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Bard

Eyes on the Street:

Racialized Bodies and Surveillance in Urban Space

Senior Project submitted to
The Division of Arts
of Bard College

by

Hana Soule

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PART 1:

Visiting Newark

I visited Newark in the afternoon on a brisk Wednesday in March. I visited multiple neighborhoods in Newark which I located using the Citizen Virtual Patrol map.[1] It is important to note that I was coming into these predominantly Black landscapes from a white viewpoint. I recognize I am privileged to have had the resources to study the impacts race has on shaping environments through an architectural, sociological, and historical lens.

The areas I observed included Newark's West Side (Fig 1), Central Ward (Fig 2), Upper Clinton Hill (Fig 3), Springfield/Belmont (Fig 4), and Downtown. I entered these neighborhoods as a voyeur in a new space. But unlike a voyeur watching for personal pleasure, my aim was to understand how people behave and interact within urban space knowing that cameras watch them above. I came to realize how little time people actually spend in public space. While I saw handfuls of pedestrians walking it always seemed like they were quickly rushing from one place to another and never staying in the same place for more than a few minutes or so.

The few people I saw, who were either waiting outside for their kid to get out of school or waiting for a friend to leave the deli, were usually always leaning on the sides of buildings. In one case an individual was standing directly under a camera perched above an apartment building entrance. I saw this as an attempt to blend into the urban infrastructures and be less exposed by the cameras presence. Police officers parked patrol cars on every other block, creating a hostile atmosphere for its inhabitants. People felt uncomfortable and restrictive in the areas where signs read "This Area is Under Video Surveillance". Many people wore entire non-medical face coverings which I interpreted as trying to remain invisible and unidentifiable.

[1] Newark Police Division, "Citizen Virtual Patrol," accessed May 3, 2022, https://cvp.newarkpublicsafety.org/login?redirect=%2F.

Apart from the way people behaved and moved throughout public spaces, I noticed Newark's vacant and dilapidated infrastructure. Brick walls protecting parks were crumbling and windows of homes were boarded-up. Along with these observations, I saw an abundance of empty lots and the unutilized spaces. I saw these spaces of the city as being possible sites that could provide refuge and leisure, in order to resist the alienating presence of the police and cameras.

In documenting my experience in Newark, I was more concerned with capturing the environment as a way to understand its hostile effects on people. The empty lots, metal fences, and unoccupied crumbling buildings captured through image are meant to evoke the feelings of isolation and containment. The city of Newark should be understood as a place where surveillance and policing the community is prioritized over the improvement of public infrastructures such as adequate affordable housing and parks.

Newark is a city of 343,969 and according to the U.S. Census Bureau half of Newark's population is Black and 36% is Hispanic.[2] Unlike any other city in America, Newark has a unique surveillance program created and operated by local law enforcement called 'Citizen Virtual Patrol'. The program, introduced in 2018, makes street cameras accessible from anywhere in the world. In 2019, the Newark Department of Safety reported that more than 10,000 users watched the continuous live feed of city streets from their computer screens. All aspects of life in Newark are captured through the camera frame: home fronts, stores, schools, and parks, lasting in the CVP system for upwards of 30 days.[3]

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[2] Kiara Alfonseca, "Newark's Surveillance System Puts Communities Of Color Under Constant Watch," HuffPost, August 9, 2019, https://www.huffpost.com/entry/public-surveillance-system-newark-citizen-virtual-patrol_n_5bf5a1eee4b0eb6d930b119d

[3] Alfonseca.

Newark serves as a central case study to examine how a 24/7 public surveillance system is used by the city to exercise power over and contain Black populations.

Surveillance Theories and Histories

Surveillance in the urban setting has increasingly blurred all sense of individual freedom and privacy in public space. Through the use of invasive technologies, closed-circuit televisions (CCTV), facial recognition, and data mining systems the police and the state manage, regulate, and control social behavior. This is especially true for Black communities in America, who have long been read into, observed, and exploited by means of surveillance. Cameron Crain claims that surveillance technologies make their subjects vulnerable with their power to track, encode, interpret, and store information.[4] As explored in this paper, these technologies can be utilized in racially biased and violent ways.

The infrastructures of public spaces become inseparable from these technologies of surveillance. Architecture can no longer protect us within its walls, "making solid walls act if they were glass".[5] Advanced forms of technology such as cameras take on territorial forms, like a fence or border. The presence of a camera transforms the experience of a space into a boundaried condition through their ability to make visible every move and action, forcing one to be more psychologically and spatially aware of the way they navigate spaces.

These technologies bring into question concerns of consent, privacy, and subjectivity. How does racial bias inform the act of observation? How does the frame exclude the world beyond its edges? Who gets to frame another human as a subject? Who gets to speak for the image produced? How is framing one body over another racialized and subjective?

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[4] Cæmeron Crain, "Living in a Society of Control | The Mantle," *The Mantle*, July 30, 2013, https://www.themantle.com/philosophy/living-society-control.
[5] Beatriz Colomina, "Beatriz Colomina on Architectures and Surveillance", Hyper-Public, Princeton University, filmed June 30, 2011, video of lecture, 20:19-20:23, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UuOHtNwspGg.

Bentham and Foucault

In most histories of surveillance and the prison-industrial complex, Jeremy Bentham's panopticon holds a central position. Bentham, English philosopher and social reformer's creation of the panopticon in 1791 came about essentially as a strategy of space.[6] The panopticon is an architectural type of plan designed for use in prisons where discipline is internalized by the assumption that one was being watched by an inspector from the central tower above. We can look at Bentham's panopticon as a paradigm for governing not just individual bodies but whole populations in an attempt to regulate and/or produce 'good behavior'.[7]

Michel Foucault describes the Panopticon in 1975 as a system of social organization that de-indivualizes power and instead produces a normalization of certain morals and values motivated by state and government. Those who cannot conform to such norms are seen as inferior and lower in status and thus are often subjected to observation, critique, and discipline through correction.[8]

It is important to also note another theory of power by Foucault articulated through the notion of security and biopolitics. In his lectures *Security, Territory, and Population* (1977 -78), Foucault moves from his focus on discipline in the space of the prison to discussions of security as a tool for disciplining society. He describes biopolitics as the transition from society being an object of sovereignty to a government taking control and managing populations through security and order. As a result, "human beings are made subjects" and biopower is formed through the

[6] Maša Galič, Tjerk Timan, and Bert-Jaap Koops, "Bentham, Deleuze and Beyond: An Overview of Surveillance Theories from the Panopticon to Participation," *Philosophy & Technology* 30, no. 1 (March 1, 2017), 11-13.
[7] Galič, 15.
[8] Michel Foucault, "Panopticonism" in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 197-202.

rationalized subjection of a population.[9] Power exists in this way then as an intrinsic part of social relations and security is thus understood as a strategy of modern state and government control over its populations.

Foucault's studies of security, territory, and population introduces security as a calculative measure of social environments and its people. He argues that a disciplined society is one that exists through the centralization of power in order to regulate people's activities and behaviors in a given space. Discipline is further enforced through institutional ensembles such as the police. The spatial deployment of policing bodies is rationalized as a tactic of continuing the control of territory and population not by the outdated system of sovereignty but my security. The police gaze constructs new ways of separating and classifying healthy from sick bodies and the pure from the sinner.[10] I will further explain how the state instrumentalized the expansion of surveillance being instrumentalized in policing and in racially subjective practices in the urban setting.

Surveillance Through the Lens of Race

Early studies of surveillance primarily focused on its architectural manifestations in prisons, hospitals, and factories.[11] The impact surveillance has on organizing space and distinguishing who gets to be free and unconstrained in that given space, is not as well discussed. Many of us can acknowledge that we are most likely being watched everyday in the landscape in which we live but that reality is far less visible and intrusive for white people. The everyday

[9]Graydon Wetzler, "Wayfinding Re/Dicto," in *Surveillance, Architecture and Control: Discourses on Spatial Culture*, ed. Susan Flynn and Antonia Mackay (NY: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 313, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-00371-5_15.
[10] Dušan Marinković and Dušan Ristić, "Foucault and the Birth of the Police," *Revija Za Kriminalistiko in Kriminologijo*, 2019, 358-360.
[11] Galič, 10-11.

feeling of being watched and having personal information tracked and utilized for profiling and or predictive policing is particularly prevalent for people of color.[12]

A discussion of surveillance would be incomplete without the discussion of the processes of monitoring and controlling that restricted and continue to restrict the rights and mobility of Black people. Since 1868, the Black scholar, activist, student, and citizen has been subjected to surveillant practices by the FBI, urban policy, and the police.[13] Black and brown people in America have been targeted by devices of control: wiretapped, stopped and frisked, given unjustified warrants, and searched and seized. The act of racial bias is continuously perpetuated through these systems and is represented in the constant criminalization of the Black individual.

To make sense of surveillance in context to its relationship to racialized practices and its effects on freedom and mobility in urban space, I look at the histories of the 'Surveillance of Blackness' (coined by Author and Professor Simone Browne). Simone Browne's *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness,* explores how race is framed and also read into systems of surveillance. She traces the origins of the surveillance of Blackness, that existed prior to Bentham's Panopticon but continued to be left out of mainstream discussions of surveillance, hence making it a *dark matter*, in existence but not understood.[14] She uses examples such as descriptions of transatlantic slave boats, the branding of Black bodies for identification purposes, and more contemporary examples like TSA screenings and automated facial recognition.

To be more specific, I focus on U.S. histories of natural and artificial implementations of surveillance for purposes of segregation, security, and policing that have reinforced structural racism in America. The histories included are not in chronological order but instead organized by

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[12] Simone Browne, "Introduction, and Other Dark Matters" in *Dark Matters : On the Surveillance of Blackness* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015)**,** 12-13, https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822375302.
[13] Kade Crockford, "How Is Face Recognition Surveillance Technology Racist?," American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU, June 16, 2020), https://www.aclu.org/news/privacy-technology/how-is-face-recognition-surveillance-technology-racist/, 2-5.
[14] Browne, 9.

subtopics of surveillance in relation to race to understand how surveillance has transformed but also what remains constant.

Geographies of Power

The manifestation of social and territorial control through design can only be realized through the examination of architectures of containment which include but are not limited to: the plantation, the city jail, and urban housing projects that emphasized crime prevention.

The layout of the plantation landscape reinforced the overseer/plantation owner's dominance over the enslaved population. Scholar Lisa B. Randle and architectural historian Dell Upton have both critically assessed these spatialized exercises of power. Randle is interested in the spatializing principles of American plantations, particularly in regard to their panoptic organization. According to Randle, in American plantations there is an intervisibility which made things seeable while also producing "spaces of constructed invisibility" to monitor slaves' behavior and conceal their presence"[15]. Upton is concerned with the social experience and adaptation to site these spaces of architecture create and how "an individual's perception of a landscape changes with the experience of moving through it".[16] Randle and Upton examine the architectural attributes of the owner's main house and how its placement on the landscape maintained a relationship of subjugation over the enslaved (Fig 5).

The Mount Airy Plantation (1764) of Richmond, Virginia and the Kensington Plantation (1855) of Berkeley County, South Carolina are examples in which visibility, distance, and location were considered carefully in their designs. The plantation owner's home of Mount Airy was situated on a high piece of land whereas the slave quarters were placed on the lower slope of

[15] L.B. Randle, "Applying the Panopticon Model to Historic Plantation Landscapes through Viewshed Analysis," *Historical Geography* 39 (January 1, 2011): 105.
[16] Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Places Journal* 2, no. 2 (November 1, 1984), 59, https://placesjournal.org/article/white-and-black-landscapes-in-eighteenth-century-virginia/.

the land.[17] This allowed for optimal viewing even at a long distance by the owner and overseers who strategically lived in adjoining houses to the plantation owners, creating a communication network between one another.[18] As elaborated by Upton,"If the master's landscape was a network that implied connection and movement, the landscapes of the slave was a static one".[19]

The main house of the Kensington Plantation also possessed the quality of height creating a vantage point that physically and psychologically would make those below that point feel smaller. In addition, Kesington's main house had a veranda and rooftop terrace which allowed a full view to the fields[20]. The intervisibility between watcher and the watched, made possible through design and geographical positioning reinforced notions of white authority over the Black body.

Architecture's fixation with vision is encapsulated through the prison. As disconnected as we feel from plantations, which continue to exist but as a relic of the past, prisons and jails also present themselves as an infrastructure in which the public eye cowers from. In choosing to focus on jails built specifically in highly populated cities, an emphasis is placed on architecture's ability to exert control while hiding in plain sight.

From 1971 to 1975, three Metropolitan Correctional Centers were built in Chicago, New York, and San Diego. These self-contained units placed in urban centers respected the normative practices of panoptic principles such as arranging guard posts around recreational areas and cells. Under watchful eyes of concealed guards protected by their posts above, a sense of vulnerability is created by the incarcerated. The major difference between these correctional facilities compared to other institutional complexes is their exteriors, which mimic office towers (Fig 6).

