, or a response to external threats, or even a product simply of modernity.

(Lyon 2004, 136)

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5 The bill was passed, and has become the Telecommunications (Interception and Access) Amendment (Data Retention) Act 2015.
6 Bayley initially admitted to causing her death and to one count of rape. He pleaded not guilty to murder and two other charges of rape. After the committal hearing, he changed his plea to guilty of murder and one count of rape.
The impact of CCTV imagery within the consciousness of individuals, institutions and state should not be underestimated. It has affected policy responses at Local, State and Federal levels. The footage of Meagher and Bayley’s interaction has also had a significant impact on ongoing perceptions of women’s safety at night, with the common practice of walking alone at night culminating in conjecturing that ‘it could have been me’ (Cooper, Brown and Hingston 2012, no pagination). The footage also encouraged some women who had experienced street harassment by unknown men to speak about their experiences (Ford 2017). However, the broader narrative of victim blaming persisted, with media commentators using these stories to distribute blame for Meagher’s death to women who had failed to report their experiences to the police (Rule 2012). Broadly, Meagher’s death and its related footage symbolise a rupture in the imaginations of everyday life within Melbourne. There were many elements that contributed to this becoming a ‘signal crime’, an event with disproportionate impact on public fear and socio-political responses to crime (Innes 2004). For example, Meagher’s personal qualities, Bayley’s violent history, and the relative randomness of the crime all tie in. And yet, CCTV’s association with these aspects is so tightly wound together that they cannot be read separately. Meagher’s murder stimulated a spike in public discussion surrounding CCTV in city spaces, and continues to provide a point of reference for how we understand CCTV within Victoria. However, it was not the first time that CCTV has been instrumental in the imagination of crime and its desired prevention on the streets of Melbourne.

In February 1997, ten security cameras were installed by the City of Melbourne along King Street in the central business district (CBD), as a direct response to ongoing ‘concerns about incidents of violence around licensed venues’ at night
(Wilson and Sutton 2003, 36). In the two years prior to the installation, 72 assaults were recorded at licensed premises along King Street, at least one of which related to organised crime (Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee 2001, 116). An element of the Westend Project, CCTV cameras installed as part of the Safe City Cameras Program were presented as a crime prevention tool, with footage actively monitored by private security operators contracted to the City of Melbourne (Wilson and Sutton 2003, 36). The Safe City Cameras Program responded to a damaging perception of King Street, as not only dangerous for patrons, but also as economically unsustainable for investors (Koutsoukis 1996). A ‘concerted campaign’ by the Herald Sun and The Age (Victorian newspapers) that began in 1995, tracing the ‘upsurge, or at least perceived upsurge, of violent incidents occurring in King Street’ was seen to amplify these perceptions (Drugs and Crime Prevention Committee 2001, 115). One council survey, asking visitors what words came to mind when on King Street, found the three most popular to be ‘traffic, violence and stabbings’ (Vodanovich 1998, 3).

Written in the context of a war, an evaluation of the Westend Project and Safe City Cameras Program used the phrase, ‘how the west was won’ to demonstrate the power of a security camera to reduce crime (Vodanovich 1998, 1). Supported by successive State governments since, the perceived importance of CCTV on the

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7 Of these ten, four were installed in 1996 during the Grand Prix as part of an initial test.
8 The violent assault took place at the Sports Bar nightclub on King Street in December 1995. This event was later represented in the fictional television series, Underbelly (2008), as precipice to the ‘gangland war’, which resulted in the murder of 36 criminal figures between 1998 and 2010 (State Library of Victoria 2017).
9 The Westend Project was established in 1995 by the City of Melbourne, in collaboration with selected non-government stakeholders, in order to respond to poor public perception of the Western end of Melbourne’s CBD (Vodanovich 1998). Details of the Westend Project are elaborated on in Chapter Four.
streets of Melbourne existed well before Meagher’s death (Anderson and McAtmney 2011; Clancey 2009; Klepczarek 2003; Sutton and Wilson 2004; Victorian Law Reform Commission 2009, 2010). Since 2011, 29 grants with a total funding of over $5 million have been bestowed to Victorian councils under the Community Crime Prevention Program (2017). Promoted as a successful investment in crime prevention technology, as of 2017 the Safe City Cameras Program in the City of Melbourne has expanded to incorporate 68 CCTV cameras situated across various sites of the municipality. A security patrol vehicle ‘fitted with 360-degree surveillance cameras’ is also dispatched on Friday and Saturday evenings (City of Melbourne 2017, no pagination). Not only are the cameras intended to prevent crime, the City of Melbourne’s emphasis on ‘safety’ highlights their desire to use the technology in expansive ways, including for public order and crowd management (City of Melbourne 2017). Referring to them as the ‘eyes of the city’, Lord Mayor Robert Doyle claims the cameras are trained upon ‘every entrant to the city’ to neutralise anyone ‘hell bent on creating havoc and mayhem’ (Masanauskas 2016a, no pagination).

Notably, both of these points in time – King Street in 1997 and Sydney Road in 2012 – attracted investment in CCTV technologies after a spectacle of violence within the space, events that dominated media headlines and evoked a sense of crisis amongst the users of the space. Each also occurred within a night-time setting. The role of CCTV has been, and continues to be, productive in divergent ways. While CCTV recorded Meagher as she walked home from the night-time economy, CCTV along King Street attempts to contain and reduce violence within these borders. Furthermore, as the camera is never switched off, the potential for CCTV to have a
different role during the daytime is likely, particularly in the City of Melbourne’s expansive security camera system (and through its connection to a live control room). While Moreland City Council’s nine-camera network makes, at present, a mostly passive intervention to deter criminality and enhance perceptions of safety, the City of Melbourne’s evolved system is intended as a direct and deliberate intervention. Its beginnings as a limited 10-camera network 20 years ago prompts questions regarding the future expansion of Moreland City Council’s network (in size or application, or both). Little public criticism or questioning is directed towards either of these networks and their capacities. Spectatorship of crime through CCTV footage, the role of CCTV in crime prevention discourse and policy, and the way that CCTV frames crime and victimisation need to be considered to better understand how CCTV escapes critique. With the number of CCTV cameras and networks increasing in Australia, the United Kingdom – with an estimated 5.9 million CCTV cameras in public domains – provides insight into one possible future that Australian cities may face (Temperton 2015).

When George Orwell published *Nineteen Eighty-Four* in 1949, depicting a dystopian world controlled by Big Brother and television screens that monitored subjects in their homes, readers were presented with a chilling representation of the future. While much of what Orwell created in his book has not directly come to fruition, the use of video surveillance has continued to grow rapidly within private and public settings. Remarkably, in the actual year of 1984, CCTV cameras were temporarily installed to monitor and identify subjects involved in the 1984 miners’ strike in

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Britain (Coulter, Miller and Walker 1985). The confinement of surveillance to monitoring a ‘problematic’ population through CCTV was transformed throughout the 1990s in the United Kingdom following several high-profile crimes. Terrorist attacks by the Irish Republican Army (IRA), for example, led to a network of cameras being installed to monitor the entrances to the City of London (referred to now as the ‘ring of steel’) (McCahill and Norris 2002).\textsuperscript{11} Perhaps most prominent during this time was the response to CCTV footage relating to the murder of 2-year-old James Bulger in 1993, by two 10-year-old-boys. CCTV images documenting the moment that Bulger was abducted in a shopping centre in Bootle (a small town just north of Liverpool) by the boys were marked as a turning point in the police investigation. It ultimately led to two murder convictions (Carter 2017). These examples, each leading to further CCTV cameras being installed, epitomises the perceived need for and effectiveness of surveillance, and mark a significant shift in public demand for its widespread installation (Lyon 2004, 142).

Shocking the moral conscience of people all over the world, the discovery of Bulger’s mutilated body appeared to ‘illustrate the need for CCTV’ in order to prevent further crimes and improve perceptions of safety in the streets (Coleman and Sim 2000, 627). This crime ‘and its images are incapable of straightforward separation’, emphasising how much of everyday life is now ‘lived in the imaginary’ (Young 2008, 27). Spectators who viewed footage of Bulger as he walked hand-in-hand with his killers from a shopping centre, in the context of knowing he would die (just as people

\textsuperscript{11} Fussey and Coaffee (2012) have also documented the expansion of surveillance and security infrastructure in London through the 2012 Olympic games. As a mega-event with loosely defined security threats, many surveillance networks were rationalised to ensure ‘complete’ security.
consumed the image of Meagher walking out of the CCTV frame with Bayley knowing that she would vanish), view it as the ‘crime-image’ (Young 2010). Images become signifiers of life, and so ‘we turn to the image as bearer of light’ (Young 1996, 20). Victims do not see themselves as such, however the viewers know through retrospective reinterpretation of what is being shown – taking a child by the hand, having a conversation on the street – as the prequel to a violent act that will soon take place. It draws spectators into the narrative whilst expanding out the moment of violence. Dominant political discourse in Britain concluded that CCTV was clearly a ‘viable policy option for crime prevention’ through the Bulger case, and so CCTV was installed across cities and towns with great frequency (Webster 2009, 13). By 1995, CCTV was a ‘common feature of public life’ within Britain, including in Liverpool, with only around 6% of respondents to a government survey feeling concerned by the presence of cameras within the street (Brown 1995, 1).

Throughout the mid-1990s and into the early 2000s, the Home Office in Britain continued to invest significantly in CCTV. This was evident through government publications reaffirming the perception of CCTV as a useful crime prevention tool, and through further fiscal incentives (Gills and Spriggs 2005). Substantial grants were offered to local governments by the Home Office through the ‘CCTV Challenge Competition’, with CCTV installations accounting for over 75% of local government’s total expenditure on crime prevention initiatives (Taylor 2010; Welsh and Farrington 2002, 2009). CCTV’s perceived usefulness expanded, moving it from simply being a crime prevention technology, and into a ‘friendly eye in the sky’ that should induce feelings of safety for the ‘right’ citizen in cities and towns (Groombridge and Murji 1994, 9).
For almost 20 years, CCTV cameras have had the ability to focus on and ‘zoom in’ on potential criminals (Norris and Armstrong 1999, 170). Since then, CCTV technology has been refined further. While the immense number of cameras and data pulled from them has led to commentators arguing that networks have become unmanageable (for example, the United Kingdom Surveillance Camera Commissioner Tony Porter), others have focused on how to improve efficiency in sorting through this data (Riley-Smith 2015). Especially in the national context, many governments are concerned with improving technology so that terrorist threats can be mitigated, illustrating how practices for national security are realised at the city level (Chesterman 2011). The City of Westminster in London, in which many British tourist landmarks are located, is acutely impacted by this rhetoric. One approach to harnessing CCTV networks for counter-terrorism practices is the investment in automatic facial recognition technology (Shan et al. 2008). Another is the investment in hiring ‘super-recognisers’ to manually sift through CCTV images to identify criminals (Keefe 2016). Research into improving real-time detections of any face, or activity, that has been predetermined as suspicious is occurring globally (Ho et al. 2012). While this advanced technology is still in development – or diverted into newer surveillance technologies (such as biometrics) – examples of ‘smart’ cameras have already been installed across the City of Melbourne CCTV network (City of Melbourne 2017). Regardless of how effective facial recognition may be from a technological perspective, it is still dependent upon subjective and human determination of risks (Byrne and Marx 2011).

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12 This is separate to other control room operator employment; ‘super-recognisers’ have been used in the United Kingdom as recently as 2016 to focus on identifying alleged offenders involved in the 2011 London Riots.
For all of these rapid refinements of technology and expansion of locations, certain agencies have begun to interrogate the ongoing cost of maintaining ‘smart’ technologies. Within the Australian context, the technology is still relatively new, however the sheer mass of CCTV networks within British cities has attracted criticism on economic grounds, particularly as systems require ongoing maintenance and updating (Hogg 2016; Sullivan 2016). And yet, the voraciousness with which investment continues in private and domestic CCTV cameras suggests the perceived utility of CCTV will continue to outweigh exorbitant running costs. With their crime-images increasingly available and as small-scale versions become cheaper (for example, with footage redirected through smartphones in an app), there appears to be no diminishing of the desire to watch, and of public confidence in the truth value of the CCTV image. Even as the City of Liverpool face significant operating costs, their CCTV network continues to function (Hogg 2016).

CCTV: new ways to measure and respond to its intervention

Cultural, political and economic investment in CCTV as a crime prevention tool is immense. Spanning across decades, as a security technology, it has become banal – something to be expected in the city, something that does not arouse suspicion, and something that supposedly maintains order and safety (Goold, Loader and Thumala 2013). To oppose CCTV, or even to take issue with significant investment in such networks, is socially and politically precarious. In December 2016, for example, an evaluation of their nine-camera network was tabled at a Moreland City Council meeting. The evaluation found that the network was underperforming in each of its
stated aims, including the prevention of crime and improved perception of safety (Moreland City Council 2016a). Also agreed at the meeting was ongoing fiscal investment for the network, conditional upon another evaluation to be conducted in 2019. The following day, outrage ensued across media platforms. Reporting transformed into hyperbole. It was assumed that evaluation implied extinguishment of the network. Paired with reports that Jill Meagher’s parents were ‘horrified’ about the possibility of the network being defunded, ‘switching off the cameras’ became synonymous with a guaranteed reduction in safety and increase in violent street crime (Masanauskas 2016b, no pagination). Painted as callous, the Mayor of Moreland responded rapidly, assuring the public that the CCTV network was not at risk of divestment (Moreland City Council 2016b).

Moreland City Council’s evaluation is not the first time that CCTV networks in public have been found to fail to reduce crime. While few evaluations have taken place in Australia, studies from the United Kingdom illustrate that CCTV has repeatedly been unsuccessful in reducing criminal violence.13 However, it is not that CCTV has no impact; its consequences are varied and frequently adverse. CCTV has been found to displace crime to areas unable to afford cameras (Fyfe and Bannister 1996), contribute to social exclusion for the most marginalised populations (Norris and Armstrong 1999), cause psychologically harmful effects for control room operators who witness violence (Smith 2015), and to more generally enhance the negative consequences of sorting populations into risk categories (Lyon 2002). Beyond these

13 The only crime that CCTV has continually proven an effective response to is the reduction of property crime in enclosed car parks (Anderson and McAtamney 2011; Welsh and Farrington 2003, 2009).
direct impacts, CCTV continues to take up the majority of crime prevention budgets for local and state governments. Its easily mediated images ensure its saturation within everyday discussions of crime in the city, often eliciting a populist punitive response to a variety of crimes, regardless of prevalence or causation.

Irrespective of the criticisms that are made of these effects, and of general public awareness that CCTV is not a panacea to crime in the city, CCTV remains almost impervious to sustained questioning in the public domain. How can we make sense of this seeming paradox – an ambivalence about its effectiveness, but a nebulous desire for its existence? It is from this starting point that my thesis seeks to contribute meaningfully to the discussion of a technology operating at the micro- and macro-level of city practices. Informed by, but departing from, traditional crime prevention assessments, this project will illustrate the multilayered impacts, failures and interventions that CCTV has had on the city. Combining investigation into the desires to secure the city, with a critique of CCTV’s less-measured affective and spatial impacts, this project argues CCTV to be a failure not simply in crime prevention, but in the production of settled and safe cities.

In the following chapter, this thesis outlines a conceptual framework for understanding what ‘the city’ means. Drawing from a range of perspectives, Chapter Two will illustrate how this project is influenced by and coincides with visual and critical criminology, surveillance studies and broader literature on gender justice and social control. It will illustrate how the concepts of visibility, narrative and atmosphere are essential in working towards an understanding of CCTV’s numerous
influences, particularly in the production of environments that elicit positive associations with CCTV. This chapter emphasises the importance of engaging beyond crime statistics, and moving towards new ways of understanding how CCTV operates. This framework sets the foundation for engaging analytically with rupture and banality in the city.

Chapter Three follows, outlining ways of reading this conceptual city. Establishing the importance of studying, not only surveillance discourse but also its materiality, this chapter establishes new methods for critically engaging with CCTV. It outlines how a diverse range of methods, including interviews, focus groups, ethnography, control room observation, media analysis, visual analysis, and critical discourse analysis can be brought together to better understand the impact of CCTV.

‘Regulating visible violence in the city’ is the topic of the first analytical chapter. Exploring what it means to experience two activity corridors – Sydney Road in Brunswick and King Street in the CBD – by day and at night, it engages with the conventional construction of the night-time economy, perceptions and realities of violence, and the production of desire. From this, a critical understanding of the development of public CCTV in Victoria is offered. This section also isolates some of the impacts of CCTV as a response to violence against men, and as an enabler of structural violence towards women. Tying together subject-desire and its structural commercialisation, this chapter will set the framework for the following chapter, which explores why it is that many women feel heightened risk and vulnerability.
when walking away from such controlled environments at night, even when this distance is reducing the statistical likelihood of sexual harassment and assault.

‘Unsettling women in the city’ builds from the previous chapter's demonstration that harassment sustained by the structures of the night-time economy is not contained within licensed premises. This contextualises how Moreland City Council’s CCTV network came to exist in its current form. Conceptually linking light, visibility and surveillance, the chapter affirms how the walking female is drawn to, and desires the light of the camera, and yet is afforded no meaningful protection from its gaze. Not only this, she remains subject to the broader narrative of familiarity as security; street harassment becomes further rationalised as part of the everyday, with responsibility to mitigate consequence internalised by the walking subject. Such analysis explores how the network is likely to expand, and why it will not achieve its aims.

‘CCTV seeing the city’ continues the theme of the previous chapter. Undertaking a targeted analysis of the extended CCTV footage provided to the public in relation to the death of Jill Meagher, this section engages with the productivity of CCTV to produce atmospheres enabling network expansion. Illustrating how CCTV camera networks expand, not despite, but because of their structural failure to see everything, we discover how security cameras cannot in their current capacity work to reduce violence against women. Elements such as stitched narrative, surveillance time and the banality of footage are interrogated, and the ethics of ‘crime vision’
questioned. This chapter directly challenges public investment in these technologies.

In Chapter Seven the focus shifts towards an analysis of CCTV control room operations and CCTV governance. Drawing from interviews, control room observation, and policy and media analysis, I look critically at the ability for control rooms (and more generally, the networks themselves) to manage and produce the city through aesthetics and movement. This takes the thesis beyond its attachment to case studies of violence in Melbourne, and analyses established CCTV networks in the United Kingdom to illustrate the settling of CCTV atmospheres in cities. Focusing on circulation and evaluations of ‘success’, this chapter demonstrates how CCTV networks have expanded their intentions rapidly. This is achieved through the sense produced by and within the control room. The difficulty of containing CCTV's impacts on the city in current socio-political climates will become apparent.

In my final chapter, I address elements of innovation and resistance as part of broader surveillant assemblages in city spaces. As this thesis recognises the ability of CCTV to embed itself within the city, and the difficulty in removing this ‘sense’ once installed, I offer new ways of resistance through revaluing the ‘unsurveilled’ spaces within the city as a contrast to surveilled spaces. Bringing each chapter together, this final chapter demonstrates that there are powerful arguments for the impacts of CCTV to be considered – by researchers, practitioners and walkers in the city – in new ways. Indeed, it is essential to ensure the establishment of ethical surveillance in cities.
Chapter Two

Conceptualising the city

I hope they put more cameras in here to keep people safe.

(Edith McKeon, Jill Meagher’s mother, 30th September 2012)

Eight days after Jill Meagher was murdered, approximately 30,000 people marched down Sydney Road in Brunswick (see Figure 2), as a community-led response to her death (Dowling and O'Connell 2012). A flyer created by Philip Werner, a Brunswick resident, was shared two days beforehand (online and on the street) to advertise the march. Using the same photo of Meagher as that used on the original ‘missing’ poster (produced by her husband Tom Meagher, see Figure 1), a note underneath the image read:

In case no one seems to be in charge, just start marching peacefully down Sydney road [sic] at 12.15pm. I’m just a local Brunswick resident who wants to help end violence in general and against women in particular. (Werner 2012, no pagination)

Beginning at the corner of Moreland and Sydney Roads, which marks the northern border of the suburb of Brunswick, the crowd stretched over one kilometre as it moved south (Dowling and O'Connell 2012). Consuming the visibility of the road’s bitumen, the march concluded near the corner of Sydney Road and Brunswick Road, Brunswick’s southern border (Dowling and O'Connell 2012). Many media outlets reported the march as both a collective mourning of Meagher’s death, and as a community demonstration in solidarity against violence towards women.
Edith McKeon, Jill Meagher’s mother, participated in the march and addressed the crowd. With media cameras firmly fixed on her, she thanked those in attendance for their support. She also spoke of her hope that Moreland City Council would install CCTV cameras. Once extensive media coverage of Sydney Road – as a site of violence, protest, and mourning – subsided, Victoria Police and Moreland City Council workers removed floral tributes left at the Duchess Boutique (where Meagher was last recorded by the shop’s CCTV camera), ‘to avoid them obstructing the local area’ (Duck and Thompson 2012, no pagination).

These responses and reactions to Meagher's death are significant, as they illustrate more than just how mourning (and dying) are governed in cities. Reading also how the march was coordinated, performed, and reported, offers an entry point into how this thesis conceptualises ‘the city’ as a ‘living’ place, and as a ‘lived in’ space. As
illustrated by this event, Melbourne’s contemporary identity is in flux. As a city, Melbourne is influenced not only by temporality and event, but also by other elements that contribute to its fluid atmosphere(s). These elements, when read separately and when drawn together, allow this thesis to articulate what it means to live, and to walk, in Melbourne. This, by extension, provides ways of articulating how CCTV influences the city’s atmosphere in multiple ways.

**Governing public space**

Early scholars who critically engaged with ‘space’ as a means of understanding everyday life in the city demonstrated how the city is not simply a ‘product to be used, to be consumed’, but also ‘a means of production’ itself’ (Lefebvre 1991, 85) (emphasis in original). In short, space is relational. The city, as it is conceived by the subjects using it, is just as influential on these subjects as it is itself influenced by such subjects (Lefebvre 1991, 85). Itself ‘the outcome of past actions’, it also ‘permits fresh actions to occur’ (Lefebvre 1991, 73). When 30,000 people marched down Sydney Road eight days after Meagher died, their actions deliberately and visually re-purposed a streetscape, re-establishing it as a site for public mourning (Barr 2014). At the same time, it is unlikely such a march would have occurred had the space not first been the imagined site of Meagher’s final moments. Historically contextual, spaces are occupied and used in relation to their past occupations and the social relations within them – ‘it combines the city’s reality with its ideality, embracing the practical, the symbolic and the imaginary’ (Lefebvre 1991, 74). This
complexity of space, how it may be read concurrently and in contradictory ways, its layers of reality, illustrates how the city works on different scales.

As cities adapt and change within these layers, spaces have been critically understood as a ‘product’ rather than ‘organic’, and as part of a broader materialisation and ‘spectacle of society’ through the successes of capitalism (Debord 1967). However, social spaces can still be innovative, in that they ‘organically emerg[e] out of the felt needs and urges of daily life’ (Molotch 1993, 889). Rather than each space occupied only as a product, as an ‘abstracted hell laid on by planner’s schemes’ (Molotch 1993, 889):

[T]he benefit to be derived from this conclusion is that it leaves us some prospect of discovering a dialectical relationship in which works are in a sense inherent in products, while products do not press all creativity into the service of repetition. (Lefebvre 1991, 77)

In this reading, responses to violence in real and imagined space will always be produced and organic. A community demonstration after Meagher’s death, seemingly led by a local resident, again offers brief empirical demonstration. The city ‘composed’ through the march is organic, yet still produced by other social and political actions. Though the public march after Meagher’s death had no individual figurehead, it was still coordinated from afar, with jurisdictional reference to Moreland City Council and the Victoria Police, both of which were notified prior to the demonstration and assisted in the direction of the march along Sydney Road (Dowling and O’Connell 2012).
Such an event is organically mobilised only by a collectively understood moment of rupture. CCTV footage of Meagher’s final moments transcends attachment to one particular night, and one place. With city spaces produced before, during and after entry, a rupture also changes the suitability of other actions. It was not just the crime that shocked people, but its familiar location within a lived city that mobilised the somewhat organic march. Reactions to such ruptures illustrates pre-existing expectations of, and in, public spaces. Lively and fluid discourses shape how individuals move through spaces. The imaginations of city spaces are themselves shaped by socio-historical or socio-political contexts. These imaginations are not only produced, but are also naturalised through practice.

To make this distinction between organic and produced space, the conceptual differences between space and ‘place’ can be made. Everyday life in the city is practiced, and such practice of movement, thinking and interacting on the streets often results in a space that is ordered (de Certeau 1984). Intrinsically influenced by the expectations of how everyday life in the city will (or should) look, feel, smell and taste (de Certeau 1984, 117; Urry 2010), rights to the city become conditional (Mitchell 2003). Sites transform within the city through these practices into places, becoming something with a fixed or tangible identity (de Certeau 1984, 117). Orderly in their physical or imaginative form, places neatly prescribe to occupants how movement can occur, and restrict reinterpretation of purpose and practice. On major roads in Melbourne (such as King Street and Sydney Road), materials are used to differentiate footpath from road. Lines are painted to distinguish car park from

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14 Later sections of this chapter will address these senses more explicitly, as aspects of atmosphere and ambience.
bike lane, and signposts signify times that roads are clearways or parking spots. In more subtle ways, a small concrete step is designed as a gutter to channel rain water, but it also demarcates the road from the footpath, and so channels cars and pedestrians. These elements distinctively demarcate how streets are intended to be used, and restrict discursively and practically how else the space may be imagined. Even through naming – Sydney Road and King Street – finite sites are outlined as definable and locatable. Particularly evident in their illustration on maps, places continue to be representative and fixed outside of their physical dimensions. With such ‘proper’ streets and names defining marked places, also created is a ‘law of the “proper” rules in the place’ (de Certeau 1984, 117). Sites may be temporarily transformed into sites of new meaning and purpose, but will often return to an ordered place. It is clear, then, that even ‘space does not exist prior to identities/entities and their relations’ (Massey 2005, 10).

Space is not exclusively tied to a geographical or physical location, or even what occurs within that space. It can be as abstract as our understandings of time, and so is as much a way of connecting and distancing social relations, as it is geographical (Massey 2005). How subjects move through city streets is influenced not simply by the physical but also through their existing relations to each other and to the ‘other’. This is clear when places are resisted. Everyday life in cities will not be totally uniform due to many institutional, systemic and phenomenological reasons, and so cities will also always contain sites of resistance and micro-political

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15 This chapter has not yet discussed the relationship between the watcher and the watched with regards to CCTV surveillance and control rooms. This will be drawn out in later sections when the impact of surveillance on social spaces is detailed.
manoeuvres (Brighenti 2010, 61). By taking a shortcut rather than sticking to the grid of the city, for example, or by using a map to find new pathways, may be an opportunity to activate spatial relations in a way that previous socio-political forces had not intended or understood (de Certeau 1984). A useful starting point for this thesis is to consider the fluidity of space, and how sites transform to reconcile competing interests.

In general discourse, there is often a rudimentary distinction made between public and private space in the city. When in relation to policy and urban design, the tendency to assume a fixed understanding is common. This is functionally problematic for this project, as it does not effectively account for privately owned and operated CCTV systems in public. Most CCTV networks in Australia operate in each realm simultaneously, and in multiple ways, due in part to the ‘neoliberal city’ (Hackworth 2007). It has been noted that attempting to distinguish spaces as ‘public’ or ‘private’ poses issues, for example through the premise of spaces being ‘private in one sense and public in another’ (Iveson 2007, 12). Rather than lamenting a society that is seeing a continual decline – or absolute demise – of truly public spaces (which early authorities on space tended to observe) more recent scholars suggests that such utopian ideals never existed, certainly as public space in cities was arguably only defined upon the creation of private space (Habermas 2009).

While the tendency to define spaces as public or private is problematic, others acknowledge the power that collective consciences can have on retaining public aspects of shared spaces (Iveson 2007). Space becomes public, not just through physical location, but also through the actions that are facilitated and repressed (Iveson 2007). Spaces in these instances are ‘a context for action, a kind of action,
and a kind of actor’ (Iveson 2007, 8). This approach enhances previous discussions about space, as it makes clear how geographies in the city can operate differently within a broader socio-political context, dependent on the subject or action.

Emphasising the importance of procedural approaches to maintaining publicly accessible spaces does not discount geography. Geography is something that continues to be emphasised in this project due to the varied physical elements of CCTV cameras and networks. New forms of public spaces facilitated through media can enable easier conversation and thought between people (online, or otherwise) (Papacharissi 2002). These forms, however, must still operate through a built medium which inherently influences how the conversation is formed (for example, through printed text), or who may participate (for example, only those with access to a computer) (Iveson 2007; Papacharissi 2002). New modalities of public space are important for creating new spaces and connecting new communities, yet they cannot wholly replace other varieties (Iveson 2007, 13). As technological developments enable the emergence of multiple overlaps in traditional concepts of public/private space, the utility of such demarcation is further reduced. Therefore, this project engages more simply with the terms ‘social space’ and ‘public access space’ to alleviate unnecessary contradiction.

Expanding into urban geography and analysing the dimensions and perceptions of ‘publicness’ often uncovers discrimination of certain subjects within the city. Mentioned earlier, while a place may become a fluid space through procedural approaches of the social body, the ‘properness’ associated with the physical cannot
be shaken. Dominant discourses operating within and by the social space (and within and by the social body) will, by definition, restrict other practices (Pecheux 1982). The naming of a space as either public or private can influence how the space is created and utilised; the determination of what is appropriate for public is further enforced by other discourses. Protests, for example, can be seen as a suitable repurposing of roads, as long as they are temporary. If I were to walk down Sydney Road today, in the same way as the protesters, I would likely be labelled as deviant or a nuisance. Responses to visible homelessness in the city more clearly exemplify this. Spaces that are notionally publicly accessible, such as a park or a library, may be perceived as open for all, but will often fail to facilitate the shelter needs for a homeless person, or intentionally be designed to restrict loitering (Petty 2016; Watson 1986). These intentions are confirmed by extensive laws against vagrancy, extensive policing of public spaces (such as parks during the evening), and hostile architecture that physically prevents a comfortable sleep (Fyfe 1998, 121; Petty 2016).

Legal procedure also regulates spaces and behaviour. While law ‘is only one of the many dimensions of the fabric of our cities’, the ‘failure to analyse, and even to see, the legal dimensions of routine urban life is a product of systematic biases among writers on things urban’ (Valverde 2012, 6). Jurisprudential scholars focus on ‘neoliberal legal infrastructure’ to demonstrate how seemingly innocuous designs carry with them underlying intentions to regulate and control movement throughout the city (Valverde 2012, 35). Cities may discursively celebrate diversity within a written policy or political rhetoric, and yet fail to provide a streetscape that accommodates such diversity. The regulatory roles of local municipalities, through
discretionary bylaws and planning permits for example, can be far more effective, and insidious, than harder forms of policing (Petty 2016). Informed by multiple socio-spatial norms, the application of law further embeds appropriateness for spaces in the city (Valverde 2012, 78). Emphasis on ‘softer’ approaches to control illustrates how CCTV in city spaces will likely be productive beyond its strictly legal parameters, particularly when understood in discourses of safety. Even when its effects cannot be directly measured through crime statistics, how it may produce realities and encounters, while legitimised as legal infrastructure, is significant.

Legal geographers seek to redress what they perceive to be a problematic dichotomy between space and law, as a subject in the city is always ‘subject to some jurisdiction’ (Delaney 2010, 40). A subject may be understood as either a citizen or as an alien within a geographic context. Law’s dichotomy of legal/illegal terminology can be expanded and operationalised, creating further dichotomous responses; individuals are either to be welcomed or excluded, their actions condoned or condemned (Delaney 2010, 4). In this context, it is not only important to see how things become ‘ordinary’ but also to address the created ‘counter-point; what is not part of everyday life’ (Delaney 2010, 43). Space also shapes jurisdiction, and so we must engage with the overlapping nature of the socio-spatial and the socio-legal (Delaney 2010; Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2010). That is, law and space affect each other (rather than law only affecting space). Some call this the ‘nomosphere’ (Delaney 2010), others the ‘lawscape’ (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2010), or the ‘legislated city’ (Young 2014). Each, in a way, seeks to provide a framework for understanding not only the practices of law, but also how ‘social practices constantly complicate, undermine, rearticulate legal norms’ (Delaney 2010, 7). This is
important. Expanding from the initial understanding that the body is always subject to jurisdiction, ‘before the city, the law... created the city, the polis... invited the law, the law... validated the invite, the invite... legitimised the law, and so on’ (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos and FitzGerald 2008, 439). Interconnections of law and space are not restricted to the realm of the visible. These terms also interrogate the ‘connection of reciprocal invisibility between law and the urban space’, as effects occur even when they may be understood as invisible to a certain subject (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos and FitzGerald 2008, 439). Moving beyond the human subject as ‘a central figure of perception, performance or action’, we can understand how ‘creative construction of signs [are] not limited to humans’ (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2013, 37). The fluidity of law and urban space, constantly renegotiated through the other, provides an ‘engineered atmosphere’ that affects not only how we look or act, but also how we may feel in a specific environment (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2014). Careful not to demonise the law, it is ‘both prohibitor and enabler’, with potential to produce socially just environs, as well as to regulate, exclude and control (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2014, 57).

In shifting towards an account of affect over discourse, we are encouraged to consider more than ‘rationality’ (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2013, 41). Exploring other senses, ‘the law considers disgust as a reason and excuse for conduct norm-making’ (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2013, 38). Shifting back towards the criminological, then, the ‘legislated city’ considers not only the ‘law’s architecture’ of the city, but also how we experience ‘ourselves as citizens and subjects’ within the space (Young 2014, 43). By observing how ‘lines of the law tend to coincide with the lines of cartography and of timetabling’ (2014, 43), what may often result is:
An image of the city as smooth, compartmentalised, organised around boundaries and functional, although such a legal assemblage is based on a desire to control the city’s perceived unruliness and fecklessness.¹⁶ (Young 2014, 43)

Within the everyday in the city, multiple forms of encounter and experience will occur. Neither space nor law can be conceptualised as a single – even if still fluid – entity. The legislated city desires fixed socio-legal norms; however, its realisation within the city will usually take different forms and temporalities (Young 2014). Whilst subjects may be moving through the same physical location and subject to the same laws, they may also be engaging with a very different idea of the city, different applications of law, and subsequently altered everyday life (Young 2014).

**The night, ambience and atmosphere**

One way of exploring how spaces, law and ‘public-ness’ shift in and with the city’s subjects is in thinking about time and economy. The city assumes different identities between day and night. With capitalist and neoliberal rationalities flowing on from the economies of the daytime, many researchers have explored the night as a new space for consumption and production. The night-time economy fosters trades based on people coming together in the city for purposes of socialising and being entertained (Hobbs 2003). Whereas city spaces during the day may be perceived clearly as subject to the governance emanating from ‘societies of control’ (Deleuze 1992), the night-time economy draws subjects in through the promise of ‘freedom’

¹⁶ Assemblage, as a term, will be discussed in more detail shortly.
(Hobbs 2003, 47). The liminal zones of the night-time economy create city spaces that seem free of strict social controls, or at least governed by looser social norms (Hobbs 2003, 31). Far from casting off the milieu of controls, the night-time economy still reflects the broader governing of space. The ‘seductive and alluring world of hedonism’, amplified through the consumption of alcohol, is as much about the night-time economy as it is returning to, or re-establishing, the drivers of the daytime economy (Hobbs 2003, 36). Even if the night-time economy successfully presents itself as a world of freedom, it is still driven by the intention to ‘lure [people] away from home... to spend money’ (Hobbs 2003, 42). It also continues to promote the movement of crowds through these spaces, as the streets do during the day, by ensuring there are opportunities for ‘circuit drinking’ (Deleuze 1992; Hobbs 2003, 43). Clusters of bars, pubs and other entertainment venues exist within geographical locations of the city to reinforce this. Promises of liberation from the day are carefully mediated through predictable economies of the night.

In night-time city spaces, factors relating to class, race and gender are augmented, with nuances stripped away and reduced to basic identities. Gender, specifically, is pronounced in dress, occupation, movement and action. Women are far more likely to be employed to serve as bartenders than bouncers (which is a predominantly male profession), and are often employed in more sexually explicit service roles (Hayes-Jonkers 2015). Power operates through the ‘ways we talk, write and conceptualize’; it ‘impacts directly on people’s bodies as ‘discipline’ as well as on

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17 Socialising with friends in Australia is entwined with consumption. Phrases like, ‘let’s get a coffee’, or, ‘let’s go to a movie’, are commonplace, and often replace activities that would not involve spending money (such as having a night in, which becomes novel in its rarity).
their identities and sense of their place in the world’ (Connell 2002, 59). Given the simplified and generalised social structures operating within, more than an outlet for pleasure and hedonism, the night-time economy reinforces heteronormativity through dominant masculine practices such as the ‘girl hunt’, whereby men aggressively seek out women for the purposes of sexual encounters (Grazian 2007, 222). Tensions between masculine performances also arises. This has been used to explain instances of violence between men, and against women in the night-time economy (Connell 2002; Hobbs 2003). While consumption of drugs and alcohol within the night-time economy influences social and physiological behaviours that allow users to escape the ‘humdrum of life’ (Hobbs 2003, 38), it also exacerbates structural violence. This can lead to moments of brutality between male strangers on the street, and to government responses such as the City of Melbourne installing security cameras along King Street (Morgan and McAtamney 2009, 2).

These heteronormative practices within the night-time economy produce the city at night as less appropriate for the single woman. Constructed through social norms and through the voyeuristic gaze, women’s vulnerability is reflected in their own heightened fear of city streets at night (Fileborn 2012). Women are statistically ‘less likely to be victimised than men are [at night and in public]; yet they express greater fear of crime than men do’ (Carcach and Mukherjee 1999, 1). Justifying this fear, the ‘distinctly and overtly gendered’ nature of pubs and clubs and the sexualisation of women is evident through the routine sexual harassment women experience within licensed venues (Fileborn 2012; Grazian 2009, 912). Female bodies are automatically sexualised within the space, rather than requiring an individual to explicitly display their sexuality. These elements are so embedded within the night-
time space that, rather than expecting venue management to reduce or prevent incidents of harassment, women often internalise this as their own responsibility (Fileborn 2012, 246). Personal strategies to avoid harassment are common. Women feel it is easiest to adjust their behaviour, in line with a social attitude that views sexualisation and sexual assault as an omnipresent risk in the night-time economy, which women have some responsibility to reduce. Gender-based stereotyping through advertising and occupational roles exacerbate the construction of young women within the night-time economy as sexually promiscuous, and ‘fair game’ (Grazian 2009, 913; Hollands 2010, 163).

Women report that, to a limited extent, they feel able to turn down unwanted sexual attention within pubs and nightclubs due to the presence of authority figures such as a bouncer (Fileborn 2012). However, such third-party reinforcement is not necessarily available when exiting licensed venues. When crowds begin to disperse and the streets get darker, many women report that the perceived risk of sexual assault increases (Fileborn 2012). As the emphasis within the night-time economy is on the behaviour of the woman to reduce her encounters with harassers, walking alone at night has been construed as a woman not being ‘mindful of their safety’ (Fileborn 2012, 246). If anything were to happen, it would be constructed, at least partly, as the fault of the woman for getting into that situation. While the march along Sydney Road in the aftermath of Jill Meagher’s murder illustrated a public desire for women to be safe at night, when viewed through the lens of broader literature on the night-time economy, the long-term effects of such reactive marches are minimal. The sexual codification of the night-time economy means that gender continues to be linked to the fear of sexual assault for women, restricting their
movement. Men practising the social reality of masculinity, on the other hand, move more freely through these spaces even though they are statistically more likely to be victims of violence (though, not of sexual violence) than women. Women’s self-imposed restriction on mobility reflects the gendered dimensions of space, often to the detriment of women’s freedoms:

[F]rom the symbolic meaning of spaces/places and the clearly gendered messages which they transmit, to straightforward exclusion by violence, spaces and places are not only themselves gendered but, in their being so, they both reflect and affect the ways in which gender is constructed and understood. The limitation of women’s mobility in terms both of identity and space, has been in some cultural contexts a crucial means of subordination. (Massey 1999, 179)

Mobility is conditional upon gender and its intersection with time, visibility, and so on. Each of these conditions may influence, and be influenced by the further imposition of a gendered security lens within its sphere. The productive nature of CCTV cameras thus becomes more complicated. Its gaze is doing far more beyond the immediate and perceived impact.

Self-imposed, or ‘felt’ shifts in movement and practice, as highlighted in the night-time economy, are informed by more than discursive accounts of subjects and practices. It is not only a city enabling or restricting the occurrence of particular actions, but also the mood and feeling of the city which influences everyday life (Adey et al. 2013). The success of the night-time economy is less about its explicit control mechanisms (for example, the bouncer at a club entrance) and more about its produced atmosphere – its ability to produce and respond to desire within subjects. Gender informs different responses to the space of the city at night not
simply because of its relationship with other subjects, but also due to its encounters with other city materials. Why a woman may respond poorly to a darkly lit street is still informed by prior experience (either immediate or mediated), yet the affective qualities it produces – and how the woman’s presence within a space may also affect the space – are more than the sum of these various individual elements. Affect connects, through various intensities, the body to itself, others, and to other situations (Massumi 2002, 214).

Conceptualising relationships between human and nonhuman agents as part of the city’s ‘ambience’ assists in articulating how the city may be sensed and felt (Adey et al. 2013). Developed from a Situationist perspective, notions of ambience and ambient power enhance thinking about space by expanding our investigation of the way in which cities may invite, coerce and seduce subjects (Adey et al. 2013, 301). That is, as much as they are procedural and geographical (as discussed earlier), spaces are ‘felt’. What is felt is productive, and is a key consideration for this thesis. Attention to ambience means that we examine the ways in which materials can produce more than their original intention. Indivisible, pervasive and immediate, ambience is inseparable from a subject’s perception (Adey et al. 2013, 302). Through this approach, the shift from discipline and control, to desire, informed by the temporalities of the city, is more traceable. A woman’s lived experience in the night-time economy as she moves from inside to outside – and the noticeable affective shift – may be understood through ‘absorptive coping’ (Brands and Schwanen 2014, 69). Experiencing harassment within a licensed venue is pre-emptively presumed within the fabric of the space, translated into discomfort for some, and free of ‘concern and worry’ for others (Brands and Schwanen 2014, 68).
Only ‘when the absorptive coping [is] disturbed, does a conscious subject emerge and bodily feelings are triggered that may be articulated verbally as emotions’ (Brands and Schwanen 2014, 68). Similar to ambience, the concept of ‘atmosphere’ reaffirms the coproduction of the city by, and through, an arriving body and focuses on encapsulating all that exists within space, beyond the visible, tangible and historically documented (Adey et al. 2013). Atmosphere as a concept begins to address the invisible. There can be no outside, and no ‘liminality’, to the idea of the city (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2014). Experiencing the city becomes, not only about exploring obvious manifestations of control and governance, but also seeking to articulate how and why subjects desire certain elements, even before they become consciously articulated.

To consider the city's atmosphere assists in reconciling perceived tensions in the night-time’s opposition to the daytime. Atmosphere and ambience can shield ways in which certain movement is restricted, by being ‘something distributed yet palpable, a quality of environmental immersion that registers in and through sensing bodies, while also remaining diffuse, in the air, ethereal’ (McCormack 2008, 413). City spheres have a ‘psycho-political understanding’ whereby, rather than excluding and individualising subjects wholly (though this may still occur), subjects within such spheres experience moments that are rich with ‘well-being’ (Klauser 2010). This atmosphere constructs a city beyond safety and security: instead, a city of dynamism. The emergence of atmospheres is based on the ‘connection between senses, emotions and symbolic meaning’, with each requiring investigation (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2014, 117). Bodies – both human and nonhuman – become as one, in a momentary encapsulation of everything, which then produces
the city. Engaging with atmosphere as a method of understanding the city encourages interrogation of that which structures ‘how we write the world but which generally no longer receive[s] attention because of... utter familiarity’ (Thrift 2004, 585). As ‘epistemic wallpaper’, technology, practices and materiality converge within the city as atmosphere (Thrift 2004, 585). Each element is assimilated ‘into the daily unthinking routine’, and their individual and collective impact is overlooked, because of its existence as the very fabric of the city (Taylor 2016, 76).

Complementing an engagement with atmosphere and epistemic wallpaper is the concept of banality. Scholars have interrogated the ‘banality of evil’ and the ‘lack of imagination which enabled’ the genocide of Jewish people during World War II (Arendt 1994, 287). More recently, banality has been applied as a way of understanding the mass proliferation of security and surveillance technologies within city environments, much of which occurs without sustained resistance (Goold, Loader and Thumala 2013). Transforming from ‘novelty to ubiquity’, such intentional interventions in the visible architecture of the city exist ‘largely beyond the public discourse of contestation’ (Goold, Loader and Thumala 2013, 978). These taken-for-granted and banal technologies are part of the epistemic wallpaper of a city, subtly directing and conditioning populations as they move through the city. Each facilitates the governance of subjects through desire, their representation of the city also influencing memory, narratives of violence, and the construction of gender.
Gender, narrative and memory

*It is no mystery that the asymmetry between seeing and being seen is deeply imbued with a sexual component.*

(Brighenti 2010, 28)

Visualisations of subjects and cities have been studied in a range of criminological sub-disciplines (Carrabine 2015; Hayward, Ferrell and Young 2008). There are implications for how subjects are viewed, represented and remembered, particularly when related to visual surveillance technologies. The act of watching also introduces complex power relationships. Particularly for visual surveillance technologies, this necessitates engaging with the consequences of surveillance practices themselves, and the subsequent (re)distribution of images.

Research in visual criminology and other cinema-related studies has outlined the gendered nature of looking (Berger 1972; Mulvey 1975; van Zoonen 2006). Gendered vision ‘has long been used as a power device for the domination of women’ (Brighenti 2010, 28). Norris and Armstrong found male control room operators to be using CCTV networks in a voyeuristic way (1999). It may be also that the CCTV camera itself is ‘in fact a masculine gaze’ (Brighenti 2010, 28). This becomes clearer when looking at the way in which subjects become spectators to violence mediated through CCTV footage. Similar to cinematic representations of violence, footage drawn from CCTV tells a story. Constructed as ‘something to be looked at’, widely available crime-related footage invites the spectator to consume these moments in the same way as other forms of media – as entertainment (Young 2010, 71). In an environment where media coverage often develops ‘narrative arcs developed from
fictional crime stories’, the separation of true crime from cinematic representation is less pronounced (Rowe 2012, 30). While this narrative arc itself may, in the context of other social factors, prescribe moral lessons to be learnt in avoiding such violent encounters (Presser 2016; Presser and Sandberg 2015), looking at an event that has already happened produces further effects. Taken from the vantage of a CCTV camera rather than the position of the victim, ‘what really happened’ is ‘taken away from the woman who experienced it’ and given to another ‘character only secondarily involved in the event. Her experience is reduced to a facet of a [another’s] memory’ (Young 2010, 55). Through the camera, a woman in a public space may be rendered a voiceless victim, her agency within the public sphere stripped through this silent recording. CCTV footage can thus mark her presence as both out-of-place and as tragic.

Women’s mobility and agency are likely to be affected by these narrative tendencies more than men’s. What the ‘camera grasps is not reality as such but “the natural” [naturalised] world of the dominant ideology’ (de Lauretis 1984, 107). Gender and narrative are in many ways inextricably tied together. With female subjectivity often constructed and performed in relation to men, how women are subject to different forms of discrimination and harassment is embedded in these cultural practices of violence, and of looking (de Beauvoir 2010). Expectations that a body will perform a certain gender mean also that heteronormative structures continue to reproduce such symbiotic relationships (Butler 1993), and CCTV imagery cannot be separated from this history. Importantly, the naturalisation of gendered identities is not, and should not be, restricted to a dichotomy. As other work on masculinities demonstrates, gender performances relate to a spectrum of contextually prescribed
performativity (Connell 2005). Within this emerges relational dominance of hegemonic masculinity. How race and class, again, intersect with gender produces divergent ideals of what it means to be a ‘man’. Perceived markers of success may shift, introducing elements for understanding the targeted gaze of surveillance into neighbourhoods of lower socio-economic classes, and towards men (Fussey 2013). At the same time, the body is not simply docile, but instead an active agent in the construction of gender through its seeking of pleasure, experience and transformation (Connell 2002, 39). It is through these elements that genders ‘come into existence as people act’ (Connell 2000, 12). Representations of violence inflicted against women and men is likely to produce an array of responses, influenced by gender, and on a spectrum. Not all women will be construed as hapless victims, just as some men will be painted favourably while others are marked as an evil offender (van der Meulen and Glasbeek 2013). Within this is the understanding also that ‘women are not immune to the subjectification and repression of other women’ (Ardener 1981, 60). Scopophilia – the active and visual pleasure of looking at a person as an erotic object (Mulvey 1975) – is often directed towards white women, ‘with black women rarely the subject’ (van der Meulen and Glasbeek 2013, 12). Certain women may therefore experience harm in compounding ways through the surveillance regime, either intensified in their visibility (Sendyka 2012), or entirely removed from the ‘protective gaze’ of the camera. Despite fluid negotiations between man and woman, the dominance of the male gaze is ongoing and often unchallenged due to its association with naturalised ways of looking. If for example a woman says that she feels safer when in the presence of CCTV, this may be the result of an ongoing discourse implicating women’s safety as attached to these security technologies, or as only safe when within paternal care. The narrative of
CCTV images has an ‘inherent maleness’, and so fails to grasp the female victim’s experiences, instead only placing it within ‘someone else’s story’ (de Lauretis 1984, 109).

The act of looking is often overtly gendered. Gender relations can also be mediated, ‘for instance, by a market, or by technologies’, including CCTV (Connell 2002, 54). Even when relationships are only among men, or only among women, they are still gender relations; hierarchies of masculinity continue. We therefore ‘cannot think of social gender arrangements as just following from the properties of bodies. They also precede bodies, from the conditions in which bodies develop and live’ (Connell 2002, 33).

With the ‘digital memory’ of surveillance technologies prevailing over complete erasure, the recorded subject’s ‘right to be forgotten’ – as either victim or offender – is reduced (Pereira et. al 2014, 14). Beyond this, distribution of CCTV footage can also be problematic for the spectator. Due to the visible prevalence of surveillance in the city, it has been noted that as this ‘surveillance has increased, so we are all becoming paranoid’ (Harper 2008, 2). Memories of violence in the city are visibly retained, imbued within space and subjects, and able to be evoked by any number of encounters, subsequently shaping how the everyday city is felt and experienced. Shifting from consciousness and into the unconscious, while violence may have been mediated through CCTV cameras, it may be remembered more viscerally and with more immediacy. In this way, ‘I saw at the cinema’ becomes, simply, ‘I saw’ (Burgin 1996, 227). Subsequently, past events ‘whether actual or fictional, produce real
effects in the present’ (Burgin 1996, 118). Spaces become ‘paranoiac’, having changed reason, and in doing so producing multiple effects. As scholars have noted, walking past a space associated with violence becomes not only a space ‘to remember the dead, but also a place where the dead become very much alive’ (Fitzgerald 2015, 174). This is especially pertinent when digital traces remain. Knowing a crime to have occurred in the city affects the subject, producing consequences for perceptions of safety, not necessarily directly related to an immediate encounter, but instead influenced by ‘past [mediated] experience as memory’ (Brands and Schwanen 2014, 68). For a spectator to crime (as mediated through CCTV footage), the crime-image demonstrates how the spectacle of violence and our ongoing fascination with it, both in fictional and non-fictional representation contributes, more generally, to perceptions of crime in the city (Young 2010).