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[17] Upton, 69.
[18] Randle, 107.
[19] Upton, 69.
[20] Randle, 106.

This allows these infrastructures to conceal their interior purposes, where humans reside imprisoned behind their walls. This cloak of invisibility technique was intended to add a layer of security to the public. Each of these centers have lasted due to their success in blending into their environments.[21]

As prisons and jails have evolved the emphasis on security and isolation has remained constant but with technological advancements, the prison has become a mechanized container of optics. As described as such, "The contemporary prisoner is confronted not by a peering guard, but rather a surveillance camera dispatching the unequal gaze and all architectural ambitions with it".[22] These disguised skyscraper jails that try quite hard not to carry the same architectural qualities of other institutions over visibilize the incarcerated bodies inside through panoptic organization while invisibilizing its punishing qualities from the outside. In local jails in the U.S. 445,000 of the 547,000 individuals are not convicted while 1,900,000 convicted and or detained individuals make up state, federal, youth, and immigration detention prisons.[23] Black Americans make up 38.3% of these populations while they only make up 13% of the general population.[24]

The segmentation of space for purposes of security in the urban setting is further illustrated through Oscar Newman's theories and spatial proposals for a *Defensible Space* published in 1972. In collaboration with psychologist George Rand, Newman set off in *Defensible Space* a new way of looking at urban design through a criminological approach. This method of design placed crime prevention and surveillance at the forefront of organizing space.

Newman: architect, theorist, and planner first wrote about *Defensible Space* first in 1964 when doing research on why Pruitt-Igoe, a housing project built in 1951 in St. Louis was being

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[21] Kyle May, ed., Clog: *Prisons* (New York, NY: Clog, 2014), 29.
[22] May, 25.
[23] Prison Policy Initiative and Wendy Sawyer and Peter Wagner, "Mass Incarceration: The Whole Pie 2022," accessed April 15, 2022, https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/pie2022.html.
[24] Initiative, "Race and Ethnicity."

torn down. Newman used the example of Pruitt-Igoe among many other "failed" housing projects to support his theory which would take spatial form through "low-rise, high density housing with defined public space that could be monitored by self-policing"(Fig 7).[25]

Newman defended his theory by presenting how *Defensible Space* would turn a bad city/neighborhood into a good one. He described the "bad city" as a place where a would-be criminal would notice that no one is watching and proceed in his criminal activities whereas in a "good city" made possible by applying defensible theory, a potential criminal would feel eyes on him the second he enters the space and would leave that environment.[26] He felt that his proposed designs would stimulate natural human territoriality in the urban setting.

With fear of crime and violence in American streets and in politics, President Lyndon Johnson who believed that crime and poverty paralleled one another supported Newman and Rand's first project under the 'Safe Streets Act of 1968'.[27] The result of Johnson's 'Safe Streets Act' meant the upping of law enforcement in densely populated Black urban communities. This act funded by millions of federal dollars from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration immensely expanded and strengthened carceral institutions and law enforcement financially[28]. Shortly after, the Jersey City Housing Authority asked Newman and Rand to study crime in Jersey City and propose recommendations with funding. Newman and Rand proposed the placement of officers in bulletproof booths, intercoms, lighting, and other solutions that maximized the areas that would be under surveillance. For them surveillance was a crime deterrent. [29]

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[25] Joy Knoblauch, "In Defense of Space: Housing and Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design" in *The Architecture of Good Behavior: Psychology and Modern Institutional Design in Postwar America*, 1st edition (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020). 137.
[26] Knoblauch, "In Defense of Space," 145.
[27] Knoblauch, "In Defense of Space," 131.
[28] Elizabeth Hinton, "Introduction" in *From the War on Poverty to the War on Crime: The Making of Mass Incarceration in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 2.
[29] Knoblauch, "In Defense of Space," 152.

The research for Newman's book consisted of using crime statistics provided by city housing authority and police. Newman would compare these statistics against building information such as location or number of elevators but also used demographic information including ethnicity and percent of residents receiving welfare.[30] The research proving to fix spatial issues of public housing that lacked clear boundaries of public and private space was nonetheless driven by racial and economic bias. The implementation of naturalized surveillance resembled Jane Jacobs's sociological model of "eyes on the street" which encouraged community members to take the role of policing[31]. On the difficulties of rearranging space for reasons of providing safety in lower income areas Newman declared, "it is easier to provide security for middle-class residents because they have developed a refined sense of property and ownership"[32].

Newman wanted to create a new urbanism of naturalized surveillance in which territoriality would be emphasized as to encourage humans to defend themselves through defending their grounds.[33] Some of Newman's strategies provided in *Defensible Space* which included the implementation of 6-foot fences protecting communities from the public were realized with generous financial support from the New York City Housing Authority and Housing and Urban Development (HUD).[34]

Newman's ideologies and strategies in researching for *Defensible Space* were inherently biased as he attributed the possession of property to a citizen's better morality and respectability in society. Yet the liberty of owning property was not a privilege people living in public housing had. The emphasis of crime reduction through redesigning public infrastructures resulted in

[30] Knoblauch, "In Defense of Space," 152.
[31] Joy Knoblauch, "Do You Feel Secure?," Urban Omnibus, March 28, 2018, 2, https://urbanomnibus.net/2018/03/do-you-feel-secure/?printpage=true.
[32] Knoblauch, "In Defense of Space," 167.
[33] Knoblauch, "In Defense of Space," 166.
[34] Knoblauch, "In Defense of Space," 151 & 167.

highly surveilled landscapes where neighbors took on the role of the police officials to defend their environments.

Urban Policy & Policing

Beyond the actions made in reorganizing space to increase surveillance in and around housing, local laws and state police enacted new policies for reasons of security that disproportionately targeted people of color. Many of these policies such as 'stop and frisk' and 'foot patrol policing' are still enacted today by police. None of the events that will be mentioned below can be disconnected from the long after-effects of slavery and reconstruction. Therefore this section will begin with less traditional forms of policing that originated in a pre-emancipated America.

In 1713, the lantern laws were put into effect in New York City and existed until the late 18th century.[35] Simone Browne, author of *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness* explains that these laws required Black, indigenous, and mixed-race individuals to carry a lantern as they walked the city streets at night. Browne suggest, "Public spaces are shaped for and by whiteness, some acts in public are abnormalized by way of racializing surveillance and then coded for disciplinary measures that are punitive in their effects".[36] The "Black Luminosity" that lanterns created, as Browne states, produced spatial boundaries and made the unfree and enslaved even more vulnerable and alienated through the revealing qualities of the light. The lantern law reinforced the same locatable and exposing nature that current day street cameras impose on the Black body.

[35] Brandi Thompson Summers, "Black Lives Under Surveillance," *Public Books* (blog), December 1, 2016, https://www.publicbooks.org/black-lives-under-surveillance/.
[36] Browne, 17.

In South Carolina, The General Assembly enacted a law in 1819 requiring all white men over the age of 18 to participate in slave patrols. Slave patrollers were required to interrogate and check slaves passes (slave passes were a precursor to later forms of photographic and biometric identification—the original passport) of any Black person found outside after dark in the countryside and in cities (Fig 8). Under this local law Black people's homes were legally allowed to be raided by the patrollers for the search of weapons and or for suspected plans of revolts and rebellions.[37] The South Carolina slave patrol law can be seen as the first publically funded form of police.

The evolution of more formal forms of policing came with similar racialized policies that targeted people based on suspicion. The Los Angeles Police Department was one of the earliest cities to employ what we now label as stop and frisk or stop and search. The practice consisted of officers being discharged to an area in which a crime was reported to question a person or persons found in the area. The street corner of urban areas became a popular site for police to infiltrate and interrogate people regardless of their involvement in a crime or not.[38] In 1958 other cities started to adapt these procedures such as the Cincinnati Police Department. Choosing the predominantly Black neighborhood of Avondale, as the site for their new 'interrogation campaign', "during a street stop, the officer asked the person for identification, his employment status, his purpose for being on the street, and whether he had a criminal record. If the person refused to cooperate, the officer threatened to arrest him or place him under surveillance".[39] Each stop made by police was placed in a file and over time a database was created which detailed the name and information of potential suspects to later search and or interrogate.

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[37] CrimethInc Ex-Workers Collective, "CrimethInc. : Slave Patrols and Civil Servants : A History of Policing in Two Modes," CrimethInc., accessed April 16, 2022, https://crimethinc.com/2017/03/15/slave-patrols-and-civil-servants-a-history-of-policing-in-two-mod.es.
[38] Alex Elkins, "The Origins of Stop-and-Frisk," Jacobin, May 9, 2015, https://jacobinmag.com/2015/05/stop-and-frisk-dragnet-ferguson-baltimore/.
[39] Elkins.

This old tactic used by police and even the slave patrollers described earlier didn't officially become a legalized practice until 1968 in the decision of Terry v. Ohio. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that police could stop and frisk a citizen based on 'reasonable suspicion' that a crime had been committed.[40]To put this practice into contemporary perspective, according to The Leadership Conference Education Fund, "between 2004 and 2012, the New York Police Department made 4.4 million stops under the citywide policy. More than 80 percent of those stopped were Black and Latino people."[41]

The ideology of placing more police on the street to reduce crime can also be recognized in the 'broken window' theory. The concept was made public in the March 1982 edition of the *Atlantic Monthly* titled 'Broken Windows - The Police and Neighborhood Safety' by political scientist and criminologist, James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling. The theory was based around the observation that a broken window left unrepaired meant that future windows of that building will continue to be broken, hence an indication that crime will persist. This theory took shape in the policing of low-level offenses such as vandalism, graffiti, littering, and disorderly behavior to maintain order and prevent future crimes in American cities. Although there is no solid research surrounding the theory that public disorder is a source of crime, the practice continues to exist.[42] This practice targeted people of color and continues to target people of color, as well as obscuring the responsibility of the state from maintaining public property with resources and infrastructures.

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[40] Fred E. Inbau and James R. Thompson, "Stop and Frisk: The Power and the Obligation of the Police," *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1973-)* 89, no. 4 (1999): 1445–48, https://doi.org/10.2307/1144193.
[41] Taahira Thompson, "NYPD's Infamous Stop-and-Frisk Policy Found Unconstitutional," The Leadership Conference Education Fund, August 21, 2013, https://civilrights.org/edfund/resource/nypds-infamous-stop-and-frisk-policy-found-unconstitutional/.
[42] C. R. Sridhar, "Broken Windows and Zero Tolerance: Policing Urban Crimes," *Economic and Political Weekly* 41, no. 19 (2006): 1842, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4418196.

The use of this theory has resulted in the over-policing of impoverished and minority neighborhoods. In Newark, New Jersey this practice is still commonly used today and takes form in what is known as “blue summonses” or foot patrols (police) handing out summons and or arresting people for misdemeanors.[43] This creates hostile and distrustful relations between community members and police.

Federal Use of Spying Technologies

Beyond local and police use of surveillance tactics with purposes of maintaining social order on city streets, as early as the 1920s, the federal judiciary has legalized the monitoring and infiltration of individuals and groups deemed criminal. Eavesdropping devices by use of law enforcement exploded when the Supreme Court legalized wiretapping in 1928.[44] Wiretapping allowed for the listening and recording of live conversations even in the most private of places such as one's home, car, or through phones.[45] Wiretapping was heavily used during Richard Nixon’s presidency when he declared a “war on drugs”. Street-level informants and databases provided by law enforcement agencies for criminal investigations excessively targeted Latinos and Black Americans.[46]

Surveillance was also used to suppress anti-racist social movements forming on the ground. In the early 1900s Black activism was carefully observed by the FBI who targeted “race agitators” such as Marcus Garvey, Ida B. Wells, and W.E.B. Du Bois.[47] In 1947, The FBI seized W.E.B. Du Bois’s passport with support from the State Department after months of surveilling

[43] Sarah Childress, “The Problem with ‘Broken Windows’ Policing,” FRONTLINE, June 28, 2016, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/article/the-problem-with-broken-windows-policing/.
[44] Smithsonian Magazine and April White, “A Brief History of Surveillance in America,” Smithsonian Magazine, accessed April 16, 2022, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/brief-history-surveillance-america-180968399/.
[45] Jay Stanley, “The War on Drugs and the Surveillance Society,” American Civil Liberties Union, June 6, 2011, https://www.aclu.org/blog/smart-justice/sentencing-reform/war-drugs-and-surveillance-society.
[46] Smithsonian and White.
[47] Andrea Dennis, “Mass Surveillance and Black Legal History | ACS,” *American Constitution Society* (blog), February 18, 2020, https://www.acslaw.org/expertforum/mass-surveillance-and-black-legal-history/.

Du Bois's involvement in Black Radicalism and inciting communist ideas. The FBI surveilled Du Bois from 1942-1963.[48] FBI intervention of Black activism heightened during the growing stages of the Civil Rights Movement in the 50s and 60s.

These efforts intensified with the rise of the civil rights movement. From 1956 to 1971 the FBI Counterintelligence Program (COINTELRPO) was established by Edgar Hoover. The program's goal was to surveille and infiltrate political organizations that posed a threat to the U.S. The program targeted Black American activists and groups fighting against structural racism and segregation in the 50s and 60s (Fig 9). People and groups surveilled and harassed by this program included Martin Luther King Jr, Angela Davis, Fred Hampton, The Black Panther Party, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). In the case of the Black Panther Party, The FBI encouraged violence through anonymous letters that provided falsified information to incite conflict between other Panthers, locals, and street gangs. FBI agency's also worked directly with police to harass members of the movement through blackmail and coercion and to be informed of the whereabouts of meetings so that raids could take place.[49] One of the many FBI directed raids ended in the fatal shooting of prominent chairman of the Black Panther Party in Chicago in 1969, Fred Hampton. An estimated 90-99 bullets were shot into Hampton's home while he was asleep. Hampton was 21 years old.[50]

The FBI's use of surveillance against bBack Americans during the civil rights era is significant in that in restricting their movement and mobilization they were also attempting to

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[48] "Du Bois, W.E.B. · F.B. Eyes Digital Archive: FBI Files on African American Authors and Literary Institutions Obtained Through the U.S. Freedom of Information Act (FOIA)," WUSTL Digital Gateway Image Collections & Exhibitions, accessed April 16, 2022, http://omeka.wustl.edu/omeka/exhibits/show/fbeyes/duboisweb.
[49] Dia Kayyali, "The History of Surveillance and the Black Community," Electronic Frontier Foundation, February 13, 2014, https://www.eff.org/deeplinks/2014/02/history-surveillance-and-black-community.
[50] Prince Williams, "The FBI Killing of Fred Hampton: A Reminder For Young Organizers," *Harvard Political Review* (blog), October 15, 2021, https://harvardpolitics.com/fred-hampton-assassination/.

define the spaces where Black bodies could or could not reside. At the same time Black individuals were labeled by these government backed programs as extremists, sending out the message that Black people needed to be rigorously watched. These labels continue to be put onto individuals a part of Black-led organizations seeking justice and attempting to end police violence such as Black Lives Matter. In 2016, the ACLU reported that law enforcement agencies in Oakland and Baltimore used data from social media sites to track protest activity, employing such surveillance tactics to monitor organizers.[51] The ability to track and surveill another has become increasingly more accessible due to forms of social media which share one's location and become tools used by law enforcement to dismantle freedom of speech and movement.

The Camera as Transforming Privacy

The advancements of technology allowed for a wider and more accessible way to obtain private information and to surveille city streets. Camera and video recording devices provided a way for federal and local institutions, as well as the average civilian to be in control of the endless possibilities these technologies provided such as the power to replay and store captured moments.

In 1968 Olean, New York, installed video surveillance on its main business street specifically to fight crime. The system, called the 'Olean Method' composed of seven cameras placed on utility poles of downtown Olean and was operated by police headquarters. The creators, TeleVigil Systems proposed the all-seeing eye be implemented in other cities such as New Jersey and New York City.[52] The use of security cameras became more mainstream in 1972

[51] Thompson.
[52] Bill Kovach, "Vigilant TV Cameras Guard the Main Street in Olean," *The New York Times*, August 9, 1969, http://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1969/08/09/78389912.html.

with the invention of the video cassette recorder (VCRS) which made it easier to record video and as a result, businesses such as banks and stores adopted security cameras.[53]

Beyond cities and businesses, the cameras' exposing qualities became a culturally significant tool for television and media use which normalized the exploitative nature of surveillance. The camera could make something once private, public to its audiences. The American television show, *Cops*, which aired on TV from 1989 to 2020, allows the viewer to join a police officer as they respond to calls for service and make arrests (Fig 10). Many recorded interactions with 'suspects' turn violent which normalizes the publicization of violence through hyper-consumed media. A study in 2004 by Old Dominion University found that "Black men were disproportionately shown as perpetrators of the more violent crimes (45 percent) while 92 percent of the officers shown were white. Another study found the same year showed that the show "was racially skewed, negatively misrepresenting African-Americans, depicted as a criminal class out of proportion to their actual percentage of U.S. crime".[54] The show frames and objectifies the Black body, labeling it as dangerous and criminal. The camera becomes harmful when its subjects are specifically targeted and made a stereotype.

In 2018, scholars Joy Buolamwini and Timnit Gebry identified that facial analysis algorithms which measure facial features from a given image misclassified Black women 35% of time compared to the white man's face, whose algorithms were almost always right. Police have utilized these algorithms in mugshot databases, determining who is deemed most suspicious. A single false match can lead to an unjustified arrest, police violence, and even incarceration. With

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[53] John Carlsen, "When Did Security Cameras Come Out?," ASecureLife.com, November 20, 2019, https://www.asecurelife.com/history-of-security-cameras/.
[54] Emily Nolan, "'Cops' Cancelled: TV Show Has Been Accused of Racism Ever Since It First Aired 31 Years Ago," Newsweek Digital, June 10, 2020, https://www.newsweek.com/cops-cancelled-racism-criticism-paramount-1509985.

Black people in the U.S. being disproportionately arrested compared to white people, the likelihood of their information and face existing in these databases is high.[55]

Ruha Benjamin's *Race After Technology* encapsulates how prejudices are encoded into the engineering of modern technologies that are created in favor of whiteness. She uses examples of discriminatory designs similar to Buolamwini and Gebry and expands on everyday apps such Facebook auto-tagging to more complex softwares like artificial intelligence which render Blackness invisible.

What Benjamin sees as the greatest threat of new technologies is the ideology that technologies are neutral and morally superior to human beings. She argues that pre-existing prejudices are reproduced into their designs, creating what she describes as a digital racial caste system and thus stressing that technology should always be read through the lens of history and experience.[56]

The surveillance, tracking, and the reading of bodies through biometrics and cameras has been justified by the government promise that it will alleviate the fear of extremism, drugs, violence, and corruption. But the definition of who and what constitutes a criminal or extremist is pliable when the camera is being operated or programmed under the white gaze.

PART 2: The Exhibition

By looking closely at Newark, I argue that the urban setting is not a fixed space but a configuration of spatialized optics which are racialized and oppressive. Cities act as territorial networks in which certain bodies are socially sorted by the optic eye. How must we interact with

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[55] Kade Crockford, "How Is Face Recognition Surveillance Technology Racist? | News & Commentary," *American Civil Liberties Union* (blog), June 16, 2020, https://www.aclu.org/news/privacy-technology/how-is-face-recognition-surveillance-technology-racis.
[56] Madeleine Crutchley, "Book Review: Race after Technology: Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code," *New Media & Society* 23, no. 5 (May 1, 2021): 1329–32, https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444821989635. 1329-1330.

our world if we know we are watched and that our actions may be controlled? How can Newark community members regain their agency in public space? How is surveillance not just a cultural issue but also a spatial one? How does surveillance prevent the mobilization and movement of Black Americans? How do we accept the use of surveillance for our own personal safety and security? And how has privacy been made an elusive concept for Black Americans?

Newark As Case Study

Since the spring of 2018, Newark, New Jersey's police have been using a program called 'Citizen Virtual Patrol'. The program allows people to stream and view live street camera footage from the private site of their home. As many as 127 cameras are placed around the city in high density areas: residential areas and business districts.

Newark is a city marked by white flight which began as early as the 1930s and lasted until the 1970s. As the city's population of Black Americans began to rise driven by The Great Migration from the South, the number of whites slowly began to decline. Post World War II, the single nuclear family home became the idyllic American standard for living and the suburb was advertised as the site for this type of living. With low interest mortgages being provided by the federal government to veterans and white families, the suburbs flourished and cities became neglected.[57]

Newark's early transformation in becoming a predominently Black city was greatly shaped by the racialized practice of redlining which actively kept Black people from moving out

[57] Colleen O'Dea, "Newark before the Comeback: A City Marked by White Flight ...," *NJ Spotlight News*, September 4, 2019, 14, https://www.njspotlightnews.org/2019/09/19-09-02-newark-before-the-comeback-a-city-marked-by-white-flight-and-poor-policy/.

of the city and discouraged whites from moving into the city. This practice spatially confined Black citizens into the perimeters of Newark's "undesirable" neighborhoods.[58]

Established by the Federal Housing Administration in 1934, redlining designated predominantly Black and Brown communities as red zones, meaning they were risky and hazardous areas for banks to lend to. Consequently, the awarding of loans in neighborhoods that were redlined was prohibited.[59] The FHA also guaranteed mortgages to developers and builders under the condition that they "never sell a home to an African-American or rent to an African-American" as cited by Richard Rothstein in his book *The Color of Law.*[60] These racialized practices and policies that mandated segregation allowed for the upward mobility of white individuals and families to reside in these government subsidized produced white spaces, called suburbs.

In 1942, the Central Planning Board of Newark discovered that one third of all Newark dwelling units needed major repairs and in terms of public space there was only one acre per 513 people, when the minimum ratio was one to a hundred.[61] The Board found that more than half of the city's Black residents lived in "unhealthful and unwholesome quarters", which lacked private baths, toilets, and water supply.[62]

As a response to the spatial anxiety from the mass movements of white Newarker's to the suburbs, Newark Housing Authority began its attempts at urban renewal in 1949. NHA director Louis Danzig led a majority of the early housing projects with funding from the National

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[58] Robert Curvin, "About Newark" in *Inside Newark: Decline, Rebellion, and the Search for Transformation* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2014), 17, https://muse.jhu.edu/book/44924.
[59] Curvin, 17.
[60] Diane Orson and NPR Staff, "'Million-Dollar Blocks' Map Incarceration's Costs," NPR (NPR, October 2, 2012), https://www.npr.org/2012/10/02/162149431/million-dollar-blocks-map-incarcerations-costs.
[61] Brad R. Tuttle, "The Slums of Ten Years From Now: A City Transformed Through Postwar Urban Renewal" in *How Newark Became Newark: The Rise, Fall, and Rebirth of an American City* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rivergate Books, 2009), 125, http://site.ebrary.com/id/10286243.
[62] Tuttle, 149.

Housing Authority. The NHA stated that "the only way of stopping blight and preventing huge sums of money from being poured out needlessly is to completely eliminate the slums and blighted areas".[63]

Many communities rejected the demolition of multi-generational family owned buildings but the NHA was confident that rebuilding efforts would slow movements to the suburbs. This was not the case as 15% of residents of the First Ward, a predominantly Italian neighborhood, moved from the city when public housing construction began in 1956 in fear of their neighborhoods becoming more racially diverse.[64] The Christopher Columbus Homes Project, placed in Newark's First Ward, consisted of thirteen-story brick apartments costing 40 million to build and required the demolition of forty six acres of densely populated land.[65] The Columbus Homes were built with the promise that the NHA would have a ten percent cap on the number of Black residents that could live there, even though those most eligible for public housing were Black people.