Using CCTV footage to ‘identify’ victims and criminals through its lens enables reproduction of political discourse championing the effectiveness of cameras. Being able to distinctively frame the ‘dangerous individual’ illustrates change in the practices of the penal system, moving from punishment of the crime and punishment of the criminal (incarceration) towards protection of the social body – a ‘biological reality’ at risk of social harm should this figure step out of its contained frame (Foucault 1990, 134). Such assessment of risk comes from the perception of criminality being ‘determined by a causal nexus’, which can be managed and, to an extent, prevented (Foucault 1990, 142). Criminal offences then, are no longer the only focus of law or the camera. Desires to manage or remove the ‘dangerous individual’, who may be the next offender, becomes ‘best practice’ (Foucault 1990,
With the presence of CCTV cameras, combined with mass consumption of CCTV crime footage through media, the public sphere can be constructed as ‘affirmation that ever-present criminality is a constant menace to the social body as a whole’ (Foucault 1990, 142).

These moments introduce practices of acceptable exclusion in line with risk management and actuarial justice (O’Malley 2000, 2004). Violence in the city through archived CCTV footage consolidates these discursive practices (Smith 2015), and at the same time signifies how encountering unknown ‘enem[ies] of society’ may be a consequence of modernity that needs to be strictly controlled’ (Elliott 2002, 298). Vociferous support for and adoption of security cameras incorporate the desire to ‘see’ sanitised space, configured as pre-emption of violent rupture. ‘Uncleanness or dirt is that which must not be included if a pattern is to be maintained’ (Douglas 2003, 50). This is heightened in fictional representations of security footage as panacea. CCTV has gained cultural status as one of the best ways to prevent future harm and disorder (Douglas 1990; Groombridge 2002). Engaging with these cultural understandings of risk in the context of narrative and memory offers insight into the ongoing generalised support, and demand, for CCTV. Further departing from traditional CCTV studies that document its failure as crime prevention tool, engaging with this cultural investment is key to understanding CCTV’s other influences in the city.

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18 A term studied extensively in criminology, risk elucidates how subjects manage their everyday lives (see O’Malley 1998; Rose 2000).
The ‘cultural afterlife’ of images demonstrates how footage may take on new, and potentially harmful, meanings (Biber 2013). Easily accessible and heavily reproduced by television media, images of crime are consistently mediated and reproduced, resulting in the footage itself taking on its own cultural meaning (Biber 2013). Originally contained within the rigours of evidentiary meaning and now freely circulated, such imagery warrants an ethical consideration. The subjects captured within these narratives may lose agency due to our cultural fascination with stories created from their image (Biber 2013). While ‘bodies [are] caught in freeze-frame’, they are not contained to their immediate context; the images function as ‘leaky bags of water, constantly sloughing off pieces of themselves, constantly leaving traces – effluent, memories, messages – through moments of good or bad encounter’ (Thrift 2006, 140). In relation to the death of Meagher and its associated footage (which still attracts views on YouTube), while this may provide an opportunity to confront the violence of a patriarchal society, watching the footage may also perpetuate other violence (Little 2014). Meagher has been stripped of her ability to compose her own narrative and she becomes a ghostly figure on the screen, occupying a liminal space between life and death, the street and film (Biber 2014). As Young comments:

...continuing to look has never been more important. But in looking, we need to know what it is we are looking at, and we need to understand how the scene of violence invites our engagement with its crime-images. In the encounter with the scene of violence, the spectator must continue the project of spectatorship, with a reflexive awareness of how the crime-image registers in her gaze, her body, and her memory. (2010, 171)

Visual mediation of violence through CCTV cameras has been outlined. More than this though, the gendered productivity of the CCTV image contributes to the
masculinised atmosphere of sexual violence in the city. Situating this examination within a broader analysis of surveillance constructions of cityscapes reveals further impacts of these technologies.

Surveillance and security

What of the claims that CCTV cameras are an essential guarantor of security and safety? While there are several eminent scholars whose original work interrogates the functioning of power through surveillance technologies, Michel Foucault’s engagement with the panopticon is one of the most cited (Yar 2003). Using Jeremy Bentham’s panopticon as a metaphor for describing the automatic functioning of power dispersed throughout disciplinary institutions in society, Foucault’s *Discipline and Punish* (1995) outlines the controlling function that asymmetrical visibility (and subsequently surveillance) may have on the social body. That someone may never truly know if they are being watched, ‘a state of conscious and permanent visibility’ is induced, thus also achieving the collapse of the mass crowd in favour of the ‘separation of individualities’ (1995, 204). For Foucault, Bentham’s panopticon was the ‘[a]rchitectural apparatus... a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person’, rendering the body behind the curtain a ‘visible and unverifiable’ ever-present (1995, 205). Power is automated through such mechanisms, marking a development of the site of control (or the site of sovereignty) as not necessarily needing to be attached to specific figures – no one has to be actively watching in order to produce disciplined subjects. Most importantly is Foucault’s tracing of the shift to a ‘panoptic regime’. While an ideal
form may exist in the most extreme places (for example, within the prison), panopticism refers to a diagram of a mechanism of power and ‘political technology that may be detached from any specific use’ (Foucault 1995, 207). Panopticism as a regime can be ‘spread throughout the whole social body’ (Foucault 1995, 210), moving from:

The closed fortresses in which they once functioned and to circulate in a ‘free’ state; the massive compact disciplines are broken down into flexible methods of control, which may be transferred and adapted. (Foucault 1995, 211)

The effects of this political technology, then, are not simply a method of disciplinary control. They are also an effective way of improving economic efficiencies as a result of the increased potential utility of each individual, ‘not in the form of enclosed institutions, but as centres of observation disseminated throughout society’ (Foucault 1995, 211). Overall, the way that panopticism is embedded within and beyond disciplinary institutions is so efficient and achievable due to its ability to:

...arrange things in such a way that the exercise of power is not added on from the outside, like a rigid, heavy constraint, to the functions it invests, but is so subtly present in them as to increase their efficiency by itself increasing its own points of contact. (Foucault 1995, 207)

Visible surveillance technologies demand internalised docility, even in their absence. For example, panoptic effects can still be felt through the presence of CCTV signage, marked as an intention of the sign itself to engage subjects with rules of the space (Mazerolle, Hurley and Chamlin 2002). ‘[P]lural rather than singular governing strategies’ for signage operates with varied legal requirements for signage to be installed (Lippert 2009, 506). Signage ‘emphasises the existence of
surveillance and thereby amplifies its effect’ (Cole 2004, 432). State control has been further disseminated. The intentionally overt and asymmetrical visibility of CCTV (or its signs) has been suggested to have a deterrent effect on subjects desiring to commit crimes. These effects have been measurable when within enclosed car spaces, with property crime declining (Welsh and Farrington 2002, 2009). Though acknowledging the limited generalisability, such findings have still been used to justify investment of CCTV in unenclosed public spaces (Brown 1995; Gill, Bryan and Allen 2007; Gill and Spriggs 2005; Gill and Turbin 1999; Webster 2009; Williams 2007; Williams and Johnstone 2000).

Even as reports acknowledge the limited measurable success of CCTV beyond preventing targeted crimes in an enclosed space, CCTV networks continue to expand in western countries, suggesting that there is more to interrogate than crime statistics (Lyon 2006). In line with Foucault’s own progression of ideas, the intentions of surveillance expand beyond the production of mass docile subjects, and towards governmentality, or, governing at a distance (Foucault 1991). The proliferation of CCTV networks operated by private agencies and individual subjects (that is, systems installed in homes or private businesses) demonstrate what Garland calls ‘responsibilisation’ (1997, 2001). Subjects internalise the discursively constructed expectations of individuals to mitigate the risks of crime, rather than to rely on state intervention. Responsibilisation helps us make sense of the complex relationship between market buyers of CCTV systems and state agents. Dispersal of

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19 Varying aesthetics of cameras and signs are often influenced by technological innovation and price points. Signs will also be formatted in accordance with the governing body of the camera, meaning that different logos are often included.
state power can result in the body not only regulating itself, but also attempting to regulate others (Garland 1997, 2001). The crime-image produced by the camera entwines with these discourses of ‘responsible’ behaviours, to encourage the subject’s sense of how to minimise the risk of becoming a victim of crime. To purchase a camera can seem an effective, obvious and economical response to a need: to protect oneself and to prevent crime.

While responsibilisation effectively illustrates a general trend in private investment in surveillance technologies (in relation to immediate property or persons), broader disciplinary surveillance practices also invite engagement. Particularly evident in social media, participatory panopticism outlines ways in which Big Brother makes way for ‘millions of Little Brothers and Little Sisters’ (Cascio 2005, no pagination). The potential to watch or to be watched has dispersed laterally, often imagined in the context of desires to keep others secure (Andrejevic 2006, 391). Still linked to the state, crowd-sourced surveillance practices may be understood as contributing to illusory transparency whilst ensuring regulated citizens continue to watch over one another (Tewksbury 2012). Expanded opportunities to surveil one another does not involve power sharing, but instead a greater distribution of traditional methods of control, internalised within the subject as a desirous element of participating in everyday social interactions (Andrejevic 2004, 194).

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20 The ‘smile, you’re on camera’ sign within private stores illustrates this internalised responsibility for crime prevention in the city.

21 The work on ‘risk society’, as termed originally by Ulrich Beck, also offers an interpretation regarding the presence of a camera as a ‘rational’ decision in an attempt to reduce crime. However, due to the expanding literature on securitisation and premediation, which will be looked at towards the end of this chapter, the risk society will not be expanded upon in this section.

22 For example, in Texas, United States of America, a ‘Virtual Border Watch’ invites anyone with an internet connection to view the border of Mexico through visual surveillance, and to report any
Desires to deter crime through surveillance are evident beyond explicit surveillance technologies installed in cities. As in the original Panopticon, architecture can facilitate the feeling of being watched without any need for a camera. Within the field of urban planning, for example, in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, first published in 1961, Jane Jacobs propounded the idea of ‘eyes on the street’ (passive surveillance) as the most effective way to produce safety (1992). This idea retains an influence in the contemporary industry’s designs for city space. Through integration of private dwellings and the sidewalks of streets, urban planners contend that the opportunistic criminal will be deterred due to the high probability of being seen by residents. This has a compounding effect, with residents more likely to leave their dwellings for social interaction in the street, subsequently reducing isolation. Emphasis on how the built world can be manufactured to produce compliance has had exceptional success in policy. Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) is now a commonly adopted approach in local council responses to their jurisdictional obligations regarding community safety. Originating in 1971, CPTED principles assume potential offenders can be deterred through ‘soft’ regulation, such as installing street lighting, or enhancing visibility through windows tiered to face the street (Jeffreys 1971). These intentions have expanded. Interventions in subject consciousness, so that opportunism is not even considered, are pursued via CPTED principles, often in relation to manufactured suspected incidents of illegal crossing (Tewksbury 2012). Other crowdsourced labour activities exist in the UK, ranging from identifying criminal suspects to reporting suspicious behaviour in public spaces (Trottier 2012).

23 Regardless of this, CCTV cameras are so readily accessible that it is now often installed over the top of urban design. The implications of this are still being explored and will be a focus throughout this thesis.
atmospheres. How CCTV fits within these CPTED principles remains contentious in industry and literature, and will be interrogated in more detail later in this thesis.

The study of surveillance continues to require engagement with manifestations of panopticism, with many arguing for its remaking for modern contexts (see Poster 1990, Mathiesen 1997, Whitaker 1999). However, countering this, its direct relevance for contemporary surveillance studies has been refuted by other notable scholars. For some, the panopticon ‘no longer grasps the ways power is working’ (Lyon and Bauman 2013, 85). While the ‘panopticon was a model of mutual engagement and confrontation between the two sides of the power relationship’ (2013, 85), Bauman’s more recent theories of ‘liquid modernity’ and ‘liquid surveillance’ indicate that a perceived ongoing desire for order and control is a condition of fluidity in which nothing remains stable, including the relationship to power (Bauman 2013; Bauman and Lyon 2013). For Bauman, the:

...prime technique of power is now escape, slippage, elision and avoidance, the effective rejection of any territorial confinement with its cumbersome corollaries of order-building, order-maintenance and the responsibility for the consequences of it all as well as of the necessity to bear their costs. (2013, 11)

That there are so many types and kinds of surveillance practices (including many by which there is no clear or distinct relationship between the watcher and the watched) warrants the effectiveness of panopticism to explain these phenomena in its entirety as rudimentary. Others build on this ‘dual society’ to suggest that we are ‘post-panoptic’ due, among other factors, to the ‘failures of any form of aspiring monolithic panopticism to maintain a general reign of docile subjectivities’ (Boyne
Importantly in this work, scholars have recognised the significant role of mass media in influencing discussion and operational aspects of surveillance practices often inverting the gaze to watch the few (Boyne 2000; Mathieson 1997; van der Meulen and Heynen 2016). Even towards the end of Foucault’s theorising of panopticism he emphasised how decentralised practices will continue to work to discipline the subject. Others have built on this to develop the ‘psychic panopticon’, which refers to governance resulting from collective paranoia in extensive state surveillance practices (Harper 2008, 4; Holm 2009).

Surveillance has other contexts, too, including the increasing number of market forces and the increasing amount of data being produced, and scholars argue that surveillance as a practice has shifted into multiple meanings, beyond Foucault’s propositions (see Lyon 1994, 2002, 2004, 2006). While surveillance in public spaces may originally have been designed to facilitate the internalisation of control, expanding networks render it near impossible for CCTV operators or investors to sort through the overwhelming amount of data created in order to prevent crime (Lyon 2004, 137). As Edward Snowden’s NSA document leaks confirmed, this is true for many surveillance practices (Bauman et al. 2014). Compounded also by the demonstration (through leaks) that agents do not necessarily always intend for the watched to be aware that they are being targeted (or aware that they are incorporated within mass data collection), motivations underlying surveillance have expanded (Bauman et al. 2014). For many surveillance networks, and as a result of so much data, ‘social sorting’ transpires, whereby crime prevention is

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24 Similar assertions are made in David Lyon’s Theorizing Surveillance: The panopticon and beyond (2006).
sorted by risk, and by predictions as to who is most likely to commit a crime based on previous data or assumptions of the camera operator (Lyon 2006, 232). Social sorting is increasingly automated through searchable databases in which populations may be classified, and particular actions predetermined, as precursors to differential treatment (Lyon 2002, 142). The character of ‘categorical suspicion’ is heightened through such methods of data analysis (Lyon 2002, 142).

As with most forms of modern surveillance, automated elements shape the collection and analysis of CCTV data. However, human interference with equipment is not erased, not only in the development of the technology itself, but also in how the technology may still be manipulated by the user. This significantly alters the purpose of the surveillance camera. Studies exploring the activities of CCTV control room operators illustrate how social sorting influences the operationalisation of other security agencies, and how the space is shifted for suspects. Those in the control room treat subjects differently based on predetermined variables such as race, gender and dress (Norris and Armstrong 1999). For example, young black men are far more likely to be targeted for extended periods as they move throughout a CCTV network; women engaged in disputes with male subjects known to them may be seen as involved in ‘domestic’ issues unsuitable for public surveillance and intervention (Norris and Armstrong 1999). In addition to these processes of selecting what is a precursor of criminal behaviour and what is ‘not in the public interest’, CCTV control rooms foster ‘a male gaze in the more conventional and voyeuristic sense, with its pan-tilt and zoom facilities’ (Norris and Armstrong 1999, 174). More recent work has expanded on this. Exploring the work practices of control room operators, Smith (2015) uncovered practices heavily influenced by
cultural understandings of risk. Emphasising how intervention or inaction is rationalised, Smith’s study demonstrated how technological overlays (such as facial recognition) do not overcome socially embedded perceptions.

Developing parallel to practices of social sorting, risk regulation and statistical discrimination is the construction of surveillance practices as biopolitical. Extensive research on biopower by key politico-philosophical authors can be used understand how surveillance controls level of life. Hardt and Negri’s (2000) work on ‘Empire’, for example, interrogates the banalisation of war, and its ability to routinise surveillance practices as normal and necessary for a secure space (see also Esposito (2008)). More specifically, CCTV control room operators are concerned with populations, tasked with identification and management of risk within selected territories, ‘taking the human body and its movements as the focal points’ (Ceyhan 2012, 38) to emphasise ‘good circulation from bad circulation’ (Foucault 2003). Withdrawing from overt discipline and instead focusing on ‘making live and letting die’ (Foucault 2003, 247), the concept of biopower is relevant to security and surveillance studies (Murakami Wood 2013). A focus on CCTV networks as part of city management indeed draws on the biopolitical. As a practice that may control city access, security camera networks influence the level of life a subject may enjoy based on their capacity to contribute productively. Governance based on ‘regulation of circulation and flows’ are implicit within many surveillance apparatuses, and also begins to emphasise how all subjects are affected by these technologies (Ceyhan 2012, 38).
Emerging from the application of surveillance networks in the city, is the practice of exclusion. This deviates from traditional thinking about CPTED and panopticism, which is primarily concerned with universally conditioning a lawful subject. Such transitions into an exclusive society have been traced broadly within criminological literature: restricting access to social and economic welfare through systemic and institutional shifts, criminal justice responses are increasingly rationalised in their exclusionary practices (Young 1999). In relation to surveillance, scholars have argued that the disciplinary society ‘does in fact work only for a small, privileged minority of people in the world’ (Brighenti 2010, 158). As a counterpoint to the notion of the panopticon, the term ‘banopticon’ views the intended purpose of surveillance networks, not as desiring to discipline subjects, but as reducing visibility and ‘banning’ those who are either unable to contribute economically, or who may burden society in other ways (Bigo 2006). Initially applied in the context of migration in Europe, the increasing securitisation within cities – such as the ‘ring of steel’ security network in the City of London – suggests domestic applications of this strategy (Coaffee, Fussey and Moore 2011).

Transition from discipline to security is apparent in CPTED literature. Echoing elements of the banopticon, emphasis on ‘defensible spaces’ and zero tolerance policing take precedence over ‘eyes on the street’ (Brereton 1999; Newman 1966). Shifting discourses regarding the ‘right to the city’, are attached conditionally to the ‘right to exclude’ (Hae 2012, 26). Connecting soft regulation to harder forms of policing, the strict patrolling of low-level, and property, crimes – such as graffiti and alcohol consumption – is based in the ‘Broken Windows’ argument (Wilson and Kelling 1982). This approach contends that physical environments that are
perceived as abandoned will have a detrimental impact on public perceptions of safety. Fearing that disorder will drive ‘good’ citizens away, the authors argue that ‘an [uncontrolled] area is vulnerable to criminal invasion’ (Wilson and Kelling 1982, 30). Abandoned spaces that increase perceptions of risk have also been referred to as ‘parafunctional’ – as a space without a clear and designated function, or whose original or intended function has been replaced or subverted by an adapted functionality and because of this, avoided by public users (Papastergiadis and Rogers 1996; Hayward 2004, 139). Within CPTED literature, parafunctional spaces would ‘represent the exact opposite of discipline’, constructed as spaces that are disordered and therefore criminogenic (Hayward 2004, 140). Parafunctional spaces exemplify environments where governments often focus reinvestment. Desires to create safe places are collapsed into discourses on neatness and orderliness. What is clear within this literature, is that aesthetics that upset the order of place are marked as undesirable. Not only are subjects banned from the space, so too are spaces defended against ‘abnormal’ social practices. Defensive practices frequently include barbed wire, modification of surfaces through the addition of metal studs or spikes, alarm systems, higher fences, and of course CCTV systems.

Surveillance technologies within cities are increasingly connected to other strategies that facilitate the exclusion of subjects and the policing of ‘quality of life’ crimes. Such developing practices to reduce contaminants in the city can be read as desires to neutralise the city (Urry 2010, 350). And yet, cities are designed, making their ‘beauty’ inherently subjective. This means that its opposite – what makes something ‘ugly’ – is also subjective (Young 2014, 92). Approaches to manipulate the environment under the guise of ‘community safety and security’ therefore fail to
critically consider why a subject or behaviour has been considered harmful to the space, with little empirical research that unequivocally supports the ‘broken windows’ assertion. The oft-advertised intention and desirability for a ‘diverse’ city (as is explicit in many council strategies) thinly veils how such policies usually result in homogeneity (Valverde 2012). Folding disdain for disorder, or ‘ugly streets’, into rhetoric on risk and danger in the city produces any space that does not appear neat, as harmful to the city’s ‘good’ citizens. It becomes a space they cannot freely move through.

Emphasis on free movement and circulation is common in municipal policies. These policies seek to create space not as an unpredictable reality, but as a regulated avenue for controlled encounters. Moving beyond the society of discipline (whereby subjects move between enclosed spaces such as schools, hospitals and prisons), newer representations of the ‘societies of control’ illustrate how spaces carry with them a set of expectations for our interaction and behaviours, as influenced by markets (Deleuze 1992). No longer defined by disciplinary enclosures, our relationship with others and with the state is now a relationship of debt and unfinished business. Equating movement with profit is understood with regard to everyday movement on the street. The pursuit to control the social body through economic means rather than traditional disciplinary contexts is more easily dispersed and internalised into everyday movement. For example, physical structures on the street are likely to be considered for the space only if they are conducive as a medium in which to move through. Little shelter over footpaths, streetscapes surrounded by shops and the replication of streetscapes within fully controlled environments, such as the shopping mall, all indicate a desire to create
the streetscape as a space for movement of capital, rather than as a space primarily for any other means (Deleuze 1992). The existence of by-laws against loitering within these spaces illustrates such tendencies to view stopped movement with caution. In such imaginations, the way these urban spaces are passed through becomes significant. Skateboarders in public space cross through in unconventional ways, as do rough sleepers (Brighenti 2010). These subjects interrupt others who are ‘just passing’ through:

The public is constantly crossed by acts of territorialisation, and the territorialising process is a way of visibly – publicly – carving the environment through certain acts of boundary-drawing, which concurrently help to stabilise the set of relationships that take place in the environment. (Brighenti 2010, 122)

The right to the city has not only been reconfigured as the right to exclude, but also as the right to be left alone (Mitchell 2005). Disproportionally affecting those who cannot retreat to secure private spaces, the cultural propensity for liberal movement systematically leads towards structural exclusion of subjects determined to be problematic or undesirable. This is often manifested in laws and policies (such as the criminalisation of begging or panhandling). Increasingly, then, the right for people to feel unobstructed in their movement through the city becomes paramount (Mitchell 2005). Crime prevention policies reflect the ‘right to exclude’ within a broader ‘consumer citizenship’ that dictates public access (Christopherson 1994; Hae 2012; Mitchell 2005). ‘Just as S.U.V.s have transformed the conditions of accessibility to country and city... so too do aggressive panhandling laws’ (Mitchell 2005, 96). Very little can lawfully permeate a subject’s ‘private bubble’ when they move through public domains. CCTV networks may be understood to actively produce a space whereby subjects are automatically excluded through a relation to
property – ‘CCTV, and by defining community as a community of property... represents an extension of private interests, often into public space’ (Mitchell 2005, 94) (emphasis in original).

Desires for circulation extend beyond individual movement. This begins to describe why particular forms of mourning after CCTV-mediated violence may be deemed acceptable, while others are quietly removed. The march along Sydney Road after Meagher's death, and the one recreated a few weeks later as part of Reclaim the Night, were both ‘successful’ events, in that they were condoned and celebrated (Webb 2012). This was due to their spectacle, movement and temporality. Flowers that gradually accumulated outside the Duchess Boutique on Sydney Road, however, were tolerated only for a few days before being removed under the auspices of ‘obstruction’ to both shop and footpath (Duck and Thompson 2012, no pagination). The doorway to the Duchess Boutique became a destination for remembrance, a site of gathering, and of collective mourning. However, such transformation did not overcome property rights attached to the space. Repurposing of the space was resisted through the claim that it obstructed circulation, with the acts of memorialisation made subject to a societal preoccupation with efficiencies and movement. In this instance, while surveillance images may create conditions for mourning or change, they also enable the return to order, and for separation. Noting the desire to facilitate flow of capital is also relevant when exploring the rationalisation of initial CCTV implementation within city spaces by public authorities. Modern surveillance modulates the flow of capital, and so is ‘entwined with capitalist production and consumption’ (Lyon 2004, 137).
The utility of surveillance technology in facilitating flows of capital also assists in a stronger articulation of its preoccupation with preventing behaviour that could lead to crime (instead of a direct relationship to crime prevention). Focus on behaviours deemed ‘antisocial’ (often targeted through social sorting) indicates the transformation of CCTV placement into a pre-crime prevention initiative. Originating in science fiction literature (see Philip K. Dick’s short story ‘Minority Report’ (1956), which subsequently became a 2002 film of the same name) as an idea, pre-crime has been adapted to document a trend towards the criminalisation of intent or behaviour that is assumed to precede criminal behaviour. While originally used in an international focus on terrorism (see Pickering and McCulloch 2012; McCulloch and Pickering 2009; Zedner 2007, 2010), it is relevant for understanding the governance of everyday activities within the city (Salter 2013). Activity determined to be disruptive is reimagined as deviant, and requiring regulation (or removal) to restore orderly place. With a similar focus, the concepts of premediation and securitisation also explore this approach to the city as a fortress (Bottomley and Moore 2007).

After 9/11, imaginations of terror and fear were heightened, trickling down from zones of war into everyday constructions of crime. As the spectacle of violence (mediated through live vision of a second plane crashing into the World Trade Centre in New York) was so accessible to global viewers, the immediacy and shock of the catastrophe was largely unprecedented (Grusin 2010). Since this event, surveillance and security practices, both domestically in New York and

25 This again emphasises the ‘threat’ as developing from outside of the social body, and able to be neutralised through aggressive politics.
internationally, have continued to expand significantly. While such expansion may not necessarily have been due to 9/11, the ongoing construction of global insecurity breeds compliance (Salter 2013). Part of this involves a shift in the way the possibility of further attacks is imagined – as part of a ‘desire for a world in which the immediacy of the catastrophe, the immediacy of disaster, could not happen again – because it would always already have been premediated’ (Grusin 2004, 21). That is, it was neither the scale nor the visual spectacle of the attack which caused most distress, but the sudden and violent rupture of the everyday. A term representative of this desire to bring the future into the present, ‘premediation’ rationalises increased state control, and in doing so prevents the shock of another ‘unprecedented’ attack by maintaining social anxiety (de Goede 2008). Rather than practices that calculate the risks of the future, premediation goes beyond the discourse of probability to instead facilitate security decisions based on any possible future. The desire for security, rather than fear of being attacked, becomes the strong focus or, the ‘will to power’ (Haggerty and Ericson 2000, 609). In the context of CCTV networks in the city, it becomes productive to think of their presence as resulting not just from fear of the ‘other’ or from disturbances by the other, but also from a generalised desire to feel secure.

The desire for security, surpassing fear that informs crime prevention strategies, has been studied with regard to homeless youths within Melbourne spaces. Although themselves visualised as a threat to urban safety by other citizens, and targeted by the lens of the camera, homeless youths were amongst the strongest advocates for CCTV, believing it could contribute in some way to their own security (Victorian Law Reform Commission 2010). While the report found ‘a number of instances in which
young people and other marginalised groups [had] been moved on... from enjoying public places’, there were also reports of people experiencing homelessness as deriving ‘a sense of safety from the presence of surveillance cameras’ (Victorian Law Reform Commission 2010, 70).

The inevitable tensions that arise from the desire to feel secure in the context of premediation is clear in the hypersensitive arena of the airport. The state demonstrates an epistemological tension, between knowing or understanding itself as the provider of security, and being unable to effectively provide such security, through an inability to distinguish between a true threat and a joke (Salter 2010). As a result of this tension, many state security practices intend to go beyond rationalised levels as an attempt to illustrate their capacities as providers of security. In doing so, they seek to overcome their generalised inabilities to effectively deliver. ‘[W]hatever our governments can do will not remove [insecurity]’ (Bauman 2002, 55). The result is a desire to police the unconscious through rationalised means, an impossible task (Salter 2010, 34). Burke adds:

We have not questioned the meaning of the security we seek, or wondered at its costs, or thought how it might be made legitimate and universal and comforting for as many as can receive its gift. (2008, 234)

Despite inevitable limits, current practices of security still attempt to guarantee the future, linking it with the ‘seductive idea of progress that Western culture takes from European Enlightenment’ (Burke 2008, 12) (emphasis in original). However,

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26 In Australian airports, it is a Federal offence to joke about carrying weapons or intending to commit an act of terrorism (Aviation Transport Security Regulations 2005 (Cth)).
through these imaginations of security, as something of a universal experience between ‘us’ and ‘them’, it ‘obscures the concrete practices it names and mobilises, along with their social and ethical implications’ (Burke 2008, 9) (emphasis in original). While CCTV may seem innocuous compared to other security practices, that it has become banal is demonstrative of the power of security as a political technology – its consequences go unchallenged in the face of the ‘need’ for security (Goold, Loader and Thumala 2013). Within the context of national security, this is illustrated through understanding security as able to ‘construct and influence individual subjectivity, national life and geopolitics – often all at once’ (Burke 2008, 11). CCTV in its numerous reproductions influences these scales. As a site of tension, the city often works on local, national and global platforms, and so requires these levels of engagement (Bridge and Watson 2010).

As the effects and practices of surveillance and security multiply, the complex and fluid relationships between CCTV, space, law and politics is best understood through a range of concepts. Late modernity’s responses to crime and social control are ‘schizophrenic’ in that they often shift in their rationale (Stenson and Sullivan 2012). CCTV may be caring as well as controlling, reassuring as well as threatening, objective as well as subjective, visible as well as invisible, and dormant as well as active. Its purpose is constantly renegotiated. Within these expansive ‘purposes’ of CCTV is the developing context of surveillance capitalism, demonstrating how surveillance practices have a ‘wholly new logic of accumulation fitting a networked
world – aiming to predict and modify human behaviour as a means to produce revenue and market control’ (Galic, Timan and Koops 2016, 16).

The city manifests, then, by means of a mix of ‘technology, politics, and actors in diverse configurations’ (Ong and Collier 2005, 4). These varied combinations can be thought of as assemblages. With no stable ontology in the social world, elements and objects can enter into relations with each other to produce certain meanings, realities and performances (Deleuze and Guattari 2014). Incorporating the physical and discursive, assemblages consist of any number of formations. The social world expands in rhizomatic ways. Something may be ‘broken, shattered at a given spot, but will start up again on one of its old lines, or on new lines’ (Deleuze and Guattari 2014, 9). These assemblage circulations attempt to come to grip ‘with social complexity brought about by the dispersal of what we used to call ‘sovereign’ power’ (Salter 2013, 12). In the context of continuing to facilitate control then, the ‘surveillant assemblage’ achieves this as it attaches ways of seeing the city to stronger concepts of risk and desire, articulated in flows of information (data) that are not challenged (Walters 2006). Individuals become legible only in the context of ‘individual’ flows, each data derivative assembled to represent not only who a subject is, but also what they could, or do, become (Matzner 2016). Far from reducing state control, the sophistication of the surveillant assemblage can still assist in strengthening the legitimacy of state surveillance. Desires to engage surveillance for control, governance, security, profit and entertainment’ is demonstrated by systems ‘intended to serve one purpose’ constantly being adapted to ‘find other uses’.

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27 Recent work provides pragmatic insight into the strong political economy of CCTV networks within Australian cities (Carr 2016).
this can also be documented as ‘function creep’, whereby the use of a technology is expanded, often without evaluation (Dahl and Saetnan 2009). Recognising CCTV as surveillant assemblage creates synergy with previously discussed approaches to studying space. Recognising that a space will be ‘overlaid with varying (sometimes overlapping) surveillance capabilities’ assists in assessing how CCTV effects city spaces in multiple ways (Andrejevic 2012, 93).

**Inter-visions**

Integral to these various ways of conceptualising the city is the question of visibility. The will to govern space connects itself to, and expresses itself through, a desire for aesthetically pleasing streets. The identification of deviant subjects in the city depends upon matching a problematic image to conduct in public space, requiring regulation or removal of the individual. Traditional criminological literature builds on these images of the problematic subject. Moral panics emerge when visible social practices appear to threaten the lawful order of cities – assisted by the media, entire social groups may be reimagined as deviant on the basis of anecdote (Cohen 2011).28 The aesthetic nature of a group has historically been attributed to deviant behaviour; ‘the only way to make sense of vandalism [or more broadly anti-social behaviour] is to assume that it does not make any sense; any other definition would be threatening’ (Cohen 2011, 77).

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More than this, though, the technological process of placing a subject under surveillance introduces further frames of seeing. Through these practices, subjects are transformed into data: ‘subjects under surveillance are not even human subjects’ (Brighenti 2012, 59). This has consequences for both the viewer/consumer and the subject, for the way in which data is made as evidence is ‘clearly intended not only to illustrate the investigational utility of CCTV, but more importantly to resonate in a meaningful way with the viewing audience’ (Huey 2012, 239). Studies on border security and the sophisticated technologies of surveillance forced onto the asylum seeker’s body offer insight into the way that subjects of the CCTV gaze may not simply be criminalised, but ‘desubjectified’ (Pugliese 2013). Exploring practices through which states redefine their boundaries as affirmation of their ‘right to govern’, Pugliese’s term ‘extraterritorialisation’ articulates how states expand their ‘external borders or... police [refugees] at a distance in order to control unwanted migration flows’ (2013, 578). Such an approach reflects a deleuzian modulation; the process of territorialisation and deterritorialisation, which maps the making and unmaking of territories (Deleuze and Guattari 2014). A refugee’s body is mediated and marked as an intruder even before crossing the border. While referring to nation-state borders, as with many foreign policy initiatives in Australia, its influence on domestic policy should not be understated (Burke 2008, 2).

Just as asylum seekers are now unable to reach the land of Australia (instead perceived as having breached sovereignty whilst still in international waters), users of city spaces within Melbourne may be pushed back, or excluded, before attempting entry. Relegated to the city fringes or required to occupy different spaces within the city, advancements in and expansions of surveillance networks can target subjects
before they are within the city's borders. The state enables specific regimes of visibility through the deployment of surveillant technology (Pugliese 2013). The way in which a state may render something visible ultimately makes it invisible, or visible only in a certain way (Pugliese 2013, 571). For example, Australian citizens are aware of the presence of asylum seekers, but only ever as the problematic other, as something that seeks to breach sovereignty (and subsequently security). This mediated visibility reassures the Australian subject that the penalties asylum seekers receive are warranted. The asylum seeker is rendered visible at the border, only so that they may be ‘desubjectified’ and expunged from the state (2013, 590).

If visibility is relational, subjects ‘are not visible or invisible in an absolute way, but rather always visible in a given context, to someone, and in comparison to someone else’ (Brighenti 2010, 151). Visibility becomes ‘configurations, connections, forces, mechanisms, associations, regimes, strategies, practices, rhythms and situated activities’ (Brighenti 2010, 39). The ‘structural asymmetries of visibility’ are reinforced through broader state and market practices of surveillance, and always in relation to other subjects, space and time. The fluidity of visibilities means that even if a person is rendered visible through a gaze, this renders their status knowable in strictly finite ways. This reduces agency, as ‘statist regimes of visuality determine not only what one sees, but also what one does’ (Pugliese 2013, 572). Being seen may be harmful to members of marginalised populations. Being ‘unseen’, however, is still significant. The duality of surveillance, in which it both exposes and hides subjects, is of key importance, particularly when our social relations continue to be mediated through these technologies.
The ways in which surveillance practices reduce subjects to ‘noncorporeal realities’ significantly influences the potentiality of these asymmetrical visibilities (Pugliese 2013, 577). Reducing subjects to, for example, ‘blips on the screen’ or blurred characters in a CCTV frame, has an impact on how space is known and interpreted. With little control over how data is received, transmitted and configured, like a stranger taking a photo on the street, data holds personal information that is uncontainable by the subject (Goldenfein 2013, 277). Mirroring the surveillant assemblage, CCTV does not, technically:

[A]pproach the body in the first instance as a single entity to be moulded, punished, or controlled. First it must be known, and to do so it is broken down into a series of discrete signifying flows. (Pugliese 2010, 612)²⁹

Passed through technology that is perceived as ‘objective through its scientific background’ has enormous potential impact and influence on ongoing conceptualisations of deviant groups within public spaces (Pugliese 2013, 577). Far from being an inanimate object, the CCTV camera generates a productive potential within cities (Latour 2005).

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²⁹This analogy that the body is broken down into a discrete system of flows draws parallels with Deleuze’s work on the ‘dividuals’ within the Postscripts on the societies of control (1992), of which has been discussed in this chapter. In line with the surveillant assemblage and with spatial studies, it is more apparent that a subject is rarely perceived as a whole individual, but rather a site of a variety of targeted control mechanisms.
Conclusion

Once there are interventions within spatial environments – such as the installation of a camera – its effect will be felt and must be understood in a variety of ways. Certainly, as it reduces subjects, spaces and times into data flows, CCTV contributes to broader discourses of desire, memory and risk, with heterogeneous effects. Beginning from a place of scepticism regarding the claims that CCTV does ‘good’ within a space, this study engages with ambience and atmosphere in a city produced through surveillance. In such a city, the subject is decentred, viewed as ‘a product of the force-filled materialities of atmospheric conditions’ (Adey et al. 2013, 302). These frameworks allow for greater consideration of the unintended consequences that may arise from intervention in the atmospheres of cities. Keenly interested in the productive power of CCTV as visual surveillance technology, and of its potential to further influence spatial encounters with others, the rest of this thesis will consider the impact of CCTV on the everyday of the present, and of the future.
Chapter Three

Ways of Reading the City

*We are only now beginning to appreciate that surveillance is driven by the desire to bring systems together.*

(Haggerty and Ericson 2000, 610)

CCTV assembles and reassembles itself, modulates flows of capital, and is instrumental in regimes of visibility. It cannot be considered exclusively as a security technology, or as something that remains fixed within one geography. Constantly traversing and reinscribing borders, it does this in multiple ways. Creating and recreating times, spaces and lived experiences, the impacts of CCTV are as diverse as they are pervasive. Any consideration of CCTV's impact on the atmospheres of the city therefore requires a multi-layered conceptual architecture. How can ways of reading the city be adapted and brought together, in order to clearly read the effects of CCTV? And, how might an analysis of CCTV in Melbourne benefit from consideration of CCTV in other jurisdictions?

Retaining a criminological orientation, this research draws on works that permeate and extend traditional approaches to reading surveillance. From this, multiple data sources and perspectives are woven together. How CCTV is an accepted architectural and psychological element of the city necessitates engagement with several moments in time and/or space to highlight its fluidity. In these moments, its materiality and discourses are studied. CCTV and its attendant devices can be
understood as practices, ‘with the aim of grasping the conditions that make these things acceptable at a given moment’ (Foucault 2000, 225). An engagement with institutions, theories and ideologies provides the best framework for interrogating CCTV’s influence in generating our experiences of the everyday city. To achieve the aims of this study, I carried out interviews with residents and council employees in four municipalities, a focus group with the Brunswick Residents Network, CCTV control room observations, ethnographic field observation within the Melbourne municipalities, media analysis, visual analysis of CCTV footage, and critical discourse analysis of policy documents. Brought together, these diverse methods generate the valuable material that is analysed in the remaining chapters.

**Choosing public investment CCTV**

Drawing together seemingly arbitrary elements of CCTV reveals the consequences of CCTV investment, and its ‘complex interconnection with a multiplicity of historical processes’ (Foucault 2000, 225). Through this process, the ‘false self-evidence’ of CCTV – as necessary and effective – can be challenged (Foucault 2000, 225). This thesis does not share the conventional view in surveillance studies and criminology, which tends to position CCTV as either an out-dated or comprehensively analysed manifestation of surveillance. CCTV as a technology worthy of ongoing critique and focus has in recent years been sidelined. With the rise, for example, of the capabilities and prevalence of smartphones both as a means of surveillance as traceable location devices within city spaces, isolating the impact of CCTV as an interventionist tool might, at first, seem unworthy of sustained focus.
The number of CCTV cameras operating within private spaces vastly outweights that of any continued or renewed investment in CCTV for the primary purposes of public use. A desire to frame this thesis around 'public CCTV' may therefore seem counter-productive, or at least not as productive as an analysis of other technologies. However, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, the focus of this thesis remains on 'public investment' in security cameras. This incorporates infrastructure systems and the desire for CCTV, effectively reconciling a distinction between public-private that is otherwise cumbersome (Iveson 2007). Furthermore, each case study in this thesis is drawn from local government, one occurring in the 1990s and the other nearly two decades later, indicating a longevity of belief in the value of public CCTV that merits detailed consideration. As Haggerty and Ericson discuss within their description of the surveillant assemblage, states are still important objects of study (2000, 608). Public CCTV has played an important role in the fervent uptake of privately owned security cameras, resulting in public camera networks having substantial influences beyond municipal level. The state seeks to ‘stripe the space over which it reigns’ (Deleuze and Guattari 2014, 198, 385). Public investment in CCTV therefore continues, and in new ways.

That CCTV becomes banal, something to dissolve within the imagined landscape of city living, is also an important characteristic to revisit for criminologists. Just as Arendt’s work argued that the banality of evil depended upon a ‘lack of imagination which enabled’ the expansion of ‘evil’, banal security technologies warrant similar attention (Arendt 1994, 287; Goold, Loader and Thumala 2013). If we approach the city by means of these new ways of thinking, we will see how CCTV is having profound effects on urban everyday life. As newer surveillance technologies also
have the capacity to become banalised (for example, drones), exploring the consequences of an already banal security technology offers opportunity to gain insight into the impacts of surveillance technologies, both foreseen and unforeseen. Close examination of an established surveillance technology like CCTV may help to identify potential issues with newer, enhanced, surveillance technologies (Overington and Phan 2016).

CCTV may dissolve within the psychological space of the everyday. It can also reappear at any instant. Mediated through other technological and institutional apparatuses, we have increasing potential to experience violence and the city through the lens of the CCTV camera. This occurs via short clippings taken from an abundance of rolling footage, replayed via a multitude of mediums with an ostensible purpose. Provided as evidence, and also often in relation to an unresolved crime, such footage also illustrates how CCTV sees the city. These sprawling ‘ways of seeing’ need to be interrogated (Berger 1972). The readily visualised characteristic of the CCTV image continues to separate it from newer and more technologically expansive and/or powerful tools of surveillance. CCTV footage has the ability to be disseminated easily through other media, attaching itself to further institutions. It is also utilised within the prosecution of criminal offences. As an apparatus, it becomes a public access surveillance technology regardless of its funding agent.

In sum, a series of unresolved dualisms make the ongoing study of CCTV essential. Firstly, CCTV disappears into the city landscape whilst simultaneously reappearing
through new mediums. Secondly, it is understood to be safe through its banality, whilst also perceived as powerful and instructive. Read alongside its (traditionally) critiqued functionality as a technology that facilitates rapid removal of the undesirable, and the impacts of CCTV on the city becomes profound. Analysing broader environments of CCTV, along with details as to how CCTV reproduces such environments, this thesis provides a close examination of the ‘connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies and so on’ (Foucault 2000, 227) that underlie every CCTV image. Weaving together several layers and approaches into a revised methodological approach to studying CCTV, the ‘causal multiplication[s]’ of CCTV in (re)creating the everyday will be highlighted (Foucault 2000, 227).

**Choosing location**

As shown in the opening chapter, much has been written internationally on CCTV. This is especially so in the context of the United Kingdom, the unofficial public ‘birthplace’ of the technology, with mass investment ongoing (Norris, Moran and Armstrong 1998). The nature and direction of research studies have varied. Initially, studies focused on examining the relationship between crime statistics and the presence of CCTV, however later research explored the potential for CCTV control rooms to have an impact on the makeup of city spaces (Norris and Armstrong 1999). Perceptions of the camera as either a deterrent of crime or producer of safety have also been studied, although with few focussing on gendered differences. Even fewer studies have successfully interrogated why subjects may say they feel safer in the
presence of CCTV, as compared to when other crime prevention strategies are used. This research history sits parallel to the potential of CCTV networks to evolve in their perceived intention. Thus, while there has been significant research that looks to understand the public investment of CCTV and its effectiveness as crime prevention, there remains an ongoing need to expand methodologies in order to answer unresolved concerns.

In Australia, few studies explore CCTV within a social science context. Even fewer of these studies include Melbourne. The choice of city locality for this thesis begins to address this omission. While tracing uptake of CCTV technology within the United Kingdom has been studied to various degrees (which this thesis engages with through interviews and control room observations conducted in the City of Liverpool and City of Westminster), Adam Sutton and Dean Wilson's study in the early 2000s is one of the few studies in Australia to trace how public organisations have incorporated the technology into their crime prevention and safety policies. Despite the mass political, media and economic reinvestment in CCTV nationally after Jill Meagher's death in 2012, only one report, by the Australian Institute of Criminology, has focussed on current council investment in CCTV (Hulme, Morgan and Brown 2015). That study was a collation of data without critical perspective, though it still demonstrated the increasing number of councils installing CCTV networks, mirroring the approach of local government in the United Kingdom during the 1990s and early 2000s.
The City of Melbourne was one of the first councils to install CCTV technology as part of a public order response to a perceived safety issue in Victoria. Initially, in 1997, ten security cameras were installed along King Street, Melbourne. The installation was intended to be a deterrent to male-on-male violence attributed to the night-time economy. At the time, it was a significant operation in both its size and in the installation process (requiring the establishment of codes of conduct, and cooperation with other public bodies to utilise physical structures). Now one of the largest council-owned CCTV networks in Australia (68 cameras in 2017), the City of Melbourne’s surveillance strategies merit detailed attention. Compounding this, is public recognition of this council as representative of Melbourne as a ‘city’ more generally, through its responsibility as host to many of Melbourne’s tourist markers. These elements make it comparable to the City of Westminster, which also holds relevance as a municipality outwardly representative of London due to its saturation with tourist destinations. Moreover, the West End of London has some similarity to King Street through its distinctive history of night-time economies and early adoption of CCTV. Both sites have had significant numbers of CCTV cameras, installed through distinctive phases of network development, and as a locality have been reproduced and remediated to the public through the cameras lens. Sutton and Wilson suggested in 2004 that Australia may have defied ‘academic discourse at the time...[to] follow a similar path to United Kingdom’, however it is pertinent that Australia’s trajectory since then be examined (2004, 310).

The death of Jill Meagher in 2012 is a significant event in the history of CCTV within the landscape of Melbourne city spaces. It has been characterised as a ‘signal crime’, and as such a clear influencer on policy (Milivojevic and McGovern 2014). This event
is therefore addressed in two ways throughout this thesis. It is addressed both as part of the ‘everyday’, and also as an opportunity to closely interrogate crime narratives (Presser and Sandberg 2015). Unlike other sites chosen for this thesis, Sydney Road is studied through CCTV footage of ‘the city’ on the night Jill Meagher died. At another level, while the City of Melbourne and Moreland City Council border each other geographically, they operationalise CCTV quite differently. With deviating intentions, this invites critical opportunity to reflect on the aims for public CCTV for Melbourne more generally.

Beyond Melbourne, Liverpool City Council in the United Kingdom is similarly the site of a ‘signal crime’, being the murder of James Bulger in 1993. State-assisted funding has also shaped the implementation of CCTV cameras within this municipality. Influenced by their early adoption of the technology and subsequent opportunity to grow the network through more rounds of funding, Liverpool City Council has the largest camera network in this study (and Moreland City Council the smallest). With each council having similarly spectacular events mediated through CCTV, considering both offers opportunity to engage with the discursive impact CCTV narratives can have on the everyday. The infamous CCTV image of James Bulger being led away by his killers will not itself be directly analysed. Instead, analysis is focussed on what the Liverpool City Council’s CCTV network has become, as an indicator of one possible future for Moreland City Council’s investment.

While not a direct comparative analysis, locating Melbourne’s variable investment in CCTV – historically, socially and politically – within British applications of various
sizes and similar ambiguities offers an opportunity to map how CCTV networks can develop, and how they are influenced by local and international events. Engaging with CCTV networks in two countries illustrate that which is specific to, and influenced by CCTV.

Linking these specific events and spaces to the ongoing implications of CCTV, as it operates in the everyday, is essential. Subsequently, this material is woven in with other narratives of everyday city experiences, which also occur in the presence of CCTV, but beyond the context of the ways in which CCTV mediates violence. Entwining these layered experiences highlights how CCTV works in multiple modes. This assists in setting the scene for critical engagement with broader surveillance mechanisms and security tactics operationalised in the city. Selected experiences and moments demonstrate how the city can be altered dramatically by the mediated hyper-reality of violent events, and the lingering affect they create. It contributes also to a conversation regarding conceptualisations of the visually surveilled city, and enables the articulation of behaviours and practices that are influenced by CCTV. These may not entirely be acknowledged at present, or may continue to only be realised in relative contingency. For continuity, the ‘everyday’ in each of these scenes is assessed through channels of violence and desire.

**Addressing discourse**

CCTV assumes its legitimacy in city spaces. Its banal yet celebrated presence demonstrates how securely it sits within the expected order of the street. This is
achieved in multiple ways, including its uncritical presence in text produced beyond the street. Drawing from legal, political and media material relating to CCTV, this thesis examines in the following chapters the apparent naturalness of a security camera's place in forming part of the city's architecture. This involved approximately 200 texts, and included council strategy documents, audit reports, annual reports, council meeting minutes, legislation, sentencing remarks, state government guideline documents, and current and archived news media articles. Analysis of the discursive functions and encounters of CCTV, as a public good, reveals a 'discontinuous trajectory of conflicting ideas and beliefs, masquerading as one natural form' (Mills 1997, 26). Research for this thesis has involved a multi-layered discourse analysis ranging over multiple written texts in order to engage with CCTV's shifting manifestation. A critical reading has been performed in order to reveal subjugated knowledges. What 'can and should be said' through institutional and legitimised mediums restricts other ways in which CCTV or city security can be understood and, inevitably, influences how the walking subject will experience both CCTV and the city (Pecheux 1982, 111).

CCTV networks at local council level are multifaceted. The camera itself is only one appendage to a large body of governing strategies. Written CCTV policies and practices are negotiated across departments, as well as communicated to many

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30 Texts obtained for this research were publicly available, and often retrieved from government websites. Archived news media articles were retrieved in two ways; from the Victorian State Library hardcopy archive, and through the online Factiva database. The Victorian State Library archive search was directed from Factiva search results. When retrieving articles from Factiva, search terms were established on the basis of relevant years and key words. A combination of 'King Street', 'violence', 'security camera', 'CCTV', and 'safety' were used within the timeframe 1995-1997, and articles published in The Age, The Sunday Age, Herald Sun or the Sunday Herald were included. As the two primary news media publications to exist during the 1990s in Melbourne, it was determined that these results would be most indicative of mainstream media sentiment at this time.
State and legal organisations. Budgets for building, maintaining and expanding the network are revised and voted on. Elected representatives, as well as Council staff, are therefore required to give considerable time and energy to implement and maintain CCTV networks. Partnerships and contracts with external agencies produce further written material. What may seem a ‘unitary technology is in fact an assemblage that aligns computers, cameras, people and telecommunications in order to survey the public streets’ (Haggerty and Ericson 2000, 614). The amassed number of governmental texts relating to security camera networks is immense, and provides a rich basis from which to begin interrogation. The legitimacy of security cameras is attached to and reproduced by the legitimacy of these variable institutions. Practices do not exist ‘without a certain regime of rationality’ (Foucault 2000, 230), highlighting the importance of analysing how CCTV systems are evaluated. Within policy documents selected for analysis, certain narratives surface. Local government is also the site of discursive contradictions, influenced by multidirectional flows of power (Foucault 2000). To engage beyond written policy, tensions become clearer, particularly in relation to community safety policy approaches. Interviews with staff who have different levels of authority and different policy directives within local government provide context to critically engage with CCTV's perceived banality. As the following chapters will demonstrate, this was revealed through uncritical adoption within policy, and in its taken-for-granted presence in urban design. How CCTV can continue to embody authority to magnify its gaze into city environments is linked to these increasing and repeated practices. This expands beyond legal and policy text. The history of CCTV, and its representation in media, means also the continual process of ‘separation of true and false’ (Foucault 2000, 233). Moments of violence described in news media have
therefore been compared to the construction of CCTV as either resolution to, or narrative of such criminality. These readings enhance primary data collected from interviewees, providing context for how CCTV is discussed.