Public housing came with limitations. If one's salary increased so did their rent which could lead one to facing eviction if their income reached above a certain level. In addition, Louis Danzig and the NHA installed policies that actively discouraged Newark property owners from making improvements to their properties. The reason for this was because if landlords cleaned up their properties, it would be difficult to argue a section was blighted and hence Newark would not receive federal funding. As a result Columbus Homes and other predominantly Black populated properties lacked maintenance, were infrastructurally unstable, and ultimately

[63] Tuttle, 125.
[64] Tuttle, 141.
[65] Tuttle, 119-121

contributed to an unwelcoming, parkless, and storeless neighborhood. As crime began to flourish in many housing projects, police forces were established.[66]

By the 1950s up to 100,000 white people left Newark for the suburbs and in the span of that decade were replaced by over 60,000 Black individuals. At the same time, approximately twelve thousand families were pushed out of their homes by the NHA to make way for public housing, highway, and other urban-renewal development. “Newark was, in fact, guilty of evicting more people than it accommodated in public housing”.[67] By the 1960s, Black people held the majority of Newark’s population.[68]

Discrimination in housing was not ignored by the Black communities of Newark. In 1966 the New Jersey Advisory Committee called a two day meeting to address the segregationist practices of Danzig and the NHA. As stated in the conference “Black people represented more than 90 percent of the tenants in four poorly maintained high-rise projects in the Central Ward”.[69]

With Black communities in Newark feeling segregated and destabilized economically in their own city, social unrest and the civil rights movement of the 60s ignited political response and activism. In July of 1967, a Black taxi driver, John William Smith, was arrested and was brutally beaten by Newark police, which at the time was 90 percent white. The violent beating of Smith by two Newark officers outside the Fourth Precinct was made a public spectacle as the public housing Hayes Home sat just across the street. Pedestrians and apartment tenants quickly made calls alerting neighbors and calling civil-rights organizations such as CORE (Congress of Racial Equality).[70]The violence against Smith led to a five day rebellion as a response to the racial tensions perpetrated by white city officials and the mistreatment by police (Fig 11). Within

[66] Tuttle, 136-139.
[67] Tuttle, 139-140.
[68] Tuttle, 87.
[69] Tuttle, 141.
[70] Tuttle, 144.

those five days 7,917 police and National Guards were deployed to the streets of Newark, 1,465 people were arrested, 26 people died and 200 or more were seriously injured.[71]

Robert Curvin, Newark civil rights activist and scholar declared that "It would be difficult to assess the real costs to the city, for the disturbances further damaged the image and reputation of Newark".[72] The cost of physical damage from the 1967 rebellions would not outweigh the effect it had on branding Newark as a violent and corrupt place. In 1975, *Harper's Magazine,* published an article on Newark titled, "The Worst American City" having "the lowest percentage of home ownership, among the worst cities in terms of housing quality and overcrowding, and the least acreage of public parks per resident - just four by four feet for each Newarker".[73]

Between 1960 and 1970, white flight accelerated, and 100,000 more white people left Newark.[74] Overall the city lost more than 5% of its population but its Black population grew from 6 percent in 1970 to 56 percent by 1976. Stanley Winters wrote on the scenery of Newark's Central Ward in a New York Times Article in 1976, "It's a strange world of ghostly shops, battle-scarred buildings and bygone people"(Fig 12).[75] By 1987 Scudder Homes and Christopher Columbus Homes built out of the NHA urban renewal projects of the 50s and 60s began to be demolished (Fig 13). The NHA stated that the "high-rise housing projects have proved to be expensive and crime ridden". Mary Staley, a resident of among 426 other families living in Columbus Homes spoke to the New York Times on the demolition of her home and said "We

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[71] Tuttle, 145.
[72] Curvin,100.
[73] Brad R. Tuttle, "Bound to Explode: Generations of Frustration Boil Over in the Summer of 1967" in *How Newark Became Newark: The Rise, Fall, and Rebirth of an American City* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rivergate Books, 2009), 155, http://site.ebrary.com/id/10286243.
[74] Colleen O'Dea, "Newark before the Comeback: A City Marked by White Flight ...," *NJ Spotlight News*, September 4, 2019, 14, https://www.njspotlightnews.org/2019/09/19-09-02-newark-before-the-comeback-a-city-marked-by-white-flight-and-poor-policy/.
[75] Tuttle, 214.

know we're going to be replaced. But where or when, we don't know". [76] Staley had lived in Columbus Homes for 21 years, yet she and other citizens of Newark living in low-income housing are constantly faced with the reality of being displaced.

Black and brown communities of Newark continue to be governed and controlled by police and city officials who allow such surveillant practices to exist. In Newark, "After a five-year investigation that began in 2011, the U.S. Justice Department found a pattern of racially biased policing that included violations like stop and frisks, repeated incidents of excessive use of force, and improper property seizures".[77] In 2016, the Newark police department agreed to a settlement with the Department of Justice to end the routine practices of violent force and unjustifiable arrests against citizens. Even so, Newark police continue to violate people's civil rights. Each year the department is given $142.7 million of funding, which costs $506 per resident.[78] This reality sits in stark contrast to the rate of homeownership in Newark which in 2021 was 23.5%, one of the lowest rates for any city in a nation.[79]

Based on data taken in 2019, Black people of Newark were 1.5 times as likely to be stopped than white people and 2.7 times as likely to have force used on them by the hands of police (Fig 14).[80] Despite the fact that Newark's murder rate had increasingly gone down by 2017, Citizen Virtual Patrol was introduced just a year later.[81] Crime was not the only factor

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[76] Alfonso A. Narvaez, "Newark Rips Down Its Projects," *The New York Times*, November 28, 1987, http://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1987/11/28/321787.html.
[77] Robyn Greene and Lawrence McDonald, "Newark, New Jersey's New Street Surveillance Program Is a Digital Stop and Frisk," *Slate Magazine* (Slate, June 28, 2018), 3, https://slate.com/technology/2018/06/newark-new-jerseys-citizen-virtual-patrol-program-is-a-digital-stop-and-frisk.html.
[78] "Police Scorecard: Newark, NJ," Police Scorecard, accessed April 29, 2022, https://policescorecard.org/nj/police-department/newark.
[79] "U.S. Census Bureau QuickFacts: Newark City, New Jersey," accessed April 17, 2022, https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/newarkcitynewjersey.
[80] Jon Schuppe, "Newark, N.J., Wants to Be a Model for Police Reform. But Black People Are Still Stopped More Often," NBC News, July 18, 2020, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/newark-n-j-wants-be-model-police-reform-black-people-n1234190.
[81] Rick Rojas, "In Newark, Police Cameras, and the Internet, Watch You - The New York Times," The New York Times, June 9, 2018, https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/09/nyregion/newark-surveillance-cameras-police.html.

considered in creating the program, it was also based on pre-existing policies and racist ideaologies that Black people are a threat to society.

The story of Newark is very similar to other urban cities such as Oakland, NYC, and Los Angeles in terms of white flight, redlining, exclusionary urban practices, and the policing of Black and communities. But what makes it unique is the practices of surveillance that have been implemented to replace physical policing bodies. The 'Citizen Virtual Program' encourages people to report on what they *think* or *perceive* as suspicious, allowing known or unconscious bias to be unconstrained. Any sense of independence whether that be to walk without judgment and fear from school to home is obstructed by the ubiquity of the street camera that hyper-visibilizes the Black body. The notion of public space as being a free and liberating space has completely diminished by these forms of surveillance.

Roots In Newark

In recognizing Newark's past and current surveillance program, it is also crucial to look to Black architects who have studied and worked in and around Newark. These individuals are reimagining and taking agency of landscapes through design that are historically shaped by white people. Black men and women architects represent only 2% of all licensed practicing architects according to the National Council of Architectural Registration Boards. And Black women account for just 0.4%.[82]

The New Jersey Institute of Technology has fostered a numerous number of young Black architects who practice in and beyond New Jersey. Levitta Gathers-Lawrence, Nadene Taylor, Bryan Lee Jr, Tom Reynolds, Brunie Pierre, and Tom Reynolds are all alumni of NJIT and use

[82] Star-Ledger Guest Columnist, "Black History Month: Black Architects Reframe the Narratives of Their Communities | Opinion," nj, February 17, 2022, https://www.nj.com/opinion/2022/02/black-history-month-black-architects-reframe-the-narratives-of-their-communities-opinion.html.

architecture as a platform for design justice. Andrew Thompson, another notable Black architect, is the president of New Jersey's National Organization of Minority Architects (NOMA) and the lead County Architect for Passaic County in New Jersey.[83] The contributions these individuals make in preserving, rehabilitating, and or designing new infrastructures have a truly meaningful effect on dismantling architectures unequal legacies.

Exhibition Statement

The exhibition uses scholarly accounts of historical and contemporary texts of surveillance that are in dialogue with race, architecture, and privacy and are highlighted through their spatialized impacts on Black community and urban space. The exhibition allows for a questioning - a questioning of how the optics of observation are inherently violent and discriminatory. And how understanding the ways in which surveillance is both legitimized and problematized, can provide a space for strategies of resistance.

Architecture as a practice and discipline is often fixed, pragmatic, and not always legible to a wide audience. By filling the space with images, mapping, and drawings instead of complex architectural plans, the hope is that people will leave the exhibition with a greater insight around the spatial qualities of surveillance and their correlation to ideas of race, control, and freedom.

Obscuring the Image & Mapping Injustice

To design the exhibition, I drew inspiration from earlier efforts of architects and artists that used mediums such as sculpture, installation, video, satellite imaging, and mapping to convey critical arguments about surveillance and or racial injustice. "CTRL Space: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother" (2001-2002) curated by Thomas Y. Levin, Laura

[83] Stacey Ruhle Kliesch, "AIA Newark and Suburban Past President Andrew Thompson, AIA, Shares His Thoughts on Mentorship and the Importance of Succession," AIA-NJ, February 16, 2022, https://aia-nj.org/blog/2022/02/16/aia-newark-and-suburban-past-president-andrew-thompson-aia-shares-his-thoughts-on-mentorship-and-the-importance-of-succession/.

Kurgan's "Million Dollar Blocks" (2005), and "Reconstructions: Architecture & Blackness in America" (2021) curated by Sean Anderson and Mabel O. Wilson, explore the ways in which the site of the gallery can become a space of institutional and technological critique.

"CTRL Space: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother" presented by ZKM: Center for Arts and Media (1989) was incredibly influential at the time in representing and critiquing surveillance practices that have evolved and become more prominent in our contemporary age of technological advancement and digital consumption. By surveying eighteenth to twenty-first century implementations of surveillance, the exhibition offers a ubiquitous view on surveillance that makes one question its impact on our civil liberties.

In 2001, only a month after the September 11th attacks, ZKM directed by Peter Weibel, put together the show in Germany, "CTRL Space: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother". The exhibition was a response to the intensified use of surveillance strategies in a post-terror landscape that reflected debates on security politics and civil liberty.[84] There were around sixty works in the exhibition including artists such as Diller + Scofidio (*Refresh,* 1989), Julia Scher (*Superdesk,* 1993/2001), and Vito Acconci (*Following Piece,* 1969). 'Panoptic' interventions were displayed through a wide range of media such as architecture, urbanism, satellite imaging, cinema, and robotics to express the contemporary practices of control through information technologies.[85]

Themes of following and tracking in a psychological and physical sense are prominent in the works of Scher and Acconi, bringing up questions around consent and participation. Scher's *Superdesk* (1993/2001) features a control desk where the installed cameras take an image of the visitor who sits at the desk (Fig 15). The image created is labeled as a mugshot. Scher explains it

[84] Thomas Y. Levin, Ursula Frohne, and Peter Weibel, "Editorial", in *CTRL Space: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother*, (Karlsruhe, Germany: ZKM-Center for Art and Media, 2002), 10.
[85] Levin et al., 11.

as so, "...cameras, via their light-articulating lens, look at the present, the system regurgitates the past as well. This mix is shuttled into the monitors. The video facet of the installation parodies the structures of security systems and their nominal agenda of reporting information about the presence of the "other" [usually as a warning about potential danger]".[86]

Acconi, interested in relationships between public and private spheres, followed average streetwalkers in New York City for as long as he could before they entered nonpublic spaces (ie: office, home) in *Following Piece* (1969). The people he followed and documented were unknowingly participants in his performance. Through the act of following, Acconi recorded, mapped and photographed the movement of random civilians (Fig 16).

As described by ZKM, "he presents us with the city street as a space where civil protection potentially breaks down".[87] Mapping as a way of sourcing information acts similarly to the ways in which the security camera works. The participants' actions become a point of observation and reflection for the artist.

Data visualizations through mapping are critical in conveying information on the biopolitical configurations of neighborhoods that are governed by their cities. Laura Kurgan's maps in *"*Million Dollar Blocks*"*, first presented in 2006, make visible the ways in which incarceration is a localized issue and intricately linked to civic infrastructures and urban policy. The project was displayed later in 2015 at the exhibition *Mapping Brooklyn* at BRIC which included artists working with historical and contemporary maps to analyze territory and the ways in which urban grids articulate symbols of power, ownership, security, and fear.[88]

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[86] Julia Scher, "Surveillant Pleasures," in *CTRL Space: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother*, ed. Thomas Y. Levin, Ursula Frohne, and Peter Weibel (Karlsruhe, Germany: ZKM-Center for Art and Media, 2002), 290.

[87] Dörte Zbikowski, "Tracking Systems," in *CTRL Space: Rhetorics of Surveillance from Bentham to Big Brother*, ed. Thomas Y. Levin, Ursula Frohne, and Peter Weibel (Karlsruhe, Germany: ZKM-Center for Art and Media, 2002), 290.

[88] Ian Veidenheimer, "From the Ground Up: A Review of Mapping Brooklyn," Urban Omnibus, April 15, 2015, https://urbanomnibus.net/2015/04/from-the-ground-up-a-review-of-mapping-brooklyn/.

Kurgan, director of the Spatial Information Design Lab at Columbia University, "Million Dollar Blocks" shows the city-to-prison pipeline by looking at incarceration rates in predominantly Black neighborhoods in Brooklyn.[89] Kurgan traces displacement in a legible and visual way and reverses common mapping practices that plot crime, exposing these racially discriminatory practices (Fig 17).

The most important exhibition for my exhibition is "Reconstructions: Architecture & Blackness in America". The show ultimately paved the way of reconstituting the Black body at the center of narratives on liberation and abolition through the mediums of art and design. The exhibition brings to light the absence of Black histories when in dialogue with urban architecture and planning.

In 2021, Mabel O. Wilson, Nancy and George E. Rupp, and Sean Anderson curated "Reconstructions: Architecture & Blackness in America" which included the works of Black artists who together composed the Black Reconstruction Collective, which provides funding to Black spatial practices.[90] These artists, architects, and designers included Emanuel Admassu, Germane Barnes, Sekou Cooke, J. Yolande Daniels, Felecia Davis, Mario Gooden, Walter Hood, Olalekan Jeyifous, V. Mitch McEwen, and Amanda Williams, and David Hartt.[91]

The exhibition traces histories of racism through policies such as urban renewal and redlining and offers a platform in which reevaluations and speculations can be made in response

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[89] The Museum of Modern Art, "Laura Kurgan, Eric Cadora, David Reinfurt, Sarah Williams, Spatial Information Design Lab, Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, Columbia University. Architecture and Justice from the Million Dollar Blocks Project. 2006 | MoMA," Accessed December 12, 2021, https://www.moma.org/collection/works/110423.

[90] Diana Budds, "After MoMA, the Black Reconstruction Collective Plots Its Future in Architecture," Curbed, June 7, 2021, https://www.curbed.com/2021/06/black-reconstruction-collective-moma-history.html.

[91] Jay Cephas, "Free Forms: Jay Cephas on 'Reconstructions: Architecture and Blackness in America,'" *Artforum* (blog), April 19, 2021, https://www.artforum.com/architecture/jay-cephas-on-reconstructions-architecture-and-blackness-in-america-85515.

to spatialized systems of racial injustice being embedded into America's built environments.[92]

Amanda Williams's "We're Not Down There, We're Over Here" (2020) and Sekou Cooke's "We Outcha" (2021) are two projects of the many in the exhibition that express similar ambitions to my own. Williams's work is composed of a series of unfolding emergency blankets that are layed out like a map and provides tools for navigating a way to a free Black space (Fig 18). The map leads one to a spaceship vessel composed of inventions created by Black scientists, scholars, and everyday folks. The symbolism of the spaceship vessel is to show how black space should not be confined but made infinite. As stated by Williams's "Often Black people in America are not given the space at all to even just be… But we just need to stop and imagine what it might mean to have to fashion your own path, to a space of freedom, or to a space of self-determination".[93] The significance of Williams's work is the revaluation of a new frontier, as she describes, through the deconstruction and reconstruction of built environments made for and by Black people. Instead of offering a single solution to finding freedom in space, William's maps emphasize histories of Black spaces known as "free towns" such as Kinloch, Missouri.[94] This makes one imagine how contemporary Black spaces can reclaim themselves and defend themselves against historical erasure by providing tools created by Black people, expressing how everyone in America should have the right to create the spaces they want to live.

Sekou Cooke's "We Outcha", is an architectural intervention and proposal for what was once Syracuse, New York's 15th Ward. The 15th Ward was a prominent Black neighborhood before it was demolished to make room for an interstate highway.[95] By layering historical images

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[92] Glenn D Lowry, "Reconstructions: Architecture and Blackness in America," in *Reconstructions: Architecture and Blackness in America*, ed. Mabel O. Wilson et al. (New York, NY: The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 2021), 9.
[93] Amanda Williams, "Amanda Williams. We're Not Down There, We're Over Here. 2020," The Museum of Modern Art, accessed April 24, 2022, https://www.moma.org/audio/playlist/312/4044.
[94] Williams.
[95] Arlette Hernandez, "How Can We Create Communities of Care? | Magazine | MoMA," The Museum of Modern Art, accessed April 24, 2022, https://www.moma.org/magazine/articles/525.

of the site with his new imagined projections, Cooke creates a new narrative that refuses the displacement of Black communities (Fig 19). By revealing patterns of disinvestement and violence through state interventions such as highway building, a new foundation is made by Cooke that gives agency back to community members of Syracuse to pave a new public realm for themselves. The contested relationships between race and space are illustrated by the architects and artist's urgency in their works for a reconstruction of cities: imagining Black spatialities in its past, present, and future.[96]

The exhibitions and installations mentioned above use methods of camera manipulation, mapping, and tracing geographical and political histories through constructions of art. I plan to apply these methods of presentation, especially those of Williams and Cooke who foreground Black spatialities into their work, to reimagine the concurrent modalities of surveillance, architecture, and control.

Exhibition Design

The exhibition will take place at New Annandale House on Bard College campus on May 13th-May 15th. This location which houses the Experimental Humanities department emphasizes interdisciplinary practices as a tool of analysis, which supports my goal in expanding the meaning of architecture by using historical research to inform design.

The exhibition was organized through the making of a model of New Annandale House which was scaled at 1/4" = 1'. (Fig. 20). The components of the exhibition will include a hanging timeline which will be placed in the entrance way which shows histories in which surveillance has been utilized as an instrument to contain and displace Black communities. The exhibition

[96] Cephas.

materials and project statement are mapped out in pamphlets which contain a floor plan of the space and will be available at the entrance (Fig 21).

After you walk through the hallway of histories of racialized surveillant uses, you are met with Newark's original redlining map. The map is placed adjacent on a table (made up of stacked cinder blocks and a metal sheet) to the Citizen Virtual Patrol Map, showing the placement of street cameras in correlation to police stations and public housing (Fig 22). The placement of these two maps is to show the density of street cameras to the areas redlined on the map and to emphasize Newark's growth in becoming a predominantly Black city.

You are then met with a hand-welded metal framed partition wall which separates the space, creating a border that also functions as a vessel for text and image to be hung from. The metal framing of the images was inspired by Richard Hamilton's exhibition in 1955 'Man, Machine, and Motion,' where he illustrated "man's relationship with moving machines" through 176 photographs of inventions supported by 56 steel panels (Fig 23).[97] Hamilton's work centered the white male as the originator of state-of-the-art achievements. However, Amanda Williams's "We're Not Down There, We're Over Here", resists this ideology, expressing the many modernist inventions of Black men and women in America.

On the side of the frame facing the side you enter from contains images from the 1967 Newark Rebellion as a way to understand the city's relationships with urban policy and policing. On the wall across from the garage door there will be a looped live recorded footage from the Citizen Virtual Patrol website will be playing. The looped video is meant to put exhibition visitors in the role of the watcher, to heighten the sense of hostility that surveillance presents in public space. Another way in which the exhibition is organized is by means of taping the ground

[97] Carmen Fernández Aparicio, "Richard Hamilton - Man, Machine & Motion," Museio Reina Sofia, accessed April 26, 2022, https://www.museoreinasofia.es/en/collection/artwork/man-machine-motion.

as a way to map out the intended movement through the space and create connections between material. By trying to control the space with the tape and partition wall, the space embodies the psychological and physically restricting qualities of surveillance. On the side of the partition wall frame is where my own documentation of Newark will come in to express how the empty lots and metal fences capture the territorialism of Newark's public space. The exhibition will conclude with a model of a pavilion with accompanying drawings made using Google street view images of private but unused lots that are also blind spots to the Citizen Virtual Patrol cameras.

Design Intervention

Influenced by Simone's Browne invention of dark sousveillance, which "offers an agenda for coping with and subverting structures of control", the pavilion I have designed presents an opportunity of turning over private space for public use.[98] To render oneself out of sight from surveillance, my pavilion responds to the transparency of public space by using the method of 'silvering' to conceal and deceive the exploitative camera presence. The process of silvering, most common in fish, is used to make an animal invisible from the side through the absorption of light. The light's reflection creates a silver cloak on the fish which mimics the lustrous quality of aluminum.[99] The pavilion which will be composed using aluminum mirrored sheets attached over foam makes people less visible through the mirror's light reflecting qualities.

In being a site specific project, the pavilion is intended to provide a sense of agency and reclamation of urban space that has been taken away by surveillance in Newark. As described

[98] Jessica Lingel, "Review of Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness by Simone Browne (Duke University Press, 2015)," *Catalyst: Feminism, Theory, Technoscience* 2, no. 2 (2016): 1-5, https://doi.org/10.28968/cftt.v2i2.28806.
[99] Sindya N. Bhanoo, "Silvery Fish Elude Predators With Light-Bending," *The New York Times*, October 22, 2012, sec. Science, https://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/23/science/silvery-fish-elude-predators-with-sleight-of-reflection.html.

earlier, Newark has faced a lack of public space, “one acre per 513 people”, due to the construction of housing projects.[100] Serpentine Gallery defines a pavilion as “a flexible architectural open space that invites people to come in and spend time in. It could be temporary or permanent and might even change its form and function. A Pavilion might be used as a: shelter, seating, meeting point, theatre, or for lectures, events, exhibitions, play, relaxation, work and much much more”.[101] Instead of attempting to redesign a large-scale more permanent infrastructure such as a building, the pavilion acts as a starting point for future projects to grow out of. This is based on my belief that growth can occur without new development.

The pavilion titled, ‘Out of Sight: Scaffolding For Protection’ is made up of a hidden ramp which leads one two feet into the ground of an empty lot and has multiple supporting aluminum beams creating an open canopy over one's head. I hope to not only create a sense of privacy from the invasiveness of cameras but also encourage community members to add to and repurpose the space however desired.

Conclusion

Cities in America, especially those that are predominantly occupied by Black residents, are often subjected to surveillance techniques. Surveillance devices such as CCTVs are new in their technological abilities to be accessed anywhere but are just an extension of outdated policies of state and federal sanctioned violence.

If we move on from placing the panopticon as the dominant manifestation of surveillance and focusing instead on histories of racialized surveillance practices, beginning with the Southern plantation, we can begin to understand surveillance as an embodiment of power.

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[100] Tuttle, 125.
[101] Emma Tinsley, “What Makes a Pavilion? - Stage One Pavilions | Architecture | Blog,” *Stage One* (blog), February 13, 2020, https://www.stageone.co.uk/blog/what-makes-a-pavilion/.

Examples such as territorial control through design, urban policies, federal localization, and law enforcement databases exemplify the continuous efforts by the state to actively suppress the freedom and civil liberties of Black Americans.

Surveillance creates a regime of categorizing and sorting that targets and excludes bodies that have historically been subjugated. By simply seeing surveillance as a response to a concern of security and crime, we lose sight of its intersectional effects. The urban setting when under surveillance, like in the case of Newark, allows for bias to proliferate and creates a pipeline of mass criminalization and incarceration.

We're in a moment where we must question who is at stake in the context to surveillant practices in America. Whose safety is being protected and whose rights are being violated? We imagine state surveillance as being a solution to violence, but to believe this is to leave no room for other solutions. Any action made to address violence should focus on the systemic policies and infrastructures that have failed to protect the lives of people who have been excluded from equal opportunities. Instead of funding the police, the government and state should be actively addressing safety through improving social programs, providing affordable housing that doesn't result in another's displacement, and making illegal the monitoring and use of excessive force by police.

At the same time we need to reconsider our own use of technologies we put our trust into and are marketed to us by claiming to be neutral but are encoded with inequalities.[102] Ruha Benjamin is one of many Black sociologists and scholars who is addressing the intersections of race and technology. By bringing into question how transparent technological makings and algorithms are made to its users, Benjamin offers a set of "tools" in how justice can be informed

[102] Ruha Benjamin, "Introduction," in *Race and Technology: Abolitionist Tools for the New Jim Code* (Cambridge: Polity, 2019), 17-22.

through design. One of her strategies includes incorporating structural and historical analysis into any technological creation.[103] In my own architectural endeavors and creations I always try to consider this strategy, hence why I am surrounding the exhibition with historical findings.

In considering the past to imagine new futures in our ever technologically evolving world, design justice can be a good place to start. Sasha Constanza-Chock and Allied Media Projects define design justice as "a field of theory and practice that is concerned with how design of objects and systems influences the distribution of risks, harms, and benefits among various groups of people".[104] The examination of Newark shows us how street cameras become a manufactured form of defensible space which reinforce anti-Black logic. But what if Black communties could reverse the white gaze of surveillance?

While we already see this strategy used by individuals to document through smart phones, police brutality and other discriminatory actions against people of color, how can we further push this form of watching back? If we wanted to place the spectacle on police for example, how could the walls of police stations be single floored and made glass so that not only their training could be put on display but also their treatment of those they deem suspect or criminal.

While this is just one strategy not a solution, I think the most important thing to acknowledge is that architecture and the makings of public space is and will always be political. So in order for the built environment and design to resist mechanized forms of oppression (ie: camera), cities and the government need to financially support public projects in Black spaces that give design agency to Black artists, architects, and imaginaries.