Further to these elements, and with governments often emphasising individual benefit and collective welfare in relation to national security, how such rhetoric is achieved was intensified in verbal interviews (Simone 2009). How elected and nonelected government representatives rationalised the logic of CCTV, in semi-structured interviews, in relation to their jurisdictional requirements highlighted the desires to secure cities. At times, the perceived intentions of CCTV across council differed in interviews. This data is used to demonstrate the shifting paradigms of CCTV in the city.31

The often-unchallenged legitimacy of CCTV to exist and operate within city spaces, is extended frequently, and into using CCTV to identify ‘undesirable’ subjects. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Seven, CCTV networks continue to actively intervene in the aesthetics of streets, often under the guise of targeting anti-social behaviour. ‘Populist discourses of potential [offenders and] victims’ complement the populist discourses of CCTV in media (Lyon 2006, 234). That CCTV may exist in public access space prior to entry produces secondary discourses of power used to marginalise

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31 20 interviews were conducted with 23 interviewees between 2014 and 2016 across the City of Melbourne, Moreland City Council, City of Westminster and City of Liverpool. This excludes interviews conducted within CCTV control rooms. The semi-structured interviews took place on council property, in interview rooms that were private for the duration of the interview. Interviews took between 30-90 minutes, dependent upon the interviewee’s engagement with the questions. Interviewees were approached via email and telephone, and were selected on the basis of their position, or on recommendation from other interviewees.
subordinate groups (Butler 1993). How representatives of government speak, not only about CCTV, but also of marginalised populations illuminate these networks of control. Observing the practices and the architecture of CCTV control rooms compound this. Noting how control room operators navigate the city through the lens of the camera, and how they communicate with the other elements of the network assisted this thesis in developing a comprehensive understanding of how councils operationalise security cameras beyond their written and official policies.32

Applying the methods discussed above engages with the logistics of CCTV networks within cities. Multi-layered discourse analysis of media and policy, tied in with verbal interviews, outline how security cameras continue to be acceptable parts of the urban environment. Particularly when exploring how institutions evaluate the ‘success’ of such networks, critical insight into the divergent expectations of surveillance has been developed. Used collectively, and enhanced through control room observations, these methods demonstrate how CCTV practices and policies realise broader state intentions to regulate and control its citizens for biopolitical enterprise.

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32 I was permitted to visit the CCTV control rooms of City of Westminster and City of Liverpool. These observations took place in 2014, and I was present for a short period of no more than 30 minutes in each room. Interviews within the control room were loosely structured around operational matters in order not to disrupt the flow of activities within the control room. They were unstructured and ad hoc interviews.
Reading the image, addressing atmosphere, and walking as methodology

*How can we identify an implicitly ephemeral and transient phenomenon that is produced between and with entities, objects and things?*

(Adey et al. 2013, 302)

Analysis of written and practiced texts was crucial to establish the procedures and legitimisation of CCTV. However, it was not the only medium considered for this project. CCTV is firmly associated with the visual. Its physical presence in the city, and how it records and reproduces violence and cityscapes at night necessitates further layers of analysis. An investigation into how CCTV records the city is essential. This needed to be executed with care, since ‘telling a story about images itself is a story’ (Carrabine 2016, 253). Affects that work beyond the visual were therefore considered in this project. The importance of affect ‘alongside, or opposed to, rationality in public discourse’ assists in ‘paying attention to bodies as well as minds’ in cities (Bridge and Watson 2012, 379). CCTV’s more visceral impact also enhances the study of its discourse. As ‘emotions spread across our reality by means of action’, methods that uncovered this collective emotion, materiality and ambience of space were incorporated (Ansaloni and Tedeschi 2016, 21). This emphasis assists in decentering agency of subject and state, creating the opportunity to enrich current research approaches to CCTV and surveillance. Such focus is also essential in better demonstrating how surveillant assemblages construct atmospheres that do not necessarily have a linear trace back to particular state or market desires.
The mass reproduction of the CCTV footage that recorded Jill Meagher’s walk along Sydney Road has had a profound impact on the collective imagination of violence at night, and of CCTV’s role in safety. While some of this is clear when explored in media and policy analysis, how else it sits in the psyche of spaces and subjects was further interrogated in this research. As this footage may be understood as narrative, documenting the political and affective qualities within film production and its dissemination work, again, towards a critical recognition of the impacts of CCTV. Footage released in the context of violence is temporally ordered and morally suggestive, and so need to be critically read (Presser 2016, 138). How such footage continues to exist, the ethics of eternal violence on CCTV’s screen, and its impact(s) on the living are considered in this thesis (Biber 2011; Carrabine 2014). As the footage explores the relation between the ‘sayable and the unsayable’, it can now be read as an archive – as something that continues to impact the spaces of the city and its subjects within, often in new ways (Carrabine 2014, 143).

Beyond the borders of the visual, atmospheres are part of a ‘field of moving materiality that registers differentially in the perpetual affordances of moving bodies’ (McCormack 2008, 415). Innovative methodological approaches are required to measure this. Constructions of the night in cities are often relayed in feelings and perceptions, rather than in scientific or quantifiable ways. As surveillance technologies are understood ‘to transform bodies into pure information’, divided and reduced to variables, exploring the assembling of atmospheres offer new ways of reading this impact (Haggerty and Ericson 2000, 613). How the city, the night, and CCTV are ‘sensed by several different practices and representation’ therefore became a focus for this project (Adey et al. 2013, 303).
Tracing the sensory experiences that subjects had in the city allowed for exploring, qualitatively, the ‘relationships that constitute the ambient ‘situation’ between people, things, built objects, sounds and other senses and social practices’ (Adey et al. 2013, 303). The atmospheres of and within Sydney Road and King Street are better understood, and CCTV’s inclusion in this better marked, by considering elements, that are ‘almost always considered separately from one another’, together (Adey et al. 2013, 303). As urban space is itself ontogenetically ‘multiple, rhizomatic, provided with proper agency’, affects and emotions are inseparable from bodies (Ansaloni and Tedeschi 2016, 15). In-depth interviews with subjects, combined with immersive fieldwork, has provided the detail required to build this deep understanding of the complex interplay of product and process, person and place relevant to CCTV networks. Analysis of images has been woven together with experiences of the night and of the city, to restore ‘the feeling instead of the perceiving subject’ in research, ‘making for ambience to be apprehended as an emotional corporeal relationship to space as a mood, as unity but also as a process’ (Adey et al. 2013, 302).

Public CCTV is concerned with circulation in spaces. How moving subjects are influenced by, and experience, environments is significant. The study of ‘movement through the public spaces of the city’ draws from Situationist methodologies, which recognises how subjects interact with their world through spectacle (Young 2014, 33). It is this concept that ties together CCTV’s image and CCTV in space, demonstrating the need to explore each as relational, to address the ‘relationship between the visual and other senses’ (Pink 2005, 17). The result of ‘intervention of
software and new forms of address, these background time-spaces are changing their character, producing novel kinds of behaviours that would not have been possible before' (Thrift 2006, 583). Interviews with users of night-time spaces were conducted, in order to engage with this ‘world just coming into existence' (Thrift 2006, 590). Concerned not only with image and form (and subjects’ responses to these), but also with how experiences are embodied reveals rich data.\textsuperscript{33}

Walking in the modern city can be identified as ‘expression from “below”, empowering the average citizen to create a sense of place through daily routinized activity’ (Shortell and Brown 2015, 81). However, restrictions imposed on who can walk, and how, are widespread. This thesis engages with the female subject as she walks through the city, primarily as the footage emerging from the night Meagher died traces her final walk and, as will be demonstrated in later chapters, assumes her walking to be problematic. The walking female invites public critique, diverging from the history of the flâneur (someone who assumes himself able to wander). While the way in which the female subject experiences walking at night is neither homogenous nor static – due to the intersection of gender with other variables, such as race and class (van Der Meulen and Glasbeek 2013) – there is a common thread of constructed vulnerability in night spaces that deviates from the experiences of a man. This is often realised through (in)visibility. As the female subject shifts from the amplified gaze in the night-time economy to restricted visibility in the night, each overlaid by the gaze of CCTV surveillance, her mobility is influenced in multiple

\textsuperscript{33} 12 in-depth and semi-structured interviews were conducted with users of night-time spaces. These interviews took place in 2015 and 2016, and were between 60-90 minutes in length. Each interview conducted took place in a space that was most comfortable for the interviewee; in cafes, in meeting rooms, with a small number taking place over the phone and through other telecommunications media. Several of the interviews took place either in proximity to, or on Sydney Road.
ways. How women experience the night and CCTV is a strong concern for the project, particularly within the space of Sydney Road. To provide some comparison along the lines of gender, interviews with young male subjects in Brunswick demonstrate differences in spatial occupation, identification of threat and ways to mitigate risk.

In social, historical and psycho-spatial contexts, ‘bodies cannot be separated from their environment’ (Ansaloni and Tedeschi 2016, 16). While these carefully selected interview-based methods of reading the city enhance critical engagement with CCTV, ethnographic field notes and photo-documentation provide the opportunity to document ‘the material-affective relations that constitute the quality, feeling and experience of being ‘immersed” (Adey et al. 2013, 300). This is especially pertinent for exploring and evaluating sites that have become scenes of violence— ‘Not only do people feel uneasy; space itself emanates a sense of restlessness along with its dwellers’ (Ansaloni and Tedeschi 2016, 18). Visiting and revisiting such sites recognises how ‘affects can last for years, they can become sedimented in asphalt, glass and spray paint’ (Fitzgerald 2015, 175). It is difficult to capture such imprints on the materials of the city through traditional methods (Fitzgerald 2015, 174). As ‘the written medium is not the superior method of research dissemination’, alternative ways of representing ‘the field’— through images and alternative ways of writing— are therefore included (Pink 2001, 2013, 5). Rather than seeking to refine ethnographic field notes into academic form, they instead are inserted between texts.34 Providing a subjective narrative of walking in the city, these notes emphasise

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34 Fieldwork was conducted periodically throughout the entirety of this thesis- from July 2014 until March 2017. I walked along Sydney Road and King Street at different times of day, during different seasons, and at different paces (or using alternative transportation). Notes were recorded variously through text, audio recording, video recording, and written soon afterwards. Over 250 photos were taken, and used to annotate events, encounters and feelings. Photos that have been included,
the immersive over the analytical. The non-representational (how, within this site, the researcher’s body becomes) gains focus. Validated ‘by its effects on the body—from sweat to heart rate to muscles stretching’ (Thrift 2008, 68), aspects that often escape conscious recognition, in this moment, take precedence. Photodocumentation is therefore used in a variety of ways as a fieldwork tool; in terms of recording details within particular sites, as a memory tool for subsequent analysis, and also as an analytical component of approach taken by the thesis.

The desire to study the walking subject and to conduct research while walking hails from a rich history of walking as methodology within cities. Originally located in Paris and ‘born along with the arcades, which allowed him to loiter around at his own pace’, the flâneur seeks the crowd, strolling at leisure, so much so that ‘he is as much at home among house façades as a citizen is within his four walls’ (Benjamin 2003, 19). In possession of his individuality, the flâneur ‘represents urban experience with all its aspects: he is an urban stroller, a street-artist, an accidental gaze, an amateur detective’ (Grotta 2015, 3). Discovering and encountering the city and its subjects through this movement, the walking subject is also establishing a ‘public performance that actualises and appropriates urban space in a variety of ways’ (Brighenti 2010, 131). Walking in the city both connects and disconnects spaces, revealing expected pathways and offering new methods to resist through individual interpretation (de Certeau 1984). However, the flâneur, as an analyst of cities, historically fails to account for the gendered nature of walking. As a young and

including a small number to have been taken beyond Sydney Road or King Street in Melbourne, in this thesis were selected on the basis of how well they represented themes that had emerged across the research.
female researcher, then, I seek to be a contemporary flâneuse, with my own walking able to ‘explore, discover and rediscover elements of urban life that would otherwise be overlooked in the grand narrative’ (Shortell and Brown 2015, 81). My experiences of walking in the contemporary city include acknowledgement of, and constitution by, spatial and social impositions that restrict my ability to stroll freely. The photographs and observations that I have taken weld together the other materials and narratives gathered for this project. Overall, these methods provide an account of what it means to experience elements of the city, particularly at night, and particularly as a young woman. The materiality and atmosphere of surveillance are best analysed by focussing on both lived and consumed experiences of living. It is from these methods that the unclear and often unnoticed consequences of CCTV, as part of the architecture of the city, is understood.

Conclusion

As demonstrated in these opening chapters, a critical focus on CCTV as a crime prevention tool, and on its ability to influence spatial encounters of the everyday, is political. Adopting several ways of reading the city facilitates new methods of interrogating CCTV’s pervasive impact on cities and subjects:

[T]his effect is intentional, “what is to be done” ought not to be determined from above by reformers, be they prophetic or legislative, but by a long work of comings and goings, of exchanges, reflections, trials and different analyses. (Foucault 2000, 236)
These ways of reading, when drawn together, produce new sets of questions that alter, or shift, the focus of CCTV within public spaces, into a more reflexive and critical dimension. These new ways of evaluating CCTV’s impact may not lead to divestment in the technology. However, it will allow us to engage reflexively with the ‘banality’ of CCTV within city environments, especially in respect of its capacity to work beyond its crime prevention rhetoric. From such a position, critical consideration of CCTV networks can be extended to other surveillance and security apparatuses in the city. Understanding how CCTV contributes to the making of a city offers new opportunities of engagement regarding ‘spatial justice’, or, the justice achievable through the process of disruption (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2014, 128). In the next chapter, I begin analysing the experience of walking along Sydney Road and King Street in Melbourne. In doing so, I engage with both the justified installation of CCTV in these spaces, and the productive impacts the cameras have continued to have on mediating constructions of desire and violence.
Chapter Four

Regulating visible violence in the city

Now, is [a CCTV camera] going to stop the drug-affected or alcohol-impaired person doing the wrong thing? Probably not, because they have lost control. But, as I have said, then it makes very good evidence.

(Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, quoted in Gregory 2009, no pagination)

Just after 3am on Saturday 8th July 2017, heavily armed police raided the Inflation nightclub, located on King Street in Melbourne. Within 32 seconds of entering the premises they shot and tasered a couple amid reports that one of them had a gun, which later proved to be false (Houston and Vedelago 2017a). In the days following, some members of the media suggested ‘years of acrimony between the club and police’ to be a possible causal factor of the raid and its outcome (Houston and Vedelago 2017b, no pagination). While management and staff at Inflation nightclub claimed that the ‘man was not holding a weapon’ at the time of being shot, Victoria Police continued to allege that he ‘was pointing a gun at the officer’ (Houston and Vedelago 2017b, no pagination). CCTV footage from multiple cameras at the entrance to, and inside, Inflation, was subsequently made available to the media, and journalists set their focus towards deciphering the images, to no avail (Houston and Vedelago 2017b). In August, and after the couple announced that they were suing the state of Victoria over the incident, further CCTV footage was leaked to the media (Farnsworth 2017). According to media articles accompanying the

35 The couple were guests at a dress-up swingers’ party, with the man dressed as the Joker from Batman; part of his costume included a fake gun (Houston and Vedelago 2017a).
videos, while some of the new clippings supported Inflation nightclub’s claims, other parts appeared to vindicate Victoria Police’s actions (Farnsworth 2017; Tran 2017). An official police investigation into the shooting continues (Houston and Vedelago 2017b).

Incorporating CCTV footage into media reports of violence is common. In December 2010, 3AW Radio uploaded CCTV footage onto their YouTube page of a man being ‘king hit’, accompanying a story seeking to identify the perpetrator. Titled *Ugly CCTV Footage of King St assault*, the video shows the attack in full, and the victim, who falls to the ground unconscious. The attack is replayed three times, serving to emphasise the violence of the interaction. This chapter seeks to understand how CCTV developed along streets such as King Street in Melbourne, and the impact that its presence continues to have today. How might CCTV shift narratives of responsibility and the causality of violence, and how does it change the way violence is understood more broadly? To address this, I firstly explore the rationalities and experiences of Sydney Road and King Street during daytime hours. By mapping spaces, operations of economy, materials, walking practices and surveillant practices, this chapter identifies how the wallpaper of the night in Melbourne influences experiences in the city. From this, a critical understanding of the impact that CCTV installations continues to have in such spaces can be better understood.
Daytime

Walking north along Sydney Road towards Blyth Street one sunny afternoon, I find myself constantly changing pace in order to fit in with the other pedestrians. A few elderly women I pass have personal shopping trolleys, in this moment used as a substitute for a walking frame. As I walk past a string of retail stores on the narrow asphalt footpath, I step to the side once, and stop completely soon after, as bodies emerge abruptly and without warning from the inside of a hardware store. My walking is not the only thing disrupted. In one block, I hear waves of pop music as cars pass, the sound of a siren from an emergency vehicle nearby, the trance-like beep of the pedestrian lights as they switch from ‘stop’ to ‘go’, and snippets of conversation in different languages as a group of young women pass me in the opposite direction. A whiff of tobacco from an older man standing and smoking at the intersection quickly gives way to the smell of exhaust fumes as cars queue up at the Albert Street intersection. In just a few minutes, I have been exposed to the numerous uses of Sydney Road – as a thoroughfare for cars, the location of a smoking break for a worker, a social space, and a retail hub. This cluster of corporations and stakeholders with ‘claim’ to the space, and the friction caused by such demands, is reflected in my sensory experiences.

DJ’s have remixed the noise associated with pedestrian crossings in Melbourne in the past. See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oa7017bVoTE&feature=youtu.be.

All subsequent quotations from ethnographic field notes and control room observations will be given in italics, and were collected between July 2014 and March 2017 when walking along Sydney Road, King Street, or when observing control rooms operated by the City of Liverpool and City of Westminster, unless otherwise stated.
Geographically, ‘Sydney Road is a well-defined 4km long streetscape between Brunswick Road and Bell Street in Coburg’ (Moreland City Council 2012, 44). Within this geography, Moreland City Council recognises Sydney Road not only as a retail district, but also as a transport arterial, public space and entertainment precinct. It is conceived as both a destination and a thoroughfare. Each distinctive purpose attracts differing attention in the various strategic policy plans released by the Council. Its strategic planning broadly intends to continue to ‘strengthen the individual identity and economic activity’ of Sydney Road whilst also acknowledging the ‘strong heritage streetscape’ that needs to be protected (Moreland City Council 2012, 15). The functionality of such a space, as it strains to facilitate these varied intentions, is complex. Brunswick has been criticised as ‘slow to adapt to regeneration’ (Boyce 2012) On any given day, Sydney Road as a physical form must adhere to a number of regulations, so much so that ‘we’re pretty much stuck with what we’ve got’ (CP, Director, Moreland City Council). In a street with ‘so much infrastructure in its footpaths and roads’, not only does consensus for pragmatic change need to be reached with many key stakeholders (the State government, Yarra Trams, business owners, utilities companies, and so on), there is also very little ability to ‘put in trees or anything that kind of softens the spaces [due to geographical constraints]’, according to CP.

38 All quotations from council personnel are from interviews conducted by me with them between July 2014 and November 2015, unless otherwise stated. To protect the identity of the small number of council employees and councillors who opted for anonymity, all interviewees from the City of Melbourne, Moreland City Council and the City of Liverpool have been given a pseudonym. The exceptions are Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, who is a strong public advocate for CCTV, and Robert McAlister, as he was the only staff member from the City of Westminster interviewed for this project.
Sydney Road is the ‘outcome of a sequence and set of operations’ that produce the current space in which only certain ‘fresh actions [can] occur’ (Lefebvre 1991, 73). As one participant (P2) in the Brunswick Residents Network focus group suggested, ‘the dynamics of [people] as they move around those streets are quite different’. The utility of Sydney Road in relation to business, however, remains focused on ‘programmed consumption[s]’ (Lefebvre 1991, 89). Viewed primarily as a site for consumerism, or for travel between work and home, Sydney Road is a continually produced site (Lefebvre 1991, 75).

During the day, Sydney Road serves a multiplicity of functions for a variety of ages. This is reflected in the experiences recounted by interviewees, with one young woman reflecting that her being on Sydney Road ‘during the day’ would be for ‘all matter of things’, in relation to consumer-oriented experiences, such as eating and shopping (Interview participant BD). The consumer experience, as subjects move through Sydney Road throughout the day, was frequently emphasised in policy documents and by Council employees in interviews. The ‘importance of traders’ and their satisfaction with the space is identified as ‘having a critical role’ (DC, Director, Moreland City Council). In recognition of spatial dynamics, Moreland City Council have assigned a ‘Place Manager’ to the precinct, so that Sydney Road can be seen in its entirety:

[A Place Manager focuses on] the full range of things that would occur in a space... to create a greater sense of community within the places themselves. (CP, Moreland City Council)

This strategic policy aligns itself with Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles and broad responsibilisation practices (Garland 1997,
particularly the desire to ‘minimise the amount of space between
ownerships’ (CP, Moreland City Council).

Seeking to ‘restructure the physical layout of communities’ by increasing resident
control in ‘the areas around their homes [or business]’ is informed by notions of
‘defensible space’ (Newman 1966, 9). The emphasis on Sydney Road as a ‘place’
assists in examining how constructions of ‘community pride’ are activated through
property ownership (Blomley 2004, 89). There is a particular hierarchy of practices
tolerated within the city (de Certeau 1984, 117). Evident during the day, ‘business’
takes precedence; Sydney Road is neither historically nor socially conducive for a
walker to produce vastly different pathways from its more dominant purposes. In
form and discourse, it draws subjects in as the ‘activity corridor’ for Brunswick, with
limited opportunities to take shortcuts. As Figure 3 illustrates, Sydney Road as an
arterial road connecting Brunswick to other suburbs cannot be easily circumvented.

To wander along Sydney Road during the day without a definitive purpose did not
feature in interviews. It also feels uncommon in my own field notes. When I walked
as an observer, my movements were easily interrupted, and were constantly shaped
by other contenders for the space (Figures 4 and 5). The stream of cars, observable
not only through their visibility but also through the steady murmur of engines as
they started and halted in line with traffic congestion, outnumbers the walkers on
the footpath. Individuals walking along Sydney Road during the day have most likely
found their way through a ‘shopper’s gaze’ (see Figure 6) (Hayward 2004, 28). That
is, for a purpose rather than for the practice (or enjoyment) of walking itself.
Figure 3 Sydney Road, Brunswick (Google Maps: Alphabet Inc.)

Figure 4 Corner of Albert Street and Sydney Road, facing south (photograph by author)
Figure 5 Corner of Victoria Street and Sydney Road, facing north (photograph by author)

Figure 6 Shoppers point at dresses on display at 517 Sydney Road, Brunswick (photograph by author)
As illustrated in Figure 7, King Street in the City of Melbourne is structurally similar to Sydney Road in many ways. It is also a major state road, connecting the north and south of the city. In 1998, the City of Melbourne estimated around 65,000 cars move through King Street per day, making it the busiest road in the Central Business District (Vodanovich 1998, 2). This has increased as populations have expanded, with more recent figures quoting 840,000 people within the municipality in a 24-hour period, 700,000 of which are using transport for their work (LP, Director, City of Melbourne). Its significance as a major thoroughfare for vehicles is most noticeable during ‘peak hour’, a time that signifies the beginning and end of the business day. The bitumen of the road is the most visibly prominent material, with dual lanes in both directions, and dedicated turning lanes for main intersections. Similar to Sydney Road, one City of Melbourne employee mentioned difficulties in creating a ‘precinct feel’ in the area due its use as an arterial road (IA, Team Leader, City of Melbourne). King Street is also the site of, and adjacent to a number of large commercial entities, and notably sits proximate to the massive Crown Entertainment Complex:39

It’s a thoroughfare. So, you’re not going to get much street life when you’ve got that sort of volume of vehicles coming down. Consequently, you know, it’s not a place to hang out, so it’s kind of, if you do need to go around there, there’s not going to be many people walking around. You’ve got loud traffic going past... it’s just not about the pedestrian experience basically... it [is] all about the car. (LP, Director, City of Melbourne)

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39 Crown Entertainment Complex comprises of a large casino, shops, and restaurants. Operating one of the largest and most advanced CCTV networks in Victoria, its live feeds were accessed remotely in 2013 as part of a $32 million betting scam (Butler 2013).
Figure 7 King Street, Melbourne (Google Maps: Alphabet Inc.)

Figure 8 14 King Street, facing north (photograph by author)
Figure 9 14 King Street, facing south and towards Crown Entertainment Complex (photograph by author)

Figure 10 212 King Street (photograph by author)
King Street’s evolution, as both a major thoroughfare and a site for intense commercial use, is a deliberate consequence of State government and local council policies. While initiatives such as *Postcode 3000* focused on increasing residential occupation in the central CBD, other strategic plans emphasised Melbourne’s utility in business; *Creating Prosperity: Victoria’s Capital City Policy* in 1994 and the *Westend Project* in 1995 each cited King Street as ‘home to some of Australia’s most prestigious companies’ (Vodanovich 1998, 2). As illustrated in Figures 8 and 11, this commercial influence on King Street is quite literally imposed upon the walking subject, with tall buildings a feature of most intersections.

On my visits to the street, cranes sit in the background, acting as a signifier of the continued industrial growth of the area. The importance of King Street to enhance the commercial success of Melbourne was clear from the 1990s onwards, working in conjunction with the overall desire to make Melbourne a more prosperous city:

My recollection of that precinct was at the time, if you think about the mid to late 90s in Melbourne – emerging from a recession, there was a lot of vacancy in the city as I recall. And so, they were really trying to encourage businesses to locate in the city, and if they couldn’t get businesses then they were trying to encourage residents. There was the *Postcode 3000* program, but then there was also the idea of, well, traditionally the west of the city has always been kind of where [you find the] commercial. You know, the law, business. (WF, former employee, City of Melbourne)

As with Sydney Road, King Street is a site for significant business, and works as a major thoroughfare and as a destination.\(^{40}\) Each site, geographically, is tightly controlled in its appearance. King Street in particular is part of a major commercial

\(^{40}\) How King Street operates as a destination will become more apparent shortly.
precinct enabled by the grid format of the city. The strategic policy directions for both Moreland City Council and the City of Melbourne imply that Sydney Road and King Street are important sites for continued investment by commercial agencies. Several small businesses, as well as larger companies’ office headquarters, are located in both streets. Council personnel identify the streets as vital for the economic prosperity of the municipalities, and encouragement for investment is a high priority.

Both public and private closed-circuit television cameras (CCTV) exist in abundance on each street. Surveillance serves a number of purposes including security of commercial premises and/or personnel. This is common throughout Melbourne more generally – many of the cameras used to create the narrative of Meagher’s death, for example, were affixed to privately owned commercial buildings. As will be analysed in Chapter Six, CCTV footage of Meagher and Bayley across the city includes footage from daytime; indeed, when Meagher is filmed leaving the ABC it is because her workday had come to an end. It also includes footage from the evening, from both open and closed businesses. There is no distinction in the way cameras record between the sources of footage, and the cameras film day and night without preference, despite the nature of the business that they are attached to. The pervasive presence of CCTV can be read in a number of ways (the operational capacity of CCTV networks in a security context will be interrogated in Chapter Seven). With an established relationship between CCTV installation and desires for urban regeneration, as documented in the United Kingdom (Coleman and Sim 2000), the presence of CCTV cameras begins to demonstrate the co-dependence of day and night-time economies.
In the CCTV footage described in Chapter One, neither Jill Meagher nor Adrian Bayley showed outward signs that they were alert to the many cameras recording their movements throughout the city. Indeed, it appeared that the existence of cameras had no visibly disruptive effect on the night. Like other security devices, CCTV cameras appear to function – at least in the overall narrative regarding Meagher’s death and crime prevention – as a banal good; only known to exist in the architecture of the night at the moment they ‘do’ something to help resolve crime, the ‘doing’ this time relating to recording victims of crime and/or offenders (Goold, Loader and Thumala 2013). Collated as evidence in preparation for trial, these clippings of footage did end up creating a record, and a narrative that has since had substantial effects. Yet, the footage that ended up being assembled, for the purposes of investigating an act of violence, was incidental to the prescribed purpose of these commercially and privately-owned cameras. As long as it has the capacity to record, a CCTV camera cannot be limited in its impact on city spaces, both directly and beyond its initial gaze. It is difficult to maintain a separation into daytime and nighttime economies, considering the ease with which CCTV can affect the atmospheres of both.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, the proliferation of commercial investment in security cameras in Melbourne could initially be understood in relation to Foucault’s concept of governmentality (1991) and, by extension, Garland’s work on responsibilisation (1997, 2001). Alongside other localised initiatives to take

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41 CCTV footage described at the beginning of this chapter – in relation to the shooting at Inflation nightclub and the ‘king hit’ on King Street – also contains no characters who visibly acknowledge the presence of the camera.
responsibility for the prevention of crime, business investment in CCTV indicates desires to deter deviant behaviour, and to assist police with investigations. Underlying this is an increasing demand for CCTV as a requirement for insurance. Individuals assume responsibility through risk management and rhetoric for the ‘greater good’ (Hier, Walby and Greenberg 2006 236). Understood to displace or reduce opportunities to commit a deviant act, the installation of CCTV cameras on the exterior edge of someone’s property symbolically redraws the line between public and private property, and in doing so reinforces the authority of what is protected (and also the individual who has the right to protect). As demonstrated by footage from the night Meagher was killed, individuals walking at night past businesses were recorded by the cameras. This is not perceived as a problem. In interviews, participants are aware of CCTV as a ‘fact of life’ in the city (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne), with another respondent observing, ‘I presume that most shops have cameras at the door’ (Interview participant, HW, male).

While recognising that CCTV cameras may record within a business, understanding that cameras often record beyond business hours is less certain, precisely because the camera is ‘rarely subject to attention or concern’ (Goold, Loader and Thumala 2013, 978). Initially these cameras may have been installed as an attempt for owners to show responsibility for protecting their assets; however, in effect, the scope of CCTV has shifted into lateral surveillance. Even in absentia, citizens can ‘effortlessly

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42 The following chapter will carry this analysis further, exploring in detail the consequences of such dispersed policing. The purpose of mention in this chapter is simply to demonstrate a general desire to control subjects within daytime and night-time economies and how CCTV installations begin to reflect this.

43 To protect the anonymity of interviewees speaking about their experiences of harassment and crime, all individuals selected for interviews who were outside of council employment were given pseudonyms.
monitor and assess the behaviours of one another’ (Reeves 2012, 234). Each council already recognises businesses as primary stakeholders during the day. With the continual and expansive recording of their cameras, the power of the daytime economy expands its rationality and border through pervasive surveillance extending into the night (McCoy 2015, 20).

Apparent in the framing of each segment of CCTV images released in relation to the death of Meagher, the various bodies that move past (rather than entering the buildings) are not the clear or sole focus for the camera’s frame. Each camera affixed to daytime businesses frames the street, making it visible in relation to this physical border. The camera’s gaze becomes a ‘border of a border’, extending the material boundaries of property further (Pugliese 2013, 579). A business, even when closed for the evening, intensifies its own border security policies through this increased scope – through its push into the street and into the night (Chambers 2015, 29). Its interests, and claim to the space, are not contained within the hours of ‘nine-to-five’. While technology is installed to facilitate control over the daytime consumer-citizen, CCTV’s logics also permeate the night.

CCTV’s gaze into the night is justified by the economic rationalism that attends its installation as part of business economies along Sydney Road and King Street. Whether remaining unnoticed by the walking subject,⁴⁴ or emerging as an important ‘witness’ in crime narratives, CCTV is unquestioned. This underlies the, at first seemingly separate, rationality of installing CCTV into night-spaces. For example,

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⁴⁴ The banality of such surveillance will be further interrogated in Chapter Six.
public CCTV on King Street was initially installed to generally reduce street violence at night and to improve perceptions of the night-time economy. This Safe City Camera Program was implemented, only after council recognition that perceptions of night-time economies reduced commercial investment in the daytime:

Major investors cited the violent image of King Street as a reason they would definitely not invest in the area... Consequently making changes to the area was seen as a priority not only in the context of city safety but also to secure commercial confidence in the Westend. (Vodanovich 1998, 3)

The first City of Melbourne cameras to be installed along King Street monitored people during the night-time, their presence justified by reference to daytime business. Consequently, CCTV operates as part of an expanding network that records space and property, rather than event (Blomley 2004). One clear example of this is the positioning of two cameras installed as part of the Safe City Cameras Program. Seemingly installed to observe King Street’s ‘Safe City Taxi Ranks’, these cameras are also directly outside two significant commercial buildings: 212 and 55 King Street (see Figures 8, 9 and 10). On the ground floor of 212 King Street are several businesses, including Delhi Rocks – an Indian restaurant open each night until 3am, and an independent supermarket and liquor store, which is open 24 hours on the weekend. The National Training Centre and other training agencies operate, during standard business hours, on the floors above. A couple of buildings either side of 212 King Street are popular nightclubs – Brown Alley nightclub on the corner of King Street and Lonsdale Street, and La Di Da nightclub on the corner of King Street and Little Bourke Street. The camera is installed firmly out the front of the 212 King Street entrances. The building at 55 King Street is named Exchange Square, and is fully leased to the State Government of Victoria. The Victorian Civil
and Administrative Tribunal is located here (Colliers International 2015). Almost directly opposite, at 60 King Street, is Cloud Nine nightclub. While performing some functions related to night-time street violence and public safety, these cameras are also strategically placed to enhance perceptions of neighbourhood safety that make it suitable for certain kinds of daytime business.

Producing ‘vibrancy’ in the city at night

The night-time economy might be presumed to be a less integral aspect of urban commerce than the conventional businesses of daytime, but in fact it plays a crucial role in urban life, and cities depend upon its regulated expansion. Such a dependence ensures rationalities of the daytime embed themselves in new ways of circulation at night. This is clear in Sydney Road and King Street, with each street still prominent as an activity corridor for the night-time economy. Desire for each site to be economically viable remains, albeit with a different focus. Council employees demonstrated that CCTV is not intended to shut down night-time economies, but instead to draw it into tighter regulation:

People don’t want to finish at 5.30 and go home. They want to finish at 5.30 and go somewhere. They want to do something afterward. (Councillor CK, City of Melbourne).

King Street had quietly begun as a place for a few entertainment venues because it was out of sight out of mind, and it kind of grew. There was a period where table top dancing and associated sexual entertainment activities were just becoming the norm... It kind of reinforces itself, because the venues were starting to compete with each other to, to the point of excess, sort of whipping this up. (LP, Director, City of Melbourne)
We have an increased population, a very vibrant night economy, and it’s not just licensed venues but a lot of restaurants, a lot of coffee shops, there is a lot of activity at night. And [Sydney Road] is a place, it is a destination now, and people come from all over Melbourne for some of the restaurants and some of the night venues and we need to change and adopt. It’s not the same Brunswick of 20-25 years ago. (Councillor ML, Moreland City Council)

Municipal strategies regarding these streets at night focus on expanding the pursuit of ‘pleasurable’ activities beyond the traditional work-related activities of the day, or, relationally, as respite from the working day. While only the City of Melbourne refers to itself as a 24-hour city, both councils promote events and activities with the phrasing ‘extended hours’. Indeed, the City of Melbourne refers to Melbourne as the ‘events capital of Australia’ (2016). Each municipality emphasises the importance of offering more commercial activity for longer hours. These growing night-time economies demonstrate how ‘this insatiability of desire is not some unintended or unwanted ‘side-effect’ of consumerism, but is instead absolutely essential to its survival’ (Hayward 2004, 174). Ultimately, for councils, the primary focus remains on economic ‘activation’ and pursuing opportunities for regeneration to ensure that the economic potential of city spaces is developed (Hobbs et. al 2005, 90):

Even Melbourne Uni... even the Uni should be activated. I mean that’s, it’s a little jewel in there... so the Uni is an area that would be great for activation... we just haven’t got that far up yet. (Councillor CK, City of Melbourne)

[Just off Sydney Road], that whole area is being transformed. There will be people living there and there will be restaurants and all sorts

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45 First mentioned in policy in 2008, the City of Melbourne has since incorporated the ‘24 Hour City’ into their overarching policy, Beyond the Safe City Strategy 2014-2017.
of, you know, all sorts of activity in that place. (Councillor ML, Moreland City Council)

Night-time spaces that are perceived as ‘abandoned, anonymous and seemingly meaningless’ are ‘parafunctional’, and become a justified target for formalised event-making (Hayward 2012, 453). The intention to ‘(re)assign spatial meaning, value and function’ draws night-time production back into the order of the strategic council planner (Campbell 2013, 20).

These elements are overlaid with socio-historical expectations of the night-time economy that people carry with them into such environments. The desire to enjoy oneself is prioritised by interviewees who frequent these, or similar, activity corridors. On participating in activities on or near Sydney Road at night for example, interviewees responded that they would do so precisely to experience freedom from the constraints of the day:

Escaping the stress of work, life etcetera, and being able to just let your hair down and relax... meeting new people, establishing relationships. (Interview participant FS, female)

Freedom to have fun... and drugs... escaping reality for a night. (Interview participant MS, female)

Continuing relationships, seeing friends, revisiting old times... maybe not escaping reality as much as just changing your reality... tapping into a different section of your life. (Interview participant HB, female)

It can be really enjoyable going somewhere where maybe you're surrounded by different types of people that you wouldn't normally hang out with and you get enjoyment... because you don't see them
The night-time economies of King Street and Sydney Road intend, with success, to draw people in with the promise of an alternative experience to the day. Of the 840,000 moving through the City of Melbourne in a day, approximately 300,000 people return or remain on an average Friday or Saturday evening (LP, Director, City of Melbourne). While it was noted earlier in this chapter that King Street and Sydney Road during the day were imagined and experienced as ‘rigid, uncompromising and full of strangers who are unwilling to be engaged’ (Hobbs 2003, 31), the night-time economy in its current manifestation thrives by providing alternative opportunities for freedom and community, and for ‘escape’ (Lindsay 2009, 374). Frequently, government agencies, who license the venues, facilitate the conditions for these opportunities. Young people are recognised as the most likely demographic to frequent these spaces:

Hospitality is a young person’s game, you know, the bar and the wait staff around the city late at night tend to be young people. (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne)

As ‘licensed venues can play a pivotal role in the social lives of young people’ (Fileborn 2012, 242), that they make up the largest demographic of such spaces is standard. Night-time economies deliberately work to produce ‘places to which the young... gravitate in order to temporarily suspend reality via such popular late modern pursuits’ (Hayward 2004, 192). Community, freedom and exploration of new social identities are synonymous with these ‘liminal zones’ – spaces that do not feel strictly defined by the same social controls of the day (Hobbs 2003, 31).
Facilitated within such hubs as King Street and Sydney Road, night-time economies continue to privilege generation of capital through planning. Consequently, while the night-time economy presents itself as a world of freedom, such citizens are ‘forced into freedom'; the self-governing citizen has the ‘choice’ to participate in socialisation, but within selected sites (Zajdow 2011, 82). Such constructed freedom is driven by the intent to entice subjects to spend time and money in the city. It promotes the movement of crowds through these spaces, and clustering venues within activity corridors ensures that there are opportunities for ‘circuit drinking’ (Hobbs 2003, 43). Consumption of alcohol by young people is highly prevalent, particularly as part of the pursuit of hedonism. For one interviewee, Bar Etiquette (a bar on Sydney Road that Jill Meagher visited on the night she was killed) on Sydney Road was a favourite venue of theirs, because of its cheap drink prices:

Bar Etiquette was also very cheap: until 9pm they had $10 jugs [of beer]. And that was quite compelling, someone working at entry-level jobs. That's the price I can get drunk on. (Interview participant HW, male)

The intention to activate and promote King Street and Sydney Road as a developing vibrant night economy, and as something markedly different from the day, is clear. Driven by capital and consumption, its effects are expansive. Often, individuals experience this liveliness in enjoyable and different ways from being in the same space during the day. Part of the ‘vibrancy’ of Sydney Road is not contained within licensed venues, but rather takes place on the street:

Sydney Road [at night]... that community is always really nice... it happens sometimes still now, I was walking home from a bar a few

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46 For example, through the emphasis on purchasing alcohol, or as access control (such as entry fees for venues along King Street).
weeks ago and ran into a friend of mine who was walking to [a] bar. (Interview participant HW)

Certain streets are changing their character... previously there used to be shops that shut [that now remain open at night]. Now not all those changes are bad... [there is a] change of the street culture... and I quite like it, not all of it is bad. (P2, Brunswick Residents Network, focus group)

There's a guy who used to busk and play saxophone all night. Like from midnight to three or four in the morning outside the pharmacy across the road. He was always there and I'd always wave at him as I walked past. (Interview participant BR)

Emphasis on alcohol consumption is prominent for some participating in the night-time economy, however this is not the only factor to draw people to Sydney Road. What goes on outside of the licensed venues throughout the night can also be the focus of enjoyment, even if it is not a direct social encounter. Few of the people interviewed about their engagement in the night-time economy of Sydney Road emphasised the consumption of a product (for example, alcohol), or even the effects produced by alcohol (such as ‘escape’). Instead they identified a sense of inclusion by being in the space and attachment to human and nonhuman bodies that they found enjoyable. This is the corporeal co-production of ambience; for example, by affectively responding to the sounds produced by the ‘city at night’.

*When walking at night on the stretch of Sydney Road that runs between Brunswick Road and Glenlyon Street, I notice vibrancy extending beyond bars and restaurants. I feel relaxed, and my pace reflects this. I slow down. Less frenzied than the day, the street still feels alive, in between opened venues. As I walk, the light from a Thai*
restaurant spills out onto the street, as waiters move in and out of the restaurant to serve those sitting on outside benches. I hear laughter coming from inside and the hum of happy chatter as I walk past. I realise that this gentle hum is different to the moderate hum of car engines I hear during the day. It is only through this experience that I realise how discernible voices are so often absent (or at least muffled by car noises) during the day. Glancing in, initially to ensure that I do not bump into a waiter, I see the tables are full. The smell of Thai food is intoxicating. As I walk past the venue, the sounds, smells and lights spill out onto the footpath and beyond, and I carry these senses with me while walking beyond the restaurant. Not only do I experience the (somewhat) manufactured senses produced by the night-time economy, these are also combined with other encounters. The air is fresh and light on my skin. I listen to good music from my earphones. These elements work together seamlessly to produce a moment of relaxation and contentment. The enjoyment of the night-time economy expands beyond the jurisdiction of an individual venue, with Sydney Road itself becoming more than a space in between specific venues.

The ability of Sydney Road and King Street to transition from a thoroughfare and into an immersive destination is evident, as interviewees identified:

We would walk down [Sydney Road] every night in terms of social life, parties and stuff. (Interview participant, ZS)

[Walking along Sydney Road at night] Yeh, definitely. For nightclubs, whatever it would be in the area. (Interview participant BD)

Like, I mean I wouldn’t necessarily have gone to the strip bars (on King Street), but I do remember going to the night clubs that were there, and you know the night you’re going to have. I’m going there
to have a particular type of night and I’m certainly not going to be, like, tucked up in bed by nine-thirty and it’s probably going to involve quite a bit of drinking. I’m not an idiot; I know what I’m going here for. (WF, former employee, City of Melbourne) (emphasis added)

Evident in these quotes, the intention behind movement and style of walking starts to shift as space is transformed into the night-time economy through expectation.47

I find walking along Sydney Road at night to be more enjoyable than during the day. While field notes from the day reflect a frenzied atmosphere, I feel less caught up in the pull of this ‘every day’ at night. On many occasions, I find myself less inclined to keep working as ‘researcher’, and more willing to put my earphones in, immersing myself in my own ‘escape’ from daily routine and responsibility.

The way in which Jill Meagher’s movement changes throughout the walk that all those cameras recorded reflects something similar. Her body clearly moves in different ways dependent on the environment. While Meagher walks at a fast pace through the front reception of her work – leading her female colleague, who is a few paces behind her – this alters remarkably when she is captured on camera entering the Brunswick Green (a hotel located on Sydney Road). In the atmosphere of a Friday evening, at what is now the time of leisure after a workweek has ended and in the company of friends, her pace is slower, and with less direction. When exiting the Brunswick Green, she pauses for discussion with a friend, and does so again

47 Importantly to note, ‘the search for risk, hedonism and excitement... vary enormously, and in class/gender/neighborhood-related ways...’ (Hayward 2004, 165).
when standing in front of Club X (an adult entertainment store), and again when encountering a group of three people outside a chemist (whom she asks for a cigarette). Walking at night – walking out of the working week and into the eve of the weekend – creates (or reflects) some relief from the controls and push of the daytime economy, either as practice in itself or as part of moving between venues, and draws parallels with the presentation of the night-time economy as offering an escape. Encouraged to move through an environment whereby the ‘restraints which structure routine social life loosen’ (Hobbs et al. 2005, 100), Sydney Road and King Street at night are, still, ‘activated’ spaces (as councils would describe them), but are also themselves in a process of activation by their users and inhabitants.

Bringing these initial observations together, being drawn into King Street and Sydney Road, and practicing certain behaviours, may not be recognised by interview subjects – or even by my own observations – astutely as part of a regulated economy. Instead, moments of relaxation and contentment, and lingering, are articulated as desirable or unexpected elements of the night, produced either outside of, or in spite of the night-time economy. Tangible stories are not necessary to produce such atmospheres; ‘memory-traces’ instead traverse the unconsciousness, physiological expressions automated through absorption of the night (Burgin 1996, 218). These movements, sounds and feelings – each providing ‘real effects in the present’ – are still occurring within a space ‘so thick with law that, just like air, the law is not perceived’ (Burgin 1996, 118; Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2013, 36). It has become an ‘atmosphere – there but not there’, translated and experienced as desire (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2013, 36). This desire to be part of ‘activity corridors’, to walk along these streets as opposed to any other, is significant, and a
positive consequence for stakeholders. The desire or attraction felt for such an environment makes the continued operation of the lawscape dissolve into these atmospheres, our desires making us oblivious to, or at least unconcerned about the tight regulation that continues to exist regarding our use of the space. Just as the physical CCTV camera attached to daytime businesses so easily fades into the background of the night (its ability to extend borders unnoticed), so too will such surveillance technologies subtly shift the atmosphere of the night. Cameras are ‘hidden both through their natural placement and through their ubiquity’ (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2013, 43).

‘How the West was won’: CCTV (re)framing violence in the night-time economy

Sydney Road and King Street produce atmospheres that many people experience as desirable. Subjects, materiality, space and legal interventions facilitate these atmospheres, enabling a subject’s ‘preference’ to linger. People may participate in producing an atmosphere indirectly (for example, becoming part of the vibrancy that draws other bodies in) or directly (for example, by consuming alcohol). These overlays and their historical contexts inevitably yield tensions, effects that cannot always be congenial. Patchwork night spaces can – and often do – become synonymous with violence, even as some revellers continue to be attracted to the precinct. Dick Hobbs focuses on the ways in which exponential trade in alcohol plays a significant and detrimental role in changing how people interact in these spaces.
2003). Reasoning that consumption of drugs facilitates social and physiological behaviours that allow users to ‘escape’ the responsibilities of daily life, Hobbs demonstrates how the same practices are linked to violent outbursts. Through a ‘liminal masquerade’ whereby ‘liminal zones thrive on the promise rather than the deliverance of communitas’ (Hobbs 2003, 47), the logic and marketing of overconsumption often generates public disorder (Lambert 2015). ‘Aggressive hedonism and disorder are normalised, and violence and intimidation become the blunt instruments of social control’ (Hobbs et al. 2005, 100). This rationale is reflected in dominant media and policy narratives regarding violence on King Street, and subsequently shapes the way in which CCTV has been understood as a crime prevention tool in this site.

On occasion, King Street is a site of hyper-consumption of drugs, alcohol, and entertainment. An analysis of the regulatory changes associated with the use of CCTV throughout this space indicates an increase in CCTV cameras corresponding with increased consumption. From 1916 until 1966, all licensed venues in Victoria had a state-imposed closing time of 6pm (Russo 2016). As part of war-time austerity measures, and as a signal to the popular temperance movement, the early closing time was intended to diminish a culture of drinking. Instead, it resulted in the ‘6 o’clock swill’; an intensified period of drinking in the hour before licensed venues had to close (Zajdow 2011, 73). Recognised as a failure in curbing the incivilities associated with intoxication, in the years following its repeal, and in light of the international ‘reorganisation of [western] city centres around consumption rather than production’ (Lovatt and O’Connor 1995, 128), more fluid approaches to regulation of alcohol service occurred. The gradual shift away from centralised
control was transformed radically in the 1980s, and influenced by broader political shifts into neoliberal logic. The Victorian Government’s 1985-commissioned review of the *Liquor Control Act 1968* effectively signalled the rise of private sector regulation, through the prioritisation of liquor licensing (over other legislative requirements) as the way to regulate the night-time economy (Lindsay 2009; Zajdow 2011). Desire to push trade took precedence, and definitions of problematic alcohol consumption – and its related culture – was reconfigured. The responsibility for the State to control alcohol consumption was reduced, and the consequences of inebriation became an individual’s responsibility (Zajdow 2011). Focus on self-control remains, with many young Melbourne revellers recently emphasising their need to take responsibility for excessive drinking (Lindsay 2009). Far from temperance logic, which assumed alcohol to be the cause of indecency, liquor licensing enabled venues to shift attention towards ‘problem drinkers’ who were marked as the cause of violence. This allowed venues to remove them from premises, to ‘enable all other “reasonable” and “moderate” drinkers to be allowed to keep drinking’ (Zajdow 2011, 75). Assessments of risk, excess and unreasonable violence were outsourced to the venue itself, thereby ensuring that the provision of safe and responsible environments was facilitated only as long as they were conducive to commercial interests of the site (Zajdow 2011). ‘Bringing people back into the city’ beyond 6 o’clock was achieved through the loosening of regulatory ties, and increasing emphasis on economic prosperity for late-night traders (Lovatt and O’Connor 1995, 130).

Adult entertainment venues, pubs and nightclubs are situated on King Street within a relatively small spatial area – encouraged by planners to create not only vibrancy,
but also competitiveness (Lovatt and O’Connor 1995). As a result, the provision of alcohol is promoted through ‘happy hours’ (discounted drinks at certain times) or ‘free drink’ cards, to increase customer-share (LP, Director, City of Melbourne). Initially achieving the aim of drawing people back into the city, deregulation also increased the chances of an individual encountering excessive drinking and ‘culture clashes’. Many individuals coming into these activity corridors meant that divergent practices of intoxication could be found, influenced ‘according to the social location in terms of the reveller’s gender, class, geographic location and age’ (Lindsay 2009, 371). As it became clearer that the majority of women and elderly ‘did not go into the [city] centre through fear of (male) violence’ at night, the drunk and disorderly behaviour of men, ‘especially by young working-class males’, became a pressing political and media issue (Lovatt and O’Connor 1995, 132).