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[103] Benjamin, 192-193.
[104] Benjamin, 175.

Figures

Figure 1. 'Trapped Forever', 267 16th Ave, West Side, Newark, N.J., 2022 (Author's Photo).

Figure 2. ‘Boarded Up’, Central Ward, Newark, N.J., 2022 (Author’s Photo).

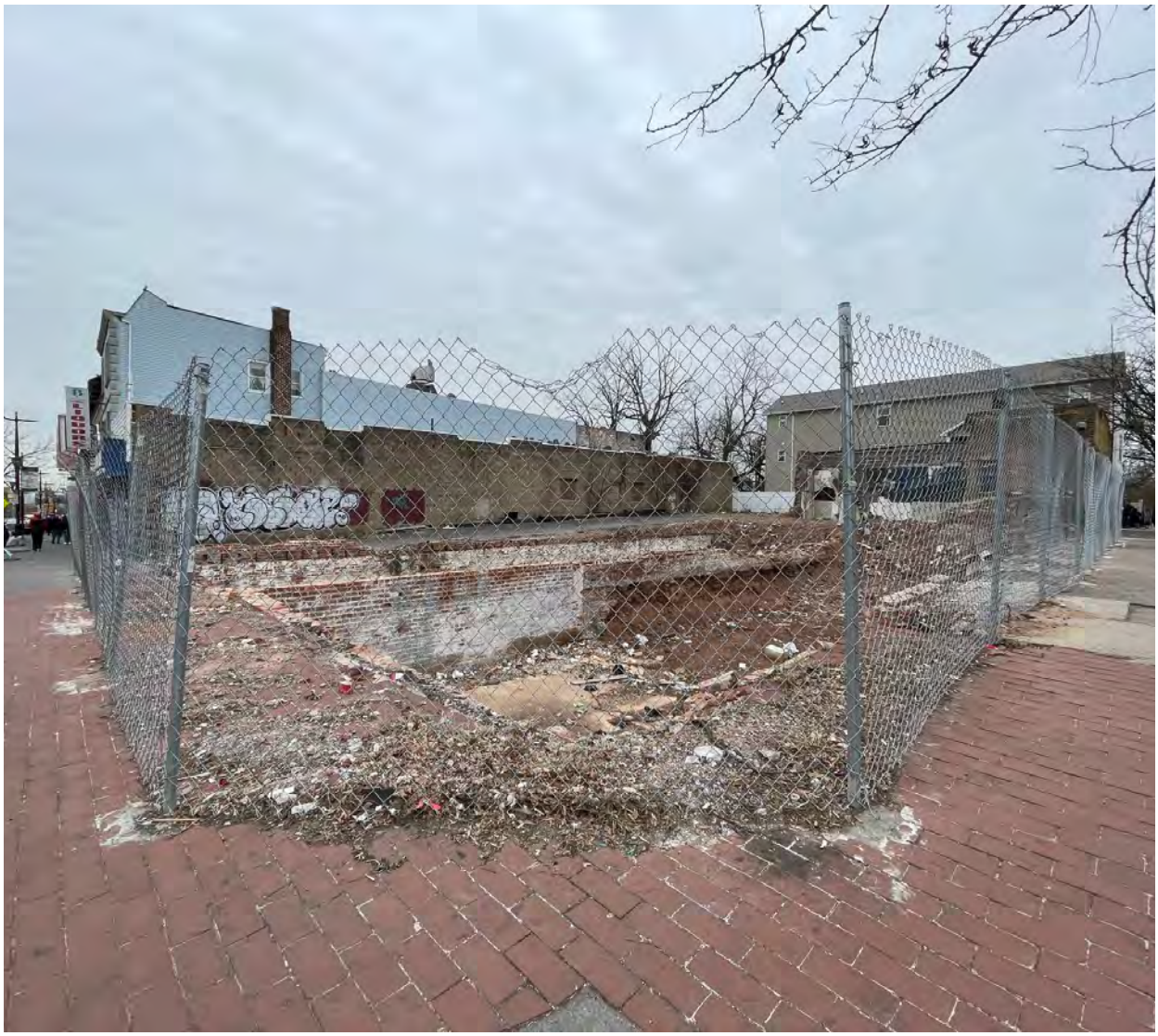

Figure 3. ‘Vacant’, 526 Clinton Ave, Upper Clinton Hill, Newark, N.J., 2022 (Author’s Photo).

Figure 4. ‘Between Two Buildings’, Springfield Belmont, Newark, N.J., 2022 (Author’s Photo).

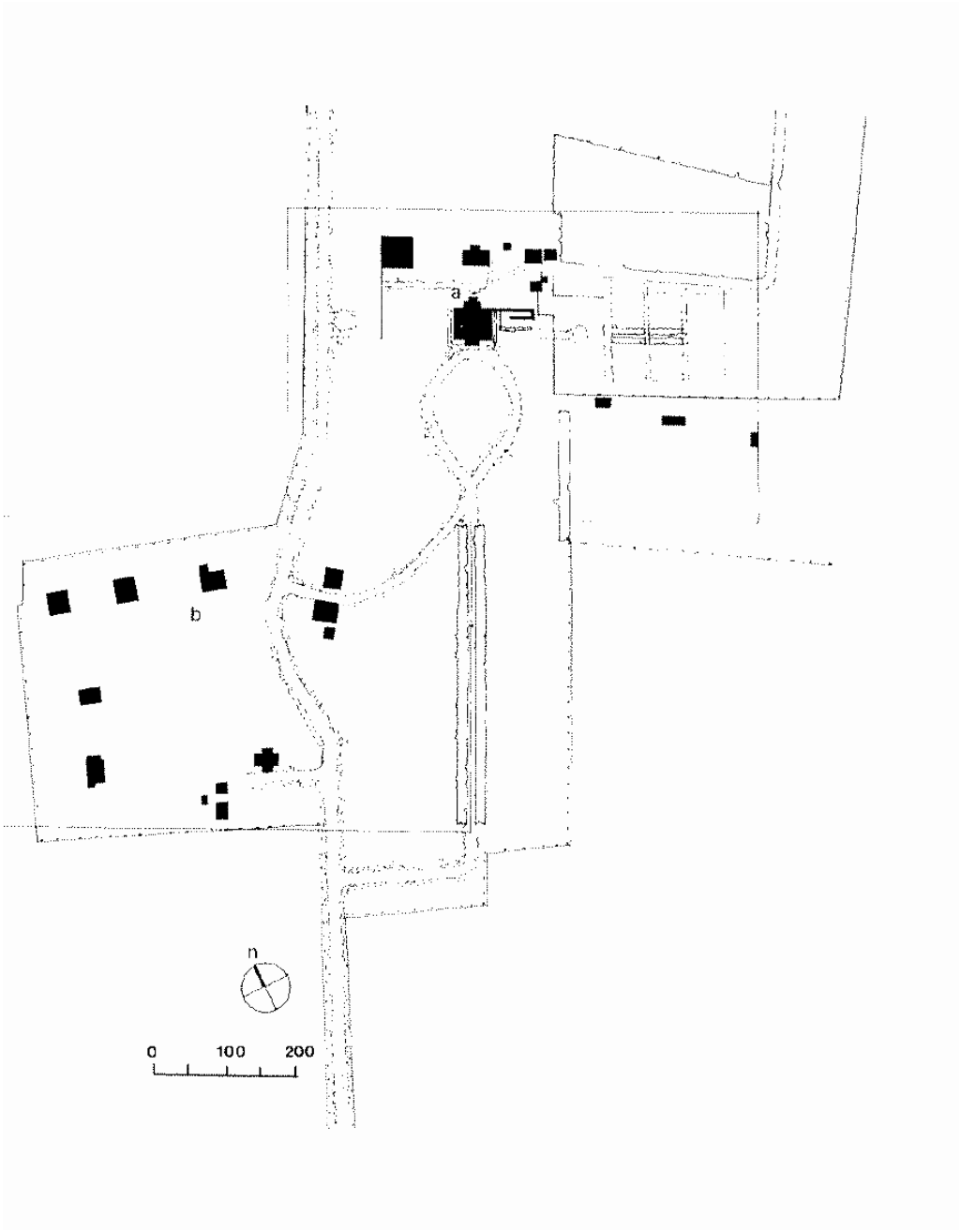

Figure 5. 'Sight Plan', Howard's Neck, showing main house area (a) and slave quarter area (b), Drawing by Carol Silverman. 1984 (Source: Dell Upton).

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Figure 6. Chicago Metropolitan Correctional Center, 1975 (Source: Council on Tall Buildings and Urban Habitat).

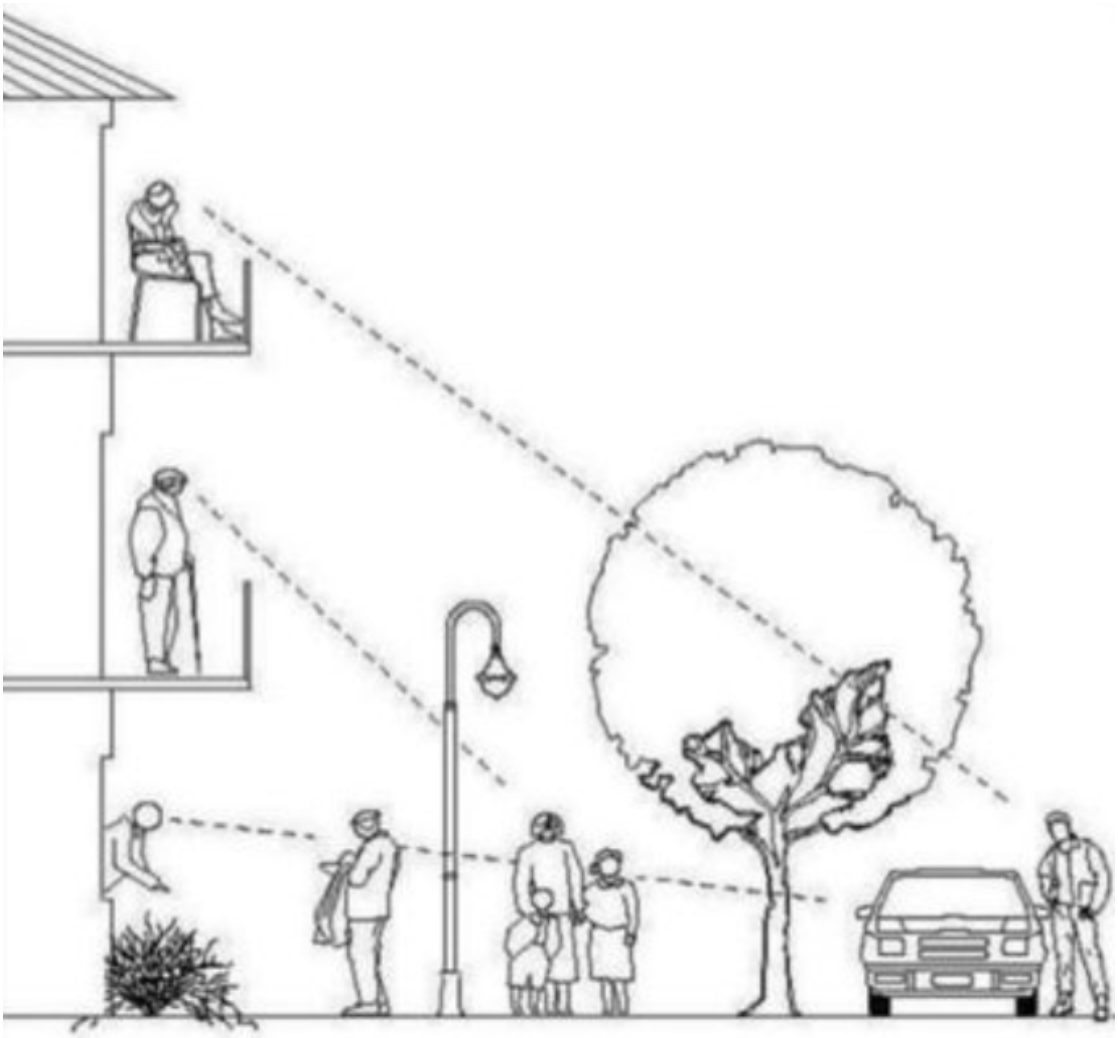


Figure 7. Diagram by Oscar Newman in *Design Guidelines for Creating Defensible Space*, 1976 (Source: SAGE Publications).

Figure 8. *Engraving of slave patroller checking passes near New Orleans,* 1863 (Source: Library of Congress).

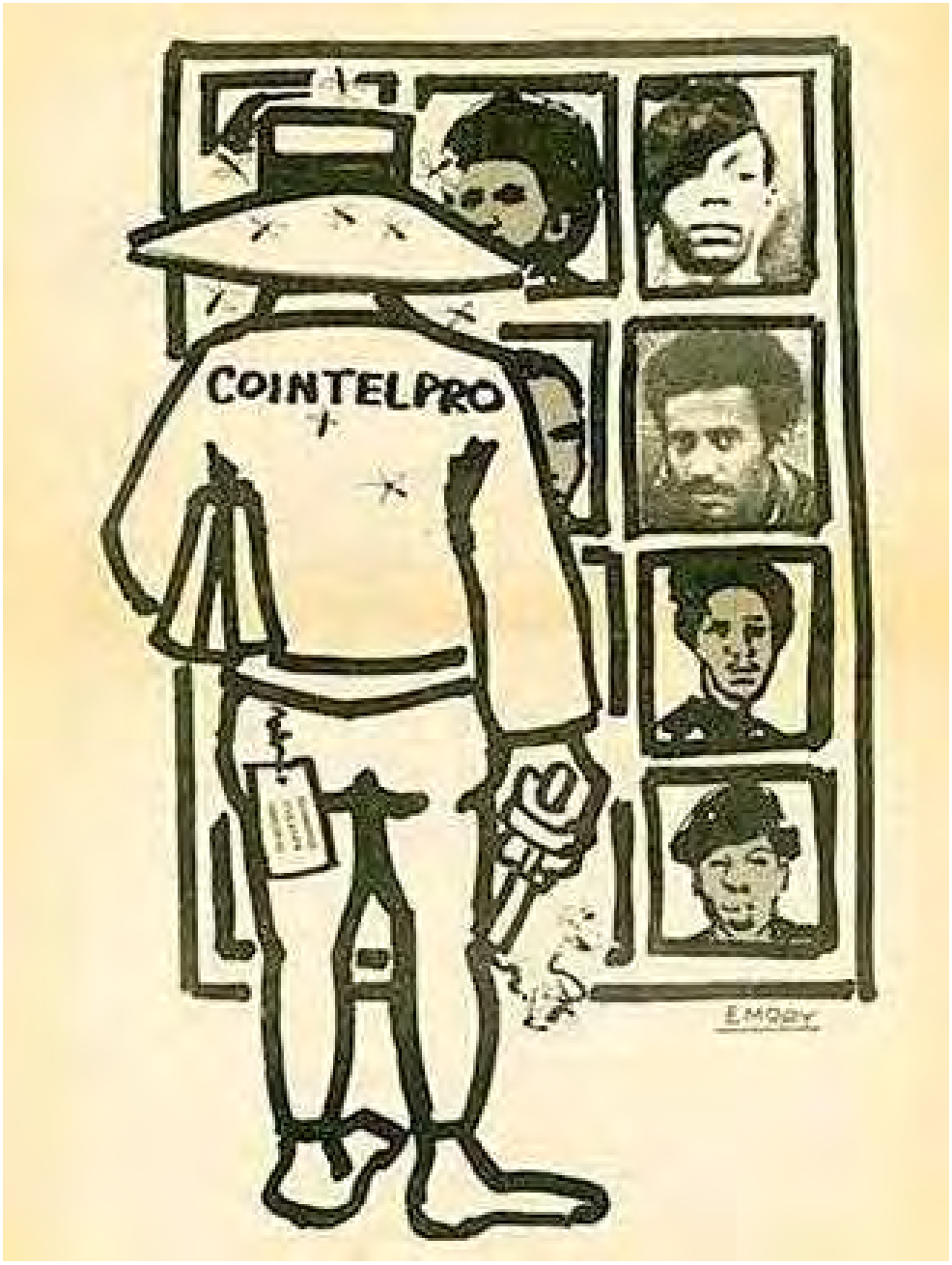


Figure 9. Graphic illustration of COINTELPRO by Black Panther Minister of Culture, Emory Douglas, 1976 (Source: Rethinking Schools).

Figure 10. A camera crew from the television show “Cops” works along East Boundary Road in Augusta, Georgia, 2013 (Source: *Augusta Chronicle*).

Figure 11. Demolition of Scudder Homes, Newark N.J., 1987 (Source: The United States Department of Housing and Urban Development).

Figure 12. National Guard Searching Three Black Men During Newark Rebellion, 1967 (Source: Associated Press).

Figure 13. A stretch of Springfield Avenue, a focal point of the riots, 1974 (Source: Jerry Mosey/Associated Press).

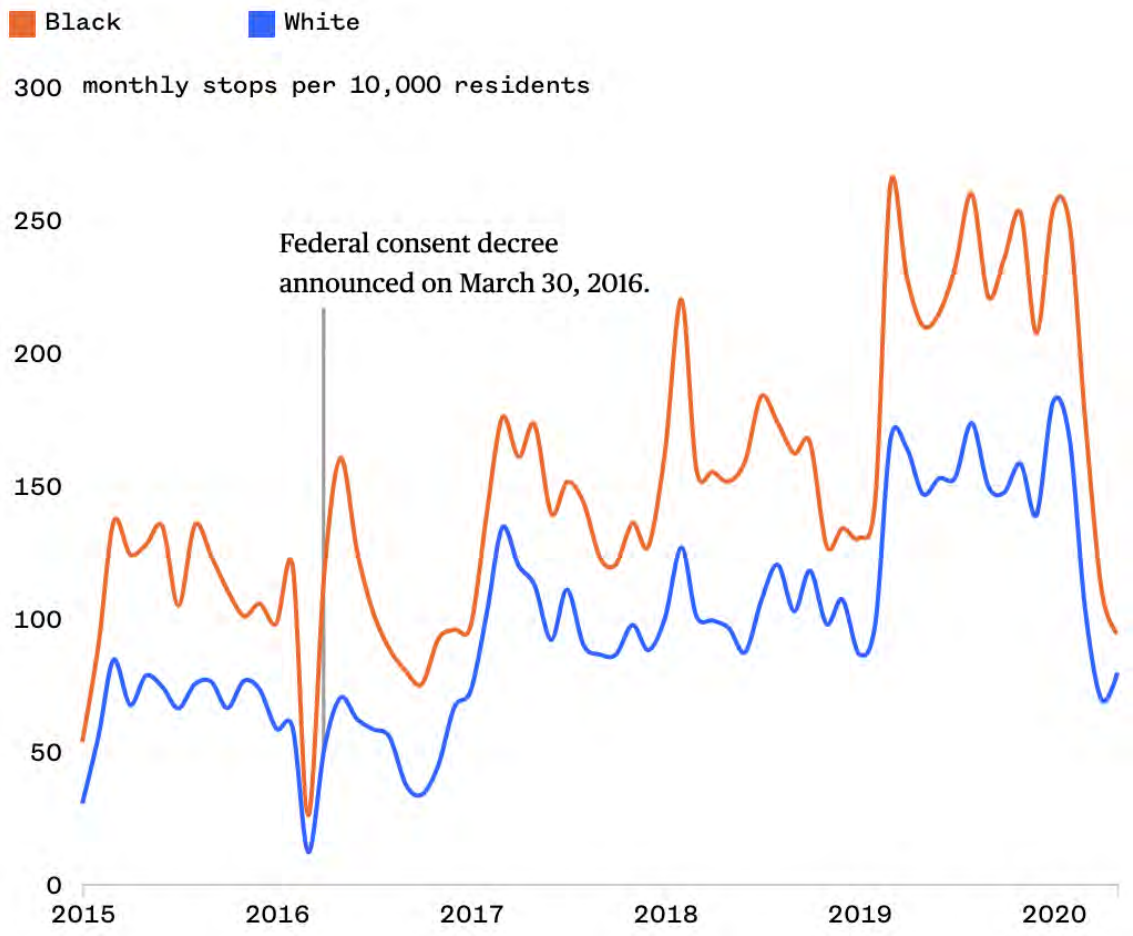


Figure 14. Newark Police Division, Graphic: Jiachuan Wu, 2020 (Source: NBC News).

Figure 15. Julia Scher, *Superdesk,* 1993/2001, Photo: Neue Galerie (Source: © ZKM | Center for Art and Media).

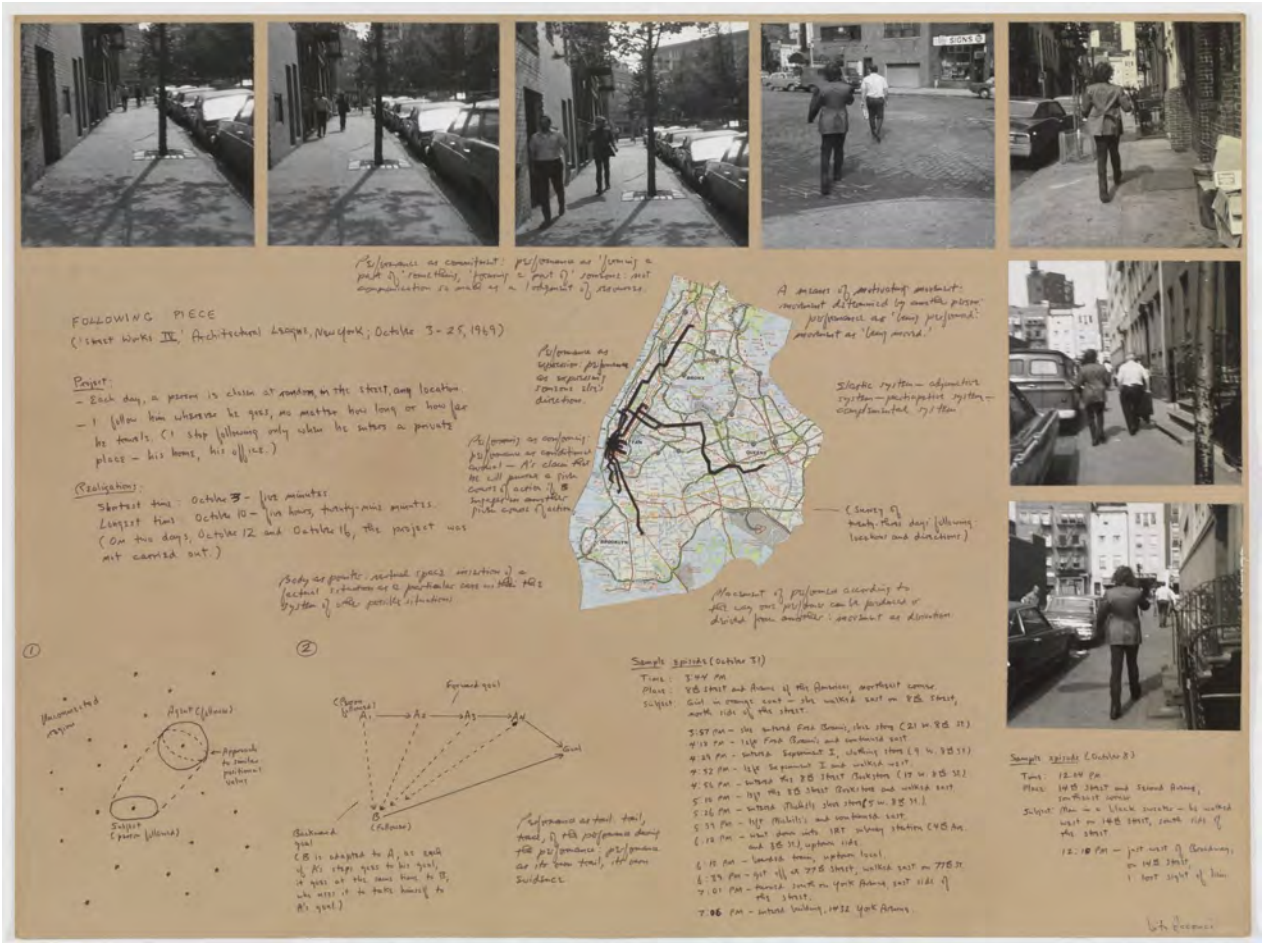


Figure 16. Vito Acconci, *Following Piece,* 1969 (Source: MoMA).