In the context of ‘growing concern about a perceived increase in violence in Australia’ from 1987, the role of alcohol-related offences ‘in and around licensed premises’ became a national issue (Lang and Rumbold 1997, 805). This culminated in the mid-1990s for King Street, when it was referred to in the media as ‘Melbourne’s most notorious nightclub district’ (Koutsoukis 1996) and ‘Melbourne’s worst street’ (Vodanovich 1998, 3). The impact of these media labels in galvanising council action is clear: many of the council employees interviewed for this project referred to these, and similar, media comments as stimulus for changes to the City of Melbourne’s management of the street. As an area that was understood to transform into a ‘different place’ and ‘shadowy’ space throughout the evening (The Age 27 June 1996, 7), King Street ‘had a bad reputation with after-hours violence around the nightclubs’ (Da Silva 1997, 1). Incidents did occur within the night-time
economy on King Street. 147 assaults were recorded in December 1995, for example (The Age 27 June 1996, 7). It was the street’s broader reputation for a generalised violence, though, which saw the City of Melbourne acknowledge the importance of ‘upgrad[ing] and revistaliz[ing] King Street’s image’ (Koutsoukis 1996, 1):

When we were doing surveys [in the 1990s] in King Street [we would ask], 'have you experienced violence?’. People would say, 'Yes I have’, and [when asked], 'Oh, can you tell me about that’, [they would respond], 'Yes it was on the news last night, or last weekend'. (IA, Team Leader, City of Melbourne) (emphasis added)

The influence of media representation on perceptions of criminality is a well-established field, and not the direct focus of this thesis (see Cohen 2011; Greer 2009; Jewkes 2004). However, examples of news media stories about King Street, drawn from the Herald Sun and The Age during 1995-1997, can help to establish context, showing that King Street at night was discursively synonymous with street violence. For this three-year period, King Street at night was discussed in these papers predominately in relation to its night-time economy and violence. Some reports focussed on tangible cases of violence, such as the assault of a woman in a King Street nightclub by Australian Rules Football player Wayne Carey (Happell 2010). Most editorial and opinion articles focussed on the precinct itself, as generally problematic:

By day, King Street is a dreary through road, clogged with traffic. But at night especially on Friday and Saturday it assumes a character of its own. Young night clubbers in search of fun descend on it in drones. The result all too often is drunkenness and violence. Inside, the clubs are generally well supervised. But as the night wears on, the street outside is awash with yobbos looking for trouble. (The Age 14 April 1995, 11) (emphasis added)
Inside the clubs, most patrons go about the business of enjoying themselves without causing bother. *It is on the street itself that a strange aggression prevails.* (Elder 1995, 1) (emphasis added)

As another article put it, on ‘King Street, they’re pissed’ (Harvey 1995, 16). Beyond the 1990s, an ongoing association of King Street and alcohol-fuelled street violence is reflected by interviewees when discussing their views on Sydney Road’s night-time economy:

> I think there’s a danger that Brunswick will become... it could become part of that King Street culture where the private owners make huge profit out of selling alcohol and they don’t care what happens on the street afterwards. (P2, Brunswick Residents Network, focus group)

> And there are incidents of, you know, alcohol fuelled violence etcetera. But it’s certainly not on the scale, doesn’t have profile like somewhere like King Street. (QB, Manager, Moreland City Council)

An emphasis on King Street itself as the scene of violence (Young 2010), rather than on what occurs within licensed venues, was a discernible theme within news media samples. Even as the incidences of recorded crime decreased after the early 1990s, news media continued to feature visible moments of violent rupture into the late 1990s and beyond, amplifying perceptions of risk (Cohen 2011; Lang and Rumbold 1997). Questioning why individuals chose to come to King Street at night, one feature news article described a ‘night of vomit and violence’, while another referred to the ‘vomit and urine stains’ as indicative of disruptive individuals who ‘get so drunk [they] can’t control [their] bodily functions’ (Bone 1997, 15; Hughes 1996, 8). Mediated memories of King Street at night, as the ‘worst street’, characteristically ‘form connected chain of events’ – violence across the city at night is concentrated
in, and linked to, a one-kilometre strip that represents the night-time economy of Melbourne, as illustrated by the interviewees comments above (Burgin 1996, 222). Bars, nightclubs and strip clubs ‘mingle indiscriminately’ in a subject’s memory, and ‘King Street culture’ becomes the primary criminogenic space. The presence of vomit on a footpath, or large amounts of litter on the street in the morning after, are translated into representations of violence and unruliness which occurred on the street the night before, often understood separately from preceding acts within licensed venues (City of Melbourne 1991). The City of Melbourne’s strategic responses to prioritise the improvement of the physical streetscape (rather than the practices inside venues, or by bouncers) illustrates the effects of this image:

The really serious problem was that it was a whole lot of males who were charged up, fuelled up with various substances, who were being discharged into the street and creating an unsafe environment. (LP, Director, City of Melbourne)

In media and policy samples, violence in the night-time economy is constructed as stemming from uncontrollable and intoxicated individuals, who have been evicted from the ‘generally well supervised’ venues. Their gender becomes secondary to their excessive consumption. Even before entering the city at night, revellers become trained to associate the street with violence, and the venues with safety. While the night-time economy triggers ‘activities in a carefree manner’ – including excessive consumption – this carefreeness is suspended between venues as individuals become more concerned with protecting their body in space. This experience is influenced by the broader transformation of alcohol consumption policy, organised since the 1990s, to ‘enable a market to exist, and to provide what it needs to function’ (Rose 1999, 141).
In 1990, the *West End Forum Project* was established in order to respond to concerns of violence. Comprising ‘major interest groups’, the committee was made up primarily of licensed venue owners, the City of Melbourne and Victoria Police (Lang and Rumbold 1997, 808). Desires to create a ‘safe recreational area’ were articulated as achievable through a voluntary Code of Practice, and training in the service of alcohol (Lang and Rumbold 1997, 808). That is, with as minimal intervention as possible in the structuring of the night-time economy. Violence against women was considered in the report, however these offences were read in the context of media perception, rather than as an immediate concern:

Another example surrounded the events at the Cadillac Bar in late February where a young woman alleged that she was raped on the premises and did not receive assistance or support from management or patrons. The reporting of this incident divided the industry on how to respond, if at all, as some media reports were seen by the industry to be ‘bashing the industry yet again’. (City of Melbourne 1991, 29).

Influenced by the closure of two nightclubs, by news media articles focusing on unbridled violence throughout King Street, and by the Victorian Taxi Association reporting that taxi drivers avoided King Street at night for passenger pick-ups because they feared violence, the newly named *Westend Project* was re-established in 1995 (Button 1995, 3; MacLean and Moore 2014; McKay 1995, 2).\(^48\) The project acknowledged that further intervention was required, though was not initiated in the context of city safety at night. The need to ‘secure commercial confidence’ more generally was highlighted, and more so than any need to address sexual violence (Vodanovich 1998, 3). As falling investment in the area threatened the vibrancy of

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\(^{48}\) The *West End Forum Project* Final Report assumed that, for the media, ‘good news meant no news coverage’ (1991, 30).
the space, stakeholders were pressed to act. Within this revived *Westend Project*, the City of Melbourne instituted firmer strategies than in 1990, including the *Safe City Cameras Program* (SCCP), and other street interventions targeted specifically at King Street. Thus, the first ten safety security cameras to be installed on a permanent basis by the City of Melbourne was directly prompted by perceptions of alcohol-fuelled violence, situated within the narrative of re-establishing the ongoing free trade of both day and night economies along King Street (see Figure 11).⁴⁹

The *Westend Project* was marketed as a success by the City of Melbourne, with the installed security cameras said to have directly contributed to a reduction in crime within the first year of their installation, even though their impact could not be measured away from the other intervention policies (Vodanovich 1998, 5).⁵⁰ Unlike the original *West End Project Forum Project*, positive reactions were found in the news media, and surveillance cameras were singled out as the measure that ‘helped cut crime in the nightclub district by almost 36 per cent’ (Taylor 1998, 4). The City of Melbourne subsequently framed the security cameras as a necessary ‘part of confidence-building’ to draw business back – in both day and night settings (Vodanovich 1998, 12). Claims of crime reduction coincided with the City of Melbourne’s own *Strategy for a Safer City* report, which used survey results to suggest young people now held few fears of the precinct (Vodanovich 1998). The strong emphasis on the SCCP in these evaluations, to ‘help to create a safer environment and reduce crime levels by deterring potential offenders and helping

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⁴⁹Four of the cameras were originally installed along King Street in 1996 as a temporary security measure for the Grand Prix. They became permanent when incorporated into the *Westend Project* (Kermond 1996).

⁵⁰The inability to successfully measure interventions was also reflected in the initial West End Forum Project (Lang and Rumbold 1997).
in crime detection’, has continued in the City of Melbourne’s marketing of its expanded CCTV strategy (2016, no pagination), and will be returned to later in the thesis.

Figure 11 A Safe City Camera along King Street, overshadowed by commercial business (photograph by author)
How the West is lost: asymmetries of CCTV

It is worthwhile identifying some of the assumptions implicit in the City of Melbourne’s findings that the installation of CCTV throughout King Street was ‘successful’. Firstly, it is problematic to frame street violence as caused solely by drunken individuals, and not influenced, at least in part, by the night-time economy itself. This is especially the case when this coincides with perceptions that alcohol-fuelled violence can be curbed through traditional deterrence technologies. Secondly, news media narratives and official police statistics as primary measurements for violence in King Street focused only on the highly visible, and reported, assaults. While this does fit with some research regarding the role of alcohol in triggering violence, other experiences of violence in night-time economies must be considered. Considering the routine harassment of women, for example, provides a more holistic understanding of violence on King Street. This is pertinent, as harassment of women continues to be under-reported, and is ‘often difficult to respond to through a conventional criminal justice paradigm’ (Fileborn and Vera-Gray 2017, 204).

The installation of CCTV on King Street by the City of Melbourne in 1997 stemmed from desires to symbolically rejuvenate its ‘city image’, in order to market the city to investors. With four of the original ten cameras installed during an international sporting event (the Grand Prix), the intent to secure commercial confidence is embedded in the objective to produce safe environments. Publicised installation of security cameras can lead to an initial reduction in crime, though such an effect is temporary (Mazerolle, Hurley and Chamlin 2002). The responses to King Street’s
cameras conform to this pattern. Perceptions of it as an arena of uncontrolled violence have subsided, yet it still attracts a level of caution, as should be expected, given its amplification across various mediums as a ‘paranoiac space’ (Burgin 1996). Rather than act primarily as deterrent, public CCTV cameras work in conjunction with private security cameras and other regulatory mechanisms, each imposed to further frame violence in the context of individual responsibility. For example, provision of footage to the Victoria Police is now a primary function of the Safe City Cameras Program to identify:

...people out there who deliberately get drunk or take drugs and come into the city and who are prepared to cause harm. (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne)

The focus on the capacity of CCTV cameras to produce evidence is reflected within licensed venues. The Liquor Control Reform Act 1998 (and detailed further in the Liquor Control Reform Regulations 2009), require licensees, at the request of the Victorian Commission for Gambling and Liquor Regulation, to install working security cameras that are of sufficient quality to provide evidence (s.18B (1)). These regulatory procedures affirm CCTV capacities beyond deterrence. It is not assumed that a camera can prevent violence, so much as it is recognised that it can record the rupture occasioned by a crime and can collect evidence that will be used to punish an individual. Alongside other measures, such as introducing minimum 10-year prison sentences for offenders ‘if they punch a victim to the head and it results in death’, there is an ongoing outsourcing of risks (Zajdow 2011). Footage circulated of so called ‘king hits’, for example, as described at the beginning of this chapter, can

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51 The Sentencing Amendment (Coward’s Punch Manslaughter and Other Matters) Act 2014 was later repealed in 2015.
create a sense of unease amongst its viewers. The socio-historical context of King Street, however, contains these moments. The images are not warnings, but rather demonstrations of a violent individual, moving through a streetscape associated with violence. When describing an attack recorded by security cameras on King Street in 1995, McKay writes:

The nightclub, which has security cameras inside and outside... has a video showing how push-and-shove confrontations become brutal. It shows men in aggressive confrontation, frightened women, punches thrown to the head, and a man being kicked. (1995, 4)

A billboard erected by the Nightclub Owners Forum in Melbourne (Figure 12) after this time illustrates this push to frame violence as individualised. Reading, ‘Alcohol does not cause violence’ on one side, and ‘Blame and punish the individual’ on the other (Kermond 2011), the bold message was clear to many Melbourne commuters driving along Punt Road for years. In a similar vein, and also supported by the Nightclub Owners Forum, the Safe City Cameras Program network operating on King Street is concerned primarily with identifying violent ruptures that are beyond the social acceptability of the night-time economy. It is only this element – visible street violence – that expands discursively from the night to impact the day. It is only this element that is strictly policed. This precludes the broader story that the night-time economy itself fosters scales of violence prior to these visible ruptures. Codification of the night-time public space as violent is intimately linked to the role of the alcohol industry in the night-time economy. Within the current assemblage, the cost of

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52 This is vastly different to footage circulated of Jill Meagher as she walked along Sydney Road. These tensions will be drawn out in Chapter Six.
53 I remember reading this billboard as a child in the early 2000s, when driving in Melbourne with my parents.
'doing business' includes the individualisation of the problem, and erasure of alcohol providers from the regime of visibility.

CCTV footage mediated in this context does not account for the complex intersections between masculinity, race and class that assemble within inner city environments. This is similar to the presence of bouncers, an occupation ‘dominated by men and hyper masculine characteristics such as toughness, ‘muscle’ and violent potential’ (O’Brien, Hobbs and Westmarland 2008, 162). The night-time economy rationalises ‘aggressive responses’ to someone who ‘falls out of line’, for example by the bouncer forcefully removing a patron, or by security camera footage being used to bar someone from a space. As a consequence, male-on-male violence can be intensified, as male patrons seek to ‘defend their honour’ (Lindsay 2009, 377; Tomsen 2005). Strategic responses to violence introduced into King Street which fail to acknowledge broader patterns of violence, then, may facilitate further violence. In the presence of bouncers, liquor licensing, and security cameras, individual responsibility for consumption and regulation is reiterated. Once installed, CCTV cameras continue the visual framing of visible violence as an individualised issue. In this instance, the deviant individual is further marked as requiring removal. This includes any bouncer who may act ‘excessively’, their employment terminated without the culture addressed. Any CCTV footage that may be produced will likely reaffirm, in current discursive understandings of the night-time economy, the club’s right to eject a patron or terminate employment, without providing context with which their level of intoxication or cause of violence can be interrogated. Men will often drink to excess, to demonstrate their ‘strong’ capacity both socially and physically (that is, being able to ‘hold your liquor’) (Lindsay 2009).
It is only the problem drinker who breaches thresholds of visibly acceptable behaviour, though, who has his access to the venue revoked. With CCTV installed beyond venues and onto King Street, the border of the night-time economy is extended. Swift removal and punishment of undesirable patrons reduce interruptions, rather than resolving the moments leading up to visible violence.

Figure 12 Billboard pictured from Punt Road, Melbourne (Brian Yap: Flickr)
CCTV installed on King Street – from the 1990s and into today – enables entrenchment of visible violence by articulating it in the context of individual responsibility. This fails to account for masculinity, which has been definitively linked to causing such events (Connell 2002). Violent assaults on the street at night commonly take place between men unknown to each other for this reason (Carcach and Mukherjee 1999; MacLean and Moore 2014).\(^{54}\) Excessive alcohol consumption leading to violence is symptomatic of the broader heteronormative and sexualised environments of the night-time economy, far preceding visible rupture. Alcohol consumption may be articulated as providing ‘escape’ for a patron, as mentioned earlier. More importantly though, the way in which consumption occurs is part of a range of prescribed practices influenced by performances of gender. Gender is an embedded element of the night-time economy’s structure and is hyper-visible on King Street, not simply through male-on-male violence, but within the physical architecture of the economy. As in Figure 13, the separation between masculine and feminine identities is clear.\(^{55}\) Adult entertainment venues such as The Men’s Gallery have been heavily criticised in relation to sexual equality, and marked as a direct form of violence against women, who in these structures can exist only in relation to the male gaze (Jeffreys 2004, 2008). On King Street, nightclubs are interspersed with strip clubs, and so the sexualisation of the female body and its relationship to

\(^{54}\) This does not discount the violence towards women through sustained harassment, sexual violence and violence within the home. The quote is intended only to demonstrate why publicised forms of physical aggression do not usually involve women, due to no ‘pride’ being taken in physically hitting a woman (Connell 2005, 100).

\(^{55}\) The link between adult entertainment venues and white collar corporate masculinity is further emphasised by one of the Men’s Gallery private rooms being titled ‘The Boardroom’ (see http://www.mensgallery.com.au/venue/).
male desires expands beyond venues (Grazian 2009). An inseparable attachment between consumption and gender becomes clear in occupations, dress codes, and ways of interacting with fellow patrons, including expectations of going into the city at night to 'pick up' (Hobbs 2003). The night-time becomes a 'sexually charged' atmosphere, each prescribed element of the space able to be read in this relational context (MacLean and Moore 2014, 381). CCTV fails to frame these complex contributors to violence. It is limited to recording, without context, the isolated moments of assault occurring in the street. Not only does the image convey an incomplete story, it can be an inaccurate story.

![Image of The Men's Gallery, corner of King Street and Lonsdale Street](figure13.jpg)

**Figure 13** The Men’s Gallery, corner of King Street and Lonsdale Street (photograph by author)

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56 A colloquial term for engaging in sexual activity with a partner.
As sexual prowess is a ‘primary signifier of masculinity in the context of urban nightlife’, the ‘girl hunt’ – an aggressive practice whereby a man targets, and persists in trying to find, a female sexual partner – is common in Australia (Grazian 2009, 225). Women, simply by being present, are constructed as available to ‘pick up’. The low success rate of such a ‘hunt’ offers an alternative aim: participation in the homosocial objective of impressing other males, and visibly practising expectations of masculine behaviour, including the domination of women (Grazian 2007, 223). The commonness of the ‘girl hunt’ at clubs and pubs illustrates how masculinity is accepted as part of the social reality of the night (Grazian 2007, 222). Men are generally encouraged to display these characteristics when in public in numerous ways, with the night-time economy offering an opportunity to be ‘physically strong, powerful, independent… aggressive, courageous and sexually potent’ (Grazian 2007, 222). Women may be exposed to conduct such as unwanted touching and persistent questions. This harassment can become confrontational, as described by one interview participant:

I’m really amazed at how often people, particularly women… last night my friend was propositioned by a complete stranger who grabbed her arm and was like, ‘Are you sure, are you sure you don’t want to [have sex]?’. (Interview participant ZS, male)

In the night-time economy, the woman becomes a pawn for a man, coerced and rendered a subject for the successful facilitation of a ‘good night out’, in both consumption and masculinity.

Unlike violent altercations between men on the street at night, sexual harassment is vastly underreported, or if reported is not taken seriously (Cook, David and Grant
Rather than expecting licensed venues to reduce the occurrence of these incidents, women 'have learnt and are adept at successfully employing... protective or avoidance strategies' themselves (Fileborn 2012, 246). These are internalised, and can become part of a patron’s ‘absorptive coping’ – being in a state of carefreeness within the night environment and not consciously aware of self-governing strategies (Brands and Schwanen 2014). While these self-protection tactics, such as women moving in a group, are commonplace and are often configured as part of making a good night out, women may continue to feel negative emotions about the experience. Concern that friends may get too drunk and find themselves separated from the group, for example, can at any time suspend a patron’s perception of safety and security within the venue (MacLean and Moore 2014). And yet, these experiences are not rendered unacceptable for ‘a night out’.

Excluded from broader narratives in relation to more visible violence, the spectrum of harassment that women experience is not considered an important feature of the larger narrative in which crime occurs (Gunby and Atkinson 2014). The current assemblage of CCTV within these night-time narratives fails to make this harassment visible and as warranting intervention.

Movement through the paranoiac space of King Street already emphasises the edges of the economy (rather than its interior places) as the site of most violence. Subjects continue to experience and assume the streetscape as the riskiest place to linger. The installation of public CCTV cameras on King Street affirms these perceptions. Investment of public CCTV cameras along King Street was, as noted earlier, part of a desire to boost commercial confidence and dispel negative media narratives, rather than to work as an acknowledgement of individual experiences of violence within
the night-time economy. Women's experiences are disregarded in policy discourse and tactics. Drawn into the city at night, the current security strategies imposed are not primarily for them. This is reflected in other, more recent, surveillance practices within licensed venues, such as ‘mandatory patron identification scanning as a precondition of entry’ (Warren, Fitz-Gibbon and McFarlane 2016, 271). Imposed within many night-time precincts as a way in which to prevent violence within venues, in peak times women are often ushered through unchecked (Palmer, Warren and Miller 2011). Women’s experiences within the licensed venue become less visible in what is supposed to be a mandatory process. They enter with less care attached to their body, as either perpetrator or victim:

This means that aggregate reductions in crime or improvements in overall safety are unlikely, because enforcement and securitization responses are solely devoted to targeting the established risks associated with broadly defined notions of male honour, which are commonly identified through actuarial profiling... Young women who are outside the established risk profile are potentially subject to lower rates of technological or human surveillance and consequently rendered more insecure. (Warren, Fitz-Gibbon and McFarlane 2016, 272)

Walking along King Street at 7.30pm on one weeknight as part of my fieldwork, I become aware of the heightened realities of the male gaze in this space. I’m dressed in my exercise gear, having just finished a run. It’s summer and the city is still light. This is why I assumed, before I went, that I would not feel targeted by men. King Street is still. While there is a steady stream of cars moving in either direction, it is quiet compared to the weight of peak hour. The air is not as thick and the footpaths are bare, as many of the food and convenience stores have closed their doors. Activity on the road dominates; there are dual lanes in either direction, and so the distance to cross the road is much greater than crossing Sydney Road. The number of pedestrians
moving through the space is sparse. A few men, dressed in business suits, cross at the lights, carrying briefcases. Their ties loosened, they are heading home from the business day. The only women I see are walking with men. I see three couples, each of them holding hands as they walk. One couple walks quickly, with the woman, who is shorter than the man, clutching his arm and bending her head towards his body. As I keep walking, I become aware of a gaze directed at me. Waiting at one set of pedestrian lights at the corner of King Street and Little Lonsdale Street, I see that two men sitting in a car at a red light are staring at me. Their eyes follow me as I cross in front of them. I divert my eyes, originally looking down at the footpath and then across towards the footpath parallel to me. Looking down is an automated reaction – I can’t help but do it when I feel uncomfortable with eye contact. There, another man is crossing in the opposite direction, dressed casually. His eyes linger in my direction. Recognising that we are now looking at each other, he smiles at me. I feel uncomfortable. In this context, his smile feels suggestive, and so again I turn away. Ahead of me, yet another man approaches. As he walks past me, he also smiles and says hello. The build-up of encounters weighs on me and again it feels suggestive and is, from my perspective, uninvited. While my own heightened awareness of King Street certainly augments these encounters, this quick succession of active engagement by single men in the evening walking along King Street is noteworthy.

**Conclusion**

The night-time economies of Sydney Road and King Street in Melbourne promote themselves like many others. States and markets converge, facilitating the
emergence of atmospheres that encourage indulgence and excess. Threads of history influence current walking practices and surveillant practices within such spaces, prompting the pedestrian gaze and less-than-conscious response to perceptions of risk. Inscribed within some of these atmospheres are narratives of violence that are not easily mitigated, even with intense policy intervention by local governments. Investing in CCTV on King Street was intended to quell poor perceptions of violence – whether or not this has been achieved depends on the focus of evaluation. This chapter argues it has, in many ways, caused further harm. Media and government campaigns indicate that King Street, in both day and night-time economies, has somewhat recovered its character, encouraging women to return to the atmosphere. And yet the way in which this is achieved risks further detaching the primary causes of male-on-male violence; gendered practices which are intensified by the night-time economy. The way in which CCTV has been incorporated into King Street fails to account for the violence directed toward, and experienced by many women. Sexual harassment is common within and outside licensed venues. This is intensified on King Street, with many licensed venues either adult entertainment venues, or within close proximity to one. CCTV cameras currently do very little to meaningfully prevent this violence.

As Fileborn notes, sexual attention can still be wanted in these environments by women, ‘with their classification liable to change direction as the night unfolds... [therefore] present[ing] challenges for prevention efforts’ (2017, 215). Rather than investing considerably in prevention strategies to assist in better understanding these social ‘grey zones’, policy focus has regularly been directed towards the issue of drink spiking in Australia. Underlying this is the assumption that most sexual
assaults in the night-time economy occur as the result of a woman being drugged. CCTV footage could work well in demarcating when and how a drink may have been spiked. Useful on a case-by-case basis, relying on CCTV footage to prove a sexual assault threatens, again, to shield the more common forms of sexual harassment in the night-time economy. Staff and management are expected by some young people to exercise a duty of care towards their patrons, and yet very few venues have policies in place to assist in distinguishing between wanted and unwanted sexual attention, or when intervention is necessary (Fileborn 2017). CCTV footage will not assist in making these already ambiguous encounters clearer for staff. If anything, such images are likely to work to diminish a woman's experience of harassment; her own actions interrogated through the footage, and perhaps in comparison to similar footage that may have recorded wanted sexual attention. Furthermore, the other established practices of night-time venues already fail to meaningfully protect their female patrons. Women are encouraged to drink to excess just as much as men, rendering them vulnerable:

    ... venues may seek to manipulate the actions of patrons by reframing these [actions] as a free and rational choice. Yet, venues may encourage the excessive consumption of alcohol through the use of drink deals... and by tolerating extreme intoxication. (Fileborn 2017, 224)

Violence towards women in the night-time economy extends to staff, further demonstrating its legitimate embeddedness in the production of the night. While implicit in venues such as The Men’s Gallery, the routine sexual harassment of female hospitality workers more broadly – by both employers and customers – is documented in Melbourne (Coster 2017; Jacks 2017). This raises significant
questions regarding the current use of CCTV within the night-time economy to meaningfully address these issues.  

Even though the presence of CCTV has failed to reduce this type of behaviour on King Street, can CCTV be reimagined, and provide protection for women, as has been intended for Sydney Road? Or, will it simply extend logics of responsibility and rationality, as it has with male-on-male violence? Just as male-on-male violence spills onto the street – produced from the liminal masquerade of the night-time economy – so too does violence against women. The installation of CCTV cameras beyond licensed venues is concerning. The next chapter will engage with this in detail, exploring how women navigate the night, beyond its economy.

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57 It is also a serious concern that CCTV cameras that operate within licensed venues are controlled by the owners, who themselves may be a complicit (if not the perpetrator) in the harassment of staff and patrons.
Chapter Five

Unsettling women in the city

*Inherent everyday risks [are] faced by women simply for being female.*
(Hayward 2004, 164)

The previous chapter concluded that harassment sustained by the structures of the night-time economy is not contained within licensed premises. What follows is a further exploration of the consequences. Throughout this section of the thesis, it will emerge that the causes of women’s fear in the city at night are often either misrecognised or devalued. Focus is shifted from King Street and towards Sydney Road, a more recently developed night-time economy. In this chapter, visibility, as a relational construct, provides a framework with which to interrogate the complex relationship women have with CCTV in the city. This chapter demonstrates how CCTV – far from assuaging embodied experiences of danger that women feel at night – extends the ways in which we become complicit in atmospheres of vulnerability. The walking female is drawn to, and desires, the light of the camera (both consciously and unconsciously) and yet is afforded little refuge from its gaze. Not only this, but she remains subject to the broader narrative that familiarity equates to security. Current attempts to mitigate fear of the night are therefore misguided, as they fail to interrogate the complex assemblages that inform both cognitive and non-cognitive responses within the night. Much of this can be traced, firstly, through the way in which street harassment becomes rationalised as part of the everyday.
The walking female subject internalises responsibility for mitigating uncertainty. The gendered conditions in which women’s bodies move in these sites will emerge strongly towards the end of this chapter. This leads into a critical analysis of the installation of CCTV in an attempt to regulate the night.

While male-on-male violence may occur on the street, more often it is women who will be subject to sustained levels of street harassment (Fileborn 2014). Predatory practices that are similar to harassment experienced in licensed venues occur on the street at night, and also attract comparable feelings of resignation. For example, while the ‘girl hunt’ within nightclubs may be understood as an aggressive display of homo-social bonds between young men, similar practices of ‘catcalling’58 women are consistently experienced. 59 Experiences of this everyday harassment is gendered and common within streetscapes (Vera-Gray 2017). Even in my own field notes, this is common when I walk in the evenings.

\[58\] An informal term referring to the verbal street harassment of women, usually by men.
\[59\] See for example the viral YouTube video, 10 hours of walking in NYC as a woman (2014).

I’ve been house-sitting a place on Sydney Road, and am walking north towards Blyth Street after visiting a friend on a Tuesday night. It’s around 10.30pm and still warm. Having stopped by a supermarket on Albert Street earlier, I am carrying a bag of groceries, which gently pulls my right arm down. There are few pedestrians on the footpath – the only people I pass on my way are two elderly men who are smoking outside a Lebanese community clubroom. I have encountered them on most evenings. While I don’t feel intimidated by them, I do ensure that I keep my eyes fixed ahead. As I pass them, I hear music and male laughter approaching from behind. It is coming
from a car, with at least two occupants, driving along Sydney Road towards Blyth Street. As they get close to me, they call out something. I don’t know what is said, but I am aware that it is directed towards me. From the corner of my eye (I still keep my eyes fixed ahead), I see that the occupants of the front seats are both looking at me, and smiling. Their car slows down as they approach, even though the light at the intersection of Sydney Road and Blyth Street is green. I continue walking, and become keenly aware of my body’s movements. My muscles tense as I become focused on ensuring that my demeanour is unchanged; I try to keep the exact same pace, I try to keep looking straight ahead, and I try not to change my facial expression, though these feel like impossible tasks. My body seems to betray me as I feel the bag rubbing against my hand and my hips shift as I take each step. Closer to Blyth Street, one passenger calls something else in my direction; again, I don’t audibly understand. I do however notice the sound of the car as it quickly picks up speed – the driver has hit the accelerator and continues further up Sydney Road. I sigh audibly, my body gasping for air that until now I didn’t realise I had restricted.

Moments like this regularly occur on Sydney Road at night, and are recognised as such, even without firsthand experience:

Brunswick is also pretty bad with the whole catcalling, all that kind of stuff. (Interview participant ZS, male)

Just because you’re alone and a woman, somehow, it’s very attractive of unwanted attention. (Interview participant BD, female)

The latter of these two interviewees recounted how catcalling, while not necessarily aggressive, was an unsettling experience. In recalling these encounters, she focused
on her own presence within the space – how she was dressed, and how she was alone – as a possible cause of the encounter:

> Not that you're a target for aggression, because it's normally very friendly, but it's kind of unwanted attention. And because you're by yourself, especially if you're out, you're dressed up a little bit more [and] *you can be more inviting*. And it doesn't really happen with large groups of girls... for some reason, I don't get catcalled by a large group of girls. (Interview participant, BD) (emphasis added)

Women’s experiences at night are affected not simply by an encounter, but also in anticipation of an encounter. 60 This resonates with other recent research, which demonstrates that women may be more likely to respond to moments of public incivility (such as pushing in line, or swearing) with fear, than men (Bastomski and Smith 2017). These connections will be drawn out in more detail shortly.

In Passing, a series of women’s salons, was established in Brunswick in 2013, in response to ‘the constant undercurrent of gendered power plays that colour our everyday experiences of public spaces’ (Abraham 2014, no pagination). 61 Emphasising ‘lewd comments from men in passing cars’ as one of a number of uncomfortable encounters women face when occupying public spaces, In Passing facilitated ten salons, with over 100 female participants (Abraham 2014, no pagination). 62 These sessions enabled women in Brunswick to share their daily

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60 Fiona Vera-Gray's recently published research on street harassment in the United Kingdom looks at the safety work women do in anticipation of street harassment (2017).


62 The salons have continued in other suburbs, including Coburg and Coburg North. However, they no longer appear to receive funding by the Moreland City Council. See [http://www.inpassing.com.au/](http://www.inpassing.com.au/).
experiences of harassment. Even when ‘women are doing something as simple as walking... they find themselves either the object of catcalls or, more ominously, trailed’ (Klein and Chancer 2006, 79). Proposed by a young female Brunswick resident, and financially supported by Moreland City Council through a Community Strengthening grant, its successful funding application was acutely influenced by, and explicitly referenced to, Jill Meagher’s murder (Abraham 2014). It also signifies a growing community perception that these experiences need to be acknowledged. Current attempts to quantify these moments of harassment are difficult. One reason is that the criminal justice system, as criticised by scholars, is ill-equipped to meaningfully respond to reported instances (Fileborn and Vera-Gray 2017; Klein and Chancer 2006). For this, and for other reasons, encounters remain underreported (see further Fileborn 2012). This is reflected in my own research:

As a guy, it’s kind of hard for me to say, but speaking from other peoples’ experience and what they’ve told me... a lot of women I’ve spoken to are scared... especially my partner... [however she] didn’t want to go to the police [after being harassed]. (Interview participant ZS, male)

While most young women in my study reported feeling automatic discomfort in public space when alone at night (which will be discussed in detail later), few mentioned these more minor infractions as directly contributing to their negative experience. As one male interviewee, who had spoken about these moments with his girlfriend, noted:

It blows over in like two weeks. Like all this myriad of conversations just coming through, and then you forget about it. (Interview participant ZS)
A tension arises. When asked to re-engage with the feelings associated with these experiences, female participants are demonstrably unsettled by memories of the encounter. However, these moments are not often articulated as intolerable, or actively challenged at the time of the event. Even in my own encounter, described above, while I felt momentarily displaced, it was easy to assume its insignificance when it finished. Akin to experiences of sexual harassment within licensed venues, gendered street harassment can easily become normalised behaviour – something that is expected, and rationalised, as simply part of the experience of walking alone at night. Instead of being able to problematise this behaviour directed towards women, participants (and myself) ‘are socialised to not call attention to themselves, to be easily embarrassed in public, to avoid confrontation, and to ignore street harassment’ (Sullivan, Lord and McHugh 2010, 246). This extends from the direct encounter, and becomes apparent in later negation of the experience as unworthy of mentioning. As one interview participant noted:

I wonder how many people fob that stuff off. When a woman says, ‘A man yelled at me from a car in the middle of the night and I was really scared for my life,’ if someone would just be like, ‘Oh don’t worry, nothing is going to happen,’ or, ‘They just thought you were pretty or something’. (Interview participant ZS)

 Stranger harassment (and catcalling in particular) is not ‘universally loathed’; some experience the encounter in a positive way (Fairchild 2010, 192). This can be influenced by perceptions of the perpetrator, whose appearance might increase or lessen the effects (Fairchild 2010). However, to assume that these encounters can – or should – be harmless (and even a compliment) fails to consider how the

63 Such research also links towards the broader myths regarding sexual violence, of which will be interrogated in the context of crime vision in the following chapter.
escalation of these ‘normal’ behaviours are empirically linked to more serious sexual violence (Fileborn 2017). This draws further parallels within the night-time economy, with only visible ruptures becoming problematic in the context of social order and safety. It is this dismissal, either made by an individual or in response to their report, which becomes internalised by the subject and how they move. The ‘mundane nature of such events makes them even more impactful’ (Sullivan, Lord and McHugh 2010, 244). Evidence already demonstrates how street harassment may cause women ‘to feel more aware of their sexual vulnerability and, therefore, more afraid of being raped’ (Sullivan, Lord and McHugh 2010, 249). Even in its own right, street harassment is harmful. Failing to universally recognise harassment as a serious concern further insists on the internalisation of the male gaze. Subsequently, for women, walking alone becomes an exercise overlaid with anticipation. Affects induced by expectation, and encounter, of harassment become internalised, with women reflecting on their own responses rather than the actions of the harasser. She may feel ‘anger, discomfort, and immense frustration’, all of which affect a woman’s freedom of movement (Sullivan, Lord and McHugh 2010, 244). As demonstrated by the excerpts from interviews and field notes above, this is often an automatic, affective and ephemeral response. I, for example, felt frustrated that I could not limit the way my hips moved; another participant reflected on her being dressed up ‘a little bit more’ as a cause of catcalling – as though she should have considered this when choosing her attire earlier in the evening.64 Rather than recognising the sexuality of the night, or the broader performances of masculinity within public spaces as exposing women’s bodies to restricted visibilities, female

64 For an example of this embedded social perception, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h95.II3C.Z8.
subjects instead reflect on their agency, and ability to predict complex atmospheres. ‘Dressing up’ is part of the night-time economy, and it can often yield positive immersion in enjoyment (as recognised in the previous chapter). The same practice however, when moving towards the periphery of the economy, may be reimagined. New combinations of spatial bodies produce new affects, of which yield emotions such as fear and rage. Absorptive coping may be disrupted as the subject has moved into a new atmosphere of the night. It is not only the woman’s choices that have led to this encounter. The way the car headlights may frame her body, her amplified movement in the context of a still night, the embodied dominance as an occupant of a car (against a more vulnerable walker); these entities, objects and discourses come together to apprehend and intensify such unwanted encounters.

Street harassment and catcalling can be common occurrences on activity corridors like King Street and Sydney Road. These encounters influence a woman’s experience as she walks, often in ways that are harmfully internalised. Her freedom of movement is reduced, either in stressed physiological responses or through internalised (rather than externalised) sentiments of distress. Regardless of these constraints, women continue to choose to walk along main thoroughfares. The perceived risk attached to the darkness of the night in side streets remains higher. Many consciously opt to withstand visible harassment from men in exchange for a ‘safer route’. And yet, sustained exposure to harassment is unlikely to improve perceptions of safety of any night. Normalising low-level forms of harassment (and other uninvited encounters) does not necessarily lead to a higher tolerance by the victim, particularly when accounting for the affective reactions they experience (even if momentary). As Vera-Gray notes:
Events such as these remind us of the possibility that we can be looked at and in doing so provokes a phenomenological response as if we were being looked at. (2017, 88) (emphasis in original)

Perhaps fittingly, ‘panoptic surveillance’ has been used to theorise this internalisation of the gaze of men (Vera-Gray 2017, 147). As a result, expectations of responsibility are shifted; away from the masculine subject and gaze, and towards the woman’s own response. While this shift of expectation may have resulted directly from the negligence of the criminal justice system to take matters seriously, much of it is also an unintended consequence that has arisen from a misguided desire to secure subjects through light. Affirming the dark – and the night – as spaces where women are most at risk produces the discourse that the same subject is somehow safer in the light, even if this light is polluted by the hyper-sexualised glow of the night-time economy. This complex relationship with visibility influences walking subjects at night, and will be further interrogated in relation to CCTV.

Choosing to walk in the light

*They are not visible or invisible in an absolute way, but rather always visible in a given context, to someone and in comparison to someone else.*

(Brighenti 2010, 151)

*Sydney Road seems like the safer option [when compared to the side streets].*

(Interview participant ZS, male)
Extending beyond the night-time economy and into ‘the night’, Sydney Road (and Brunswick more broadly) is generally perceived in negative terms of darkness. Evening becomes synonymous with, and collapses into, visualisations of risk and danger. This produces secondary perceptions, being that dangerousness may be mitigated with more light. When participants were asked what it is about the night that makes subjects feel most at risk, many recounted in some way the heightened sense of anxiety when stepping into, or being immersed involuntarily in the dark. For some, Brunswick itself was considered in the context of inhabiting darkness:

It’s just Brunswick, as a whole suburb, seems to have, like, really dark, terribly designed streets. (Interview participant BR, female)

These perceptions were also more localised, as navigating the way home became an uncomfortable practice:

[My friend] thought all the side streets in Brunswick were too dark... she said it was too dark at night, she didn’t feel comfortable. (Interview participant BR)

A lot of dark corners, little alleyways... it’s a scary area. (Councillor ML, Moreland City Council)

Moreland City Council representatives focused on the moment of stepping into ‘the dark’ as an actualisation of risk that could be resolved through better policy:

[That] you go off a relatively bright Sydney Road into a dark street to go to the [train] stations has been a concern. (CP, Director, Moreland City Council)

The precinct just off Sydney Road was seen [prior to activation] as an unsafe area. Lots of lanes, lots of dark side streets. (QB, Manager, Moreland City Council)
Even with existing lighting, constructions of darkness continue to emanate, reducing mobility:

You’ll know when lighting isn’t working for people because people feel like there are all dark spots. People don’t want to walk down their street, it’s dark and they feel a bit unsafe. (Councillor CG, Moreland City Council)

 Darkness emerges in these responses as a conflation of idea and reality. Where darkness is perceived or realised, an expectation of risk and uncertainty proceeds:

 It’s dark, it doesn’t look supervised, so all sorts of carry on happens. (Interview participant ZS)

 Both men and women frame the dark as something unsafe. Construction of darkness as dangerous is not new in Australian research, with early material demonstrating how ‘quiet and safe neighbourhoods [are] transformed in the dark’ (Lupton 1999, 12). The persistent perception of this transformation in the darkness is enabled by ongoing emphasis through policy papers, media discourses, and personal narrative. Affective experiences are influenced prior to immersion, and so can become further intensified. Each element of the darkness becomes more pronounced in its perceived precariousness. While individual experiences of moving through darkness vary (and are often bifurcated according to gender), many subjects are easily dragged out of absorptive coping. This is clear even in my own experience.

One evening as I walk, the more I move away from the hub of the night-time economy, the more aware I am of my own body in the dark and the more I equate the ‘quiet’ of Sydney Road with ‘unsettling’. As I walk further along Sydney Road (away from the
city), I find it more difficult to recognise those walking near me. A man approaches from further north on Sydney Road. His figure is shadowed; I can tell that he is taller than me, but not much more. I am on the inside of the footpath, closer to the shops and so he moves to the edge of the pavement, presumably to make it easier to walk past me. This means that I am now somewhat restricted in where I can go. I begin to notice, prominently, how narrow the footpath on Sydney Road is and how unwelcoming the shops that I walk past, now closed with their lights off, have become. I am moving along a section of Sydney Road that has no restaurants and no bars to create a night-time hub.

The relationship between darkness, danger and responsibility is becoming clearer in relation to Sydney Road. As the ‘recent intermingling of uses has multiplied the number of residents walking’ along Sydney Road, the issue that ‘there are no wide footpaths’ has become significant (Boyce 2012, 1329). A recognised planning issue during the day, at night the footpath becomes synonymous with greater risk, symbolically representing the broader insecurities subjects feel as they move through darkness. Described as an inconvenience due to its being ‘bumpy’ or ‘narrow’ – leading to the possibility of physical injury – walking along the footpath at night in Brunswick can prompt more distressing experiences:

The footpaths are really narrow... and bumpy as well... [increasing] the likelihood of, I guess, falling over and nobody even seeing you, that sort of thing. Not even talking about being attacked by some other person, you could fall over and smack your head down there and nobody would even know. (Interview participant BR)

The same – female – interview participant went on to detail how she experienced fear when walking along these footpaths:
It was really dark down there [a street off Sydney Road]. I actually turned on the torch on my phone... [the] street had massive big bushes along the footpath that were probably about my height and so I couldn't even see the other side of the footpath... I've never felt really terrified walking down the footpath to a house, but I felt so uneasy every night. So, the torch was partially for the snails, and partially because the street left me with an uneasy feeling. It only had lights on the other side of the street. (Interview participant BR)(emphasis added)

While restricted lighting is perceived as an issue in the above accounts, it is not the sole element of the night contributing to perceptions of risk. As one council employee observed, Sydney Road has noticeable ‘pockets... that close down for the evening’ (CP, Director, Moreland City Council). Sparser in terms of what is open (and consequently inviting), ‘pockets’ like these are targeted as part of council initiatives to ‘improve those perceptions of safety’ by ‘activating’ the space (CP, Moreland City Council). This activation functions, not only to draw people back into the city, but also to enhance perceptions of immediate safety.

At the time that I walk along Sydney Road this night, there is no discernible ‘natural’ surveillance or perception of supervision. I don't feel like there are any benevolent or incidental ‘eyes on the street’. Shops in a row between Victoria Street and Blyth Street are emphatically withdrawn from the streetscape. Barriers between private property and public access are explicitly drawn by the roller doors and grills installed. Cars, with their headlights on, move past intermittently, subsequently emphasising the moments of darkness in between. The shadows of the figure that walks towards me distort against the footpath as cars move past.
Visible signifiers of a site being ‘closed’ are primarily acknowledged by the Council as contributing to the ‘perception of feeling unsafe’ (Moreland City Council 2015). This legitimises links between darkness and the perceived problematic qualities of deactivated spaces (Papastergiadis 2005). Rather than focusing on other elements within the space that may be contributing to perceptions of risk, light is singled out as the dominant influencer. These intentions draw parallels with the issues in policy responses to violence in King Street’s night-time economy. Lighting is attached not only to generalised perceptions of safety through visibility, but also through greater interests underlying activation:

One of the things that [the] council would like to achieve generally, particularly in places that are seen as potentially unsafe, is to have it activated whether it is by day or night. (QB, Manager, Moreland City Council)

[The] council is committed to activating Sydney Road as a space [at night]. (CP, Director, Moreland City Council)

Even if it is people sitting around having a coffee and it’s a coffee shop that opens up with tables on the footpath and activates it, that is all very positive. (Councillor ML, Moreland City Council)

Lighting is not simply about providing subjects with a safe route home. It is also about expanding moments of control and consumption. Light therefore not only appeals to Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED) principles by producing perceptions of safety (Welsh and Farrington 2002, 2003, 2009), it also projects opportunities for order onto spaces:

The dynamics of contemporary crime control policies are increasingly oriented towards reducing fear of crime rather than actual crime, and they rely to an increasing extent on populist
discourses of potential victims, symbolic politics, and public/community safety initiatives in the production of social order and social control. (Lyon 2006, 234)

In these activity corridors – spaces rich with history – with visibility comes regulation, extended from more formalised economies. The night, with its current manifestations of danger, works against some visible cues of surveillance and activation. When Moreland City Council acknowledges increased perceptions of danger, they also acknowledge dark space as representing shifts, or halts, in regulated flows of information, governance and people (Bottomley and Moore 2007, 197). Lighting restores order, with the perception of safety a desired result.

As I walk past this stranger, I keep my eyes fixed ahead. Yet I am still consciously trying to take in identifiable features of this unknown body, which is bigger in relation to mine. While I don’t adjust my pace, I lower the volume of the music playing through my earphones (which currently stifles all other street noise). I feel a heightened sense of awareness of my body as it exists within the space, and in relation to this space. I consciously think, ‘What is there to assist me should this man decide to engage with me in an uninvited way?’. I’ve moved beyond the gentle hum and lighting coming from the Penny Black Hotel, and a Lebanese restaurant nearby has already closed for the evening. In the moments leading up to us passing each other, I feel increasingly aware that beyond Sydney Road and into the side streets the night is quite still and dark. I use this to qualify why I choose to stay on Sydney Road and on this footpath, passing the man. Diverting into the darkened streets seems more ominous. As he passes, I glance at his face. I do this while contradictory thoughts pass through my mind. I look, as it occurs to me that I should take in a description of his face ‘just in case’, but I continue
to feel that I should avoid eye contact with him, so as to prevent any perception of an invited encounters, also ‘just in case’. With so much anticipation, the encounter itself is fleeting and immediately becomes banal, in that there is no exchange.

While I consciously reminded myself that strangers on the street should not be synonymous with danger in this encounter, this did not translate into a relaxed experience. My own reactions are repeated by female interview participants. Walking past strangers in the dark can activate effects similar to the physiological responses triggered by catcalling. Perceptions of safety are influenced by ‘bio-cultural perceptual structures’ that become ‘sedimented by past experience as memory’ (Brands and Schwanen 2014, 68). Just as respondents in this study remarked that they had imagined violence in relation to King Street through the frame of media reporting (see previous chapter), discourses regarding the ‘dangerous individual’ affect encounters, regardless of any actual experience. Gender as part of these bio-cultural structures becomes clearer. The ‘process [becomes] continuous, its achievement unending or daily renewed’ (de Lauretis 1984, 160). For example, as one female interviewee observed, the perception that ‘you should be aware’ of dangerous subjects at night is ‘an ingrained thing in my mind’ (Interview participant OS). While preferring to go a ‘certain way’ off Sydney Road when walking home, this interviewee commented how she often felt compelled not to. This compulsion arose from either internalised guilt, or from her friends’ comments. Her experience is produced by engagement in ‘the practices, discourses, and institutions that lend significant (value, meaning, and affect) to the events of the world’ (de Lauretis 1984, 160). When walking on the less well-lit
pathways, she lamented how vulnerable she felt. Some of this was cognitive, while other elements were affective:

I was coming home from uni [one evening in summer], and so it was only about 9.30 at night. And I was sober, but even then I felt unsafe... I remember thinking I should probably take my headphones out... [it] is really shit that women have to deal with that. (Interview participant OS)

I want to walk home, not run

On Sunday 25th October 2015 at 7.30pm, a light projection appeared on the sidewall of the Retreat Hotel on Sydney Road (see Figure 14). The words ‘I want to walk home, not run’, sat far above eye level in plain font, drawing the gaze of observant passers-by upward. It was projected every evening until 4am for the duration of MoreArt – an annual public art show that runs from October until December (Moreland City Council 2015). Installed by Stephanie Leigh, a self-identified feminist artist, the piece seeks to visualise the fear women sense at night:

I want to walk [home] not run is a text projection artwork that engages with feminist ideas regarding rape culture, public safety and individual social modifications within the streets of Melbourne. This artwork locates itself within a behavioural discourse as the feared conditioning often encountered when alone in a public space can invoke a real sense of panic and danger, causing one to alter their pathway home. Rituals that are often performed whilst walking alone are holding keys in hand, looking over your shoulder and running, which are a clear sign of vulnerability regardless of immediate threat. (Leigh 2015, no pagination)
Leigh’s art installation was only visible in the evening, mirroring the moments of heightened insecurity women experience in night-time city spaces. Permeating the darkness, the projection sought to make communal, through light and text, what women often experience: that the night feels inherently unsafe without light. While part of a public art show, it was embedded within the streetscape of Sydney Road, and so could be encountered incidentally. It produced ‘enchantment’ for the spectator, arresting them so as to produce a noticeable attachment to image and...
place (Young 2014, 45). Within this experience, light was presented as functionally desirable and able to dramatically rupture the atmosphere of darkness. Cutting through the night and changing the textures of the Retreat Hotel external wall, the projection sought to replace one wallpaper with another, so that it would become automatic to resist fear for walking subjects. As an authoritative and powerful voice to many themes associated with women’s bodies and night-time spaces in the city, it sought to make visible, externalise and legitimise women’s internalised experiences as they leave the night-time economy.

However, ‘distortions in visibility give rise to distortion in social representations’ (Brighenti 2010, 47) (emphasis in original). An incidental association of darkness to risk, while legitimising women’s experiences, further distorts perceptions of safety without addressing other elements of the night that produce less-than-conscious responses to fear. With the text of Leigh’s artwork growing brighter as the night settled onto the street, it reaffirmed generalised perceptions. That, as the night grows later and darker, the riskier the space of the city becomes for women. The night – rather than material, economic and interpersonal experiences within the night – is identified as the problem; the resolution as light. Its own materiality therefore risks making a complex issue only visible in a certain way, similar to the production of CCTV images. In particular, the projection itself was only visible from the exterior of the pub, and not from within the venue, and it would not have been seen when waiting for a taxi at a taxi rank nearby. This further separates structural causes of harassment from habitual associations.

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65 This is how I encountered the artwork. I was not aware of its context in relation to MoreArt until after I had taken the photo, and considered it in the context of the night.
Leigh was driven to install the light project due to her recognition that subtle (or ritualistic) changes in the behaviour of women walking home, regardless of an immediate threat, are demonstrative of vulnerability. This connection also appeared in participant responses in my research. Reporting higher levels of fear than men, identification of risk factors by females has an impact on their own desires to mitigate risks (Snedker 2012, 75). Internalised practices can include what Leigh mentions: keys in hand, walking in the middle of the road, pretending to be on the phone to a loved one, hailing a taxi to skip over the darker parts of a street, or glancing at the face of a stranger (as I did) with the intention of identifying him later should something go wrong, are commonplace rituals. Each practice serves to evoke a sense of regaining control – or as something that should be done – in relation to the potentiality of the space. Most common of in these rituals is the avoidance of dark spaces, and choosing to walk in the light. Leigh’s installation compels public reflection on women’s experiences of fear in the night. However, it does so in a restrictive way. As a light projection, it proposes that women may be rescued, or made less vulnerable, with more light. This diverts the conversation away from regarding the other elements of the night that diminish perceptions of safety. As Fitzgerald notes, ‘a brief social encounter can, through less than conscious mechanisms, produce profound effects’ (2015, 167). Attempts to manage fear produced by the atmosphere of the night has resulted in intense social, cultural and political investment to destroy the night, and to do so through light. Night becomes the final frontier for Empire.

Moreland City Council representatives spoke at length about the commitment of council to expand the prevalence and ‘whiteness’ of light. The main initiative is the
Public Lighting Policy (2015). This policy aims to ‘improve public safety, provide equity of lighting across the municipality, and ensure that public lighting meets community expectations for illumination performance, whilst minimising operating costs and environmental impacts’ (Moreland City Council 2015, no pagination).

Community expectations for lighting are clear:

P1: You only need to look at [Hope Street, just off Sydney Road] it to know.

P2: It’s dodgy.

P3: It’s always been dodgy.

Researcher: What makes it dodgy?

P3: No lighting. Where [Jill Meagher] lived, there’s no really well-lit way to walk home.

(Brunswick Residents Network, focus group)

Users may approach Council with demands for lighting as a way in which to reduce the number of ‘dodgy’ areas in Moreland. At the same time though, users of the space are also influenced by authoritative documents stating that streetlights maintain safety. For example, Community Indicator Surveys produced by Moreland City Council found that ‘people don’t want to walk down their street’ because ‘lighting is an issue’ (Councillor CG, Moreland City Council). This can also be interpreted, though, as subjects becoming unwilling to walk down their street, because of its darkness when compared to Sydney Road. Well-lit areas can produce the shadows that residents fear. While ‘people feel like there’s all dark spots’ (Councillor CG, Moreland City Council), this is likely influenced and enhanced as they experience spaces that are light at night. As one interviewee recounted her friend’s fear of walking to her home on Sydney Road at night, it was the ‘little alleyway’ that she
needed to move through to get access to her door, after stepping from the well-lit street, that caused fear, as it was ‘too dark at night’ (Interview participant BR). Council representatives affirm this further:

I also do feel that *incidents don’t tend to happen in well-lit areas*. It’s more likely something is going to happen if it’s a dark area and perpetrators are well aware of their surroundings, and they’re well aware that ‘the lights here are dark’ or ‘this tree is going to obscure the light’ or whatever. (Councillor ML, Moreland City Council) (emphasis added)

Moreland City Council lighting strategies aim to provide ‘equity of lighting across the municipality’ to reduce moments of insecurity (Moreland City Council 2010, 2). However, it still prioritises areas that receive the most use (Moreland City Council 2010). Such discrimination renders the shifts from main thoroughfares to a dark side street as omnipresent. The construction of Sydney Road as an arterial road ensures that there will always be many avenues branching off it that are darker.

Continued emphasis on expanding the scope of lighting reinforces, rather than allays, existing perceptions of night and darkness as places of danger. Cohen’s notion of amplification and feedback regarding deviance further demonstrates this consequence – ‘each event can be seen as creating the potential for a reaction which, among other possible consequences, might cause further acts’ (Cohen 2011, 18). When an act of violence occurs in ‘the night’, it is made hyper-visible in the media, subsequently reasserting how darkness needs to be mitigated in order to prevent further assaults. The next chapter will return to this theme when interrogating how CCTV as evidence – as shedding light – can be unsettling.
For now, the prioritised installation of street lighting within Moreland City Council throughout its activity corridors is representative of ongoing and broader discourses regarding the perception and mitigation of risks in city spaces at night. Improved ‘street lighting is associated with greater use of public space and neighbourhood streets by law abiding citizens’ (Welsh and Farrington 2002, vi). Given that a lot of the behaviours that constitute street harassment aren’t necessarily illegal, attracting ‘law abiding’ citizens does not directly assist women who continue to walk alone. Incorporated within the Community Safety remit (alongside the CCTV network), Council effectively affirms the night without light as a space to be wary about. Rather than attending to other materiality of the night that contributes to atmospheres of unease – such as ‘bumpy’ or narrow footpaths – street lamps are installed instead. Rather than seeking to interrogate how elements are assembled and taken into an individual’s experience of darkness, light becomes panacea. Experiences of uncertainty are reconfigured into moments of clarity, ‘if only’ there was more lighting:

If you were walking and someone was coming the other way, you couldn't see them or they [were] just sort of a silhouette, I think that's always kind of [scary], even though your brain is going, 'It's fine, don't worry.' (Interview participant ZS)

Emphasis shifts, from interrogating why the night may be perceived as dangerous, and towards focusing on the desire to remove the darkness of the night altogether. Light is marked as the solution (see Figure 15).
Individuals frequently opt to walk along well-lit streets over darker streets when walking home. However, walking along darker streets at some point is often unavoidable. Particularly for Brunswick, which is structured around the arterial Sydney Road, and with many residential apartments converted from factories (meaning that building entrances are often accessed from side streets or alleyways), illuminating the entire suburb for safety is unreasonable. Seasonal impacts can further reduce these opportunities:

I just find it so frustrating because it feels like if you do walk home alone, you’re asking for it... How can you keep yourself safe? If you’re going home from work, especially in winter, it’s going to be dark at 5[pm]... it sounds ridiculous to be like, ‘If you’re walking alone at night that you’re asking for trouble.’ (Interview participant BD, female)

You’re on Sydney Road and you’re like, ‘Oh yeah I’m fine, I’m walking home, I can see everybody fine, I can see their face, I can make an assessment about them’. And then you think, ‘Oh but I’ve got to turn off down this little laneway.’ (Interview participant ZS, male)
Regardless of these restrictions, the expectation that women can reduce encounters of sexual harassment through adjusted behaviours lingers. This is only intensified when people assume that safety can be guaranteed in the light. As Andrew Rule, Deputy Editor of the *Herald Sun*, wrote about Jill Meagher’s disappearance, ‘there seems no obvious reason why a young woman would choose to walk this way home late at night’ (2012, 2). In Day’s article, Meagher is chastised for choosing to walk along Hope Street instead of the ‘better lit’ alternative of Victoria Street (which runs parallel to Hope Street). His analysis also implies that Meagher – who at the time of the article’s publication was not known to be dead – may have taken a shortcut through Ballarat Street and Ovens Street (which are smaller, and darker side streets). Day assumes this shortcut into darkness as a cause for violence. These ‘small patches’, ‘where crumbling industrial and commercial sites meet seedy dwellings’ are imagined as polar opposites of the ‘better spots for a young woman to be walking alone after a night out drinking’ (Rule 2012, 2). In such narratives, common in news media discourse, a woman’s decision to walk alone on a dark night is emphasised as crucial to contextualising how an act of violence can occur.\(^6^6\) Not only is the choice to walk alone dangerous and irresponsible for women, so too is walking further away from the light. Demonstrations such as the Reclaim the Night march along Sydney Road soon after Meagher’s death appear to illustrate a change in this social attitude towards women’s responsibility on the streets at night. However, the fear of sexual assault remains hyper-present for individual women in the dark. It is this fear that continues to influence and regulate behaviour, driving women away from moving through dark and quiet places at night, such as laneways.

\(^6^6\) Which is itself perceived as an opportunistic attack that could have otherwise been mitigated.
and ‘desolate’ streets, in favour of Sydney Road. Indeed, the Reclaim the Night march took place on Sydney Road rather than Hope Street, which is the closer site to where Meagher was eventually killed. The space the march sought to ‘reclaim’ is a space already in the light.

**Desiring light, and being visible**

Considering how popular narratives of ‘light as solution’ are, Moreland City Council have focused on installing streetlights within their municipality since 2012. By installing new streetlights in residential streets, some council employees assume that perceptions of safety have been directly improved (CP, Director, Moreland City Council). However, perceptions are only improved for well-lit areas, meaning that less well-lit areas are made problematic further. For many interviewees in this study, being able to ‘see’ the street was only part of the requirements for navigating safe passage home. If a person were to be walking in a well-lit area, but distracted, their safety was still considered to be reduced. As one female participant said:

... and distracted. So, like I wouldn’t wear earphones... I wouldn’t be texting. I like to be, you know, alert. Ready to go. [Being on the phone means] the fact that someone can vouch for where I am... Nothing has ever gone wrong, but the fact that if it did, you know... there would be some sort of footprint of it, and it wouldn’t go unnoticed. (Interview participant BD)

Being a visible subject is about more than lighting. Much was read into Jill Meagher being safe while on the phone to her brother, and then being in heightened danger when he could not reconnect the phone call to her (De-Burca 2016). Visibility is
recognition, which can often be desirable for the disciplined subject (Brighenti 2010, 83). Being quantifiable by surveillant technologies affords some protection and security (if only perceived). Further to the desires to be ‘traceable’ in the night, visibility expands to include the way in which subjects move. While subjects feel restricted in their movements as a result of street harassment, the adaptation or alteration of other practices of movement in relation to perceived threats of serious violence was also a theme in interviews:

I wouldn’t want to be stationary for too long somewhere, like, to invite conversation or attention. (Interview participant BD, female)

The same participant went on to explain why she would not go to a petrol station at night to fill her car with petrol for this reason. Deployment of deliberate and selective movement (rather than remaining still) as a means of feeling safer illustrates an internalised desire to project and reclaim control in a space that is unregulated. Choosing to walk, to stand still, or to run (each influenced by the spatial politics of the night), becomes rationalised as in some way improving safety through the ‘right’ performance. Each strategy is ‘embodied to the point of naturalisation’ (Vera-Gray 2017, 142). Other atmospheres of enjoyment and movement are stymied in their development. Initial CCTV footage of Meagher and subsequent news media commentary on the video emphasised her vulnerability through movement. Suggestions that Meagher was ‘looking unsteady on her feet’ were coupled with her ‘checking her phone’ – and thus perhaps distracted – to produce a narrative explaining how she became Bayley’s target (Flower and Dowsley 2012, no

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67 This theme of security and surveillance will be explored in detail in the final analysis chapter, in relation to the practices of CCTV control rooms.
Her hesitancy was inscribed as a visual marker of vulnerability (Legge 2013, no pagination).

Expectations of how someone should walk through the night expand the narrative regarding women's safety. Either they should not walk alone or, if they choose to walk, they should be doing so in such a way that is socially acceptable. What defines 'suspicious' movement also becomes implicit. All movement needs to have a discernible function that fits well within the general atmosphere of the space. Demonstrating this, another participant recounted why she joined the Reclaim the Night movement:

Up until a few years ago I never felt unsafe [walking at night]. I heard footsteps that were, I thought, very fast for that time at night... People are usually not needing to go anywhere, or are too drunk [to walk at that pace]. (Interview participant RN, female)

When asked to clarify why hearing a fast pace at night made her concerned, the participant responded that the pace 'had too much purpose' (Interview participant RN), in contrast to sounds that she had considered being part of a 'normal night'. Feeling safe within cities is subjective, and the range of emotional and embodied sensations required to produce ease at night are difficult to articulate when uninterrupted. At the same time, this balance is also easily disrupted, with more minute elements – of sounds, rhythms and pace – emerging in their affective quality. After the interview participant became agitated when hearing fast steps behind her, she was compelled to adjust her own pace and to run home. Walking 'too slowly' is mirrored in other participant responses. Another female participant described her practice of walking at night as, 'probably the least smartest [sic] thing I've done'
(Interview participant BR). Rather than avoiding the space, she described her ability to mitigate the ‘stupidity’ she felt by ensuring that she walked quickly. Particularly in this last response, participants (and my own field notes) emphasise the importance of being seen to be walking with intent and control, as if this in some way this reduces risk. Coupled with the desire to move through streets as quickly as possible, the need to visibly illustrate strength is paramount. Tensions arise through ‘discourses of personal freedom and personal responsibility’ (Fanghanel and Lim 2017, 342). Walking at night is therefore never ‘just walking’ for a woman. The ‘imperative to be free – to reclaim the night – and the obligation to be safe in public spaces’ ensures that the female subject remains vigilant and attuned to all senses (Fanghanel and Lim 2017, 341). The internalisation of risk, and perceptions that it can be mitigated through adjusted personal behaviour, is demonstrative of Garland’s argument about responsibilisation (1997, 2001). The perceived need to look after oneself within the night is dispersed, not into other institutions, but within the subject. She must be mindful of her pace, remain visible (but not appealing), and be keenly aware of how her other senses are either communicating safety, or raising alarm.

The findings in my research demonstrate a broad acceptance of the idea that walking at night in areas that are not well-lit is a risk, or, as several participants put it, ‘stupid’. Furthermore, choices made by the individual within this risk environment are assumed to influence their safety, either negatively or positively. Behaviours considered in the context of what is expected in the night are rationalised as appropriate and common-sense by other subjects. In particular,
heightening all senses is incorporated into the discourse of (ir)responsible behaviour at night:

Young people walking around at night with earphones in their head are asking for trouble. (P2, Brunswick Residents Network, focus group)

The perceived affiliation between wearing earphones, reduced awareness, and increased risk is part of a commonly referenced narrative. When Sean Price murdered a teenage girl, Masa Vukotic, in a park in the Melbourne suburb of Doncaster in 2015, her visibility and risk awareness in the park was interrogated. Parallels were also drawn between her death and the circumstances surrounding Jill Meagher's death (Rosewarne 2013). Both were reprimanded for walking alone. While Meagher's unsteady movements were highlighted as confirmation of insobriety and her lack of awareness of impending danger, Vukotic was criticised for walking with earphones (Bucci 2015). This detail (wearing earphones) was emphasised in news media accounts of the crime, and further legitimised as significant by Detective Inspector Mick Hughes from Victoria Police when speaking on the radio about the case:

We have to be cautious, we have to be safe... a lot has been made of the fact that this poor girl was wearing earphones... I don't think it should be a big issue, people should be able to do that... but I suggest to people, particularly to females, they shouldn't be alone in parks, I'm sorry to say that. That is the case. We just need to be a bit more careful a bit more security-conscious... and we as the public need to look after each other. (Radio National Breakfast with Fran Kelly 2015)

This officer's response to a violent crime aligns again with commonplace accounts of the responsibilities of the victim:
As citizens and consumers are increasingly rendered responsible for the protection of our safety and property... the increased salience of crime in everyday life situates the pursuit of safety as normal, pragmatic and everyday. (Loader and Sparks 2011, 77)

While the ‘oscillation between “you shouldn’t have to, but you have to”’ is a marked theme in such responses (Fanghanel and Lim 2017, 354), the discursive tools used in making sense of violence also emphasises what can be called the position of the ‘weakened sovereign’, and how ‘we will be increasingly expected to police one another’ or change behaviours regardless of our ‘right to the city’ (Reeves 2012, 244). Visibility at night for women becomes increasingly complex. Being visible and ‘wholly present’ within the space at night is marked within a narrative about ensuring safety. Women respond to this, and adopt practices in shifting their bodies to become safer. Such practices can produce feelings of control within the night, and may be substantial in their positive affects for women. However, actions such as removing earphones can also open women further to the possibility of harassment, such as catcalling.

As I was walking back from Barkly Square on Sydney Road one evening, I stopped at the traffic lights on the corner of Park Street and Royal Parade, which is near the running track at Princes Park. The space itself feels open, with many streetlights and a regular stream of traffic from each direction. There is usually some constant and regulated movement, identifiable tonight as late-night runners.68 This intersection – between a park, residential area, suburb change, hotel and tram stop – ensures that a

68 To a different set of eyes, it could still be interpreted as having a few dark spots, or little ‘enclaves’ that ‘you just wouldn’t pick... at random’ as Detective Inspector Mick Hughes remarked about the Doncaster park (Radio National Breakfast with Fran Kelly 2015).
transient population continues to pass through. As I stood at the lights, my earphones pumping music and hands full of bags (again), I noticed a car pull up beside me (again). At a sideways glance, I could see that there were at least four men in the car, with the windows down. Some movement indicated to me that they were trying to get my attention. At the time of this encounter, I was a resident tutor at a residential college further down Royal Parade, and so thought these men may have been my students. I turned and could see from their gleeful facial expressions and their hands hanging out of the windows that they were already pleased with my acknowledgement. At the same time, I also realised I was not in fact acquainted with the men. With music from my earphones drowning out any of their noise, I felt comfortable to turn my head away. I could not hear the words they were yelling nor did I want to, and so an invisible barrier was created between the car and myself. As the car raced off, I felt satisfied that I had avoided a sustained or potentially damaging encounter of harassment. Any catcalling they may have been making was ignored as it fell, literally, on deaf ears.

One week later, I was speaking with a friend on the corner of Blyth Street and Sydney Road. Standing near the bus shelter at night, there was some street lighting, which we were drawn to as a space to stand in. Venting our frustrations over recent experiences with men – my friend had just recently had to reiterate to a colleague that she was neither interested in him nor flattered by his advances – a car turned left into Blyth Street from Sydney Road. With no hesitation or change in speed, the occupants of the vehicle, who we could not make out beyond their shadowed figures, yelled some indistinguishable words in our direction. The only phrase I could pick out was something to do with our bodies and that there were two of us. The sudden disruption in our conversation, which was already focused on harassment, was temporarily
unsetting and upsetting to each of us. Our conversation was stymied, before each of us sighed in exasperation. I was frustrated that our conversation could be so easily arrogated by men’s catcalling.

Moreland City Council assumes some responsibility to ensure the safety of its subjects at night, something that is partially achieved through the Public Lighting Policy. However, responsibilities are simultaneously established for, and embodied by, the walking subject through these policy implementations. In such an interpretation, many of the risk mitigation practices discussed – walking faster, being on the phone, and so on – demonstrate the perception that encounters in the night can be managed through individual choice or action. Subjects are expected to follow the lights home, rather than step off the guided path. In areas that are less illuminated, the emphasis shifts onto the walking subject to ensure that all other senses are enhanced. Women continue to be ‘asking for trouble’ if they walk with earphones in the dark, or if they walk unsteadily in the light. In such cases, the responsibility of the strangers not to engage aggressively with women is shielded from direct or prominent debate. So too are other materials that produce a woman as subject to the gaze. This results in a precarious and unsettling experience for the female walking subject. Wherever she walks, she is expected to reduce the risk of sexual assault by desiring and walking in the light, even though this renders her vulnerable to everyday street harassment within these well-lit areas. Such harassment is itself unsettling. These tensions around being able to find a safe space are made very clear in the footage of Jill Meagher, as she tries to walk home. As a resident of Brunswick notes, ‘where she lived, there’s really no well-lit way to walk home (P3, Brunswick Residents Network, focus group), despite the arguments of the

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Herald Sun. Jill Meagher could not have chosen an option that satisfied the expectations impressed upon women to negate risk, apart from removing herself from the public sphere completely. The responsibility to maintain law and order is dispersed into, and embodied by, the female walking subject. This is a prevalent trope found in research on victim-blaming:

Women who immediately resist rapists are less likely to be raped, but it is difficult to know that a man is planning to rape until it is too late. Therefore, attending to intuition and gut reactions is an important survival skill... Unfortunately, women are also taught to ignore such reactions of fear, anger, and discomfort when they are harassed by unknown men on the street. This places women in a horrible double bind: if they react based on their feelings, they are discredited and often ridiculed; if they do not react and suppress those feelings, they disconnect themselves from important inner cues. (Sullivan, Lord and McHugh, 2010, 246)

As one female participant mentioned, the structure of Sydney Road, with its sporadic ‘night-time occupancy of spaces’, transforms at night to become a site where, ‘you just have a sense of being really alone at that time’ (Interview participant BD). For the walking woman, the combination of fear, isolation and the responsibility to manage all of these things is built into the dark canvas of the urban nightscape.

Dominating the darkness: gender

Behavioural modifications made by the walking subject are less to do with statistical reasoning, and more so to do with varying desires (Morgan and McAtamney 2009). This may be in order to feel in control, or to project an impression of control. While night-time risk mitigation, in this chapter, has been discussed mostly in relation to
the female walking subject, it is observable in both genders. One male interviewee chose to ride his bike at night, not only for convenience but also for safety:

*It is very difficult to catch a person on a bicycle if you're on foot, and it's quite hard to observe a person on a bicycle if you're in a car. So, it just feels like you'll be at home in bed sooner... and [you can] also just be slightly defensive in the way that you conduct yourself.*

(Interview participant HW)

While these emphases on movement and defensive strategies to reduce risk in the night may be present in varying ways for many walking subjects, there remains a difference between genders. For male respondents in this research, when prompted to discuss their experiences of walking at night, this was usually responded to with reference to their female friends:

*So many [male friends] many never see it first-hand because it's always the same scenario – a girl walking alone, maybe two girls.*

(Interview participant ZS)

Further to this, male walking subjects adjust their behaviour, not to reduce their own risk, but as a perceived obligation to reduce risks for female friends:

*Guys I know made a very formal point of walking the women that we know to their cars or to their houses, as a result of the attack [the murder of Jill Meagher]. (Interview participant HW)*

While the above quotation relates to the nights following Jill Meagher’s death, the practice wherein men escort women home was culturally prevalent both before and long after Meagher's death. In my own experiences, when choosing to walk home from nights out near Sydney Road, I have been chided for my irresponsibility, and also accompanied by a male friend who then subsequently had to make their own

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69 It should also be noted that walking a woman home has been documented as affording some men the opportunity to coerce a sexual encounter.
walk home alone. The levels of ‘felt’ responsibility for genders differ markedly. There’s also the implication that ‘known men’ are safe when, statistically, they are the most likely to perpetrate violence against women. Not only does this arise from night-time economy practices and broader gender norms relating to crime and victimisation, crime prevention directives also contribute to this distinction. Victoria Police, up until 2013, advised how single women could improve their own safety: ‘Women living alone can create the impression of a male housemate by asking a friend or relative to speak on their message bank service’ (Victoria Police 2013).70

Media representations of the locations of violence against women play a role in women’s heightened experiences of fear when walking at night (Brown 1996; Whitzman 2007). At the same time, the construction of masculinity and its effect on male experiences in perceiving danger also has an effect. This acknowledges not only a woman’s heightened sense of fear but also a man’s decreased sense of (or decreased comfort in reporting) vulnerability. Of the men interviewed regarding Brunswick and Sydney Road at night, most had experienced moments that could be identified as an attack or as an incident that might produce anxiety. This included one subject being attacked while riding his bike along the Upfield Bike Path, which runs parallel to Sydney Road. Another also recalled how, when he was younger, he would run through the side streets of Brunswick at night for fear of being attacked. However, these stories remained on the periphery of the interview, and the

70 This advice has since been removed from the Victoria Police website.
emphasis on who was vulnerable at night stayed directed towards their female counterparts:

I would keep an eye out for my female friends. (Interview participant HW)

But I think the initial shock was one where it was someone... Jill was someone that everyone could relate to. It was someone's girlfriend, sister, everyone sort of felt, 'Well this could happen to me, to my wife, my sister, my girlfriend'. (Councillor ML, Moreland City Council)

I get worried, I do, I get pangs of anxiety every once in a while, if I know that... Just the other night my partner had missed the bus and she was on St George's Road; she had to walk back down to Brunswick. And she was like, 'It's alright, I'm just going to walk.' And I was like, 'OK, cool,' and then like five seconds later I was like, 'Oh wait, no. Just keep texting me, keep in touch with me.' (Interview participant ZS)

The interconnection between woman as vulnerable and man as impervious is affirmed in these interviews. Rather than identifying themselves as also being vulnerable at night, which was an actual experience for some, most male participants emphasised walking alone at night as something that women should be far more likely to fear:

A lot of women I've spoken to are scared to walk down Sydney Road alone. (Interview participant ZS)

There's, like, a very strong awareness [in my social group] about safety of, mostly young women if they're alone at night. (Interview participant HW)

Sydney Road has been transformed significantly as a site of violence against women. The memory, and an ongoing narrative, of who should legitimately experience
anxiety, is gendered. Particular narratives are told, and retold, in relation to Meagher. These have profound affects for women’s experiences directly, as detailed in this chapter. They also have indirect affects, through their influence on male subject experiences and rationalisations (Pereira et al. 2014). Relating back to gender performativity, it is not a singular act, ‘but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalisation in the context of a body, understood, in part, as a culturally sustained temporal duration’ (Butler 1999, xv). Such gendered social arrangements between the generalised categories of men and women in these discursive narratives of Melbourne at night demonstrates how they ‘precede bodies’, themselves creating the ‘conditions in which bodies develop and live’ (Connell 2002, 33). Women may feel vulnerable when within the space, and subsequently practice risk mitigation. However, men can also influence these spaces through their own constructions of responsibility and reluctance to align their identities with vulnerability. If men continue to narrate themselves as ‘not vulnerable’ in the dark or when alone, naturalised desires within gendered identities continue to be acted (Butler 1999, 187). Women may subsequently construct themselves and be constructed as in more need of light and visibility, in order to reduce their vulnerability.

**Conclusion: Desiring the light of CCTV**

Lighting draws walking subjects in, even if they are likely to be harassed within that environment. For example, female subjects moving on Sydney Road may assume they are safer in the company of ‘drunk people’ rather than walking alone:
I've always thought [Sydney Road] was reasonably safe... on Friday and Saturday nights you do tend to have a lot more idiots out, a lot more drunk people... it's just the thing that you get because of, you know, the nature of the businesses around there, but you still feel safer. (Interview participant BR)

The same interviewee went on to discuss the ‘quiet’ of Sydney Road in the week after Meagher’s death, and how the emptiness of the street at night was more disconcerting than a usual (and expected) encounter with a drunk stranger. This example is not simply that the female subject is compelled to take responsibility for her safety at night. As mentioned in the previous chapter, subjects are also drawn to the atmosphere produced by, and in, the light of Sydney Road through desires beyond security. The warm hue of Sydney Road is experienced both in its presence and absence. The atmosphere of Sydney Road then – its lighting, noise, and exposure to visible encounters – not only helps people feel safer, it also becomes more desirable than the silence and darkness of the side streets. As Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos says of atmosphere, it becomes ‘a force of attraction’ (2014, 122). Certain behaviours, senses, and feelings within this atmosphere are normalised, rationalised, and desired. The contrast between Sydney Road and its periphery is the visibility within, and of, Sydney Road. It is the ‘symbolic meaning’ of light that encapsulates the ‘connection between senses [and] emotions’ experienced in and produced by this street (Philippopoulos-Mihalopoulos 2014, 117). This allows for the reproduction of light, perceived as essential, to secure spaces.

Lighting on Sydney Road offers a form of protection and ‘knowing’, but only in a way that the walking subject must internalise other responsibilities. Women are provided a lighted pathway to walk home, but must also encounter others who also
move in light. There is also no social understanding offered should they step into the darkness, as this defies this 'logic' (Rule 2012). Blame lingers, even if for a quicker route home or as an avoidance strategy against street harassment. As interviews and council policy suggest, while there may be moments of organised resistance of gendered responsibilisation (through the Reclaim the Night march, for example), narratives of resistance ultimately continue to express a desire, both consciously and less-then-consciously, to experience safety through that which they are already drawn to. Regimes of visibility obscure gender, and elevate light as the ultimate solution to fear and risk. Installing lights, and now CCTV cameras on Sydney Road, then, does nothing to meaningfully disrupt the epistemic wallpaper. For example, in May 2017 – and three years after Moreland City Council’s CCTV network became operational – a news article described its author’s visit to the site of Meagher’s death in the alleyway just off Hope Street. The ‘dank and dark alleyway’ is contrasted to the geographically proximate and ‘reassuring street lights’ of Sydney Road (Sutton 2017, no pagination). ‘Almost five years on, could it happen again?’ the author asks. The answer given is, ‘yes, it could’ (Sutton 2017, no pagination). Sydney Road is transformed once more, through the new light of CCTV, as a haven of safety, with darkness beyond further marked.

While responsibilisation accounts for some reactions to walking subjects, it does not expressly think through the embodied experiences of the walking subject at night. Experiences, related through interviews, are not simply articulated in terms of conscious decisions – or assumed only through responsible/irresponsible understandings. Senses, feelings (and desires) are also considered, emphasising the atmospheres produced by and within these nightscape. It is not simply that the
darkness produces feelings of anxiety, but also that the light produces feelings of relational control, and enjoyment. This is the atmosphere. If we desire what we are preferred to though, ambient securities within such spaces are going to be producing other effects (Philippopoulou-Mihalopoulos 2014). Engaging with this is essential when interrogating the role of CCTV, now installed along Sydney Road in response to Jill Meagher’s violent death. How it continues to be discussed, watched, and its footage mediated through understandings of violence, has an impact beyond responsibilisation: it is creating and recreating atmospheres. How CCTV contributes to ‘sense making’ of crime in the night will subsequently change experiences of the night in multiple ways. This will be addressed in the following chapter through analysis of the CCTV footage circulated after Meagher’s death. The social construction of CCTV as ‘shedding light’ on a criminal case will be read as another tool for directing walking subjects through desire rather than through control.
Chapter Six

CCTV seeing the city

_I hope they put more cameras in here to keep people safe._
(Edith McKeon, Jill Meagher’s mother, 30<sup>th</sup> September 2012)

..._the photograph is a kind of promise that the event will continue._
(Butler 2007, 959)

This chapter’s opening epigraph, a quotation from Jill Meagher’s mother Edith McKeon, also appeared at the start of the second chapter of this thesis. When attending a public march along Sydney Road one week after Adrian Bayley had raped and murdered her daughter, McKeon articulated a strong desire for more CCTV to be installed on Sydney Road. McKeon made the statement irrespective of the demonstrated inability of CCTV to have prevented her daughter’s violent death. This tension – between a push for the expansion of CCTV as a future crime prevention measure, and its demonstrated failure to prevent crime – is the focus for this chapter. It expands on the themes discussed in the preceding chapter, which interrogated how subjects seek security through their relationship to visibility in the night. Perceptions and feelings persist that it is better to see and to be seen, rather than to remain unseen. This is regardless of the ongoing exposure to street harassment that ensues in well-lit spaces. This chapter argues that while perceptions of CCTV in the city sit alongside these practices, the utility of security cameras as a crime prevention tool is discursively sidelined. Many people are
unconvinced by the capacity of CCTV to prevent crime, however a desire to be within its gaze lingers. While it may be difficult to detach desires for CCTV from extant perceptions of spatial risk (Bennett and Gelsthorpe 1996), how CCTV may produce this spatial risk can be interrogated. This thesis has already begun to trace the effects of CCTV on perceptions and constructions of ‘the city’. In this chapter, the banality of CCTV footage – in narrative and aesthetic – will be analysed directly. Close consideration will be paid towards witnesses and spectators to CCTV ‘crime vision’, and the impact it has on reinscribing event and responsibility. How these elements intervene in senses, emotions, and desires produced within (and for) Sydney Road at night are not recognised currently in public discussion. This chapter concludes by demonstrating how CCTV footage can be used to manipulate perceptions of night, and of restricted visibility, and how a strong ethical consideration of it dissemination must therefore be made.

**The banality of CCTV**

The normalisation of security cameras within the streetscape is clear:

> It’s sort of like, whenever you walk into a [supermarket], you know, everyone since they [were] kids, I still do it, see myself on the screen and, like, *moves around*. I wave my arms around and watch that slight delay. So, I guess I’m kind of used [to being surveilled]. Surveillance is high in society. Wherever you go you’re on a camera. (Interview participant ZS)

> I’m reasonably relaxed about CCTV in general... I feel broadly protected... the benefits of it outweigh the intrusion upon my privacy. (Interview participant HW)
These statements are consistent with research conducted on the banality of CCTV in the United Kingdom (Goold, Loader and Thumala 2013). With CCTV disappearing ‘into the background of urban life’, its presence is often ‘taken-for-granted’ in the structuring of security architecture in public (2013, 986). Similarly, transition from novelty into ubiquity has occurred in Melbourne. When the City of Melbourne first installed their public CCTV network, it was one of the first in Australia. Since that time, the CCTV camera has transformed into a banal security object, one in a network of many that overlap and overlay the city:

I remember [the installation of CCTV in Melbourne] being a bit controversial. I remember there was Liberty Victoria [a civil liberties advocacy group] talking, you know, 'People don’t need to be surveilled'. I mean it sounds crazy now because it’s like such an expectation. Well it’s just a kind of an assumption I think. You don’t even really think about it... but at the time it was controversial that we would have this CCTV in this street. (WF, former employee, City of Melbourne) (emphasis added)

CCTV has indeed become a commonplace element of Melbourne’s architecture. While the City of Melbourne has 68 cameras within its network, this number is far exceeded by the number of privately owned and operated cameras at the periphery of (and overlapping) spaces under municipal monitoring. In a time of ubiquitous surveillance, subjects neither actively engage nor actively fret over CCTV (Andrejevic 2012). This became apparent in my own research in multiple ways. Subjects shared expectations that: CCTV would be present in a space, CCTV would provide evidence post-crime, and that CCTV is harmless. This final element is the most intriguing, as its harmlessness is often understood through the context of its non-intervention in violence. Rather than challenging the social and economic
implications of a failed crime prevention technology through its non-intervention, this has been repeatedly transformed into something in CCTV’s favour.

Besides the clear assumption that crimes in public places will be rendered visible by CCTV (that is, able to be discerned through visual surveillance), it is worth noting, firstly, that public CCTV was discussed in all interviews with relative ease. Banality extends beyond the physical presence of CCTV. Strong feelings or views about the impact of CCTV did not emerge; the tone of discussions remained professional and rational. The ‘reasonably relaxed’ public perception of CCTV is made through CCTV’s apparently benevolent character. CCTV becomes wholesome. Useful either as a crime prevention tool or as an evidentiary tool, there is apparently nothing more to it. Its once-alleged threat to privacy has been discursively erased, and its ability to control atmosphere denied:

It is used as evidence gathering if there is to be a prosecution by the police. (LP, Director, City of Melbourne)

It’s a crime prevention tool or an evidence-gaining tool... we will be able to gather evidence from it. (Councillor ML, Moreland City Council)

What is notable about these responses is that the rationale of councils using public CCTV has extended beyond crime prevention. This expansion in utility is in keeping with most surveillance technologies (Lippert 2009). Providing a secondary – and perhaps more compelling – element to its benevolence, CCTV is now also seen as proactive ‘eyes on the street’, and as a reliable and trustworthy witness:
I think that efficiency is going to be probably the greatest benefit and then if there is crime occurring, any crimes really, we will be able to gather evidence from it. (QB, Manager, Moreland City Council)

I think really where it becomes useful, like the Jill Meagher thing... is giving the public something to see. (Interview participant BR)

In their policy documents, the City of Melbourne and Moreland City Council assume that the primary value of CCTV networks is to prevent crime. As opposed to assisting in police investigations, prioritising prevention is a necessary distinction for the councils to make due to their jurisdictional responsibility to create ‘safer communities’. And yet, as the excerpts above indicate, respondents in this study did not perceive CCTV’s primary, or most useful, function in this way:

I don’t think it’s a crime prevention tool. I don’t believe it has any difference actually to a person who is going to commit a crime. I think if they’re going to commit a crime, they’re going to commit the crime regardless. (Interview participant BR)

I don’t think they think it’s going to prevent crime. Nobody thinks it’s going to prevent crime. But the State government will tell you it’s going to prevent crime. But nobody believes it, I don’t think, as far as I know. (Councillor CG, Moreland City Council)

CCTV cameras are categorised as having retroactive value, in that they work to record and situate a criminal event. This is particularly the case when navigating perceived spaces of risk, such as public transport platforms, or at night:

You know CCTV on [train]stations, you often see two young hoodlums being pictured – ‘Have you seen these men?’ – who previously bashed some poor bloke and afterward everyone rings up and ‘dobs’ them in... so there is a function for it, but that's not much good in terms of prevention. (P2, Brunswick Residents Network, focus group)
It’s great that you can apprehend people. But there’s no immediate help. (Interview participant ZS)

Rather than working to reduce the utility of CCTV in crime prevention rhetoric, its evidentiary purpose expands proactively:

We’re hoping it will be used by police to gather evidence. (QB, Manager, Moreland City Council)

So, if there is, well you don’t get armed robberies these days quite as much, but if there is something like that and someone jumps in a getaway car and it’s on CCTV, we can see their number plates. If there is a hit and run, we can see their number plates. So, we think that it’s going to be really useful in gathering information. (Councillor ML, Moreland City Council) (emphasis added)

For the recently established Moreland City Council CCTV network, there are no employees tasked with watching live footage. While the ‘images generated from the CCTV system will be stored on a computer to be located at the Brunswick Police Station’, live monitoring is only addressed in the policy as a possibility (Moreland City Council 2014b, 3):

Ours is called a passive system where it can be monitored but essentially, they’re [sic] not. (QB, Manager, Moreland City Council)

While Victoria Police have the option of viewing footage live, restricted resources reduce the likelihood of actual monitoring:

The cops say, ‘We don’t have the time to look at them… we go back and look and see what happened.’ (P2, Brunswick Residents Network, focus group)
As with the City of Melbourne, Moreland City Council employees who participated in interviews are engaged with current research, and understand the limited effectiveness of CCTV to act as deterrent without live monitoring. Interviews conducted with residents or users of city space reaffirm this doubtful perception of passive CCTV as a crime prevention tool:71

I don't really know what recording, like especially if no one knows that they're being recorded, like if there are random CCTV cameras and they're not very evident, how is that a deterrent, you know? (Interview participant ZS)

I don't think a piece of grainy footage did much for [solving the death of Meagher]. (Interview participant BR)

Rather than these adjusted expectations about CCTV systems serving to undermine its effectiveness (as being an unreliable intervention), CCTV’s limitations are dismissed. This emerges through the rationalisation that these failings are not significant enough to divest. Prior to the evaluation of Moreland City Council’s CCTV network, its outcome was assumed to be negligible to the ongoing existence of the network:

If there’s [sic] no real clear findings (in an evaluation of CCTV installed along Sydney Road)... [If] it doesn’t give any answers to that critical question, ‘Well does it help prevent crime?’ for example, I don’t imagine there will be any changes and I imagine we'll just continue with the system. (QB, Manager, Moreland City Council)

71 An interview with QB of Moreland City Council revealed that considerable public engagement with the CCTV installation project was sourced from outside of the municipality, including people from ‘all parts of the state’. This was considered to be due to the high-profile nature of Meagher’s death, and the ongoing spotlight created by Herald Sun newspaper journalists. Alongside this, the ongoing supporters of CCTV investment on Sydney Road are now the daytime traders. This ties neatly back to the analysis of CCTV along King Street in Chapter Four, as primarily working to facilitate daytime economies.
The failure to intervene is also reconfigured as a triumph for privacy considerations:

Because I feel like, especially private CCTV, it’s never actually going to get watched unless something dramatic happens... I don’t perceive it as a threat to my own privacy or security... I presume no one will ever go through CCTV of Sydney Road at one in the morning and book me for flicking a cigarette rather than putting it in the bin. Because it doesn’t matter. (Interview participant HW)

So, they’re not monitoring it, they’ll use it if they need to, if something happens. I think, yeah, that’s great. (Interview participant ZS)

The limited concern over CCTV in Melbourne is in line with interpretations made of security cameras in other jurisdictions. Goold, Loader and Thumala comment that CCTV was considered by many in their research as something that ‘does not invade everyday routines and consciousness, but can be trusted to monitor social life and step in to assist when the fabric of that life is ruptured’ (2013, 986). Discursively understood as noninterventionist and non-invasive, or specifically targeted in its response, other consequences of organisational practices and technological influence are removed from debate. As an effectively ‘banalised’ security object, this is problematic:

Objects matter – in terms of the ways they both shape relationships and obscure the exercise of state authority. When objects – particularly security objects – cease to be noticed, those effects can be significantly heightened. (Goold, Loader and Thumala 2013, 978)

The following chapter will engage critically with organisational and proactive uses of CCTV arising from banality (including securitisation of city spaces). This chapter engages with the incidental gaze and the reproduced footage of cities. Current
imaginations of CCTV demonstrate an extension of banality into the perceived capacity of CCTV to ‘act’. The expectation that CCTV might meaningfully prevent crime has been removed, without considering its other, potentially sinister, actions. CCTV is absolved of responsibility, without its culpability interrogated. Parallel to this, while the presence of CCTV is met with indifference – in language and in mode of speaking – its intentional removal remains socially unacceptable. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, a recent evaluation undertaken by Moreland City Council of the CCTV network along Sydney Road suggested the cameras were ineffective (2016a). Regardless, any recommendation that the cameras be removed was met with public outrage, and ‘horror’ from Jill Meagher’s parents (Masanauskas 2016b, no pagination). The removal of CCTV equates to the creation of danger.

Re-emerging within this paradox – an understanding that CCTV may not prevent crime, but outrage should it be removed – is the public investment in CCTV through desire. CCTV cannot be conceived of as facilitating anything other than desirous and benevolent watching. To adapt Hannah Arendt’s seminal work on banality, CCTV’s ‘diligence’ in watching becomes ‘in no way criminal’, as it, and we, ‘never realised what [else it] was doing’ (1994, 287). CCTV is understood by reference to a paternal role (this familial relation evoking, for a moment, the preliminary constructions of ‘Big Brother’ as the ‘friendly eye in the sky’). One female interviewee, who was in favour of CCTV (yet recognised its limited capacity in crime prevention), noted that calling her father when walking at night also made her feel safer:

The fact that someone can vouch for where I am. And probably something... like, nothing has ever gone wrong, but the fact that if it did, at least... there would be some sort of footprint of it, and it
wouldn’t go unnoticed that I was not, you know, in my usual routine, or where I would expect to have been. (Interview participant BD)

The attachment to safety through visibility is a recurring theme, as documented in the previous chapter. Here, though, the relationship is less direct. Rather than assuming the capacity of visibility to prevent harm, the interview participant recognises her visibility (in this case, through audio) assuring her traceability. Or, that she could not vanish, as Meagher did, walking out of the frame of the static CCTV camera. As an object, CCTV ‘follows orders’ (Arendt 1994). Unlike the subject’s father, though, CCTV may watch female subjects in such a way that notions of its ‘benevolence’ disavow its responsibility to protect, as well as the ease with which CCTV can be used as a medium to facilitate voyeurism. Tensions in night spaces around normalising, for female subjects, the desire to be seen, fail to consider the subjective ways in which a woman is seen. Historically, CCTV ‘has little relevance for the security of women’ (Norris and Armstrong 1999, 174). As Norris and Armstrong continue:

CCTV fosters a male gaze in the more conventional and voyeuristic sense: with its pan-tilt and zoom facilities, the thighs and cleavages of scantily clad women are an easy target for those male operators so motivated. (1999, 174)

The potential use of CCTV to gaze voyeuristically upon women continues to be documented, demonstrating the ‘scopic regime’ of its network as amenable to such watching (Dinham 2017; Ferret Journalists 2016; Sendyka 2012). CCTV infrastructure and its control rooms are not removed from broader social contexts for violence, and so often enables ongoing ‘ways of seeing’ and violence against women. Through this lens, subjecting a woman to unnecessary and voyeuristic
surveillance may be rationalised as acceptable due to persistent filmic representations of women as hypersexual (see Clover 1987; de Lauretis 1984; Sendyka 2012). In the contrast, the recording of a woman who is subject to visible violence by another still risk being labelled as ‘domestic’, and external to public interest. To expand from the actuarial gaze, CCTV cameras, networks, and operators facilitate the construction of threats against women through this relational visibility (Brighenti 2010, 49). Ways of seeing continue to be manifest in culture, which continues to normalise many forms of objectifying the walking female. CCTV networks not only elicit active voyeurism, if women choose to walk under the gaze of CCTV – as they do in the light – such networks will fail to protect them:

Well it’s the false sense of security. So, if I’m a female walking down the street thinking I’m going to use this road because it’s safer [due to CCTV], because if I’m a victim I’ll be picked up [on the footage]. And its lulling you into a false sense of security. (Robert McAlister, head of City Coordination and Civil Contingencies, City of Westminster)

Desires to be watched, and to be traceable, coalesce in a broader rhetoric of hope that CCTV will intervene in future circumstances, even where it has historically failed. Interview subjects recognised the unlikelihood of CCTV to prevent violent crime. Populist media platforms and state government representatives, however, still influentially invest in a sense of its potential. A media story about the delay in installing CCTV along Sydney Road after Jill Meagher’s murder, for example, ended by stating, ‘The North-West Metro region, which includes Moreland, recorded a 22

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72 While CCTV has historically been a public space surveillance device, the latest Victorian State Budget announced plans to invest in cameras in homes where family violence has been recorded. I have written on the risks of this elsewhere (Overington 2017).
per cent increase in rapes in 2013-14’ (Ainsworth 2014, no pagination). More explicitly, an article from The Age newspaper published a story with the title ‘Brunswick sex attacks highlight CCTV camera delay’ (Toscano 2014). CCTV networks operate as a safety net, not for the women moving through the zones of surveillance, but for those invested in capturing the anomalous predator who may also traverse the space.

Narrating mystery

The disappearance of Jill Meagher and, later, the discovery of her body, dominated front-page headlines of state and national newspapers from Monday 24th September 2012 until 30th September 2012. Particular moments in the case attracted surges in interest, such as Adrian Bayley’s arrest on Thursday 27th, which resulted in Jill Meagher’s name being mentioned on social media every 11 seconds the following morning (Lowe 2012). Two days prior to this, the release of CCTV footage on Tuesday 25th September was also significant (see Figure 16).73 Within two hours of its release by Victoria Police, footage of Meagher and Bayley walking past the Duchess Boutique at 517 Sydney Road had been shared on Twitter and Facebook approximately 7,500 times; by Saturday, it had been viewed on these platforms by several million users (Lowe 2012). Most of the participants in my study volunteered that they had watched the footage upon its release:

I watched it, everyone else watched it, but not really with any clear intention. Just sort of, well this is a thing that I should probably see,

73 See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HiBck13rpcA.
just in case something happens as a result of it. (Interview participant HW)

Released by the Victoria Police as ‘the last moment’ of Meagher’s known movements, a ‘cinematic ordering’ of events occurred, with Meagher being visually confirmed as what she already was – a missing person – the moment she walked out of the frame of the CCTV camera at 517 Sydney Road (Zimmer 2015, 157). The front page of the *Herald Sun* paper printed in bold for their Wednesday edition (the morning after the footage was released), ‘CCTV snaps Jill just 450m from home and then ... SHE WAS GONE’ (Dowsley and Flower 2012, 1).
The footage, as selectively illustrated by the images above, runs for 2 minutes and 31 seconds. Positioned high within the shop and set back from its front entrance of the Duchess Boutique, the lens of the CCTV camera records a circumscribed space around this doorway. It is clear, from its position at a high angle and slightly to the right of the door, the doorway is the intended focus. An entry red carpet runs on the ground from the door and into the shop, below the camera. On either side of the camera are racks of gowns, sorted by colour and transitioning from softer purples on the left to deeper blues on the right. Three headless black mannequins face away from the camera and towards the street, gazing dutifully from the shop's windows. The two on the right are dressed in white, while the one of the left is deep orange. A sandwich board rests against the left of the door on the inside, while a sign in the
front window also faces away from the camera and towards the street. The shop is well-lit, with light coming from multiple sources (two lights on either side of the doorway emit a white glow). Beyond the door, the street outside is shades of grey and black. A white line runs along the road, yet there is no other clear distinction to mark where the footpath ends and the road begins. Above the door, the numbers 517 are pasted in the same shade of orange as the dress. The numbers are facing away from the camera, and appear as though reflected in a mirror.

In the first second of the camera footage, two figures can be seen walking on the footpath, from the left of the screen. They walk in unison, with the figure closest to the camera carrying a white plate and black backpack. As these figures move across the frame of the camera, they are obscured partially by the two mannequins in white dresses. At this point, a third figure appears. The person walks past the couple; there is no noticeable exchange. The new figure is Adrian Bayley, who wears a blue hoodie, baggy blue jeans and white shoes. His head is looking down towards the footpath in front of him as he walks, at a faster pace than that of the couple.

After Bayley exits the frame, the footage becomes still. Apart from the small time-stamp at the very bottom of the camera’s screen, the footage could be mistaken as paused, or as a still image. Eventually, at the very top of the frame, flashes of light can be seen across the screen. As a yellow Melbourne taxi moves from left to right, it becomes clearer that the flashes preceding were the headlights from cars driving along Sydney Road. For around 50 seconds, the shop front and footpath remain still while cars dissonantly appear and disappear. I remember watching this footage.
when it was first released in 2012, straining my eyes to see something ‘useful’. During these moments of relative stillness, my eyes were trained on the doorway, even though nothing could appear here without passing from left or right of the frame. While cars in the background reminded me that time was passing in the footage, several times I clicked the screen to see if the video had paused.

At 57 seconds in, or at 1:41:47am on the CCTV camera’s time-stamp, Bayley reappears. Walking this time from left to right, his head is upright, as he turns and looks across the road. His pace is slower than before, and he has one hand in his pocket. He appears to look at a man wearing a red jacket as they cross paths, again near the white mannequins. Cars move in the background, and a white tram follows the direction of the man in the red jumper. As the image returns again to sporadic stillness, cars move in and out of the background until a fourth man, wearing a dark coloured top and jeans also walks from right to left. A glitch in the seamlessness of the recording means that he jumps from being in line with the mannequins to immediately walking past the doorway. His head turns towards the shopfront as he exits the frame; he is the first person to gaze into the well-lit shop. His head continues to turn, as he seems to glance backwards. For the third time, the streetscape becomes still as if an image, until its illusory stasis is ruptured by yet another figure walking from right to left. Wearing an oversized and baggy black jumper, this figure carries a satchel on their right shoulder. Their head is cut from the camera’s view as it lines up with the silver frame of the door. Yellow taxis again pass in the background.
At 1 minute 47 seconds, or 1:42:22am of the CCTV camera's time-stamp, a slight movement from the right of the screen signals more walking figures will soon enter the frame. Adrian Bayley, the man in the blue hoodie, has returned, and pauses in between the mannequins in white dresses. He is looking away from the camera, and appears focused on something. As he continues walking, Jill Meagher, wearing black, is revealed to be standing near him. While Bayley moves from right to left, Meagher initially steps away from him, and almost out of frame, before also continuing to walk from right to left. Meagher is carrying a black bag, wears a black jacket, stockings, and high heels, but her head is excluded from the image by the upper metal frame of the shop door. Bayley walks at a slower pace than in his first two sightings by the camera. His head is turned towards Meagher, and he appears to be speaking to her, as evidenced in some small hand movements. While he moves towards the left of the screen, Bayley pauses again, before moving out of frame. At this time, Meagher's figure has also paused. She is standing at the edge of the doorway, and is holding her phone in both hands. On closer inspection, Bayley's head is captured in frame, just at the very edge of the shop front's window. He stands there, looking at Meagher, for around 8 seconds, before disappearing. The woman stays focused on her phone until 2 minutes 20 seconds of the video time-stamp, when she turns her head, just as the man in the dark coloured top did, back to where she was walking from. Returning her head forwards, Jill Meagher slowly walks out of the camera frame. The shop front again becomes still, and remains still for another 4 seconds, before the footage abruptly cuts black.

As mentioned, between the release of this CCTV footage on Tuesday 25th and the arrest of Adrian Bayley on Thursday 27th September, this short clip was viewed by
large numbers of people in Melbourne, across Australia, and internationally. During these days, the ‘man in the blue hoodie’ was unidentified. Viewing the footage at this time drew similarities with watching other films of mystery, in that there is no clear ‘narrative closure or resolution’ (Young 2010, 152). Meagher and the unknown man simply walk from the screen, and vanish. One man who identified himself in the footage intensified this non-resolution. Interviewed by the media on Wednesday 26th, Daniel Gregson said he saw ‘neither a guy in a blue hoodie nor Jill walk past’ (Flower and Dowsley 2012, no pagination). An air of mystery hovered during these days, and the collective narration of the event in both mainstream and social media actively tried to resolve the story. As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, some focused heavily on the footage to spot ‘clues’ emerging, such as Meagher ‘looking nervously back down the footpath’ (Oakes 2012, 4), and being ‘coached’ by the man in the hoodie ‘like you would a child’ (Butt 2012, 4). Others even considered that this man had been holding a gun to coerce Meagher. One female interviewee recalled, ‘[Media and friends] said, ‘Oh, there’s a gun.’ (Interview participant BR).

With so many compelled to watch, the amount of commentary relating to this footage grew exponentially. The CCTV footage worked ‘first as evidence and then as infotainment’ (Norris 2012, 34). Watching the ‘predatory’ figure of the unidentified man in the footage captured the attention of women who had had similar experiences in Brunswick. Catherine Deveny, a prominent social commentator, posted on Twitter after watching the footage upon its release, claiming that it had been Bayley who had tried to drag her off her bike in July 2012 as she rode along Sydney Road (Flower and Dowsley 2012):
He was alone. On foot and I described him as ‘Early 30s sandy hair, jeans and blue hoodie’. I just saw the footage now. Same guy.’ (Deveny, in: Flower and Dowsley 2012, no pagination)

Further stories emerged, each describing moments where women experienced unwelcome encounters with someone like the ‘man in the blue hoodie’:

Then there were lots and lots of stories that came out of people who had been approached by a guy of a vaguely similar description, and they'd had incidents that they hadn’t reported. (Interview participant BR, female)

On social media platforms, the multiplicity of ‘near miss’ narratives magnified what these images were telling its audience. Dissolving the distance between ‘dangerous individual’ and spectator, the blue hooded figure lurking beyond the frames of surveillance had an acceleration of affect. Unidentified until his arrest on Thursday, the figure of Bayley personified, for many, the threat of violence experienced in the darkness of Sydney Road and Brunswick. Similar to watching a fictional serial killer movie, ‘[t]he film’s suspense resides in the question of whether anyone will discover the identity of the hidden killer and prevent them from killing every individual’ (Young 2010, 76). As one female interview participant recalled when watching the footage at the time, her face grimaced as she shook her head:

Researcher: How did you feel looking at the footage?

...not good. (Interview participant BD)

Another participant, who stated that she had not changed her habits during the days following Meagher’s abduction, described her friend – who was travelling overseas at the time – as being upset at the coverage:
The Jill Meagher thing, that was actually happening when I was house sitting for my friend on Sydney Road. And my friend, who was away overseas and the reason I was looking after the apartment [on Hope Street in Brunswick], she got really upset by it and was really concerned about me during that situation because she had seen bits on the news. She was in Europe and the overseas news over there was focused on the fact that it was an Irish woman. (Interview participant BR, female)

Narrative involves the construction of a ‘temporally ordered [and] morally suggestive statement about events and/or actions in the life of one or more protagonists’ (Carrabine 2016, 138). Each incidental moment, in the context of a woman vanishing, becomes more sinister. Speculation transforms into factual knowledge, with ‘individual and collective memories… bound up with what remains’ in the image archive (Carrabine 2014, 154). ‘Meaning making’ from the recording of a shopfront that incidentally captured passing figures on the street therefore intensifies to become the authoritative account of Meagher’s disappearance. On Tuesday 25th September 2012, CCTV footage extended the early morning hours of Saturday 22nd September, provoking with it both a ‘visceral immediacy and a disturbing distance to the events’ (Carrabine 2014, 149). Jill Meagher had vanished from Sydney Road while others continued to traverse the same footpath. Her disappearance belonged to the past, though with the sense of threat still immediate. Assuming the gaze of the camera during these days, viewers began also to assume a ‘spectatorial dominance’, and subsequently made the assumption that they could recognise, through analysis of the visual, the impending danger that Meagher did not (Little 2014, 401). Even with this knowledge though, fear persisted that the ‘evil’ of Bayley’s character could still be too strong:

I remember having a conversation with the taxi driver and I was saying to him, ‘Oh just drop me off here’, and he said, ‘No.’ He turned
off the meter at that point and actually drove me up right up to my door because he was like, ‘There’s a girl, she’s gone missing, they don’t know what’s happened to her’.74 (Interview participant BR)

The readily-available CCTV footage contrasted with no corporeal presence of Meagher or Bayley on Sydney Road. Atmospheres of the night and its vibrancy were significantly disrupted:

I recall that week Sydney Road was so quiet... the place was dead. None of the bars – like, the Penny Black has usually got a queue going outside around the corner, same with the Retreat – neither of them had any lines outside... nobody was going out on Sydney Road. It was so, so dead, for the first time. (Interview participant BR)

Once Jill Meagher’s body was recovered, and Adrian Bayley was charged with her rape and murder, the genre of experience in watching this CCTV film shifted. With a resolution ‘achieved’ and the fate of Meagher known, the clip acquired a retrospective temporality rather than the uncanny immediacy that had allowed it to extend its implication of actuality beyond its time-stamp. Rather than reducing the number of people who watched the clip, however, its repeated circulation across the Internet meant that it stayed (and still is) readily accessible:

I mean, it stayed present for a long time. It was in the media for a really long time too. (Interview participant ZS)

Security footage just kept appearing on TV all the time. (Interview participant BR)

Sustained and amplified coverage of this criminal event, unsurprisingly, caused ‘repercussions and distortions in other social fields, such as the political and legal

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74 Continuing with the previous chapter’s argument, that a male taxi driver assumed to ‘know’ better than a female subject in the night is normalised, and transformed into discourses of care, rather than recognising the potential fear associated with being unable to get out of a car.
domains’ (Brighenti 2010, 83). News media, social media, and the media of CCTV imagery inevitably contributed significantly to policy reforms and the installation of public CCTV by Moreland City Council on Sydney Road, addressed in the introductory chapter of this thesis. As retold by one interview participant, who often stayed in an apartment above 517 Sydney Road, the striking and perpetual public death of Jill Meagher had substantially affective impacts:

Things were really blown up in the media and things got really crazy after that happened. Like, I would come downstairs to go to work, and there would be hordes of people with flowers [see Figure 17] and tears and rosaries, and just in utter hysteria like I’d never seen before. I’d step outside and have to wade through this mass of people just like, you know, screaming at the skies. (Interview participant ZS)

Figure 17 Flowers left at the Duchess Boutique (John Harvest: Herald Sun)
Existing media ‘regimes of visuality determine not only what one sees, but also what one does’ (Pugliese 2013, 572). Such extensive circulation of CCTV footage, as attached to larger discursive news media narratives of violence in the city, inevitably influences perceptions of risk and danger; ‘knowing’ that a space is dangerous is produced through such media consumption. In the aftermath of Meagher’s death, night-time in the city was (re)marked as an unsettled space for women and in doing so, directly changed behaviours, in pronounced ways:

My current housemate... she’s from Perth and she’s been living in Melbourne for 5 weeks. She actually had an incident the other night on Lygon Street where a guy was, like, yelling stuff at her and got in her face. She was quite shaken when she got home, and we were like, ‘You should probably report that because even though you don’t think anything of it, really, other than, that was a creepy incident that happened, it’s probably good that the police know.’ And I don’t think prior to that Jill Meagher incident anybody I know would’ve said something like that. Because it was after that that a lot of people came out with, ‘Oh you know, we should’ve reported these things.’ (Interview participant BR)

Importantly, the greater focus on the construction of the image itself as attached to violence is where analysis of CCTV footage departs from traditional news media analysis. CCTV images and videos represent a quantity of intentional and unintentional political manoeuvres that are realised through the construction of a security camera in the architecture of the city (Brighenti 2010). The footage presents a flattened image of the city, and so the CCTV image becomes ‘timeless... de-politicised, de-historicised, and convey[ing] nothing of the problems and tensions associated with the practice of surveillance’ (Finn 2012, 74). The CCTV narrative of Bayley and Meagher has not, ‘ended’, not only due to the continuing accessibility of the initial footage on the Internet; in March 2013, a new CCTV narrative of the event was released.
Stitched into the scene of violence

One participant interviewed for this study was recorded as he walked with his girlfriend past the Duchess Boutique on the night Meagher died. His image was on the CCTV footage released by the Victoria Police on Tuesday 25th September 2012. They are the couple who are the first to walk past the shop in the clip. While only fleetingly in the camera’s gaze, he – along with the other figures – was assumed by police and news media to have knowingly walked near Bayley and Meagher. Walking home from a dinner party, this was the usual route he took with his girlfriend on evenings like this, as ZS’s girlfriend lived above the Duchess Boutique, in an apartment on the first floor:

We would walk down there every night, and in terms of social life, parties and stuff... Sydney Road is kind of the most direct route to take. So, late night, it is well-lit, you feel safe along it. (Interview participant ZS).

It was not until Tuesday, when Victoria Police released the CCTV footage, that ZS became actively involved in the investigation into Meagher's disappearance. Before the video was released, he had not identified any of his actions or movements as connected to a criminal event:

Someone sent me, or they posted on Facebook and tagged me in the post, and my girlfriend at the time, and [asked], 'Is this you guys? It looks like you guys.' And um, it’s a very blurry image, so you kind of question whether it is... And that was the first I’d heard of this too. I had no idea that this was going on even though it hit the front page. And I’m pretty sure the front page of, might have been the Herald Sun, had everybody, like a line-up of everyone [see Figure 18].
Other friends of ZS also did not immediately recognise him or his girlfriend in the video:

There were two of my friends who were walking home from the dinner party who none of us registered as them for a couple of days. I think someone was like, ‘Oh that plate looks really familiar,’ and then like, ‘Oh that’s probably [them].’ (Interview participant HW)

Once he identified himself in the CCTV footage, ZS called Crime Stoppers. This was due to the:

demand in the news and in the papers and every bit of press pretty much everywhere that came out that day was just like, ‘These people must come forward.’

Invited to attend an interview with the police at the Brunswick Police Station, ZS elaborated further on his experiences:

And I just felt terrible because I didn’t have anything to say. I did not note, there were just two people walking down the street, separate from each other, and [I had] no idea what was going to happen. I
couldn’t help them in any way. I couldn’t identify anyone. I’d been drinking. That made me feel even worse that I had to go into the police and say I was quite drunk and so I wasn’t really paying attention.

... the detective who interviewed [me], I felt like I was wasting his time. And I could tell that he knew it was a waste of time ... he had people who had come forth and who had known the guy, who could probably supply more information about his actions than somebody who just walked past him. I don’t know.

While initially intrigued by becoming a ‘mild celebrity’, ZS commented on the impact of CCTV footage emerging from the ‘background of urban life’ (Goold, Loader and Thumala 2013, 985):

Wherever you go you’re on a camera. So, it wasn't anything new to me. It was more the context that was scary about it, as opposed to being asked, 'Did you hear the screams? You were upstairs with your window open and it was just around Hope Street.' and just being like, 'No, I didn’t.’ I felt, yeah... I felt terrible that I couldn’t help or do anything.

It was not until ZS’s night was retold to him through the lens of the CCTV camera that his experience of the night – at the time entirely ordinary – was stitched into moments of violence and responsibility. As ZS’s responses demonstrate, ‘emphasis upon the visual reduces the body to surface, marginalises the multiple sensuousness of the body and impoverishes the relationship of the body to its environment’ (Urry 2010, 391). How ZS experienced the early morning of Saturday 22nd September 2012 at the time no longer mattered. CCTV had assumed the authoritative atmosphere for that night, and, in its reproduction as crime narrative, had rewritten the ‘appropriate’ lived experience for ZS. CCTV footage ‘produces more than it reproduces’ (Carney 2010, 18) (emphasis in original). Its power to reconfigure
narratives of walking home at night is made exceptionally clear in this personal narrative. As a situated witness within the footage, the questions posed by ZS’s friends – if he heard ‘screams’ – symbolise how we legitimise CCTV images to produce memory. Assuming that ZS would be able to see what was before him, what he was part of, his friends’ interrogations mark the ongoing social assumption that violence, when it occurs, (specifically violence against women) will be obvious. As ZS’s account demonstrates to us, it is anything but obvious. The decision to drink at night, as discussed in Chapter Four, is common among young people and often part of producing the vibrancy of ‘the night’. Yet, when violence occurs, the individual’s decision to drink becomes focus; here, ZS chastises himself for drinking to the point of reducing his impact as a witness to violence, even though he himself was not the cause of violence. To reconfigure the banality of the night (in this case, walking home) into a narrative of impending violence will only further ‘haunt us with the anxieties and fears that such investment involves’ (Little 2014, 407).

CCTV is celebrated as an evidentiary tool, as something that can successfully document and resolve a mystery:

> I think the great thing about CCTV is that retrospectively you can bring things back to life, or you miss things that you can then drill into. Or you can start to look at themes and patterns, and link people and places up. (Robert McAlister, Westminster City Council)

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75 This is particularly the case when a woman being spoken to by a man, uninvited, on the street is normalised, and any feeling of discomfort experienced by the woman internalised as guilt. This was discussed in detail in the previous chapter.
When this quote is read in the context of ZS’s experiences, the ‘great thing’ about
CCTV can also become harmful. Similar to the sensations of guilt expressed by those
who witnessed James Bulger as he was led from a shopping centre (and to a location
where he would be brutally murdered) in 1993, ZS is also affected: ‘I felt terrible
that I couldn’t help or do anything.’ Feeling terrible is retrospective, as was
documented in the Bulger case:

> When each witness discovered what they had seen, they experienced
> trauma and guilt. The moment is less one of *realisation*; it is rather
> one of reinterpretation, as the memory of the scene is recoded and a
> new version of events grafted onto the original one. (Young 1996,
> 131) (emphasis in original)

We continue to assert that ‘seeing is believing’, and we continue to be seduced by
CCTV without seeking to measure these experiences. Such trauma, after being
stitched into a narrative of violence, is not currently considered when increasing
public investment in CCTV. Walking subjects who have been in the vicinity of a crime
are, in retrospect, forcibly transformed. Marked by the authoritative CCTV spectator,
and made complicit by recognising themselves through this security camera lens,
others become witnesses, though only through acknowledging a failure in their
perceived responsibilities. The ongoing circulation of CCTV footage through media
platforms fails to ethically recognise the traumatic effects of such ‘intentional
reproduction’ (Biber 2011).

In the context of this violence, CCTV images shift perceptions of those captured
within its frames. It also extends to influence perceptions of the family and friends
of those in the footage. A friend of ZS recalled how he felt when watching the footage:
I was pretty glad it was two of them rather than one of them [walking home]. Because it was – I don’t think it was explicitly stated but it was implicitly, that this is where Jill Meagher passed through, just before she died. And so, I was glad you know that [it was them] walking home together rather than just [the female friend] because it could have just as easily been her. (Interview participant HW)

These re-encounters of their ‘everyday’ through the mediated surveillance lens illustrates the power of such images to destabilise feelings of safety in the city. Already plagued by ambient insecurities of the night, particularly in relation to gender, impacts are likely to vary. For example, watching a dark street mediated through a screen while at home can strengthen a sense of the responsibility of a woman to remain home, or to otherwise protect herself. In this footage, violence against women is predicated on ‘women’s weakness, dereliction of behaviour, and/or displacement from the safety of home’ (Little 2014, 398). To be physically absent from this space of danger and thus absent from this narrative of death, or to be walking with a male companion rather than alone, meaningfully re-establishes for the female viewer their ongoing responsibility to remain in a domestic setting for guaranteed safety.76 The fear of uncontrollable encounters or attracting the wrong ‘gaze’ as discussed in the previous chapter, extends beyond the night-time economy and permeates the walking female’s consciousness at night. Compelled to watch another woman as she leaves the haven of light emitted by CCTV, a female subject captured by the screen loses her sense of control. This is illustrated by the taxi driver insisting on dropping interview participant BR to her door, despite her request to be dropped at the corner. Meagher is walking at night ‘irresponsibly’. As these images are interpreted through particular scopic regimes, the moment

76 As stated in previous chapters, women are far more likely to experience sexual violence in a residential setting, and by someone they know intimately.
Meagher steps away from the camera and becomes untraceable, she submits to losing her life. It is in this moment that CCTV reimagines victims as belonging to its own narrative of violence in the city; CCTV is the storyteller and Meagher is rendered merely the protagonist of a story told about her. Desires for the presence of a record also does more than establish hope in visibility. Underlying this are suggestions that there is a knowable and measurable world.

Consuming CCTV footage of ‘every night’ activities inevitably produces an intensifying effect of the scenes it records, whilst also reaffirming the legitimate presence of the camera and its authority to watch:

But really it comes back down, you wouldn’t put a camera somewhere where it wasn’t needed. (RE, Manager, City of Melbourne)

CCTV as a banal security technology is profoundly productive. Rather than disappearing into the background, it changes the background. It alters and creates new atmospheres of the city, in line with the ‘epistemic wallpaper’ (Thrift 2008). In such a practice, the effect of CCTV to unsettle the night for some becomes more evident. CCTV footage implies a truthful record.

**Narrating violence**

*Such non-knowledges serve as the motor of control itself: knowledge produces ignorance; forecasts produce uncertainty; law produces crime; visibility produces the invisible, and so on.*

(Bottomley and Moore 2007, 181)
Regimes of visibility (re)produce certain social truths. While visibility incorporates more than the visual, it continues to emphasise the influence of aesthetics, in that how an image is constructed produces atmospheres. While affect is considerably influenced by the social norms and hierarchies that inform such encounters, this should not detract from continuing to study how the film itself is produced, particularly as CCTV footage traverses between fact and fiction not only in media coverage but also in film quality. Studying the overall narratives and effects produced by clips from CCTV cameras helps demonstrate how surveilled city spaces at night work to produce certain ‘ways of seeing’ that amplify existing assumptions about darkness and danger (Berger 1972). It also contributes to an ongoing understanding regarding the ability of CCTV’s ability to reassemble itself as essential in providing light for Melbourne.77

Adrian Bayley confessed to having raped and killed Jill Meagher after his arrest on Thursday 27th September 2012. However, he pleaded not guilty to the charge of murder and to two additional counts of rape during a committal hearing in Melbourne Magistrate’s Court on 12th March 2013 (Collins 2013). The following day, the magistrate authorised the release to the public of new and extensive CCTV footage derived from numerous CCTV cameras in locations all over the city, both private and public, tracing both Adrian Bayley and Jill Meagher as they moved through Melbourne on the evening of Friday 21st September 2012 (Oakes 2013). Victoria Police had compiled this footage during its investigation into Jill Meagher’s

77 Outlined in Chapter Three, my own reading of the CCTV footage – interposed with references to theory – is still informed by, and producing specific scopic regimes. As Brighenti notes, ‘as far as the visual is concerned, there is no innocent eye’ (2010, 13). Throughout the following sections, I critique the lack of transparency of the visual regime in CCTV. It is pertinent therefore that I recognise how my own ‘way of seeing’ is constructed.
death (Oakes 2013). With this evidence, Adrian Bayley was committed to stand trial on 30\textsuperscript{th} September 2013, illustrating the magistrate’s perception that their evidence was compelling enough to result in a conviction (Russell 2013). Similar to the dissemination of the CCTV footage from the Duchess Boutique that had been in circulation since Meagher went missing in 2012, this new CCTV material was circulated in the news media. 7\textit{News}, a national nightly news program, used significant sections of the visual material to lead their evening bulletin with the story, \textit{Retracing Jill Meagher’s Final Hours}. In this clip, they begin:

\begin{quote}
Jill Meagher was just one of thousands of people across Melbourne leaving work for the weekend…. Like everyone, her movements would be documented by the city’s many CCTV cameras. But unlike most, Jill’s every step would help police form a silent narrative of her tragic final hours. (2013)
\end{quote}

While selected edits of this new footage were accompanied by narration from news media channels like 7\textit{News}, large sections of this material were also uploaded onto news media platforms without overlay. For example, \textit{The Age} website sourced 11 minutes and 25 seconds of this new CCTV footage from Channel Ten, another Australian commercial broadcasting network. Each media outlet uploaded the material onto their websites with no editorialising other than the addition of the same title, \textit{Newly Released Footage of Jill Meagher} (2013). Part of the evidence brief submitted by prosecution to a committal hearing, the intention behind public consumption of this CCTV is more specific than when CCTV footage was published after Meagher’s disappearance. No longer seeking assistance to identify the ‘man in the blue hoodie’ to solve the mystery of what happened to Meagher, this footage was intended to ‘impose a particular narrative’ that proved Adrian Bayley’s guilt (Fleetwood 2016, 187). The perceived strength of this, and other evidence, was also
likely the impetus for Bayley changing his plea\textsuperscript{78} to guilty to murder on Friday 5\textsuperscript{th} April 2013, thereby avoiding a trial (Russell 2013).\textsuperscript{79} Prior to this plea change, audiences who viewed this CCTV footage can still be considered in the context of broader media and legal narratives produced at the time of its release. The material itself – created by Victoria Police – was not edited further by newsrooms, indicating how the ‘audience is now regarded as much more active in its relationship to mass culture’ (Carney 2010, 29) (emphasis in original). There is an implicit assumption that the ‘message’ in this footage is clear.

Varied in their position in reference to the street and the property they protect, each CCTV camera that produced footage used by the Victoria Police is situated above eye-level. The cameras gaze down onto the streets and its subjects. The visual continuity of high-angle cameras is telling. It is not simply a matter of ‘information gathering’ through surveillance; the prioritisation of such ‘information gathering based upon ‘looking’ or ‘the gaze’” becomes clear (Bottomley and Moore 2007, 179). This high, angled viewing position above the street – a position enjoyed almost exclusively by a CCTV camera – asserts authority. An unseen but all-seeing observer also connotes impartiality (Young 2010, 121), and assumes authority as a ‘reliable witness’ (Little 2014, 402). However, even as all CCTV is angled downwards, the camera’s ‘gaze’ is still inconsistent. Variations in angle, colour, focus, and timing mean that the 11-minute compilation of footage does not provide a seamless or steady shot of the scene. While the context regarding its release commands viewers

\textsuperscript{78} Bayley’s decision to change his plea followed months of negotiation between the defence and prosecution; the Office of Public Prosecutions refused Bayley’s original offer to plead guilty to manslaughter, indicating the strength of evidence to convict on murder (Silvester 2013).
\textsuperscript{79} As Flynn (2011) notes, plea bargaining in sexual assault cases can be traumatic for victims, as the official legal narrative of ‘what happened’ is often reduced in severity, in favour of the offender.
to read each section as a progressive account towards the moment when Meagher’s walks to her death, the aesthetics of the security footage produces more than this.

The quality of CCTV film is usually poor, and as the images in Figure 19 demonstrate, very few clips definitively document any subject, space or event. However, this does not destabilise the impression that the CCTV camera is a steady witness. For the viewer, who already knows Meagher is dead, these various aesthetics (including the methods of compilation) emphasises the scenes of the crime, of the night as troubling, and of CCTV as necessary. I will take this point further, through analysis of the CCTV narrative to demonstrate how CCTV and its ‘crime vision’ does not provide a framework that outlines a clear path to safety. Instead it can only describe how things may, and do, go wrong in numerous ways. This transforms the banality of the night into an unsettled uncertainty about the night. The CCTV film transcends its relational attachment to documenting the one evening that Jill Meagher died. Instead, it becomes a representation of many dark nights in Melbourne, far beyond September 2012.
Figure 19 A series of screenshots from the 28 clips stitched into Newly released footage of Jill Meagher (no author: The Age)
Stitching frames, binding narrative

Twenty-one separate cameras were used in the footage assembled by Victoria Police and uploaded onto *The Age* website in March 2013. This thesis began by describing those frames. The cameras from which footage was extracted existed either as part of the city's night-time economy or as part of the strategy of responsibilisation. In this film though, they are sutured together, intended to provide a linear account leading up to the encounter between Adrian Bayley and Jill Meagher, connecting the footage from these other cameras to the original footage of Meagher and Bayley walking past the Duchess Boutique. The visual narrative is released as a ‘whole’ account of Friday 21st September 2012 – a tracking bar moves decisively from left to right as the video file plays online, and the screen cuts to black when the video finishes. However, each individual frame is still just that: an individual account of ‘the city’, carefully situated within a broader context. An overarching surveillant network is achieved through the publication of this film; the narrative of the night survives only through the lens of CCTV, rather than through other positions (de Lauretis 1984). And yet, despite the efforts of the Victoria Police, who sorted through hundreds of hours of footage from the city's cameras (Oakes 2013), the CCTV narrative cannot be wholly unified. Each camera is fixed in a geographical setting, each with an individual lens and a clear border that encases its subjects. Individuals move in and around the space. However, once they have left each camera’s gaze, the individual camera cannot be sure of the subject’s subsequent moves.
The video begins at 5.41pm on Friday 21st September 2012, with an image of Bayley withdrawing money from an automatic teller machine (ATM). He wears a blue hoodie. Immediately following this, as though ‘elsewhere in the city’, two women are filmed walking through the lobby of the ABC studios in Southbank, out the automatic doors, and onto the street. This is Meagher as she walks with her colleague; they appear engaged in an animated conversation. Finishing work and leaving for the day is an ordinary practice, and one that many participate in ritualistically on a daily basis across Melbourne, usually from 5pm (and even more so on a Friday night).

Sewn into a narrative of violence, and as the beginning of tragedy, this ‘everyday rhythm’ (Edensor 2011) becomes part of something more ominous, that being the beginning of Meagher’s death. The context of watching this footage has been set, and these character introductions – Bayley in the infamous blue hoodie and Meagher as she leaves work and walks onto the street – mark the moment that Meagher becomes both a protagonist and victim. She is transformed first through the gaze of these cameras, and later through the careful stitching of frames by the Victoria Police.

The footage is structured, deliberately, not only by its inclusions but also through excluded footage. Shots of Meagher earlier or later could have been used to introduce her to the viewing audience: there would have been hours of footage available as Meagher left home to go to work, or as she arrived at work. This particular narrative choice is deliberate in its temporality, and is ‘morally suggestive’, establishing risk only at the end of a workday and working week.

80 Bayley changed out of this blue hoodie before heading to the Quiet Man Hotel with his girlfriend, and subsequently changed back into it before walking along Sydney Road.
For viewers of this film, entering the street after work thereafter has a heightened sensitivity, and, for a moment, ruptures it from their rhythms of everyday life (Edensor 2011). Furthermore, as this film was uploaded six months after Meagher's death, her reappearance is ghost-like: ‘there is apparition’ (Little 2014, 404). Seeing Meagher as she partakes in these end-of-day activities, situated in a familiar but not fully localised environment, produces and ignites memories. Not only may viewers be reminded of the initial CCTV footage viewed in September 2012, memory traces may become significant for their own work foyers, on the footpaths, and in the simple act of stepping outside (Burgin 1996, 218).

Meagher's ghostly presence ducks in and out of these stitched surveillant frames, as does Bayley's, for the duration of the clip. Each on their own, the camera documents the last time it sees Meagher, and the last moment of tracking Bayley before he attacks. What separates these moments from the Duchess Boutique's camera is the clip's chosen, temporal, sequence. For viewers who do not frequent Brunswick but who do move through Southbank, Swanston Street or Flemington, they might recognise their own 'exit' when back within this space.

An American girl whom I made friends with when travelling in New Zealand has come to visit me in Melbourne. After beginning the night at Cookie Bar on Swanston Street, she's keen to continue experiencing the 'nightlife' she's heard so much about. Trying to decide where to take her, I remember that Lounge Bar is across the road, and while loud, it has a dance floor and a number of booths to sit in. As we walk up the stairs, the
noise becomes louder. The driving bass of the music vibrates, and I can feel it moving through my body. Upon entering, the venue is relatively busy, and it’s difficult to navigate a space where we can sit. My vision is impaired further as I don’t have my contact lenses in. My friend signals that she needs to go to the bathroom – with the music so loud, I can’t hear her apart from when she leans in to raise her voice. As we walk past the bar and turn to the left, I suddenly feel a lurch in my stomach. The scene here is familiar. Sitting on a bar stool near the bathroom, I’m looking ahead and at the door. It swings open as a woman walks out. As the door starts to move back, I remember that CCTV is recording this space. I know this, as I can remember Adrian Bayley, on his phone, pushing open the same door that I am staring at, trying to find his girlfriend. I feel a shudder, and immediately become more observant. The space here feels thick. It is dark, and the music is isolating. It isn’t melodic enough to make me feel positive, and instead works to destabilise my bodily relationship to the space. As I sit and contemplate the figures who moved through here years ago, my friend returns. She is smiling at me and ready to dance. She does not have the same memories as me, and it seems too much to share with her my feelings. We move back to the front of the bar, and onto the dance floor.

Even though I was not at Lounge Bar in September 2012, I still watched the CCTV film and subsequently ‘saw’ Bayley when I was next in the venue. It is for this reason that I have also never stepped inside the Quiet Man Hotel (the pub that Adrian
Bayley was recorded by CCTV to have attended, even though I now live quite close to it.\(^{81}\)

Each sutured frame brings the viewer closer to the final segment (and consequently Meagher’s final exit from the frame), and yet these sequences do not provide one visually decisive moment where there is ‘no turning back’ for Meagher. Instead, they provide an accumulation of danger, that culminates only when Meagher walks off screen for the final, knowable, time. Leaving the frame is not the same as the moment of death, but the combined footage makes it seem as if departing the frame and being killed are the same. Compiled of individual frames with distinctive borders, this is an inconsistent and haphazard account of events. However, this is overlooked, perhaps easily, given its authoritative collation as sequential visual evidence. The gaps in representations of time or space from the city that evening remain unquestioned as each camera grasps its ‘natural’ scene, the cinematic result offering no occasion to reflect on inconsistencies (de Lauretis 1984, 107). Fixed security cameras aptly illustrate how they can capture and retain all within its frame, each becoming more potent when multiple scenes are stitched together. For the viewer, Meagher becomes knowable through these on-screen presences. This becomes more broadly realised as living – or visible – only when under the gaze of a security camera. Concurrently, viewers can also ‘know’ Bayley prior to his lethal act of violence only while he is on-screen, and literally captured by camera. Visibility again

\(^{81}\) According to the Quiet Man Hotel website, the building was designed and built in Ireland, before being assembled in Melbourne (see [http://thequietman.com.au/about/](http://thequietman.com.au/about/)).
becomes recognition, without acknowledging how complex social and political contexts are flattened in this narrative.

While victim and offender are captured within CCTV borders, they are also ‘let go’ across individual frames. This movement in and out of shot further highlights how little may be controlled by surveillance beyond its edges. In these scenes, the ‘borders provide condensations of anxiety and desire’ (Walsh 2015, 202). Darkness at the edge of surveillant frames becomes the focus and manifestation of mystery and danger, opposed to the unquestioned ordering of events within. Through the assemblage of these individual pieces of footage, knowing and unknowing are lined up against one another and repeated until the narrative abruptly ends with a black screen, as if offering a visual signifier of the ultimate darkness of death. Drawn out, this final clip ends firstly with a blank canvas of the streetscape (Meagher having just walked, willingly, out of the frame), before fading to black. For the final time, a fixed camera cannot turn to follow Meagher. Restricted by these final frames, viewers are also trapped. In the context of this later video’s release, though, subjects do not need, and may not wish to, follow. There is no desire to move beyond the surveilled space. Beyond these frames lies no mystery as it did when the Duchess Boutique footage was first released in 2012 – it is now known that Bayley kills Meagher. The footage provides a double reassurance: the world is knowable, and the crime is solvable.

Narrative is initiated, documented, and concluded by CCTV cameras. The geographies of Meagher and Bayley become secondary to the geographies of these
networks, which, thanks to the interventions of Victoria Police and the prosecution, establish opening scenes, trace final paths, and close off the living from the dead who exit the stage. No audio or any written narrative from the police is included in the footage, perhaps confirming ongoing perceptions that CCTV footage retains more ‘objectivity’ than police representatives (Lippert and Wilkinson 2010). Yet, such stitching continues to ensure the ‘portrayal of events coheres with official narratives’, subsequently ‘reproducing a clear-cut framework of vulnerability in which unregulated mobility presents a security risk’ (Walsh 2015, 202). Meagher can ‘survive’ only when ‘inscribed in hero narratives, in someone else’s story, not [her] own’ (de Lauretis 1984, 109). She has no autonomy in this representation of her death, and the CCTV camera assumes the role of hero in the story. It becomes the only trace of the night that survives, to be viewed by courtroom and public.

Parallel to what is captured within the frames of surveillance is that which remains on the periphery of this compilation. There are narratives that cannot be captured by the camera, or are erased from it. As mentioned earlier, hundreds of hours of CCTV footage were made available to the Victoria Police from cameras across Melbourne on the night Meagher died. CCTV works as harvest media. Images are ‘continually collected and stored unseen, but can be retrieved’ (Evans 2015, 218). The question of who has access to this material beyond its use in criminal cases is something that the following chapter will explore in relation to the securitisation of the city. How Victoria Police collected and compiled evidence to discover ‘what really happened’ remains ‘an interpretation, and that in turn reflects legal and political power structures’ (Evans 2015, 227). That is, the technology used and the footage included in the final edit would have been deliberate choices. As that which
appears within the frames carries with it an implicit perception regarding relevant
evidence and what is of ‘public interest’ to a broader audience, this visual narrative
fails to consider other moments of violence, or harassment, experienced by women.

When Bayley enters the Quiet Man Hotel on Friday 21st September, he does not enter
alone. A woman, who was his girlfriend at the time, accompanies him. She can be
clearly seen following him through the doors at the beginning of the footage and
later waiting for him at the same doorway as he hugs a friend. She exits before him
and is already out of frame when the footage switches to an outside area of the Quiet
Man Hotel. While Bayley continues to feature in this extended footage, Bayley’s
girlfriend is not seen again. However, outside of this footage she is crucial to learning
more about Bayley’s character. Bayley’s girlfriend accompanied him to Lounge Bar
in Swanston Street, but shortly thereafter left him, following an argument regarding
Bayley’s ‘jealousy and possessiveness issues’; she went to the toilet, and then slipped
out without telling him she was leaving (Russell 2013, no pagination). This
argument is not represented in the CCTV footage, despite at least 14 separate CCTV
cameras operating in Lounge Bar, six of which were used to trace Bayley on the
phone attempting to reach his girlfriend. Furthermore, the moment that the
girlfriend chooses to leave is also removed, again regardless of CCTV cameras
covering multiple angles of the club’s only exit. In an interview with police, Bayley
admitted to his anger stemming from this fight, something that Victoria Police offer
to the court as evidence of his transferring this aggression onto Meagher (Russell
2013). He attempted to discount his own actions by attributing his violence to an
argument with his girlfriend. Shifting his predilection for violence towards the
actions of his girlfriend is a clear act of victim blaming. The capacity for CCTV to
perpetuate these rationales cannot be discounted. There is an ‘ambivalent assignment of responsibility’ through only partial incorporation of images that are not directly relevant to Meagher’s encounter with Bayley. More women begin to be ‘held responsible for Bayley’s emotional state’ (Little 2014, 399); implicit framings of ‘if only’ abound. If only his girlfriend had stayed with him, or if only she had picked up the phone, Bayley would not have been on the street later, searching for a victim. When Victoria Police interviewed Bayley’s girlfriend, she mentioned a conversation between herself and Bayley upon watching the original CCTV footage of Meagher during the period when Meagher’s fate was not yet known:

And he goes, ‘That’s why I’m saying this place is not safe and you shouldn’t be, like you know’… he goes, ‘Don’t walk alone at night.’ (Russell 2013, no pagination)

Neither the sentencing notes later released by Justice Nettle of the Supreme Court or the footage make mention of the potentially coercive elements of Bayley’s character towards his girlfriend. Indeed, while prosecutorial evidence refers to his jealousy and possessiveness, this is reduced by Justice Nettle in the sentencing remarks to the mention of an ‘argument at the night club, [after which] your partner left and, later when you realized she had gone, you caught a taxi home’ (The Queen v Bayley 2013). Although subtle, a separation between behaviours has the potential to unjustly alter ‘case facts’, subsequently shifting accounts of ‘what happened’ (Flynn 2011, 86). Subsequently, the constructed narrative from the CCTV footage as mediated through Victoria Police is far from objective:

What ‘the camera grasps is not reality as such but “the natural” world of the dominant ideology… The ‘truth’ of our oppression cannot be ‘captured’ on celluloid with the ‘innocence’ of the camera: it has to be constructed, manufactured. (de Lauretis 1984, 107)
Bayley’s previous (and recorded) convictions relating to family violence, specifically the rape of a 16-year-old girl who was friends with his sister (Farnsworth 2015), should have demanded the inclusion of all CCTV footage relating to Bayley’s engagements with his girlfriend that evening. This, rather than Bayley entering the street alone, would have been more indicative of his risk to commit rape and murder later that night.

Parallel to the excluded moments involving Bayley’s girlfriend, Meagher’s ‘refusal’ of a lift home in a taxi with a colleague – leading to her walking alone along Sydney Road – is documented extensively in news media and sentencing remarks (The Queen v Bayley 2013; Bayley v The Queen 2013). That Meagher ‘brushed off her friend’s attempt at a drunken kiss’ prior to declining this lift, though, is largely absent (Retracing Jill Meagher’s final hours 2013). Circumstances surrounding Meagher’s decision to walk alone are excluded from CCTV, while the moment Meagher walks alone is augmented. Not only do multiple CCTV cameras observe her, ‘a male driver who noticed her as he drove past her’ is also mentioned in court documents (The Queen v Bayley 2013). With this narrative, women, such as Meagher or Bayley’s partner, are implicitly directed towards false dichotomies: of exposure to sexual harassment or exposures of sexual violence. The CCTV compilation fails to connect the more common moments of harassment experienced by the women in this clip sequence. Instead, it focuses on Bayley’s ‘random’ account of violence that night, eschewing the ongoing elements ‘systemic within social relations’ that often result in higher rates of violence and death (Little 2014, 402):

The actuarial gaze operates through emotions such as shock and fear. It organizes threat perception and prophylaxis, exposing some
subjects and hiding others; it classifies events and marks out a separation... between event and non-event, between visible and invisible. (Brighenti 2010, 49)

The moment where Bayley’s girlfriend decided she was no longer comfortable in the presence of Bayley is shielded from the public’s engagement, the argument itself therefore likely seen as insufficient to merit intervention had she stayed.\(^{82}\) It is only through the girlfriend’s absence that she is of importance to the narrative regarding Meagher’s death. It is when she has left Bayley that he is on his own, a heightened threat for Meagher, and those like Meagher. This erasure parallels the erasure of gender from the night-time economy.

*Surveillance time: unbinding the threat*

*The stranger bring[s] the outside into the inside, and poison[s] the comfort of order with suspicion of chaos.*

(Bauman 1991, 56)

*[The] temporal logic of surveillance [is pronounced] insofar as narrative itself is based upon the ordering of events.*

(Zimmer 2015, 157)

While initial CCTV footage from the Duchess Boutique had only one imprinted time-keeping source (though this is overlaid immediately by the platform in which it is viewed), the 11-minute compilation footage introduced further accounts of

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\(^{82}\) Again, internalised by women, other violent encounters with Bayley were unreported to police until Meagher’s death; a stripper alleged that Bayley simulated strangling her in June 2012, while a previous girlfriend of Bayley reported to have been raped by Bayley in 2011 (Ferry 2013).
negotiated time. Clippings and cuts between temporal moments deemed relevant, elongate and reduce time in significant ways. Incorporating a range of ‘real-time’ clips that are not standardised in length, sequence or representation subsequently produces a number of effects. Near the beginning of this clip, as Meagher leaves work for the day, her movements are traced by cameras installed in the Main Lobby, Front Reception and Main Entrance of ABC studios in Southbank. Meagher’s leaving work, recorded by each individual camera, and presented in three frames, takes 41 seconds. The duration of this footage is almost double its ‘real-time’ equivalent, which itself is approximately 20 seconds. The moment of leaving work is elongated in this surveillance mediation; when Meagher exits onto the street is marked. Sequential overlaying of timed footage continues. Bayley’s exit from Lounge Bar is elongated temporally. He is filmed as he walks down the stairs and towards the street entrance on Swanston Street from a CCTV camera affixed at the top of the stairs (camera two). After he has disappeared from this lens the same time period is replayed from the perspective of another CCTV camera affixed at the bottom of the stairwell (camera seven). Accounting for 32 seconds of viewing, the sequence is only 16 seconds of ‘real-time’. Bayley’s entry onto the street is also marked. As a CCTV camera at the front of Lounge Bar emits a red glow, Bayley’s ‘final exit’ onto the street represents his character and this environment as particularly transformative. To be shrouded in red is a noticeable change from the grainy and indiscernible scenes that preceded it (to be analysed further in the final section of this chapter). Standing in this red light, Bayley speaks to the bar’s bouncer, and it becomes clear that he is searching for something or someone as he turns his head and paces around the entrance, before finally exiting at the bottom of the screen. He has transformed.
The extended focus on each subject as they shift from inside to outside demonstrates these to be moments of narrative intensity. Although each of these instances occupies a relatively small amount of time in the context of a night, affording them such great attention in the CCTV narrative illustrates how ‘small spaces of time are increasingly able to be sensed...[as] time which shapes the moment’ (Thrift 2008, 187). The moment of entry onto the street is augmented. With all of the ‘prospective surveillance’ clippings available across the CCTV networks of Melbourne, the ability to reconfigure these sections so that the same action can be repeatedly lined up next to each other intensifies the impression of each second as vital for recognising impending danger on the street at night (Matzner 2016, 199). That these moments now take place as a CCTV film, with its time-keeping unaffected and consistent, the effects of such time manipulations:

...would be impossible without the fine grid of calculation which enables them: they are not... in opposition to the grid of calculation but an outgrowth of the new capacities that it brings into existence. (Thrift 2004, 592)

As Meagher leaves work, and as Bayley leaves Lounge Bar alone, ‘multiple angles reinforce the sense of tremendous violence’ (Young 2010, 155) through time manipulation. Trepidation coalesces, and the simple act of walking along the street becomes further stigmatised. Just as the slowing down CCTV footage of violence increases jury perception of an offender’s intention to commit a crime (Caruso, Burns and Converse 2016), so too can the replaying of time from different angles create similar effects. For Bayley, known to be a rapist and alleged murderer by the time of the release of this footage, his moments of entry onto the street are written as dangerous. For Meagher, known as ‘woman about to die’, her displacement from
the home the workplace and crowded licensed venues is also highlighted. Meagher is ‘meeting her fate’ when leaving these safe spaces (Little 2014, 398).

Manipulation of real-time continues. While the film was patched together for prosecutorial efficiency, its release to the media in the same form conflates each scene as of direct consequence of the one before it – each scene in some way relates causally to the ones that follow. Excluded footage has already been discussed in relation to violence against women. That interactions within licensed venues are not included is also significant. While numerous cameras exist in the Quiet Man Hotel and document Bayley drinking with his partner, this footage is left out. Footage from a camera over the bar is included only to document Bayley as he enters at 7.31pm, before immediately jumping to 10.52pm as he places his drink on the table. It is the process of Bayley leaving the licensed premises that is elongated. No images showing Bayley in the intervening hours are included, leaving the viewer to speculate how he passed his time while in the pub. When he leaves, one camera picks him up at 10.52:30 for 16 seconds, before another shot of him, this time at the entrance, replays 10.52:30 from its angle. While walking out the door at 10.53:01, a camera from the outside of the Quiet Man Hotel is shown from 10.52:56. Each moment overlapping, Bayley’s process of leaving, just as in Lounge Bar, is exaggerated. Tension increases while waiting for the next sequence of events. Bayley is leaving, exiting on the street again and becoming momentarily untraceable. ‘Surveillance time’ works to produce other narrative discourses that make clear which actions and choices are fundamental to the final result.
Similar management of time occurs when Jill Meagher travels along Sydney Road. She enters the Brunswick Green at 8.59pm, but there is no visual time allocated to footage of her within the bar. Again, licensed venues are obscured geographies of violence against women. The absence of CCTV footage, not considered of ‘public interest’, is just one further example of embedded biases. The ‘cultural investment’ (Little 2014, 400) in watching Jill Meagher repeatedly as a ‘ghost’ focuses only on the street as the culturally constructed site of violence. It does not extend into licensed night-time economies. Footage cuts from Meagher entering Brunswick Green to her leaving it at 11.59pm. The moment of her leaving is shown through separate lenses, and so, again, the transition into dark streets is extended. Read together, these moments are intensified by being drawn out, becoming a ‘time of danger, fear, crime and sin’ (Brands and Schwanen 2014, 68). Through each cut, the moment that both Bayley or Meagher re-enter the streetscape is continually expanded. The outside (beyond the daytime and night-time economies and its borders) as the place of importance for CCTV narrative and for the viewer is re-established. This focus implies ‘differences, [in space] that may attribute certain characteristics’, and so the rhythm of events shifts (Brighenti 2010, 81). Hours of drinking alcohol and exposure to normalised harassment within economies are absent. The street at night becomes the place for establishing risk, reinforcing the darkness (and the ‘unsurveilled’) as cause and effect. Surveillance time and the video-graphic practices together connects the clip with a familiar genre. Time is distorted, an authoritative viewing position is created, and a knowable crime narrative is produced where the offender is tracked down and prosecuted.
Grain and shadows

While created to document the evening Jill Meagher was killed by Adrian Bayley, each discrete piece of footage says very little about the evening. How they fit together has been analysed in this chapter and noted to be subjective, as evidenced by decisions to incorporate or exclude elements of each camera’s gaze, the exclusion of certain time periods, and the manipulation of time periods. For the final section of this chapter, images from the CCTV network in Lounge Bar will be used to demonstrate how certain image-aesthetics can also influence and inform memories of uncontained violence.

Footage drawn from the privately-owned camera network at Lounge Bar comes from 14 separate security cameras. Each of these cameras produced footage of very low resolution, and each recorded in shades of grey and white. They also did not record continuously, instead producing a series of images based on photos taken every second (unlike conventional cinema which generates images at a rate of 24 frames per second). From a viewer’s perspective, this section of compiled footage is very difficult to contextualise. Subjects and locations are reduced to blurred shadows and jerky movements. From the lens of the first camera in this series, which begins immediately after Jill Meagher exits the Brunswick Green pub with her colleague, a bright circle of light burns near the middle of the screen. As it becomes clearer, it can be seen that this is the edge of a bar; the figure of Bayley appears from the bottom, before shifting across the screen. While he would have been walking, these cameras reproduce his movement as a series of apparitions in space. The next camera records even less – just figures standing near the bar. Their heads are cut off
by the camera’s frame. Movements are similarly fractured, emphasised when one woman appears to stop to strike a pose, before continuing on to her friends off screen. Bayley’s figure is undiscernible in this shot, and only becomes clearer when footage switches to another scene, when he moves beyond the bar and towards the bathrooms. Here, Bayley can be seen clearly holding his phone – a bright light in this dim representation – to his ear, as he stands in front of a doorway. Men walk past him and through another door, before Bayley finally extends his arm and pushes the door’s handle. He looks through to an unsurveilled room, before letting the door swing shut as he walks away. His figure again becomes muddied in the bar scenes, before he finally exits down a stairwell (his exit is described earlier in this chapter).

Regardless of the quality, footage from this network makes up almost 28 per cent of the compiled video-evidence. Only if we think of the film as a ‘situational narrative’ does it become clearer why this section has been included in such detail (Little 2014, 403). As one interviewee put it, ‘grainy CCTV footage doesn’t do much for anybody except to give the news something to play’ (Interview participant BR, female). Relatively banal and unidentifiable images can transform into sinister pieces of evidence within a situational narrative. This mini-network of camera footage follows Bayley as he moves around Lounge Bar, alone for the first time. Alternating between different cameras firmly establishes his solitude. In each clip, visibility is poor, and so it is nearly impossible to identify Bayley’s figure, particularly when he is amongst a crowd near the bar. He becomes dissolved into the crowd, a ‘monstrous male character’ hidden in shadows (Little 2014, 403). While publicly known and in remand upon the release of this footage, Bayley is still able to return within it as an elusive stranger, just as Meagher returns as ghost. Few identifying features in this
section can mark Bayley as characteristically himself. A clear ‘enemy’ throughout the entire footage, Bayley embodies a ‘constant menace’ within the night of Melbourne (Foucault 1990, 142). His dimly visualised corporeal presence becomes separated from its cinematically threatening identity. When in Lounge Bar, it is only when Bayley is standing near the entrance to the toilet, and under the direct gaze of a CCTV camera that it is easy to identify him. With his phone also held against his ear, the light of the smartphone further illuminating his face, he is traceable and contained. Once he returns to the bar, low quality resolution enables Bayley to dissolve back into the shadows of the night.

In these fragmented visibilities, Bayley is transformed into both a known killer and an omnipresent hunter. Unable to find his girlfriend, Bayley’s search through Lounge Bar symbolically expands. Shadows of the crowd, and grainy lighting, can only partially capture and articulate risk, emphasising to viewers how so much remains shaded and dark. Significantly, once Bayley leaves Lounge Bar, he does not reappear in CCTV footage until the moment he encounters Meagher at the Duchess Boutique. At each moment, these are the practices of the everyday, and the ‘every night’. That is, and as discussed earlier in the chapter, this footage without narrative context is ordinary. People simply walk. And yet, through the incorporation of this footage into the broader narrative of Meagher’s death, this footage is transformed. The banality of evil here inverts Arendt’s conceptualisation; instead of naming the inability to recognise evil in the diligence of following orders, in this CCTV footage the banality and ordinariness of the night is transformed into a sequence of dangerous moments.
Conclusion: Crime Vision

I’ve just finished an appointment on Sydney Road, near Weston Street. It’s a beautiful and sunny evening in January and I step outside to unlock my bike, conveniently locked up at the front of the building. I feel the breeze gently move my hair as I fasten my helmet and lift my bike onto the road. As I push to take off, I remember that this is the first time I have ridden along Sydney Road in years. I become aware of the sound of cars approaching me; each time they pass I feel an extra gush of wind – it’s not as refreshing as the natural breeze. Instead it feels like the space is insisting that I move faster, to reduce the disruption of my presence. Riding south and towards Barkly Square, I begin to visualise the cyclist who was killed here almost three years ago, coincidentally on my birthday in February. CCTV footage was circulated in the news that evening, showing him riding north on Sydney Road at this spot, and hitting an opened driver’s door of a parked car. He falls into the path of a truck driving behind him. The footage cuts out at that point, but the written news narrative fills in the jarring visual absence – he was killed instantly. This footage, though I haven’t seen it since the time it was released, floods my mind. As I ride past Barkly Square, a truck passes me from behind. I become very conscious of my neck as it rubs against the straps of my helmet. My jugular, and my life, feels markedly vulnerable. My hands grip the handlebar as I concentrate on riding within the bike lane, but as far away from parked cars as I can. At the same time, the distinctive gliding sound of a tram approaches me from behind. I know I’m clear of its path, as I am at least half of a metre from the painted yellow guidelines on the road that signage its width. And yet, the tram dings its bell. It dings again, and I interpret this as a sign of aggression rather than awareness. I feel even more aware of my exposure – a small and insecure cyclist in
between powerful vehicles. As the tram passes and as I clear Sydney Road, riding towards Royal Parade, the road opens up. It feels safer, the space protecting me from immediate danger larger. I am filled only with my own practiced memories of riding here years ago.

The combination of the production, harvesting, and consumption of CCTV footage within the context of Meagher’s violent death, results in ‘crime vision’. This effect is consequential not only in prolonging the trauma surrounding Meagher’s death but also in the construction of Melbourne streets at night. When in darkness or when improperly surveilled, streets are constructed as unsettled, risky and perpetually a moment away from transforming into a scene of violence. The scene of Meagher’s violent death is extended to cover similar streets of Melbourne. The scenes are carried by subjects who have viewed the footage, replaying for them as they walk home – ‘the medium is the message, and the medium is telling us we are helpless onlookers to a world full of evil and disaster’ (Evans 2015, 224).

While such crime vision may ‘produce support and mobilization in favour of those who suffer, [it] can also turn out to produce moral anaesthesia, or even connivance… [or] even imply the inevitability’ of violence in the city (Brighenti 2010, 89). Without critical attention towards these framings – of violence, and victim, and without consideration of the ethics of watching Meagher’s eternal walk towards her death – the impact of CCTV in unsettling the night in Melbourne continues. By shedding light as evidence, and by inviting complicity from its viewer through its promise of spectatorial dominance, CCTV casts shadows across the city; shadows that only
further security cameras can perceptibly remove. CCTV promises to ‘capture the past in perpetuity, to be replayed at will’ (Norris 2012, 34). This intensifies moments of death, and moments of inaction: ZS, as a witness in the frame of CCTV, traumatically revisits the moment he did not identify danger and save Meagher. Such constructions of narratives of violence in the city, as identified, framed and reproduced by CCTV, assist in a ‘sensorial extension’ of many atmospheres in and of the city (Brighenti 2010, 76). Sydney Road, on Friday night and the early hours of Saturday 22nd September 2012, is no longer contained. Its atmospheres, and the atmosphere captured and produced by CCTV networks that night, permeate Melbourne beyond the geographic limits of the street. CCTV creates new atmospheres, ultimately producing (or reaffirming) new expectations and affiliations between desire and control, darkness and risk, and visibility and danger.

The crime vision analysed in this chapter recreated the space of Sydney Road as a space to be surveilled further (by the nine CCTV cameras installed by Moreland City Council after Meagher's death). It simultaneously expanded the perception of Sydney Road as unsafe within its own location, to one implying risk in other locations as well. Narrative becomes embodied, and the evening of September 2012 – frame by frame – permeates the visibility of new nights. This is felt acutely through memory, and can be productive in intensifying other unresolved fears of the darkness. Any road that a woman walks home along may now be felt as a potential site of sexual violence. Just as CCTV footage from the Duchess Boutique simultaneously expanded and reduced its gaze, so too did the footage of the seemingly banal hours that led up to Meagher’s death. Moments such as walking along Southbank, entering the Quiet Man Hotel, and exiting the Brunswick Green
become significant. Through the gaze of the camera, each of these sites became a crime scene. In doing so, and in suturing these spaces within a continuum that would lead to the final encounter between Meagher and Bayley on Sydney Road, these cameras became necessary lenses for the way in which the city of Melbourne – and the municipalities within it – becomes a site filled with the potentiality for violence. Melbourne is a site of risk, and therefore necessarily a site for surveillance. Creating and consuming such crime vision:

In their extremity, they demand interpretation. In their extremity, they forbid it. As events take place on the border between that which can be interpreted and that which cannot, they expose the framing devices with which we seek to contain the unruly and to understand the uncanny. Giving rise to interpretation, they remain uninterpretable. (Young 1996, 212)

This chapter has established the proliferating impacts that the stitching and circulating of CCTV camera footage has on the narratives and memories of violence. The ways in which CCTV 'sees' the city, and 'sees' crime, impacts the experiences and senses of these elements. The following, and final analytical, chapter expands focus to explore how else CCTV produces senses in the city.
Chapter Seven

CCTV securing the city

_Council has decided to invest into a directed system with skilled operators actually looking for things, rather than a dumb system that just picks up whatever goes past._

(LP, Director, City of Melbourne)

_I think it’s one of the great weapons for city safety._

(Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, quoted in Burns 2012, no pagination)

Although councils in Victoria are a ‘significant government owner and user of CCTV in public places’ (Victorian Ombudsman 2012, 4), how these networks are operationalised is directed by guidelines only.\(^{83}\) As such, there is variety regarding how each network is installed and managed, and how data is collected and analysed. Comparing the nuances in how policy is created and enacted, and how it evolves, illustrates varied micro-political environments within each municipality and the altered dispersions of power and control (Foucault 1991). Perhaps most dramatically, moments of crisis and ‘signal crimes’ demonstrate these practices. This includes the death of Jill Meagher near Sydney Road, within Moreland City Council, and the problems presented for the City of Melbourne by the sustained presence of violence on King Street. Prior to Meagher’s death, there were no definite plans to install council CCTV, and the City of Melbourne only introduced security cameras after King Street was seen to reach an unacceptable level of violence.

Internationally, the death of James Bulger near Liverpool has affected the City of Liverpool’s CCTV network, and the City of Westminster’s popular West End precinct also influenced its CCTV operations. The causes and consequences of these investments in CCTV have been considered in previous chapters in relation to narrative, memory, darkness, desire, and responsibility. Here, I shift focus to CCTV’s other effects in vibrant and dynamic city spaces. How do CCTV networks expand their purpose, and what does this mean for the atmospheres of the city?

This chapter is concerned with the city’s ‘sense of security’ that currently demands disproportionate numbers of CCTV within cities. How this sense is created – both deliberately and inadvertently – will be traced through complex networks of governance. Practices within and beyond the CCTV control room, including evaluation strategies and perceptions of privacy, document how CCTV networks become managers and makers of the city. Ultimately, this chapter will demonstrate how ‘sense’, circulation and procedure, rather than discernible impacts on crime, are favoured in evaluations of CCTV and the ‘success’ of a network. This leads into the concluding chapter of the thesis, where innovation, assemblages, and resistance are part of an examination into how ‘seeing surveillantly’ has become a social practice (Finn 2012). From this, ways of ‘seeing through’ CCTV will be discussed.

**Corporatising CCTV, and the unobservable watchers**

In each municipality studied, initial investment in council CCTV networks began with state governments injecting a sum of money into projects, with operating costs
dispersed into local government budgets. Councils were encouraged to apply for a grant – with some variation in terms of crime prevention, crime reduction, or public safety – most of which were swiftly awarded. The funding amounts have varied, but most have been significant. Westminster City Council received approximately £1.2 million from the Home Office in 2000, while the State Government in Victoria pledged $250,000 to Moreland City Council in 2013. The Victorian Government provides funding for CCTV through the Public Safety Infrastructure Fund, and also through direct commitments (Community Crime Prevention 2017). Similarly, the Home Office in the United Kingdom awards funding for CCTV in the context of public infrastructure. These grants are for the establishment of new, or the extension of existing, CCTV infrastructure and may not be used in the management or maintenance of already existing networks. This funding model remains the most popular method of ensuring installations of CCTV systems by local government. Between 1994-1999, £208.5 million was provided to councils in the United Kingdom under the CCTV Challenge Competition and Crime Reduction Programme for new CCTV infrastructure (Home Office 2011). In Australia, over $5 million has been bestowed to Victorian councils under the Community Crime Prevention Program since 2011 (Community Crime Prevention 2017). $50 million was also allocated in the 2015 Federal Government Budget (Carr 2016, 95). The regularity and size of these grants illustrates how ‘CCTV can be viewed as a mechanism through which government has facilitated profitable opportunities in and beyond the security technologies industry’ (Carr 2016, 106).

84 These figures were drawn from interviews with council representatives.
85 $250,000 is the maximum this particular grant can award (Community Crime Prevention 2017).
While significant funds are injected into the establishment or extension of CCTV networks, the costs of operation and maintenance are recognised to be far higher. For example, Moreland City Council was initially hesitant to accept the State government grant for installing CCTV after Jill Meagher’s death, knowing that the ongoing costs would exceed the initial funding:

> And we said, ‘Well all the evidence suggests it’s going to be a lot more than $250,000.’ We don’t know what the ongoing monitoring and maintenance costs are going to be like. And we don’t know what the functionality is going to be like. Whether council now has a policing role. (Councillor CG, Moreland City Council)

As articulated in previous chapters, political and public pressure to accept funding is strong. While Moreland City Council initially considered rejecting the funding, the broader backlash was considerable from many sources, including the Victorian State Government who emphasised the irresponsibility of the council to resist the funding for CCTV (Marie 2013). The discourse of responsibility and irresponsibility mediated through levels of government ‘ideologically reinforce for the rest of the population’ the purpose of CCTV, and who should be accountable for its operation (Garland 1985, 189). As noted in Councillor CG’s comments above, councils are aware that installing CCTV expands their responsibility to promote community safety; they now incorporate forms of crime investigation and evidence collection.

It should be noted here that police agencies remain firmly beyond the discourse of responsibility in relation to CCTV. Councils seeking funding to implement CCTV must ‘include a letter of support from the relevant Victoria Police Local Area Commander’, including directions regarding the location of each camera (Victoria Police 2017a, no pagination). However, there are no legislative requirements for police to commit to the observation or maintenance of such systems:
Victoria Police welcomes the opportunity to work with local councils in relation to the establishment of public area CCTV... Victoria Police is not responsible for the establishment, repair, replacement, maintenance, operation or funding for the operation of the CCTV program. (Victoria Police 2017a, no pagination)

The State mobilises responsibility. Local government representatives sympathetic to the expansion of CCTV networks have capitalised on this. As demonstrated by the City of Melbourne’s Lord Mayor, Robert Doyle, his election platforms often revolve around a pledge to install more CCTV as a ‘critical tool’ in the operation of the city (Hurley 2016, no pagination). Elected for a third term in 2016, six new CCTV cameras at a cost of $360,000 will be installed during Doyle’s present four-year term (Masanauskas 2016c). As with other practices of responsibilisation, local government can therefore welcome, and push for, these increased responsibilities rather than oppose them (Wilson and Sutton 2003, 2). While other elements may contribute to Lord Mayor Robert Doyle’s re-election success, claims about the effectiveness of CCTV during election times are still publicly persuasive:

I mean, the Lord Mayor’s ticket did get elected by sending everyone in the electorate a letter saying, ‘Do not vote for the Greens because they hate CCTV and this will result in more deaths.’ (Councillor GR)

There is a ‘relative absence of general resistance’ to CCTV within council, and so it becomes politically convincing at the polls (May 2001, 183).

As demonstrated by CCTV narratives interrogated in the previous chapter, expanding the use of CCTV by local government can create a network primarily for crime investigation, without the need for police to expend their own resources.
Memorandums of understanding are routinely established between police and council to clarify that ‘Victoria Police may, at any time, access images or recordings generated from the CCTV System’ (Moreland City Council 2014a, 7). CCTV networks in households, too, are increasingly common, as is the construction by Victoria Police that CCTV footage is an essential precondition for them to investigate many crimes. Victoria Police make available a Residential Apartment Security Assessment on their website (2017b, 2017c), with CCTV featuring significantly in the checklist. As with the Victoria Police Business Security Kit (2011), each document emphasises the importance of installing CCTV in a suitable location so that the footage will be of good quality (for example, with good lighting). These recommendations are situated within the same pages that abrogate any responsibility for the police to contribute to ensuring CCTV’s effectiveness. In the United Kingdom, London Metropolitan police have publicly admitted that for every 1000 cameras installed, only one crime is solved (Milivojevic and McGovern 2014, 33). 

Despite these relative inefficiencies compared to the unwieldy costs, police still desire CCTV to exist. While the City of Melbourne insist that ‘the police can direct, and ask us, but they don’t control [the network]’ (RE, Manager, City of Melbourne), Victoria Police does retain significant control. Without accepting accountability for the maintenance and operation of the network, the police control what parts of the city may be most viewed and recorded:

We can stream directly to police... and we take police advice. You know, if police say to us here's a spot that you should think of, that you need CCTV, then we'll put it in. (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne)

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86 In two of my interviews, participants who had attended a public forum held in 2012 as the council was deliberating whether to accept State Government funding for a CCTV network claimed that, in this forum, a representative of police stated that CCTV played no role in apprehending Adrian Bayley.
Victoria Police are distant publicly from CCTV operations, yet remain intimately involved with many of its elements. Part of this emerges from desires to minimise perceptions of ‘Big Brother’ (Lippert 2009, 516). Effectively, this results in the police dispersing resources, both formally and informally.

In the CCTV control room at Liverpool City Council, I am struck by the jovial feeling in the room. Jokes are made between the operators (all of which are men) and it is through this communication that the relationships between the operators becomes clearer. Many are friends. I am told that a police officer is seconded to work within the control room for each shift. On retiring from the police force, these same officers are often re-employed within the control room as a civil servant.

In 2014, Moreland City Council established a surveillance camera network containing nine security cameras installed along (or at the periphery of) Sydney Road in Brunswick. After a tendering process, the contract for installation of the cameras was awarded to SNP Security, the same company currently contracted to the City of Melbourne. Unlike the other councils discussed in this project, Moreland City Council chose not to establish a separate control room. Instead, the network has been linked to a room in the Brunswick Police Station, with viewing available to any police officer upon signing into the room. This makes it a passive monitoring system, with police bearing no responsibility should the system be entirely unobserved. In its latest publicly available audit, the City of Melbourne states that it has also linked live access to CCTV footage into ‘police operation centres’ (CMSCCAC 2016, 3). Given the increasing expenditures for councils, who cannot rely on state governments or
policing agencies to provide sustained financial support, ways of mitigating cost of services has consequently led to outsourcing of CCTV operations:

We’ve got to look at a way of trying to spread the costs. (PK, Liverpool City Council)

How such outsourcing has occurred is better understood by first examining the context of where CCTV operations sit within each council. Bannered under ‘Safety and emergency management’, the Safe City Cameras Program in the City of Melbourne operates 68 cameras, and one mobile patrol vehicle camera. This vehicle operates on Friday and Saturday evenings, 10pm-6am and ‘in conjunction with Victoria Police for Special Events’ (City of Melbourne 2017, no pagination). Staff members monitor the cameras 24 hours a day, seven days a week, via a control room located underneath the Town Hall on Swanston Street, Melbourne. Swanston Street runs parallel to King Street, and is separated from it by four blocks. Video data is stored for 28 days before being automatically erased. Material can be collected and stored beyond this, if requested by authorised personnel. In this instance, relevant footage would be copied from the database and stored for 7 years ‘after which it is destroyed’ (CMSCCAC 2016, 6). An ‘authorised’ person is listed as a police officer, a lawyer, or a victim of an offence who is ‘representing themselves in a court of law or tribunal in relation to an offence which may have been recorded’ (City of Melbourne 2017, no pagination). While the Victoria Police assume authority to destroy video when it is ‘no longer required for authorized use’, other applicants must return it to the control room (CMSCCAC 2016, 6).
Although labelled as the *Safe City Cameras Program*, the servicing, maintenance and public relations regarding the City of Melbourne’s CCTV network is managed by the ‘Engineering Services’ department:

> It used to be out of Community Services as a City Safety Initiative. But then it moved to Engineering because the cameras were then deemed to be an asset. So, it’s an electric, it’s an electronic asset. (RE, Manager, City of Melbourne)

Consequently, when interviewed for this project, employees concerned primarily with City Design and City Issues had no ongoing or active engagement with CCTV networks. This included employees whose main role was to incorporate safer design strategies. When directly asked directly if CCTV plays a role in the consideration of strategic planning for ‘community, safety and wellbeing’, one team leader responded: ‘no, [we] don’t even really consider it’ (IA, City of Melbourne). Instead, the ones with primary responsibility for CCTV are those working under City Operations, and these staff also identified themselves as those who engaged with Victoria Police and media outlets regarding security camera operations and future installation.

In the most recent *Safe City Cameras Program* Audit Report released by the City of Melbourne Safe City Cameras Audit Committee (CMSCCAC), all footage created by the network is referred to as a ‘product’; a term not previously used (CMSCCAC 2016). With maintenance and management elements of this network already outsourced, this language further compounds the shift in the City of Melbourne’s internal recognition of CCTV cameras – as asset rather than tool. The CCTV network is expected to produce materials that can be circulated.
At the time of interviews, SNP Security were contracted for maintenance of the network, which included ‘server upgrades... maintenance of the system, [and] maintenance of the cameras’ (RE, Manager, City of Melbourne). A separate company, SecureCorp, installs and maintains the cameras and patrol vehicle. These are both privately owned and operated companies who had been awarded contracts through a tender process, based primarily on cost-effectiveness:

We have contracting processes that we follow. So, if they’re successful they get it, if not we change horse. (RE, City of Melbourne)

SNP Security are also contracted to provide trained CCTV operators for the City of Melbourne’s control room. The standards required in this training, however, remain vague:

These are manned 24 hours a day, from a security centre by highly trained... they are ultra-high tech, they swivel 360 degrees... it’s got to be this sort of manned, trained personnel... (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne)

RE: We have 2 operators fully trained.
Researcher: Do you know much about the training that they undergo?
RE: No.
(RE, Manager, City of Melbourne)

While interviewees consistently asserted that the operators are ‘highly trained’, when asked to elaborate on how these standards were achieved (or even what these standards were), none could provide specific detail:

They have to be trained, it passes our inspection, it passes the [Privacy] Commissioner’s requirements – we haven’t had any incidences. We get nothing but accolades about the program from
the police, so I haven't actually checked it out. Funny, I should go and do that. (RE, City of Melbourne)

The City of Melbourne’s *Safe City Cameras Program* operates as an individual product, one that does not functionally interact or inform other ‘safe city’ strategies beyond the policy papers it is written into. While linked to the *Beyond the Safe City Strategy*, the City of Melbourne’s ‘vision’ for people to ‘feel safe, connected and able to participate in city life’ mentions CCTV once, and only vaguely in relation to the network being ‘continuously improve[d]’ (2014, 2, 17). This demonstrates how ‘new forms of governance’ are increasingly subject ‘to new regimes of competitive tendering’ in a deliberate aim to ‘change the way public services [are] delivered’ (May 2001, 172). It becomes a symbol of the state managing crime control, rather than preventing crime (Cohen 1996, 10).

Similar to that of the City of Melbourne, the written policy for the fixed CCTV system network operated by the City of Westminster in the United Kingdom sat under a ‘Crime prevention and public safety’ banner. With 33 cameras originally installed in the West End of London in 2002, the system expanded to 136 cameras operating across the municipality. As with other councils, this does not account for all cameras publicly owned or facing onto public property.\(^87\) A purpose-built control room was installed in 2002 as part of the ‘dash for cash’ funding through the Home Office, with the City of Westminster entering into a public/private partnership for the first five years, before shifting ‘in house’ afterward (Robert McAlister, City of Westminster). As part of this ‘in house’ funding, however, as with the City of Melbourne, private

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\(^87\) In the United Kingdom, CCTV infrastructure associated with other public institutions is far more common, including transport systems.
security firms are contracted to manage and operate the control room, and maintain
the infrastructure. Within this council, Atec Security were contracted to operate the
cameras, while G4S were contracted to provide trained staff for the control room. 88

An element of City Watch, the CCTV network managed by Liverpool City Council sits
underneath a broad management plan for ‘Crime prevention and emergencies’
(2017a). At the time of the interviews for this project, the network operated 288
cameras, making it the biggest network examined within this study by a
considerable number. Four staff members view this network through 94 screens in
a control room. As with the City of Melbourne, staff members are considered to be
highly trained:

> They have to undergo nationally recognised security industry
association standards, and they’re licensed officers. So, it’s quite an
intensive, three-day training session. (PB, Manager, Liverpool City
Council)

In the United Kingdom, the Security Industry Authority (SIA) is responsible for
‘regulating the private security industry’, and reports to the Home Secretary ‘under
the terms of the Private Security Industry Act 2001’ (SIA 2016). The City of
Westminster and Liverpool City Council defer to this organisation when ensuring
staff training standards. While nationally more consistent than Australian contexts,
conflation between publicly funded CCTV networks and private operations is still

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88 In June 2016, the council released a report specifying plans to decommission the fixed CCTV service
provided, on the basis that CCTV was not considered to be the most effective use of Council’s
resources (City of Westminster 2016a). With revenue of over £1 million allocated to maintenance
and operation of the network each year in the Council, the network ceased operations in this form
from 1st September 2016 (City of Westminster 2016a).
The consequences of this in relation to observation practices and evaluation standards will be critiqued shortly. Firstly though, the relationship between service provider and service accreditor is problematic. The SIA do not provide qualifications, but instead endorse other agencies to provide two Certificate level qualifications (SIA 2016). To receive either of these SIA-recognised CCTV operator qualifications, participants attend a short training session coordinated by one of eight separate organisations. These companies appear as independent companies providing qualification training for a range of industries. The only company with a sole focus on the security industry is Trident Awards, which has no other direct ties to the City of Westminster or Liverpool City Council. However, the National Open College Network – an awarding organisation listed by the SIA – is also advertised within the G4S website as its own ‘course designed in accordance with Security Industry Authority specifications’ (G4S 2016, 1). Subsequently, the agency that provides training, assessment and certification for CCTV operations can still be the same agency that provides contracted staff to public networks. This was the case with the City of Westminster, who held a contract with G4S in the management of their control room, in the same way that the City of Melbourne directly sourced training from SecureCorp.

The ‘national standard’, consistently referred to by interviewees and policy documents in the United Kingdom (and mirrored in the Melbourne context), is legitimised through an interconnected system of private agencies that achieve

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89 That the City of Westminster claimed to have operated its network ‘in house’ is, again, further problematised.

discursive separation underneath an umbrella organisation, that being the SIA. Practices ‘within organisations whose logic, intentionally or by default, seeks to reproduce its supposed self-evidence on a routine basis’ ensure that the process of achieving a national standard becomes ‘a powerful tool aimed at control and conformity’ (May 2001, 172). In each example where a council incorporates a control room for the CCTV network, standards of training become regarded as authoritative through word-of-mouth, and without detailed measurement. Each relies on a ‘general lack of political articulation’ to obscure the ‘value choices that inform policies and practices’ (May 2001, 183). Reproducing the phrase ‘national standard’ in a wide number of policy documents simply extends state legitimacy (Cohan and Shires 1997). The same may be said for the City of Melbourne, which assumes that the party contracted to provide staff will also ensure that control room operators are sufficiently trained, even as companies are selected on the basis of cost-effectiveness.

As mentioned in previous chapters, the operation of CCTV in public space has historically attracted concern from civil liberties groups over the erosion of privacy. Partially in response to this, the City of Melbourne established the City of Melbourne Safe City Cameras Audit Committee (CMSCCAC) when the network itself was implemented. This committee audits the system each year, and produce publicly available reports sporadically. As of 2017, only 5 reports exist online (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2015). Requests were made via email for 2014 and 2016, to no avail.

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including the evaluation of staff training. In the latest CMSCCAC report, the Audit Committee found ‘no evidence of failure by Program staff’, and that:

...the detail recorded by the Control Room Operators on the Program Management System was satisfactory and complied with the requirements set out in the training manual. The detail of the incident reports, as in past years, continues to be recorded satisfactorily. (CMSCCAC 2016, 8)

Training standards are measured only by checking incident reports gathered by the staff (CMSCCAC 2016). Training itself – what constitutes an incident and how such incidents are defined – is shielded by the process of log documentation. There is supposed neutrality in statistics and evaluation units. While members of the Audit Committee ‘visited the Control Room unannounced on several occasions [to find] no lack of compliance with operational obligations’, operational obligations themselves remain confidential, and thus impossible to reference beyond interviews (CMSCCAC 2016, 3; Victorian Ombudsman 2012, 7).

The diffusion of CCTV systems is reflected in a sprawling network of organisations, with a distribution of power, brought together in order to provide ‘security’. As Webster noted of CCTV networks in the United Kingdom in the early 2000s, ‘just as technology becomes more sophisticated, so do the networks and the regulatory framework’ (2002, 240). This network governance includes institutions, organisations, community and individual agents, each bringing with them their own organisational culture and ‘ways of seeing’ (Dupont 2006). The networks of governance required to operate CCTV networks in both the United Kingdom and Australia rely on routinised collaborations between organisations, without formalised agreements or explicit legal notices required (Klauser 2009, 286). With
a gradual transfer of expertise, from council and to external agencies, so too does the transfer of authority in recognising training standards and ‘secure’ practices occur. Klauser’s observations of airport CCTV management in Geneva becomes relevant:

Driven by various, more or less commercially motivated objectives: from the police’s and airport management’s coalition of interest in the airport as both as secure national entrance gate and as a commercially attractive shopping zone, to the CCTV supplier’s business interests in selling security technologies. (2009, 293)

Liverpool City Council and the City of Melbourne have closed control rooms that are barred from open public access, making it a challenge to document how the watchers ‘watch’. For this reason, none of the exact locations are made publicly available, and Liverpool City Council interviewees explicitly instructed me that I must not describe any detail of the control room that could give away its locale. While the City of Westminster was similarly cautious, they did have community observers. According to Robert McAlister, this involves ‘a cross section of people from across the community’ who are invited to ‘come in and view our operation and audit it’. Argued in the context of improving transparency, it is still highly managed:

We vet them appropriately, so we give them security clearance, we give them training on what they should be coming in to ask, to look at. (Robert McAlister, City of Westminster)

Trained in what to watch and how to watch, community observers look with a predetermined objective. This draws parallel with one of the functions of Bentham’s panoptic device:

The public was welcome to view the spectacle... visitors (who can be regarded as potential delinquents, for – as Bentham makes clear –
those most in need of such instruction will be the ones to show up to receive it, owing to their fondness for sensation) are deterred, the population is made more moral; on the other hand, instruction is given in the virtues of economy, rationality. (Miller and Miller 1987, 8)

There is little in place to ensure harmful practices of watching are prevented in any municipality. Furthermore, when asking one interviewee how voyeuristic watching is prevented, the response was terse:

They're not allowed, and they don't, because it’s not worth the integrity of the system. So, they're not allowed to track the good-looking person walking down Swanston Street from end to end. (RE, City of Melbourne)

In-built restrictions within the system were also mentioned as part of ensuring accountability: ‘they're not allowed to be locked on one direction’ (RE, City of Melbourne).

No municipality representative discussed the gendered element of surveillance. Alongside the non-white and the young, then, a woman can still be disproportionately targeted by the gaze of the camera. Combined with my own observations within two control rooms – in which there were no female operators – the ability for a homogeneous control room culture to recognise the needs of a diversified population is limited. Providing ample opportunity for voyeuristic entertainment, closed control rooms offer little transparency in the measurement of this practice, especially within the broader dialogue that CCTV is intended to assist women – as was explicitly stated when Moreland City Council installed CCTV. Even if there are no moments when operators seek out women for voyeuristic purposes,
there is still potential for an averted gaze when a woman is subject to what is perceived to be a domestic issue not of public interest. The possibility of CCTV networks to intensify these gendered visibilities have been traced in previous chapters.

Further obfuscating transparent watching practices are other organisational practices implemented in relation to privacy. In each network, measurements are put in place regarding the storage of data to ensure visual material collected is not subject to manipulation or mass circulation. Data storage times and access have emerged in the United Kingdom through compliance with the *Surveillance Camera Code of Practice* (2013), and in Victoria through compliance with the *Closed Circuit Television in Public Places Guidelines* (2012). Due to the absence of strict legislative requirements, each council can negotiate its own agreed period of footage retention. 31 days is the standard storage time for Liverpool City Council, City of Westminster and Moreland City Council; the City of Melbourne adheres to 28 days. If an incident is recognised and recorded, Liverpool City Council asserts that its adjusted storage time will be retention for 7 years (2017b). Unlike councils in Melbourne, councils in the United Kingdom must receive requests for footage from individuals who have been recorded, even when not attached to a criminal event. While proof of identity is required, authority to view the video of the subject can be made in matching photographs. £10 is charged by each council to process this request for an individual, though no fee is incurred for disclosure to investigation authorities.

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92 In their memorandum of understanding with Victoria Police, Moreland City Council only suggest that footage *may* be written over after 31 days, indicating that storage could be far more subjective than the City of Melbourne's data retention policy.
where the footage is required for the detection of crime. Not only are dispersion of operational costs emerging, so too is the logic of accumulation and consideration of surveillance capitalism (Zuboff 2015).

Both the City of Westminster and Liverpool City Council provide further detail regarding timing requests; requests for footage must be made in advance, ‘within 21 days of the recording’ (Liverpool City Council 2017b, no pagination). Within this guidance, both also clearly state in the same webpages their legal obligation to reply within 40 days after receipt of a fee (City of Westminster 2016b; Liverpool City Council 2017a). Such disjuncture between practice and broader legal frameworks highlights how requests may easily be unfulfilled on the basis of technicality. That such guidelines can so easily be circumvented may also suggest that few requests have been made to test this incongruence. Given the banality of CCTV within each council environment, it is likely to be the case: ‘it’s an accepted part of the furniture of the city’ (LP, Director, City of Melbourne). Publicly available audit reports do not currently provide the number of public requests made, or satisfied, in these instances. Requests for storage were also not discussed in interviews. In relation to the City of Melbourne, only requests made by authorised personnel are recorded. In order ‘to overcome the problem of the “unobservable observer”, it is clear that CCTV cameras need to be more than simply visible to the public’ (Goold 2002, 25).

Furthermore, while each of the councils has stipulated a certain number of days for automatic retention of data, each council conceded in interviews that this was not strictly adhered to. As data is collected through visual technologies, construction of
images is not static and can therefore take up more (or less) storage. Storage of video-data cannot be precisely contained and measured. Given that strict laws, as mentioned, also do not govern the storage of data, discretion is heavily embedded within the process. As the system itself operates (that is, before further human intervention), it is imperfect. Read within the context of camera placement to incorporate these technological limitations, CCTV networks can never be wholly streamlined, objective or properly audited. CCTV control rooms adhering to privacy policies act as a ‘gatekeeper’, similar to police agencies, with the camera operator’s verdict determining action (Smith 2015, 154). The ‘sophisticated’ nature of CCTV networks has discretion built into its multiple functionalities, which will have significant impacts on its intervention in the everyday.

As demonstrated above in the words of LP, each network, while claiming to work to protect privacy, also assumes a level of privacy to be wilfully given up upon entering the city. This is a predictable expectation when situating public CCTV networks within the broader assemblage of surveillance practices that operate in public space (smartphones being one of the most common examples). Not only this, common law within United Kingdom and Australian contexts also assumes that subjects do not have the right not to be recorded in a public space, unless what is recorded is explicitly a private activity and where consent to the recording is not given. Such observations are clear within my own interview data, in which all subjects made mention of the expectation that CCTV will be present when they leave their own home. Parallel to these observations was the indifference associated with being watched by state agencies and, to an extent, private businesses. Whilst there was an acknowledged concern about civil liberties in the 1990s in both United Kingdom and
Australian contexts, the ongoing force of such a position seems to have dissipated, given the expansion of these networks was relatively unopposed in public discourse. The neoliberal subject within city spaces experiences either apathy or desire concerning the likelihood of being observed by CCTV. While walking subjects may desire the light of the CCTV camera as part of a safe passage home, the neoliberal subject more broadly is also encouraged to reveal all, and to have nothing to hide (Smith 2015). As a ‘subject who does not struggle to be visible but is instead obliged to be visible’ (Brighenti 2010, 48), the ‘true citizen’ should want to share their identity to CCTV networks:

I think two groups of people who won’t be oblivious [to CCTV], one is the criminal, or the terrorist, the other people will be the people who think, ‘This is an invasion of my civil liberties.’ (Robert McAlister, City of Westminster)

When you remember that at the other end it is a crime prevention tool and a public order tool and a public safety tool, I think that helps people to feel a little more comfortable about it. (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne)

...you know, we are Big Sister, you know we’ve got no intention to try and spy on you, we just want to help you. (Robert McAlister, City of Westminster)

Through these conversations, the right to privacy is not ‘violated’, but instead transformed through its relationship to security. In the context of a desire to achieve security – something that is not a ‘stable category or state of affairs whose truth can be found and fixed for all time’ (Burke 2008, 9) – the guarantee of any level of privacy becomes unachievable. Drives to achieve absolute security through expanding surveillance results in the loss of an expectation to privacy for an individual. If a
subject is to protest regarding the creep of surveillance, they are publicly categorised as a nuisance, or a problematic subject themselves who warrants targeted and enhanced surveillance. This is particularly the case when an individual may attempt to shield themselves from the gaze of CCTV. It becomes evidence that the subject has engaged in deviancy. For example, in the United Kingdom, prosecution against Ched Evans, who was on trial for sexual assault, included footage of Evans shielding his face from a CCTV camera as evidence that his acts were deliberate and indicative that he was aware he had committed a crime (Meyjes 2016). Desires for CCTV become performative: a means through which we demonstrate that we are ‘good neoliberal citizens’, as well as desiring protection from the dangerous other.

Emerging within this analysis of regulatory structures of each council is a picture of the relaxed procedures surrounding CCTV networks. While implemented with high profile coverage, how the systems continue to function and maintain any ‘standard’, or how they interact with broader community safety guidelines, is relatively obscured. With inconsistencies developing regarding storage, monitoring and training, the impact that CCTV networks have in the public domain warrants ongoing investigation. As made clear by an interviewee from the City of Melbourne, correct procedure is currently perceived as more important than meaningful crime prevention: ‘we give [CCTV footage] to police on the assumption it is used as evidence. How good it is or bad it is, that’s not our problem’ (RE, Manager, City of Melbourne).
What remains vital for the authority of the council CCTV network then, is not ‘a particular decision either in its correctness or in its political import, but in the repetition of the authority to decide’ (Salter 2013, 12). As Salter continues:

[Like a lawyer] who gains authority each case he takes – regardless of her win/loss record... indeed it is the number of cases that circulate through the system that determines the success of that institution. (2013,12)

The productive utility of evaluation reports, and more broadly the daily operation, is not that they may be read or seen, but that they may be understood collectively as compounded legitimacy and care in the measurement of CCTV's success:

Researcher: Have you ever found that there are particular cameras that are perhaps found to be ineffective?
RE: Yeah, we've moved them.
Researcher: So, there have been some areas where you've taken a camera out?
RE: * nods *
Researcher: Can you think of an example?
RE: It was done because someone built a building in the way so we had to move the camera to get line of sight to the receiver.

(Manager, City of Melbourne)

The ability to record, and to produce historical record, supersedes any other form of measurement. Demonstrating again the banality of CCTV, as an assemblage its success is based on uninterrupted flows of data. The network governance of CCTV relies on this circulation in order to achieve its end-game of ‘security’. Without specific CCTV legislation in any jurisdiction, the development of CCTV security networks such as this has been strong (Webster 2002). While not fundamentally problematic (given the many issues associated with strict legislation), other issues
do arise. The organisational culture of each node will shape the network, just as the network may shape organisational cultures (Whelan 2016). Subcultures within and between organisations can form, particularly when assessing security threats and how to respond (Whelan 2017). Security agencies contracted to operate ‘safe city’ cameras both influence and are influenced by broader council and policing strategies. Commercially motivated objectives within a security environment results in deliberate and less-than-conscious decisions to target and neutralise populations through actuarial justice. Coordinated work is ‘achieved through verbal and non-verbal communication jointly, in which team members give and receive ‘instructions for seeing” (Brighenti 2010, 35).

From observation and control, to sensing risk

The stairwell and hallway that must be passed through in order to get to the control room at Liverpool City Council has a number of noticeboards on the walls, with newspaper clippings attached. As I was guided into the control room, an interviewee stopped and pointed to the clippings, proudly speaking to the nature of the news stories. Each clip related either to the success of CCTV in Liverpool, or to particular crime stories whereby a resolution occurred with ‘the help’ of CCTV.

According to policy and interviews, CCTV control room operators are, at their most basic function, expected to sit in front of a number of monitors and observe movements within the city. When identifying something potentially problematic or
criminal, operators are then expected to contact the police and guide them to the place of interest, whilst ensuring also that the event is recorded. This is similar to the camera itself; ‘at the most mundane level, and aside from all the other things that it does, CCTV observes and possibly records bodies, bodily activities, and embodied behaviours’ (Dubbeld 2003, 152). These directives are simple. However, the considerable restrictions in watching by operators mean subjective methods of watching result. These restrictions are numerous. Firstly, operators can only view the city through the limited frames of individual cameras. Some implications of this have been explored in the previous chapter. Even with the 360-degree swivel capabilities of the camera (which are installed in each municipality), operators can still only see one set frame at a time, removing the option of exploring an endless periphery. While technological advancements conceivably extend coverage in a city, a selective gaze continues to occur, where the camera is automatically focused to begin with, or where its gaze lingers (either by the choice of the operator or by the operator disengaging with the camera). The decision to change the camera’s direction introduces agent choice within the control room, yet this is contingent upon the prior choice to install the camera, and even then, is restricted to a series of limited frames. In short, 360-degree surveillance is impossible.

Directed by the police, decisions to install cameras are made unquestioningly:

And we take police advice. You know, if police say to us here’s a spot that you should think of, that you need CCTV, then we’ll put it in... we put them all in, on the basis of where the police told us they needed them. (RE, Manager, City of Melbourne)

So, unlike pretty much everything we do on this council where we strive to be an evidence-based policy maker, in CCTV, literally all we
get is, ‘Victoria Police recommended this is a good site. We cannot
tell you the reasons why, please provide funds.’ (Councillor GR, City
of Melbourne)

They [the police] don’t give you even suburb-based data…there are
very strong protocols within the Victoria Police about the release of
crime data at a local level. (QB, Manager, Moreland City Council)

This received advice occurs not only at the behest of State governments (in order to
achieve grants for new camera installations), but also due to the history of open-
street CCTV in Australia being traceable to its use in ‘specialised police surveillance
operations’ (Sutton and Wilson 2004, 312). Once a camera is installed and connected
into the network, the politics of framing is sidelined and each council instead
emphasises how monitoring situations ‘live’ is crucial to achieving order.
Interviewees across each municipality emphasised the ability of operators to
respond immediately as key to the success of cameras:

What’s probably more important is that it enables rapid response...
and I mean eventually people may not even know why emergency
people turn up so promptly but they’re reassured by the fact that
there is a prompt response and that kind of helps with the general
feeling of security. (LP, Director, City of Melbourne)

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, each control room consists only a small number
of employees compared to the number of cameras in operation. Even the ‘Home
Office Best Practice’ for control room operations in the United Kingdom requires
only one operator per 30 screens.93 Bringing into this the realities of shift work
(operators are often put on a rotating roster of 12 hour shifts that involve 15 minute
breaks without cover), and ‘seeing everything’ is considerably diminished. With the

93 Data sourced from interview with Robert McAlister.
limited scope of visibility within the network acknowledged by interviewees as frustrating, one respondent likened the watching of CCTV cameras to watching multiple televisions:

Unless I’ve got some kind of intelligence, to show me what to be watching at a certain time, all those billions of images that are coming in, I’m hoping that I’m on the right channel at the right time, right, with my recorder ready to record my favourite incident. You know, you watch that over 30 screens and tell me what the plot is. (Robert McAlister, City of Westminster)

While visibilities are acknowledged to be restricted, the expansion of CCTV still demonstrates how the ‘city both is fascinated with, and hugely denigrates, the visual’ (Urry 2010, 349). That is, control room operators, presented with a wall of screens, largely focus on policing city aesthetics to find the ‘right channel’. To demonstrate this ongoing prioritisation of the visual, technological advancements exist which allow for security cameras to have audio recordings within its apparatus, and yet councils have not chosen to invest in it: ‘We don’t really need it. You know, it’s not really something that you need’ (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne).

Visual representations of the city become sufficient for making assessments regarding safety. The way a city looks on screen precedes other sensory aspects to its makeup:

I think we focus, very much, our attention on the environment, making it look better, designing out crime. (Robert McAlister, City of Westminster)
With the street as a space of representation through these screens, the aesthetic focus emphasises visual disorder in surveilled spaces as indicators of rupture. Control room surveillance practices historically target subjects on this basis, with expanded networks simply extending similar management of the street encounter (Fyfe 1998, 176). Within the CCTV governance network, objectivity becomes a rhetorical device rather than a procedural objective. At multiple levels of the operation, the camera reaches out and finds – it is a subjective sense-maker rather than an objective receiver of information.

Emerging within my research are desires to manage the image of the city beyond its relationship to security. In the City of Melbourne, Liverpool City Council and the City of Westminster, each interviewed group made mention to the importance of appearing to be a clean and safe city. Indeed, Westminster’s motto in its operations is to be ‘clean, safe, compliant’, whereas the City of Melbourne pushes its recognition as being ‘the most liveable city’ (Wright 2016). Such desire to be unequivocally safe and clean arises from ‘a persistent state of competitive anxiety amongst cities, coupled with ever more desperate pursuit of investment opportunities and (putative) development panaceas’ (Theodore, Peck and Brenner, 2012, 24). That is, seeking to produce a city as entirely controllable comes from neoliberal pressures placed within and onto city environments for productivity and success. As Coleman states, as a ‘key tool in the politics of vision, cameras in [cities]... are helping to put into effect what can and cannot be seen on the streets’ (2004, 301). By asking if the city is ‘clean, safe, compliant’, control room operations expand from crime
prevention and towards ‘talking more about how that [city] looks’ (Robert McAlister, City of Westminster).

The desire to present the city as ‘clean, safe, compliant’, not only to its walking subjects but also to its investors, is strongly attached to the history of CCTV networks. In the City of Melbourne, security cameras were first installed as part of the Westend Project and in the context of the Postcode 3000 project, both intended to regenerate the environment so that it became more attractive to investors (in either living or business locations). Similar links have also already been made in the context of Liverpool by Coleman and Sim (2000). They suggested that neoliberal strategies of rule reimagined CCTV as supporting ‘an important alliance of interests’ who generate images of dangerousness in relation to the ‘economically marginalised’ (2000, 636). Ultimately, security cameras were installed in certain spaces to identify subjects unable to contribute meaningfully to neoliberal city ideals, their images rendered problematic and risky through the process of surveillance, and removed through further installed security apparatuses, to suit the investor’s image of a profitable city (Coleman and Sim 2000). Visualisations ‘gives shape to the very processes of movement around the city’, and so these visual representation of the city influences how we see, feel and act in the space (Urry, 2010, 349). The strategy to remove a problematic subject consequently renders any reappearance of one hyper-visible, risky and in need of further ‘rapid’ response. Written either directly into the name of the policy (as in the Safe City Cameras Program for the City of Melbourne) or encapsulated in an umbrella term that the policy sits under (regarding management or maintenance of a city), the directives of
control rooms are deliberately vague, allowing for these expanded practices. Like policing, CCTV networks are ‘not simply the control of vagrants, the diseased, and the idle – but also about the facilitation and regulation of trade, the protection of the free market’ (Salter 2013, 11).

Overarching these control room practices is the cultural investment that the image can tell the truth. This influences operator practice and investment in their activity, and can be retroactively confirmed through evaluation processes and criminal justice operations. As demonstrated in the chapters prior to this, consumption of security footage is inherently problematic, due in part to its ability to unsettle city spaces, particularly when moments of banality are mediated in the context of violence. Beyond this, faith in the image can also disrupt elements of the criminal justice system. When using a narrative constructed from images drawn from security cameras, moments of criminality are presented as decisive in their visual form; ‘what you see is what really happened (Smith 2015, 33) (emphasis in original). When presented with an image of oneself by criminal justice agencies such as the police, subjects can be coerced to agree with the narrated image, and later to plead guilty to the story as told by the image. This coercive practice is then used as a way in which to demonstrate the effectiveness of CCTV networks, and to justify their exponential costs:

When you are at court, people who don’t, who actually just say, ‘Ok I’m pleading guilty,’ because they’ve seen the strength of the evidence through CCTV, saves the country thousands and thousands of pounds upon each case, if not more than thousands and thousands. It’s a massive amount. (PB, Manager, Liverpool City Council)
CCTV footage retains its authority and legitimacy through its social and cultural
capital, emphasising the importance of the individual's responsibility to confess.
Footage becomes decisive. The multiple and systemic failures of the criminal justice
system are reconfigured (Cunneen 2006). In a similar way, and as Chapter Four (and
Six) concluded, victims of certain crimes may have their own movement
interrogated as, in some way, suggestive. Footage may also not even be shared,
subject to privacy codes. Implicit within this perception, of a video recording as
being absolute witness, is its failure if something is not recorded. In the context of
the City of Melbourne, even with their 360-degree cameras, at the time of a bike
rider fatally colliding with a bus, no camera was watching: 'Not a thing. No footage
whatsoever of that whole tragedy' (RE, Manager, City of Melbourne).

Failure such as this is productive for the expansion of CCTV. If a CCTV 'black spot is...
legitimated as a source of anxiety' (Evans 2015, 229), the rationalised approach each
time is to expand the gaze, and to install more cameras. If there remains concern
regarding a tension between why CCTV was installed and what it monitors, any
footage that it does capture becomes both a maker and a marker of the city. Control
rooms respond, actively intervening to either restore or expand optimum city
aesthetics. CCTV is lauded as instrumental evidence in an expanding number of
cases and documents (Ashby 2017; CMSCCAC 2016). However, the quality of this
evidence, or its ability to work as investigational tool where other policing practices
and witness statements would suffice, remains questionable. As evidenced above in
RE’s comment on the cyclist killed by a bus, and also in ZS's account of 'becoming
witness' in the previous chapter, such investment is likely overstated.
The control room becomes a symptom and breeder of city anxieties. This is linked to the city as a ‘neoliberalised operating environment’, caught between responsibility and facilitator of global investment (Theodore, Peck and Brenner 2012, 24). In the City of Westminster, there was direct recognition that they were the central part of a global city:

Geographically where we are, but also, the fact that as a, and I keep coming back to this kind of capital within a capital. (Robert McAlister, head of City Coordination and Civil Contingencies, City of Westminster)

As mentioned before, there is a strong awareness that control rooms will not be able to see everything:

Sometimes people forget that by having a camera that doesn't mean that you're ok. Because if the camera isn't looking at you when something happens, it may as well not be there. (RE, City of Melbourne)

CCTV networks with live control rooms are recognised to be the most expensive CCTV system by councils to operate long-term, with the cost of monitoring prohibitive for many (Hulme, Morgan and Brown 2015, 7). Recognising these restrictions, each council in this study saw training and experience as a way to mitigate network failures and reduce the financial burden. Part of the staff’s perception of the ‘highly trained’ nature of operators was a claim that operators had a ‘sixth sense’ – an ability to anticipate and respond to risk without the need for sustained and objective training. With some United Kingdom CCTV operators dubbed by media and police as ‘super-recognisers’ – believed to have an exceptional ability in correctly identifying suspects’ faces in footage – the affiliation between
CCTV operator and extraordinary capabilities occurs broadly (Robertson 2016).94 When assessing risk or risky subjects within the city, operators are assumed to have an innate sense of ‘good’ and ‘bad’ subjects:

It’s funny how they’re trained, they seem to know if there’s a surge. A crowd moves and they’ll go there, which is interesting because they can tell when something is up. (RE, Manager, City of Melbourne)

[Control room operators] just develop a sense. (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne)

Perhaps unsurprisingly, this ‘sense’ is often embedded in pre-existing expectations of deviancy:

PK: So normally even when national police teams, when they come here, they’ll pass comment on the level of surveillance that takes place just naturally by the officers. Because they pick up a feeling, it’s strange.

PB: It's like a sixth sense.

PK: An example of that is, there was a guy walking around recently and one of our lads noticed he had quite a lot of snickers [chocolate] bars, or some kind of chocolate bar. So, he monitored it, passed it onto the police and then phoned around, or radioed around all the local shops to ask them to check their stock to see if anyone was missing a snickers.

(Managers, City of Liverpool)

Within a control room, devoid of other sensorial experiences of the city, a ‘separation of senses’ occurs (Urry 2010, 349). Further, ‘the moment the look dominates, the body loses its materiality’, impoverishing the ‘relationship of the body to its environment’ (Urry 2010, 350). For a control room operator to ‘sense’

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94 Interestingly, there also remains sustained interest in the United Kingdom context regarding the ability for CCTV to catch recordings of paranormal activity, such as a ghost child in a pub (Rkaina 2015).
risk through a television monitor therefore becomes as dependent on the room in which it occurs, which in this case enhances it.

We walked around the side of the building in the West End and descended some old concrete stairs. Entering the City of Westminster CCTV control room, three control room operators, sitting on swivel chairs, turned to see who I was, before returning their gaze to the mass number of monitors stuck onto the side of the wall. Conversation was minimal and stifled, and I felt that I should not speak too loudly, as though to do so would break their concentration. 48 monitors took up one wall of the room, playing footage of busy streets. Several computer screen monitors on the desks of each operator allowed for more targeted surveillance. These men, like the man who came to meet me, were middle aged, white, and sombre in mood. I asked to take photos or notes, but was told that it was not permitted for ‘security reasons’. Asking instead how they managed their daily shifts and utilised training, I was led to a side room. There, my guide pulled down on a string, like a blind. Descending was a map of the city, large enough to close out the window facing back into the control room. I felt as though I was indeed in the important headquarters of a covert surveillance operation – seeking to find something or someone important, the dark and underground room, with no external windows and only a wall of screens, exuded significance.

An emphasis on the preternatural capabilities of control room operators has a number of effects. Firstly, it justifies the budgetary constraints imposed. Rather than improving national standards, or contracting operators with better working conditions, it is believed that with the right people and their senses, blind spots will
not occur, or will at least be reduced so as to maintain the integrity of the system. Even in Liverpool City Council’s ‘fully integrated’ system that connects patrols to control rooms, emphasis remained on the special abilities of an operator to see the city (PK, Manager, Liverpool City Council). Secondly, it shields how identification of risk in the city is made through the lens. While surveillance systems are ‘adept at monitoring both large groups as well as individuals’, the way in which certain populations may specifically be targeted continues (O’Neill and Loftus 2013, 438). This has been covered in existing literature, as documented in Chapter Two. ‘Police targeting of the poor is nothing new’, and so it is anticipated that certain individuals will be scrutinised more heavily by the control room operators (O’Neill and Loftus 2013, 439). This is more likely considering how operators may be former police officers (as with the Liverpool City Council control room observations), or inherently influenced by police agencies through camera placement. Emphasis on the way in which operators ‘sense’ risk, as evinced by subjects in this study, confirms the findings made by researchers almost 20 years ago (Norris and Armstrong 1999). It is also reflected in ongoing policing studies, which illustrate how police agencies continue to marginalise certain groups of individuals on basis of gender, race, class and age (for example, see Sharples and Grossman 2010; Smith and Reside 2010; Weitzer 1996; Windle 2008).

Relying on preternatural senses rather than promoting higher levels of training, evaluation, or environments of watching, the effect that such targeting has on the dynamics of the city is currently unquantifiable through council auditing procedures. Rhetoric regarding subjects who are ‘definitely up to no good’, shield
unjust surveillance practices (Norris and Armstrong 1999, 166; Goold 2002). These statements are still spoken in the control room.

While in the City of Liverpool CCTV control room, I am told eagerly how good the operators are at predicting crime. An example is used when an operator, with their ‘gut instinct’, could tell that a young man was ‘up to no good’. He proceeded to follow the young man on the network of cameras for several minutes until he was caught committing an offence. This was marked as a success for the network, and a demonstration of ‘sixth sense’.

Since the 1990s, each network (City of Melbourne, City of Liverpool, and City of Westminster) has significantly expanded the number of cameras installed. Yet, the control rooms themselves remain restricted in how many operators are employed, and the numbers of monitors are still not commensurate to cameras. That a ‘sixth sense’ style of monitoring is still permitted within the culture of the control room means stratified targeting of subjects will likely be augmented, given the organisations making up the CCTV network all continuing their own practices of social sorting. The isolation of the control room – in access, and in deprivation of other senses from the city– fails to consider how the visual experienced in this context itself becomes a medium for its representation. CCTV control rooms enable CCTV to territorialise space, choose subjects, and order the city. It attempts to define the atmosphere of the city.
After my interview with Robert McAlister, I was invited to view the City of Westminster’s Control Room. Located underneath the West End, I was told to wait outside the front of a grey building and call a number provided when I arrived. Upon contacting the number, a man answered. The man, whom I had not met before and only had a first name for, asked me to describe what I was wearing and the colour of my hair so that he would, ‘Know who to look for’. Immediately, I became hyper-aware that this disembodied voice had full view of me through a network of cameras, and there was very little I could do to prevent this. Once locating me through the cameras, I waited as the crowd moved around me, before a man appeared next to me.

When telling me about how control room operators identified risks, I was given an example. Shown a piece of paper that had a photo of a man of dishevelled appearance, the photo had been taken from a CCTV camera feed. The word ‘ASBO’ was written above it in red lettering. Below the photo, the text outlined how the man had been given a 5-year anti-social behaviour order for ‘aggressive begging and drug use’, and how he had subsequently been barred from entering the West End. His photo was stuck on the desk of the operators. This was a clear indication that he – and similar offenders – was to be targeted. When prompted further regarding why this man had been singled out, the manager of the control room indicated that the police had identified him, and that operators had been requested to seek him out.
When read in the context of operators utilising their ‘sixth sense’, social sorting on basis of appearance becomes clear, and the surveillance system of CCTV becomes increasingly dependent on efficient and searchable databases of aesthetics (Lyon 2002). Rather than separating subjects from their corporeal appearance (as ‘big data’ does), these become a filter for dealing with an overload of visual data: ‘visibility is employed as a means of sorting, classifying and ranking’ (Brighenti 2010, 44). Classification of populations based on appearance and movement become the precursor for differential treatment, either through a ‘feeling’, or as directed by police. Here we can see a desire to remove or ‘separate risky subjects from the populace’ and ‘diminish the risks they represent by... disrupting their social connectedness’ (O’Malley 2004, 334). If we adapt the ideas of Douglas (2003, 44), coordinating targeted surveillance of individuals ‘out of place’ results in an increased likelihood of removing them from the city. While possible to be enforced through the control room’s connectedness to emergency services (and by extension, the techniques such as the Anti-Social Behaviour Order), this exclusion can also be implicit or pre-empted, resulting in a subject’s desire to leave the space prior to engagement with law enforcement (Massey 1999; Hae 2012; Gill and Spriggs 2005). Knowing that someone was ‘searching for me’ before being escorted to the control room was unnerving, and such feelings are mirrored for others through accounts of the emergence of a ‘psychic panopticon’ (Harper 2008).95

95 A recent count of rough sleepers in Victoria found that the majority of the population were found not in the CBD but in the city’s outer suburbs, rural areas and regional centres (Krusche and Lucas 2017).
Just as technology can increase proximity in social relations, so too can it have a distancing effect, increasing and mediating the distance between the seer and the seen (Pugliese 2013, 577). The objectivity of distance as created by the camera is a façade. Virtual representations of bodies, subjects replicated on screen appear in asymmetrical relations, and so their agency of representation diminishes to nothing (Dubbeld 2003, 153). The introduction of technological overlays makes it easier to literally highlight and separate ‘risky’ populations from the crowd, all without the knowledge of the targeted subject. It also resituates the identification, and sense, of a problematic subject within the technology:

We’ve just put new software in place where we can help identify, so we’ll put a screen filter in saying on that camera, ‘Tell us everyone walking south wearing a black top.’ It screens out everyone not wearing black. So, it’s just you. (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne)

In the control room at Liverpool City Council, the camera monitors were larger, and had a clearer resolution than the City of Westminster control room. I was also told that prefigured settings within the system would switch camera monitors dependent upon the time of day, or if a particular event was in progress. This was heralded as an important measure to assist in watching the right places.

The way in which technological overlays are developed and utilised are discursively depoliticised, and transformed into an objective or ‘advanced’ use of the visual device. This can be read more broadly within the discourse of surveillance technologies as a binary – either ‘for’ national security and surveillance, or against the nation (Simone 2009). Technological overlays used in relation to an operator’s
‘sixth sense’ indicates desires for the technology itself to ‘sense’ the city. Developed by Steve Mann in 1990, such sensory technology seeks to connect and enhance ‘natural senses’ to synthetic devices, so that ‘information made for decision-making’ can be integrated from online and present sources (Sharma et al. 2013, 278). While awkward in its initial manifestation as a camera worn on the body, similar ideological assertions may be drawn from current and more sophisticated technological overlays in CCTV networks. Assuming that data can be collected to objectively understand societal behaviour, sixth sense technology works to infer the ‘interaction and association between people and [environment]. The collected data are then used for... services, to improve productivity’ and ‘interpersonal interactions’ (Guo et al. 2013, 408). Reshaped in the context of the control room, operator and technology work together to sense and produce senses for the city. Atmospheres produced by surveillance ‘alter human experience’ with the city (Ellis, Tucker and Harper 2013, 718). Arguably, practices of engaging in sensory surveillance within the control room also alters human experiences in understanding, navigating and responding to visual representations of city.

Whereas Cohen’s work on moral panics is usually applied to the generalised fear and anger expressed towards particular social groups, as mediated through skewed representations of deviance via the mass media, it is also relevant to the (re)formed consciousness of the control room operator. As Smith’s fieldwork demonstrated, control room operators become attuned to that which they ‘visually encounter’, generating a different:

...impression of social life... repeatedly searching for parlous motions and at-risk social bodies [mean] that camera operators are, by virtue
of a process of gaze reification, frequently subjected to textual violence. (2015, 132)

Legitimised through a process of informal training (which reinforces 'sixth sense'), looking for – and being exposed to – particular elements of street violence attune control room operators to continue to look for practices leading up to these moments. Just as function creep occurs in the overall utility of surveillance technologies, so too does a creep occur regarding perceptions of risk within the mindset of the camera operator. A targeted selection of ‘risky behaviour’ ultimately skews data representations of crime, and subsequently any data of crime reduction (Williams 2007). Thus, ‘such surveillance both addresses risks and produces others’, transforming moments leading up to a potential crime into a crime itself (Lyon 2004, 137). The ‘sense of surveillance’ forms a relatively unnoticed part of everyday life in control rooms, in that it works as amplification of deviancy without revealing its contribution to the construction of deviancy.

The ability for images and videos to produce and intensify narratives of risk is clear in the daily operations of CCTV. This is further enhanced when the city is considered as a potential site of terrorism. While the Federal Police are ‘infrequent users of the Program’ in the City of Melbourne, their use of the Safe City Cameras Program is increasing (CMSCCAC 2016, 3). In the City of Westminster, premediation (see Grusin 2004) was already far more apparent within the consciousness of the operators as they watched live feeds. Considering the remit of their job to include anti-terrorism, this context ‘works to prevent citizens of the global mediasphere from experiencing
again the kind of systemic or traumatic shock produced by the events of 9/11’ (Grusin 2010, 2). The result however, ensures elevated responses to events:

Only two days ago, we had a gas main that actually exploded in Piccadilly that had a lorry parked on top of it. Now, that’s the difference between an environmental issue compared with counter terrorism because that could’ve been a vehicle bomb but actually it wasn’t, it was a gas main. Now, you know, CCTV can’t really differentiate, but apart from the fact you’ve got operators who are listening to the radio and they can understand what’s going on, so there is this, it’s not just about CCTV, it’s about the whole apparatus that feeds it. The intelligence that’s coming in, but also the response you’re getting on the street from the operators, but that’s a massive subject. (Robert McAlister, head of City Coordination and Civil Contingencies, City of Westminster)

That a gas main explosion is considered first as an act of terrorism rather than an environmental issue is demonstrative of the way in which ‘professional watchers’ assess visual material in the context of heightened risk (Smith 2015). Imagining an extreme security breach illustrates how CCTV networks exist within these politicised contexts of securitisation and security premediation. Risks are assessed beyond probability and into possibility (de Goede 2008, 155). Just as counter-terrorism operations consider the most extreme terrorist attack in order to prepare (regardless of the likelihood), so too are security agents who work within control rooms now trained to read images in the context of extreme violence.

Placement of a camera into an area influences an operator’s perception of the space as a site of potential risk (Smith 2015). This is similar to research that stipulates how CCTV signage may actually ‘increase [an individual’s] anxiety about crime and disorder’ (Lippert 2009, 507). Beyond the policing of aesthetics and premediation, desires for surveillance to ‘order, channel and discipline populations’ through
circulation also emerges (Ball, Haggerty and Lyon 2012, 44). Subjects that do not move correctly (too fast, too slow, or not at all) attract the attention of the operators (O'Neill and Loftus 2013). The perception that control rooms can recognise and measure the ‘right’ way to occupy a public space becomes evident again. Expanding beyond a subject’s corporeal identity, how they inhabit the city through movement is keenly observed, particularly as networks encroach on more space. Surveillance is mobilised to ‘manage circulation through the security techniques of inclusion, facilitation, and acceleration as well as exclusion, detention, and imprisonment (Salter 2013, 12). There are no oppositions, but instead intersections. In other terms, the liberal state becomes a mechanism where arbitration between freedom and security is managed through the ability to move and circulate (Pugliese 2013, 575). That which prevents or disrupts this process is identified as problematic. This is particularly evident when addressing the ways in which space may be managed through CCTV surveillance to better assist circulation:

It’s important that we’re able to monitor the crowd control, the safety of those large volumes of people. (PK, Manager, Liverpool City Council)

You can track people that way, and we’ve had whole groups of people tracked across the city. (RE, Manager, City of Melbourne)

It’s like traffic engineers. Traffic engineers can look at traffic and know that there’s a problem coming because they get used to watching the movement of cars and queuing. Same thing happens with our operators. (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne)

Apparent in these comments is an underlying perception regarding how subjects should move within the city. That which disrupts ‘normal movement’ warrants
further investigation, as operators seek to ‘deter and striate risky flows’ (Smith 2015, 28). Such correlation between movement and safety is enhanced when assuming it can be used in respect of a population en masse:

You can start to look at themes and patterns, and link people and places up. So, it’s a good source of information that you can then use more intelligently. (Robert McAlister, City of Westminster)

How to identify correct and risky movement(s) is influenced by a number of factors, one of which is the cycle of the city itself as it moves through the day and into the night. Ensuring that spaces are fit for those who want to move through is key:

So everyone who is walking into the city in the morning is not walking into a sea of bottles, wrappers, food, you know, homeless people lying all over the street who couldn’t get home the night before, you know. (Robert McAlister, City of Westminster)

Likening the stationary and homeless body to that of waste in need of removal, CCTV-vision encourages a desire for public spaces to be vacant of obstruction. Categories of suspicious movement are constructed not only by the control room then, but also as ‘part of the larger political process leading up to the implementation of CCTV in the first place’ (Dubbeld 2003, 154). The asserted freedom to move ‘without fear of uncomfortable encounters by a privileged class now “legitimately” trumps over the very safe freedom of movement [or freedom not to move] that ought, ideally, to be exercised by the under-privileged as well’ (Hae 2012, 25).

In the City of Westminster Control Room, I asked how operators identified, or used training to identify, elements of risk in the city. The manager responded that training
operators focused on movement as an indication of risk, with loitering or 'hanging out and returning to one spot' as a clear 'sign of drug dealing'.

Evident is a discursive transformation of the 'right to the city', and towards the right to an empty city (or, the 'right to exclude' (Hae 2012, 26)). Stationary objects transform, from inconvenient, and into inherently risky:

There's always stuff being left, always stuff being problematic on the street... from a crime perspective, you start to also look at crowded places, as potential for terrorist activities. So, what we might have been looking at is vehicles that were being left, discarded packages that were being left. (Robert McAlister, City of Westminster)

In the city as fortress, moments of war or terrorism are concerned with movement (Bottomley and Moore 2007, 175). Control room operators require open access to the street, to other agencies, and to viewing a constantly moving (or, circulating) population. In this mentality, should something stall, or a street be obstructed, and immediately the situation becomes risky. 'Senses' kick in, and operators respond. Their scopic regime recognises this visibility as deviant. Motionless becomes something in need of intervention in order to move on, remove, or otherwise restore open communication between the network of surveillance and security technologies in operation in the city space.

Control room operators seek to identify patterns and negotiate their viewing through these processes. Unregulated (or, actively unsurveilled) spaces therefore instigates perception of risk, as it facilitates 'unforeseeable movements' (Bottomley and Moore 2007, 205). This is heightened through the dissemination of CCTV
footage relating to ‘the moment before’ street violence, as highlighted in Chapter Six. Once further installed and viewed, spaces with CCTV are the outcome of this action; social space as viewed through CCTV networks permit only certain fresh actions to occur (Lefebvre 1991, 73). As another camera is added, so too is another space identified in the control room as warranting surveillance to monitor and remove risky flows. The control room extends beyond targeting criminal behaviour, or even ‘precrime’, and shifts towards enabling good flows over bad flows. It becomes less about crime management and more about city management. ‘Circulation must be defended’ (Chambers 2015, 15).

Intentions to control and facilitate ‘good circulation’ become more apparent in the context of anti-social behaviour. When asked to elaborate on what kinds of practices control room operators would intervene in, interviewees identified behaviour that would prevent others from using the space as a legitimate target:

We do get sometimes requests from precincts to have security cameras... sometimes some areas don’t like skateboarders. Skateboarders are a big issue. And some of them are confronting. (Councillor CK, City of Melbourne)

There are people out there who deliberately get drunk or take drugs and come into the city and are prepared to cause harm. You know. That’s the reality of who they are. The general population has to be protected against them. (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne)

If you think of the West End, because of its nightlife, because of its drugs, alcohol and anti-social behaviour... you probably would never take those cameras away. (Robert McAlister, City of Westminster)
Policing anti-social behaviour through control room operations indicates, again, a strengthening of desires to mitigate any movement that falls outside ‘acceptability’. The surveilled city works as space whereby there is a ‘disproportionate interest in a particular sort of victim – typically the city-dweller whose quality of life, it is perceived, is detrimentally affected by the numerous incivilities that characterise contemporary urban society’ (Hayward 2004, 107). Responses to skateboarding operate like responses to graffiti – targeted through this ‘quality of life’ lens and rendered anti-social due to its aesthetic representation as a threat to order. Something which visibly and definitively defies the authority of spatial politics (and combined with its usual ‘offender’ being from a younger generation), these practices become a great risk due to its realisation of a moral panic (Cohen 2011). An example from the Liverpool City Council demonstrates the strong desire to police anti-social behaviour, and the ability for CCTV to affect the removal of youths from a space:

We put cameras in two different locations... and overnight police reported back to us that anti-social behaviour crime had dropped by 100% in that area, literally overnight... There were lots of young people who felt as though they had nothing to do despite being in a big park, and they were just causing annoyance... so we were able to install some CCTV. And the responses from the residents at the time, it transformed their lives overnight because it reduced the amount of annoyance that was being caused by these people. Some people were thinking about moving because of the impact it was having... but they then became themselves, it became ‘their camera’. (PB, Manager, Liverpool City Council)

Clearly apparent in the above example, and in Lord Mayor Doyle’s perception of drink and drug users who ‘come into the city’, deviant individuals are imagined to be outside citizenship:
...the community imagined in such claims is always an exclusive one, bounded by a power that seeks to enforce sameness, repress diversity, and diminish the rights (and claims to being) of those who are thrust outside its protective embrace. (Burke 2008, 5)

The securitisation of city spaces is made exceptionally clear by the incorporation of G4S – a global security company criticised for its Blackwater-style operations in Iraq – into CCTV governance networks. ‘Authoritarian styles of governance’ emerge implicitly from these contractual agreements, and city environments are reimagined (Graham 2012, 449).96

As an arm to broader city management aims, control room operators are expected to manage the safety of the city through the process of watching. While looking for those determined to be a potential risk to the safety of the city and its citizens, this role can– and often does – focus on other practices in the city that promote a well-circulated economy:

They observe and they intervene, you know, when necessary. That’s what CCTV cameras do. And I think that cities have a responsibility to maintain safety and good order in the public realm. (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne)

We always kind of saw the daytime as being more of how we manage the city and the environment... it was a city management tool, and at night it would still be a city management tool, but it would go into a more of a crime mode. (Robert McAlister, City of Westminster)

96 This links directly to the current politics of securing Australia’s borders from unauthorised maritime arrival. Securing circulation ‘is generating a world of proliferating borders; in circular fashion, this strengthens the calls for the further development and intensification of border security policies’ (Chambers 2015, 29).
Control room operators are harnessed to assist in city practices of circulation. This may be as an authoritative guide who can connect other agents together:

As informing the cities and their planning team, there’s been a, you know, a serious incident that’s cut off a section of the city and that can also then feed into the bus networks and the transport networks to let them know that there is an incident happening. (PB, Manager, Liverpool City Council)

Or as a key observer themselves, to ensure that events go ‘to plan’:

In crowds, you know, it’s not just crime by the way. When we have very large city events it helps to keep people safe because we can observe crowd movement through the city. (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne)

You’ve got somebody out there busking, playing an instrument, or a statue dressed in gold, nice and stood there silently. The problem with that is these people are making money, erm, illegally, not paying taxes on that, you know they’re not contributing. It’s another form of begging to some degree. But also in the background, when you’ve got a large crowd gathering, there are other low-level types of crime going on in the background. So, it could be mobile phone theft, wallet theft, purses, because those people are being distracted by the event so you’ve got other types of people in the background operating and that the crowd have no idea, er, that this is going on. (Robert McAlister, City of Westminster).

Control room operators become operators for the city. They are assumed to have the ability, and sense, required in order to manage the city at a distance. If the city space is identified as a hostile environment (or, territory to be protected), as it currently is through the lens of the camera, risky subjects need only be removed from the geographical enclosure in order to be neutralised. Exclusion, in the form of anti-social behaviour orders in the United Kingdom or ‘move on’ orders in Australia, exist to vacate the city for more desirable movement. CCTV control rooms no only
strengthen these effects, they are the central technology through which exclusion becomes possible. The ordering of space and the construction of the scopic regime of movement are all part of the techniques to govern and ‘secure’ the population. Securing a city for one kind of citizen will almost always mean insecurity for the other, realised through social exclusion and separation from services (Burke 2008). In the context of the city and in relation to the way in which observers watch, this usually means the most vulnerable or disadvantaged within cities will be further marginalised. If ‘disorder offers a problematic visibility that has to be managed in some way’ (Brighenti 2010, 56), visual surveillance itself produces definitive actors in disorder. Without a meaningful method for interpreting or understanding practices beyond their representation on the screen, subjects perceived as anti-social – based on aesthetics and movement – are rendered problematic, and warranting removal from the public without further engagement. Their rights to the city are reduced and side-lined beyond the frame of the camera, and made invisible, because literally ‘out of frame’ (Brighenti 2010, 83). Considering also the social mobility harnessed through affective response to CCTV images (for example the viewing of Meagher’s death), victims of crime who are victimised outside of the frame (or because of the frame) are consequently also less likely to receive assistance or sympathy.

Conclusion: Reassembling intent

Policies and practices relating to public CCTV and control rooms are functionally vague and contradictory. While attempting to justify investment and spending
through a claim as to CCTV preventing crime, the way in which this is achieved is difficult for councils to explain. For example, in one interview, a City of Melbourne councillor referred to CCTV as capable of preventing someone from acting in a criminal or antisocial manner due to their awareness of the presence of a camera. At another point, the respondent acknowledged how CCTV does little to act as an active deterrent (Councillor CK, City of Melbourne). Regardless of these inconsistencies, CCTV networks retain broad council support and public legitimacy in its operation.

CCTV may be read in the city as ‘liquid surveillance’ – something whose only constant is its change (Lyon and Bauman 2012). The aims and evaluation of CCTV networks are inconsistent and inconclusive, with negative findings dismissed as irrelevant as networks seek to expand (Taylor 2010). Due to relatively lax governance, the purpose of CCTV and its function is open to interpretation, and subject to context. CCTV has the ability to quickly reassemble its purpose, and to expand its gaze, in the process intentionally shifting atmospheres of the city. The purpose of a CCTV network is to transform and achieve any number of functions that suit the political and economic environment at the time.

In July 2016, the City of Westminster committed to defunding and dismantling their CCTV network operations (Mann and Al-Othman 2016). This decision was made on the basis of ongoing and exorbitant costs to the municipality. Citing a decline in the number of grants awarded by the Home Office and an inability to secure ongoing funding from other agencies, the City of Westminster subsequently proffered statistics to demonstrate the CCTV network’s inability to ‘play a significant role in
preventing general crime and improving the safety of the city’ (City of Westminster 2016a, no pagination). A decision such as this, while uncommon, is not entirely anomalous. The cost of CCTV networks in the United Kingdom and Australia, regardless of technological advancements and improvements in affordability, is extremely high. Particularly in relation to networks that involve a live control room, grants offered by state agencies do little to support the ongoing costs of maintenance and operation. With CCTV primarily working to collect evidence regarding criminal activity, the costs of operation should be located within the budget of police agencies. However, these agencies also have limited resources and are reluctant to take on expensive surveillance networks. It is unclear whether the extinguishment of cameras will be confined to the City of Westminster or extend beyond it to others. A petition has already emerged, arguing for the system to be restored (City of Westminster 2016c). And many councils, particularly in an Australian context, continue to invest in the technology. These new networks bring with them new opportunities for moments of everyday city encounters to be produced and consumed as visual representations of ambient risk. It seems unlikely, therefore, that CCTV networks will be removed on a large scale. Within the City of Westminster and the United Kingdom, investment in other surveillance technologies, such as mobile CCTV cameras and IMSI catchers, also indicates that there is no significant change in practice (Pegg and Evans 2016). Driven by an emphasis on financial viability and austerity, the disinvestment in CCTV networks by public authorities is not driven by desires to reduce the social consequences of such surveillance.

97 IMSI catchers intercept mobile phone data as phones try to connect to cellphone towers.
If councils do decide to disinvest in the technology, this will likely result from the development of other forms of visual surveillance covering the same area, due to an ongoing rise of privately operated surveillance mechanisms. In the context of Westminster, since the public cameras were switched off, significant numbers of CCTV cameras have been confirmed to still exist in the area, utilised as visual evidence in relation terrorist incidents in 2017. City coverage continues, albeit in more attenuated ways (Clarke-Billings 2017). Importantly though, new surveillance systems continue to be unable to see those who are the most vulnerable. The same security governance network logic continues. If live monitoring is desired, this responsibility will be further established onto the individual, or outsourced entirely to a private security agent. Super-recognisers may take new forms of technological varieties, yet in whatever arrangement, the surveillant classification of individuals will continue to require making visible certain features that enable differential treatment. Who and what makes the instructions may not be easily visualised; dispersed through complex networks of governance. However, the atmospheres in which such decisions take place – between the material and the nodes – will direct new senses of the city. Desires to secure space through surveillance devices is firmly established, and raises with it issues regarding control over other subjects occupying the same space. The desires to cover all ‘blind spots’ within cities will be returned to in the final chapter, before turning to moments of resistance and possible directions for meaningful change.

For a recent Australian case, see R v Gittany 2014; Simon Gittany was found guilty of the murder of his then girlfriend, Lisa Harnum. Prior to murdering her, he had surveillance cameras installed in their shared unit to monitor her movements.
Conclusion

Resisting excessive surveillance

*I think we're better at it now because the coverage is better.*

*(Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne)*

In May 2017, as a consequence of the Bourke Street attacks on the 20th of January of the same year (when a motorist killed six and injured dozens after driving his car through the pedestrian-only Bourke Street Mall), Lord Mayor Robert Doyle announced that State government funding would be used to install up to 30 more CCTV cameras in the central business district of Melbourne. Once installed, the *Safe City Camera Program* will consist of 98 cameras (Masanauskas and Galloway 2017). In previous years, similar announcements for expanding the network have been made, each time with an emphasis on the new cameras being able to comprehensively cover the city.99 Desires to cover so-called ‘black spots’ is indicative also in the City of Melbourne’s investment in a patrol vehicle equipped with CCTV cameras. Launched in 2009, the vehicle ‘patrols the city on Friday and Saturday nights from 10pm to 6am, all year round’ (City of Melbourne 2017, no pagination). It is understood by interviewees as a logical and effective extension to the network:

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99 See for example[^1].

It’s just simply an extension. It’s a mobile thing, so wherever there’s an issue it just drives around. People really pay attention to that. (RE, Manager, City of Melbourne)

[The patrol car is] a powerful deterrent in some of those spots where we haven’t got CCTV. So, I’m a firm believer in the efficacy of it. (Lord Mayor Robert Doyle, City of Melbourne)

Within these narratives, the driver of the vehicle is not mentioned. Instead, the patrol car’s extension is drawn directly from the control room itself:

| The control room will see something and it’ll send the car up to wherever. The car goes there, it turns up, it’s marked and, boy, doesn’t that take the sting out of a fight. (RE, City of Melbourne) |

As Malins writes, the ‘body (human, animal, social, chemical), has no interior truth or meaning: it exists only through its external connections and affects’ (2004, 86). The security patrol vehicle emerges, for control room operators, as an enhancement in their capabilities to produce the city. Operators remain behind closed doors, sitting on a comfortable chair, and use adapted computer technologies to direct the vehicle through the city. ‘Gamification’ of the city occurs, whereby game mechanics are integrated into the non-game activity of securing the city (O’Donnell 2014, 349). Within this ‘gamification’, populations are transformed, further, into discrete flows on screen. Using organised governance systems, absolute visual surveillance over circulating populations becomes the end-game. Lord Mayor Robert Doyle’s aims for this end-game were highlighted in the introduction of this thesis. The Safe City Cameras Program is intended to operate as the ‘eyes of the city’, trained upon ‘every entrant to the city’ (Masanauskas 2016a, no pagination). The city becomes a body,
and CCTV surveillance becomes its most important sense. With the technology becoming part of the city's body, how can it be separated, and should it be resisted?

According to David Lyon, surveillance is dependable on the ‘collusion (however weak or even unconscious) of their subjects’ (2004, 143). Even as surveillance practices become automated then, ‘the same technological systems may be used on occasion for quite varying and even contradictory purposes’ (Lyon 2004, 143). Resistance through, and resistance to surveillance, can be imagined. This can undermine or shift surveillant capabilities. Such practices of resistance may be through traditional cyber-activism practice, such as using an encryption service or virtual private network, or by destroying or unlawfully removing a camera. It can, and has, also manifest itself through more collaborative or creative methods. For example, in the United Kingdom, CCTV networks have been appropriated by individuals. ‘Video sniffing’ – the interception of live feed camera networks that are transmitted wirelessly – is one such cultural practice (Dodson 2008). CCTV networks become an opportunity for individuals to create their own media and visual narrative. More organised groups extend this, and utilise data retention and control room practices to produce artworks that can critically visualise how a subject is surveilled in the city.100 These actions seek to challenge hierarchies and heterarchies of CCTV network governance, and also produce moments of counter-surveillance, perhaps even resulting in ‘sousveillance’ as a political force (Mann and Ferenbok 2013). More broadly, discursive resistance to surveillance can trigger authorities to withdraw their gaze. For example, in Birmingham in the United Kingdom, the artist group Video Sniffing Network (VSN) has been able to create a public exhibition and discussion that challenges the city's surveillance network.

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100 See, for example, Zeilinger's 2012 analysis of Manu Luksh's film Faceless.
Kingdom, public outrage over 200 CCTV cameras seen to be targeting Muslim populations led to them being dismantled (Fussey 2013). In the Australian state of New South Wales, Shoalhaven City Council’s CCTV network was temporarily suspended, after being found to contravene the Privacy and Personal Information Act 1998 in SF v Shoalhaven City Council (2013).

Resistance in these forms emerges through various demands to the ‘right to privacy’ in public. Projects and products are designed and invested in, each in some way seeking to thwart technological efforts to identify individuals. These acts of resistance may not remove visual surveillance or halt its expansion. However, it does still make visible the camera within the street. If only for a moment, CCTV is unable to disappear into the fabric of the street, or to dominate visibilities of the city. Resistance like this also, most importantly, promotes conversations regarding the utility and focus of such cameras. CCTV cameras can temporarily lose narrative authority. With this comes a new context, and new possibilities for narrative. Instead of discussions related to its footage only as decisive, important or benevolent, the presence of CCTV may be interrogated as invasive, irrelevant or unethical.

Yet, as Monahan argues, these attempts to resist tend more towards a ‘performance that generates media attention and scholarly interest without necessarily challenging the violent and discriminatory logics of surveillance societies’ (2015, 160). As capitalist logics excel in the context of developing new and pervasive ways around these temporary resistant practices, the ‘aestheticization of resistance’ does
not fully engage with complex conversations needed to properly critique ‘government and corporate overreach’ (Monahan 2015, 171). Superficial or only-temporary subversions result. In New South Wales, the State government amended, with ease, the Privacy and Person Information Act 1998, so that Shoalhaven City Council could lawfully switch the CCTV cameras back on in 2013, without public critique (Simington 2013). Attempts to subvert visual feeds can also be reappropriated. Federation Square – a ‘public square’ established by the Victorian Government in 1999 and located within the City of Melbourne – promotes a camera, streaming live images of individuals in The Square and onto a big screen at the site (and their website), as a key interactive experience (Fed Square 2017). With this in mind, the impact and productivity of CCTV needs to be resisted in new ways.

**A woman captured by CCTV, and CCTV appears in her place**

The disappearance of Jill Meagher from the streets of Brunswick has had a profound impact on the layers of the city. Her murder caused trauma. Tom Meagher, Jill’s husband, moved back to Ireland in 2013 a ‘broken man’ (Keogh 2013, no pagination). For the community of Brunswick, the streets of Sydney Road and Hope Street were transformed into a space of extreme violence against women. The event continues to affect how people use these spaces, and how they experience safety. For Moreland City Council, its governance strategies came under intense scrutiny by news media and by state government, much of which amplified perceptions of crime in the state. For me, it became the impetus for completing a PhD. Before her fate was known definitively, Jill Meagher’s ghostly figure reappeared on screen through CCTV.
footage. Since this time, the same footage has been stored digitally, remains easily accessible, and continues to be watched. Traversing time and geography, one video upload on YouTube, *Jill Meagher CCTV Footage*, has been viewed 702,341 times as of December 2017 (3AW 2012). The overall view count increases each day.

The CCTV narrative and image of Jill Meagher continues to be used to secure public approval for policy reform on parole, surveillance practices, and violence against women. One of earliest of these reforms included a new CCTV network built by Moreland City Council. Made up of nine cameras, the network outlines a similar, though not exact, route that Meagher took on Sydney Road before her death. The installation of cameras post-crime is common. In the City of Melbourne, City of Liverpool and the City of Westminster, each CCTV network was established with the initial aim of crime reduction. With this usual response, and with CCTV footage so available publicly, it is difficult now to imagine crime in the city without some attachment to CCTV. This thesis has mapped how the banality of the camera, of surveillance, and of actuarial justice collide to normalise this expansion. Despite the extensive critique that has arisen from this mapping in this thesis, even my own relationship with CCTV remains complicated.

In April 2016, I rode my bike to a friend’s house, located in a small street off Sydney Road. I wheeled my bike into their front yard, and shut the gate behind me. I leaned it against the bricks and walked inside. After only a few minutes, I walked outside, and couldn’t locate my bike. It had been stolen. My friend’s house faced a commercial block

101 While declining each year, the clip has still been viewed almost 25,000 times since 2015.
that had security cameras. In desperation, I asked the owners if I could review footage in order to see who may have taken the bike. They told me that the cameras weren’t operational, and I lamented how a lead may have been created had they been recording.

That same year, my mother’s wallet was stolen as she lined up to buy a ticket at a train station in the Victorian regional town of Ballarat. She carried in her wallet a few belongings of my father’s, who had died four years earlier, and so was distressed at its loss. She reported the incident to the organisation, and clear CCTV footage of the theft was handed to the Victoria Police. In the days following, the police phoned my mother to tell her that they had identified the man in the images, as he was a known offender. After the call, she mentioned to me how relieved she felt now that she ‘knew what happened’. The wallet was never recovered and the man never charged, but my mother recounts this experience as a positive interaction with the police.

In both examples, CCTV networks don’t appear to achieve their desired aims. However, a camera’s presence still produced something. It was comforting for my mother, and uncomfortable in its ineffectiveness for me. We both relied on the camera to produce a narrative of the crime, without reflecting on its inability to prevent or resolve crime. Even when not actively researching, CCTV retains a grip on my life, and becomes inescapable. It is attached to my own sense of the city. After purposefully documenting the harms of CCTV, I can still be ambivalent about its presence when moving through the city. This prompts a return to a question asked in the introduction of this thesis: How we can be indifferent about, or grateful for,
the presence of a camera on some occasions, and uncompromisingly critical on others?

The motivation for this thesis began by asking a question around the utility of CCTV cameras in modern cities. I wanted to know why an ‘old surveillance technology’ – its ineffectiveness in reducing crimes firmly documented – has continued to garner significant public support. Before engaging directly with the impact of CCTV, it was necessary to become better acquainted with the ‘everyday city’ in which CCTV exists, and how crime and violence – that to which CCTV cameras are installed to respond – is understood. Early chapters of this thesis marked the ways in which the rhythms, narratives and senses of contested and fluid spaces came together so that CCTV cameras were welcomed into the city of Melbourne as a legitimate crime prevention tool. The current-day expectations for, and indifference to, CCTV cameras as a producer of safety and as an evidentiary tool can be traced from this. Since the 1990s, resistance to CCTV has abated considerably. This includes proactive resistance through research. The notion of the banality of CCTV cameras is so embedded that few challenge the expansive impact that the technology may still have. Some debate over surveillance and privacy continues, as documented at the beginning of this final chapter. My research interrogates this debate and proposes its insufficiency in scope. CCTV cameras are incorporated within the consciousness of the city, in architecture and as media. What then, for the rhythms, narratives and senses of the future city?
To address this, my research turned towards an engagement with the lived experiences of women as they navigated the city at night. I wanted to know if CCTV cameras could be interfering with these experiences in ways that we have not previously considered. Current debates accept that women feel more vulnerable than men at night. Researchers and practitioners are attempting to resolve this, and are often directed from feedback provided by women. My research illustrates how the night itself becomes the focus for intervention. The consequences of sexual harassment emerging from established economies of power is separated from the feelings induced by darkened streets: causality here can be shielded by absorptive coping.

Within my own research, many participants spoke of a desire for visibility within the night, as a form of security. These sentiments have actioned a change in environment; streetlights and CCTV cameras emerge as tangible solutions, to ‘empower’ women. However, gendered violence still directs, implicitly, why it is that a woman may feel vulnerable within the night. The female walking subject is also not immune from absorbing other discourses on safety and responsibility. Subsequently, the same participants who stated that visibility would make them feel more secure also spoke of their increased exposure to sexual harassment when made visible. Any feelings of discomfort or anger emerging from this were internalised and rationalised as manageable or ephemeral. There was limited opportunity for these women to consider if such sustained exposure, when combined with broader narratives of violence against women, contributed to their negative anticipation of what comes in the dark. Simultaneously, women who turned
away from light, or from the light of the CCTV camera, were still exposed; marked as irresponsible and irrational by others, and also often unconsciously by themselves. CCTV cameras compel female subjects to linger within its gaze in numerous ways. As my research shows, the relationship between women and surveillance technologies has shifted. While still retaining elements of voyeurism, CCTV systems become legitimised through narratives of desire emerging from the female subject, rather than fear. These findings will be useful when reconsidering how CCTV continues to have a deep influence in everyday experiences.

CCTV is an assemblage of processes, objects, representations and people, bound together in temporal and spatial moments throughout the city. I have argued that such an assemblage produces atmospheres that influence emotional, political and economic investments in CCTV. These elements need to be considered collectively in order to effectively understand, and respond to, the productive impacts of CCTV. Innovative methodologies within surveillance studies and criminology assist in measuring this. When read in its entirety, my research illustrates firstly that CCTV is more than the physicality of cable, lens, and steel. It does not passively record violence. As a manifestation of socio-political responses to rupture, risk and responsibility, CCTV cameras represent and frame violence in finite ways. A recording erases other narratives, impacting how we respond to crime. Secondly, CCTV is more than its discursive authority, and more than its control rooms. Security cameras affect our encounters with space, desire, and with others. Permeating the city at night, visibility becomes conditional. Many of us desire the assurances that we can be traceable when under surveillance (and thus still ‘alive’). What is not measured in public discourse is how often this surveillance is entwined with, and
establishes, other gendered gazes. In particular, women, walking in the city, absorb atmospheres where harassment is normalised, affecting their ‘everyday’ in both conscious and less-than-conscious ways. At the other end of the camera, as it were, the atmosphere of the control room enables CCTV networks to sense the city, and to make the city through deliberate interventions. Finally, CCTV is more than its endless recorded images. Footage and narrative can be stitched together, creating networks that, until that moment, were only potential. Individuals captured within the many frames are dissected; their every movement critiqued in retrospect. While some live on only in the screen after violence, other witnesses must carry the burden of consuming their own mediated experience. As long as CCTV continues to be regarded by the public, governments and researchers as banal, it will continue to have an impact on how we manage the everyday and how we respond to future violence.

CCTV is a sense-making machine. It does not simply receive information, or enable other senses to pass through it. In the image, the control room, and in its material and immaterial qualities, CCTV establishes particular visibilities. This involves highly specific ways of looking, feeling and responding within the city. It creates bodies and narratives, and destroys others. As my research shows, the public are aware that CCTV is not the most effective crime prevention tool for the city. However, the ways in which CCTV can create atmospheres and ambience centred around desire, vibrancy, hope and tangibility mean that we are inclined to accept its failings, including those that arise through our indifference. Measuring the variable consequences of CCTV is difficult; from its framing of the night-time economy, whereby the industry is erased from narratives of responsibility, to its framing of
deviancy as something that can be quantified and pre-emptively removed, the shifts are subtle and often occur in our less-than-conscious reactions. Through being able to connect ‘real-life crime’ to established genres of television drama, CCTV images provide a promise that the world is knowable and ordered, and that crime can be understood in a linear narrative, and prevented. These promises are entwined with our hopes for a vibrant city. The installation of CCTV in public spaces is therefore often done with good intentions. Few can oppose the rhetoric of safety. And yet, this thesis has shown that its manifestation within the city is often harmful – CCTV can only see in certain ways, and these ways dominate our ontologies of the world.

With care in public engagement, cultures of surveillance can produce harmony rather than destroy connection. It is difficult to imagine a future free of widespread surveillance, and indeed this thesis does not argue for such an option; simply, ‘there are inherent dangers’ in surveillance that must be understood (Brighenti 2010, 13). What is important, however, is that we make an investment in sustained critique, and in careful consideration of what surveillance technology may irrevocably do to a city and its subjects once installed. In this thesis, I have highlighted how CCTV cameras continue to impact on narrative, memory, gender and everyday life in the city. The next step will require further exploration of CCTV and of other banal surveillance technologies at a broader scale. Such a step is crucial, so that future surveillance technologies imposed in the city can be better implemented, and used. Innovation in technologies does not necessarily mean a freer or fairer society. Expansion of networks does not necessarily mean better (or more just) coverage. Ignoring already established technologies does not reduce their ongoing impact on the everyday. If we are to continue the push for effective crime prevention and
community safety within city spaces, we must step beyond the way CCTV networks frame deviancy and responsibility. We must engage with multiple, and more ethical, ways of becoming visible in the city. If CCTV is to retain its status as the 'eyes' of the city, then other bodily senses must be incorporated.

**Embracing the darkness**

CCTV arrived as a solution to violence and crime in the city. While it provides no such resolution, once CCTV is imposed onto a cityscape, it blends in, and becomes an embedded part of the city, and near impossible to remove. What does this mean, then, for future violent events? More cameras simply produce more possibilities, frames and intensities, all of which have different impacts. In current public discourse, unsurveilled spaces – often known as 'black spots' – are understood as the final frontier to producing secure night spaces. Focus increases on the edge of visual frames. Pushing visual surveillance within these areas, however, inevitably means enhancing ways of seeing in darkness. Lighting projects will either be authorised along with the camera to assist in its ability to see, or advancements in the camera itself will produce even more dramatic shifts in seeing the city (for example, infrared technology). Hasty investment in CCTV cameras arises from desires to palliate public fear, without recognising that dark spaces, and unsurveilled spaces, are already felt and experienced in multiple ways. Just as darkness can still be positively valued in its ability to support creativity, resistance, social change, and other generative capacities, so too may the unsurveilled environment. A city with no surveillance, like a city with no light, is unwanted. And
yet, a city with excessive surveillance diminishes its capacity to properly innovate and adapt to emerging challenges, or to confront, with integrity, the underlying social causes of violence. Excess also diminishes the ability to celebrate what makes up fluid and adaptive city identities. Just as we need to revalue the dark, so too do we need to revalue spaces with limited, or no, CCTV. It is from this point that the strongest resistance to habitual visual surveillance may be formed. It is also from this point that a more ethical investment in CCTV and surveillance of city spaces can begin.


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Appendix I

School of Social and Political Sciences

Consent Form

PROJECT TITLE: The changing eyes of surveillance: an archaeological exploration of CCTV in Melbourne from 1997 to the present

Name of participant:

Name of investigator(s): Caitlin Overington (supervised by Prof Alison Young and A/Prof John Fitzgerald)

1. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written plain language statement to keep.
2. I understand that after I sign and return this consent form it will be retained by the researcher.
3. I understand that my participation will involve an interview OR focus group and I agree that the researcher may use the results as described in the plain language statement.
4. I acknowledge that:
   (a) the possible effects of participating in the interview OR focus group have been explained to my satisfaction;
   (b) I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without explanation or prejudice and to withdraw any unprocessed data I have provided;
   (c) the project is for the purpose of research for a PhD project;
   (d) I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements
   (e) due to the small sample size of participants, there may be implications for protecting my identity
   (f) I have been informed that with my consent the interview will be digitally recorded and I understand that recordings will be stored at University of Melbourne and will be destroyed after five years;
   (g) my name will be referred to by a pseudonym, or by my actual name if I agree, in any publications arising from the research;

   I consent to this interview OR focus group being digitally recorded □ yes □ no (please tick)
   I wish to be referred to by my actual name □ yes □ no (please tick)

Participant signature: Date

Contact details for a transcript to be sent out:

Email: ________________________________
Appendix II

School of Social and Political Sciences

Plain Language Statement:

PhD Project: “The changing eyes of surveillance: an archaeological exploration of CCTV in Melbourne from 1997 to the present”

Closed-circuit television (CCTV) cameras are used daily in Melbourne for several purposes, including for crime prevention. My research seeks to understand how the use of CCTV has developed and changed since 1997. The aim of the study is to identify if CCTV helps with crime prevention and if its presence has any other consequences. I will be looking at two locations in Melbourne: King Street in the CBD and Sydney Road in Brunswick. I would like to invite you to participate in my PhD research.

What will I be asked to do?
I will ask you to participate in a focus group OR interview of 60 minutes, so that I can get a more detailed picture of what you perceive to be the purpose of CCTV and how it does/does not achieve this purpose. With your permission, the focus group will be digitally recorded so that we can make an accurate record of what you say. When the recording has been transcribed, you will be provided with a copy of the transcript, so that you can verify that the information is correct and/or request deletions. We estimate that the total time commitment required of you would not exceed 2 hours. The protocols being used in this project have been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee.

Are there any risks for me?
If you choose to participate in a focus group or interview, you may find that your views are not necessarily reflected by others in the group, which could offend or upset you. To minimise this risk, I have organized the focus group or interview to take place in a neutral location and will explain at the start of the focus group the importance of appropriately responding to each other's opinion. If at any time you do feel uncomfortable with the focus group, you will be able to exit the room freely. As this focus group or interview is looking at CCTV, crimes which have occurred may also be discussed. This may be distressing for you. As the moderator, I will steer discussion so crimes are only discussed in their direct relation to CCTV. No details of the crime, apart from any relation to CCTV, will be facilitated in the focus group or interview. If at any time you do feel uncomfortable with the focus group or interview, you will be able to exit the room freely.

How will my confidentiality be protected?
If you wish to speak to us confidentially, we intend to protect your anonymity and the confidentiality of your responses to the fullest possible extent, within the limits of the law. Your name and contact details will be kept in a password-protected computer file, separated from any data that you supply. This will only be able to be linked to your responses by the researchers, for example, in order to know where we should send your focus group or interview transcript for checking. However, as the number of people participating in the study is small, it is possible that someone may still be able to identify you. In the final report, we can refer to you by a pseudonym or by your actual name, if you agree. The data will be kept securely in the School of Social and Political Sciences for five years from the date of publication, before being destroyed.

How can I find out what the project discovers?
Once the thesis arising from this research has been completed, you are welcome to consult it electronically from the University of Melbourne library or contact the researchers for a copy of related publications.

**Do I have to take part?**
Participation in this study is voluntary. Should you wish to withdraw at any stage, or to withdraw any unprocessed data you have supplied, you are free to do so. Your decision to participate or not, or to withdraw, will not affect your relationship with this department or affect any services you may receive now or in the future.

**Where can I get further information?**
Please contact the researchers if you have any questions or if would like more information about the project. The contact email address is caitlin.overington@unimelb.edu.au.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of the project which you do not wish to discuss with the research team please contact the Manager, Human Research Ethics, Office for Research Ethics and Integrity, The University of Melbourne, on ph: 8344 2073, or fax: 9347 6739.

**How do I agree to participate?**
If you would like to participate, please indicate that you have read and understood this information by signing the consent form and returning it to the researcher in the envelope provided.

**Prof Alison Young**
School of Social and Political Sciences

**A/Prof John Fitzgerald**
School of Social and Political Sciences

**Ms Caitlin Overington (PhD Candidate)**
School of Social and Political Sciences
Appendix III

Interview questions, City of Melbourne (and adapted for City of Westminster)

1. Do you/did you work for, or have an association with, the City of Melbourne?
2. What is your role/what was your role?
3. How long have you been/were you working there?
4. What did you see as your work priority at the City of Melbourne/what do you now see as your work priority?
5. How would you describe crime in Melbourne?
   a. Which crimes do you think are the biggest problems in Melbourne?
6. Which organisations or people do you think should be addressing crime prevention for the crimes you mentioned?
   a. And other types?
   b. Shoplifting/property damage, assault, sexual assault etc
7. How much responsibility does the City of Melbourne have for crime prevention when compared to other organisations (such as state government, police, private enterprise, individuals)?
   a. Which crimes in particular do you think City of Melbourne should focus on?
8. What factors do you think lead to crime? For example, social, political, geographical, factors...
9. Which crimes do you think can be best controlled by the City of Melbourne and their services?
10. Looking more specifically now, what is your recollection of King Street, in general, in the 1990s?
    a. What was it like during the day?
    b. And at night?
11. In the 1990s, there were several violent assaults committed along King Street at night. Patrons of the nightclubs in that area were often involved and it was assumed that many incidents stemmed from alcohol fuelled violence. How do you remember the City of Melbourne's responses to the King Street district?
12. Do you think they were appropriate responses? If not, what would you change?
13. Do you remember CCTV cameras being part of the City of Melbourne's response?
    a. If so, approximately how many cameras were installed?
14. Were there any other purposes for CCTV cameras there? For example, did it work to prevent other crimes or other behaviours?
15. As a City of Melbourne employee, how do you think patrons responded to the cameras?
16. In your opinion, was the installation of CCTV on King Street a success for the City of Melbourne?
a. How do you measure that success/failure?
17. Had CCTV not been installed, do you think the reality today on King Street would have been different?
   a. If yes, how so?
18. What is the role of the same cameras on King Street now?
   a. And of any new cameras installed?
   b. Do you think CCTV cameras on King Street are more or less state operated or more or less privately operated?
19. Do CCTV cameras serve the same purpose in every space?
20. What is your understanding of the main role of CCTV nowadays?
21. Last year, there was some discussion between the police and the City of Melbourne about the possibility of installing CCTV cameras along Hosier Lane. What are your thoughts on installing cameras there?
22. In 2012, ABC employee Jill Meagher was raped and murdered by Adrian Bayley just off Sydney Road. She had been walking home from a night out and her interaction with Adrian Bayley was filmed on a CCTV camera just before he attacked her. What are your views on the Jill Meagher case with regard to the role CCTV played?
23. How often do you notice the presence of CCTV cameras on the street or in shops?
24. Do you have any further questions or comments you might like to add?

Interview questions, Moreland City Council (and adapted for City of Liverpool)

1. Do you/did you work for, or have an association with, the City of Moreland?
2. What is your role/what was your role?
3. How long have you been/were you working there?
4. What did you see as your work priority at the City of Moreland/what do you now see as your work priority?
5. Do you think crime is a big issue in Moreland?
   a. What types of crime?
6. Which organisations or people do you think should be addressing crime prevention for the crimes you mentioned?
   a. And other types?
   b. Shoplifting/property damage, assault, sexual assault etc
7. How much responsibility does the City of Moreland have for crime prevention when compared to other organisations (such as state government, police, private enterprise, individuals)?
   a. Which crimes in particular do you think City of Moreland should focus on?
8. What factors do you think lead to crime? For example, social, political, geographical, factors...
9. Which crimes do you think can be best controlled by the City of Moreland and their services?
10. Looking more specifically now, think about Sydney Road
   a. What is it like during the day?
b. And at night?

11. In 2012, ABC employee Jill Meagher was raped and murdered by Adrian Bayley just off Sydney Road. She had been walking home from a night out and her interaction with Adrian Bayley was filmed on a CCTV camera just before he attacked her.

12. How do you remember the City of Moreland responding to Meagher’s death?

13. Do you think they were appropriate responses? If not, what would you change?

14. Do you remember CCTV cameras being part of the City of Moreland’s response?
   a. How much of a role did it play in the response to Meagher’s death?

15. What purpose do you see CCTV as having along Sydney Road?
   a. Do these purposes change from day to night? If so, how?

16. Thinking again about how you use Sydney Road, or any other public space, do you think this has changed since Meagher’s death?
   a. How do you feel when walking along Sydney Road during the day?
   b. And night?

17. If there was no CCTV along Sydney Road, do you think you would feel different in that space during the
   a. Day?
      i. Why/why not?
   b. Night?
      i. Why/why not?

18. Do you think CCTV cameras serve the same purpose in every space?

19. What is your understanding of the main role of CCTV, in general, nowadays?

20. How often do you notice the presence of CCTV cameras on the street or in shops?
   a. When you notice CCTV in a shop, how does it make you feel?
   b. When you notice CCTV on the street, how does it make you feel?

21. Do you have any further questions or comments you might like to add?

**Focus groups, interview questions, for non-government participants**

1. What does Sydney Road mean to you? For example, is it a place of work, a place of entertainment, a place of residence, combination of these, or something else?
   a. How do you use Sydney Road?

2. How do you feel when walking along Sydney Road during the day?
   a. What do you notice about it?

3. And night?
   a. What do you notice about it?
4. To what extent are you aware of CCTV cameras on the street during the day?
   a. And at night?
5. Does it make any difference in how you behave?
6. From your impressions, what are the roles of CCTV cameras along Sydney Road?
7. What do you remember of the Jill Meagher case?
8. For those who do not remember much, Jill Meagher was raped and murdered by Adrian Bayley just off Sydney Road in 2012. She had been walking home from a night out with ABC colleagues, and her interaction with Bayley was filmed on a CCTV camera just before he attacked her.
9. What were the main factors leading to Adrian Bayley's arrest?
10. Thinking again about how you use Sydney Road, or any other public space, do you think this has changed since Meagher's death?
11. Moreland City Council recently accepted a $250 000 grant from State Government to install more CCTV cameras on Sydney Road. What are your views on this?
12. When looking at the use of CCTV cameras, councils have included its role to 'improve feelings of safety'. How might there be a difference between feelings of safety and actual safety?
13. What are some reasons that might make people feel less safe on the street?
14. Do you think safety on the street is influenced by gender?
15. If you could do one thing to improve safety on Sydney Road, whether real or perceived, on the street, what would it be?
Author/s: 
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Title: 
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