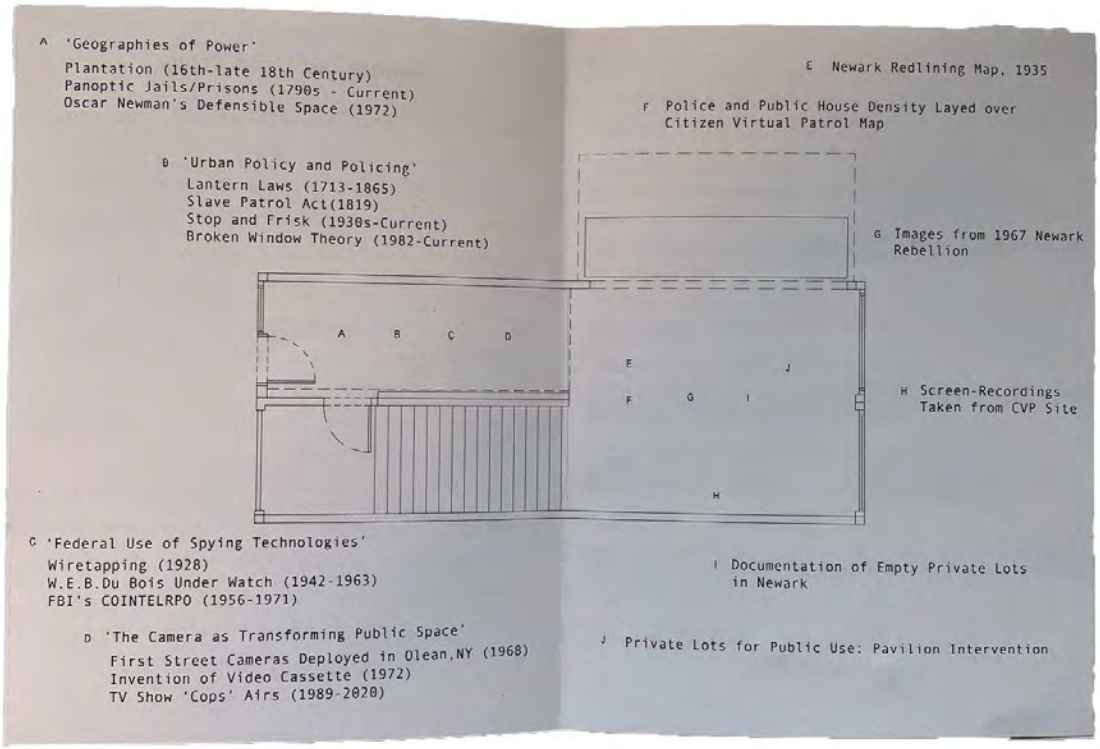
Figure 17. Laura Kurgan, *Million Dollar Blocks*, 2015, Photo: Jason Wyche (Source: BRIC).

Figure 18. Amanda Williams, *We're Not Down There, We're Over Here*, 2020, Photo: Robert Gerhardt (Source: MoMA).

Figure 19. Sekou Cooke, *We Outchea,* 2021, Photo: Robert Gerhardt (Source: MoMA).

Figure 20. Foam Model of ‘New Annandale House’, 2022 (Source: Author’s Design).

Figure 21. 'Exhibition Pamphlet', 2022, Created Using: AutoCAD, Adobe Illustrator, and InDesign (Source: Author's Design).


A 'Geographies of Power'
Plantation (16th-late 18th Century)
Panoptic Jails/Prisons (1790s - Current)
Oscar Newman's Defensible Space (1972)
B 'Urban Policy and Policing'
Lantern Laws (1713-1865)
Slave Patrol Act(1819)
Stop and Frisk (1930s-Current)
Broken Window Theory (1982-Current)
C 'Federal Use of Spying Technologies'
Wiretapping (1928)
W.E.B.Du Bois Under Watch (1942-1963)
FBI's COINTELRPO (1956-1971)
D 'The Camera as Transforming Public Space'
First Street Cameras Deployed in Olean,NY (1968)
Invention of Video Cassette (1972)
TV Show 'Cops' Airs (1989-2020)
E Newark Redlining Map, 1935
F Police and Public House Density Layed over Citizen Virtual Patrol Map
G Images from 1967 Newark Rebellion
H Screen-Recordings Taken from CVP Site
I Documentation of Empty Private Lots in Newark
J Private Lots for Public Use: Pavilion Intervention
A
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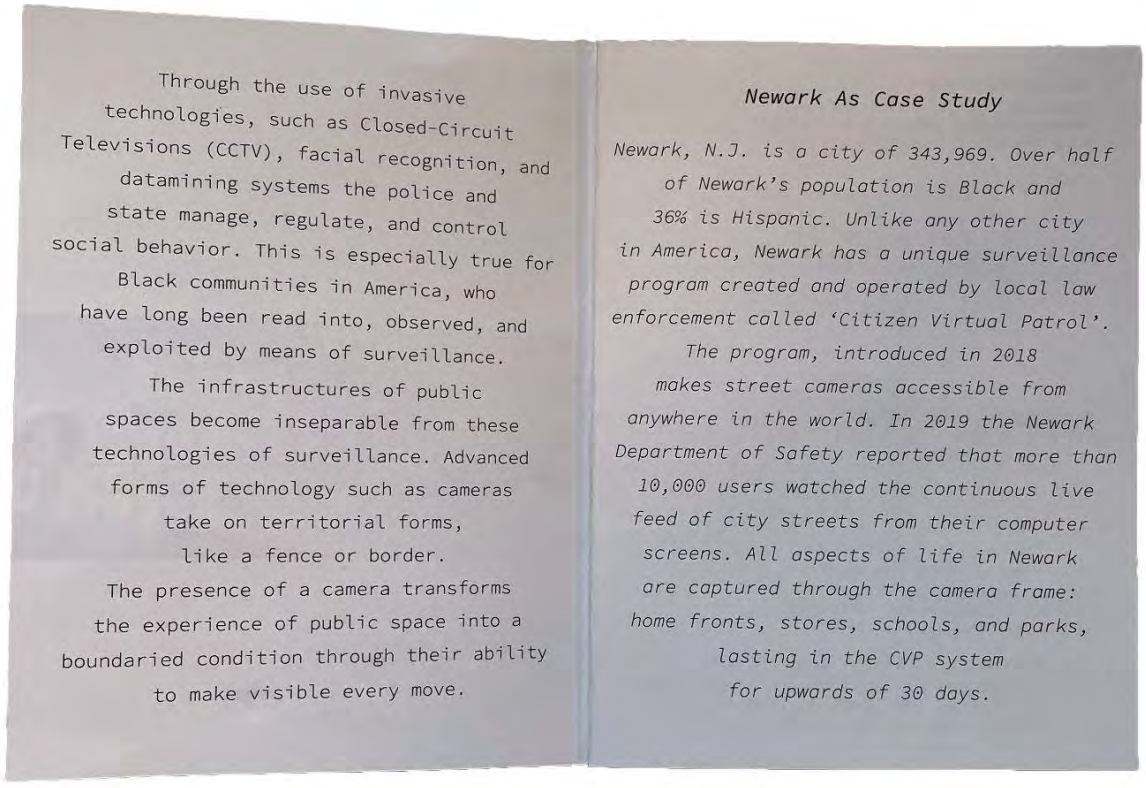
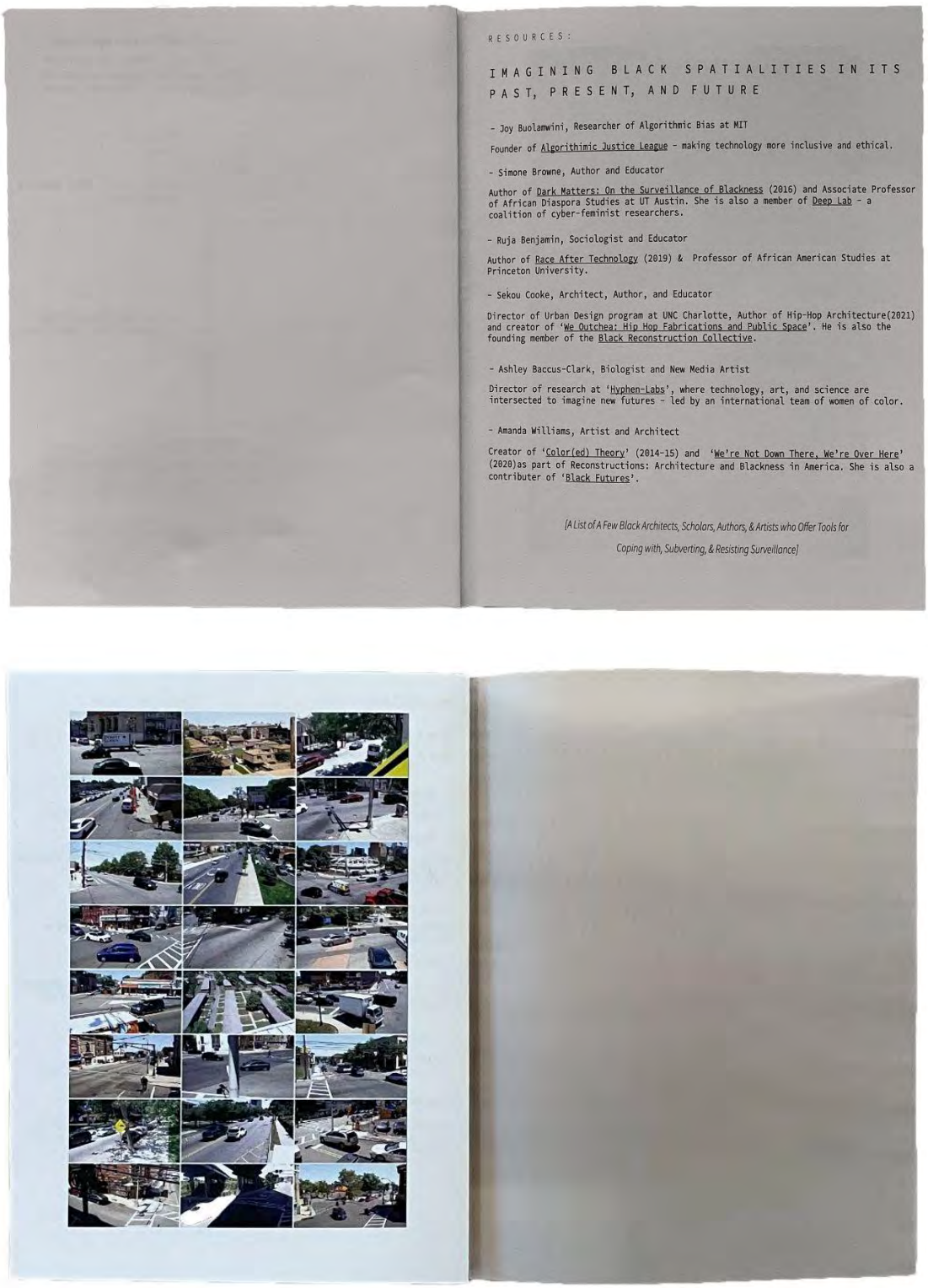

Through the use of invasive technologies, such as Closed-Circuit Televisions (CCTV), facial recognition, and datamining systems the police and state manage, regulate, and control social behavior. This is especially true for Black communities in America, who have long been read into, observed, and exploited by means of surveillance.
The infrastructures of public spaces become inseparable from these technologies of surveillance. Advanced forms of technology such as cameras take on territorial forms, like a fence or border.
The presence of a camera transforms the experience of public space into a boundaried condition through their ability to make visible every move.
Newark As Case Study
Newark, N.J. is a city of 343,969. Over half of Newark's population is Black and 36% is Hispanic. Unlike any other city in America, Newark has a unique surveillance program created and operated by local law enforcement called 'Citizen Virtual Patrol'. The program, introduced in 2018 makes street cameras accessible from anywhere in the world. In 2019 the Newark Department of Safety reported that more than 10,000 users watched the continuous live feed of city streets from their computer screens. All aspects of life in Newark are captured through the camera frame: home fronts, stores, schools, and parks, lasting in the CVP system for upwards of 30 days.

Figure 21.



RESOURCES:

IMAGINING BLACK SPATIALITIES IN ITS PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

- Joy Buolamwini, Researcher of Algorithmic Bias at MIT

Founder of Algorithimic Justice League - making technology more inclusive and ethical.

- Simone Browne, Author and Educator

Author of Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness (2016) and Associate Professor of African Diaspora Studies at UT Austin. She is also a member of Deep Lab - a coalition of cyber-feminist researchers.

- Ruja Benjamin, Sociologist and Educator

Author of Race After Technology (2019) & Professor of African American Studies at Princeton University.

- Sekou Cooke, Architect, Author, and Educator

Director of Urban Design program at UNC Charlotte, Author of Hip-Hop Architecture(2021) and creator of 'We Outchea: Hip Hop Fabrications and Public Space'. He is also the founding member of the Black Reconstruction Collective.

- Ashley Baccus-Clark, Biologist and New Media Artist

Director of research at 'Hyphen-Labs', where technology, art, and science are intersected to imagine new futures - led by an international team of women of color.

- Amanda Williams, Artist and Architect

Creator of 'Color(ed) Theory' (2014-15) and 'We're Not Down There, We're Over Here' (2020)as part of Reconstructions: Architecture and Blackness in America. She is also a contributer of 'Black Futures'.

[A List of A Few Black Architects, Scholars, Authors, & Artists who Offer Tools for Coping with, Subverting, & Resisting Surveillance]

Figure 21.

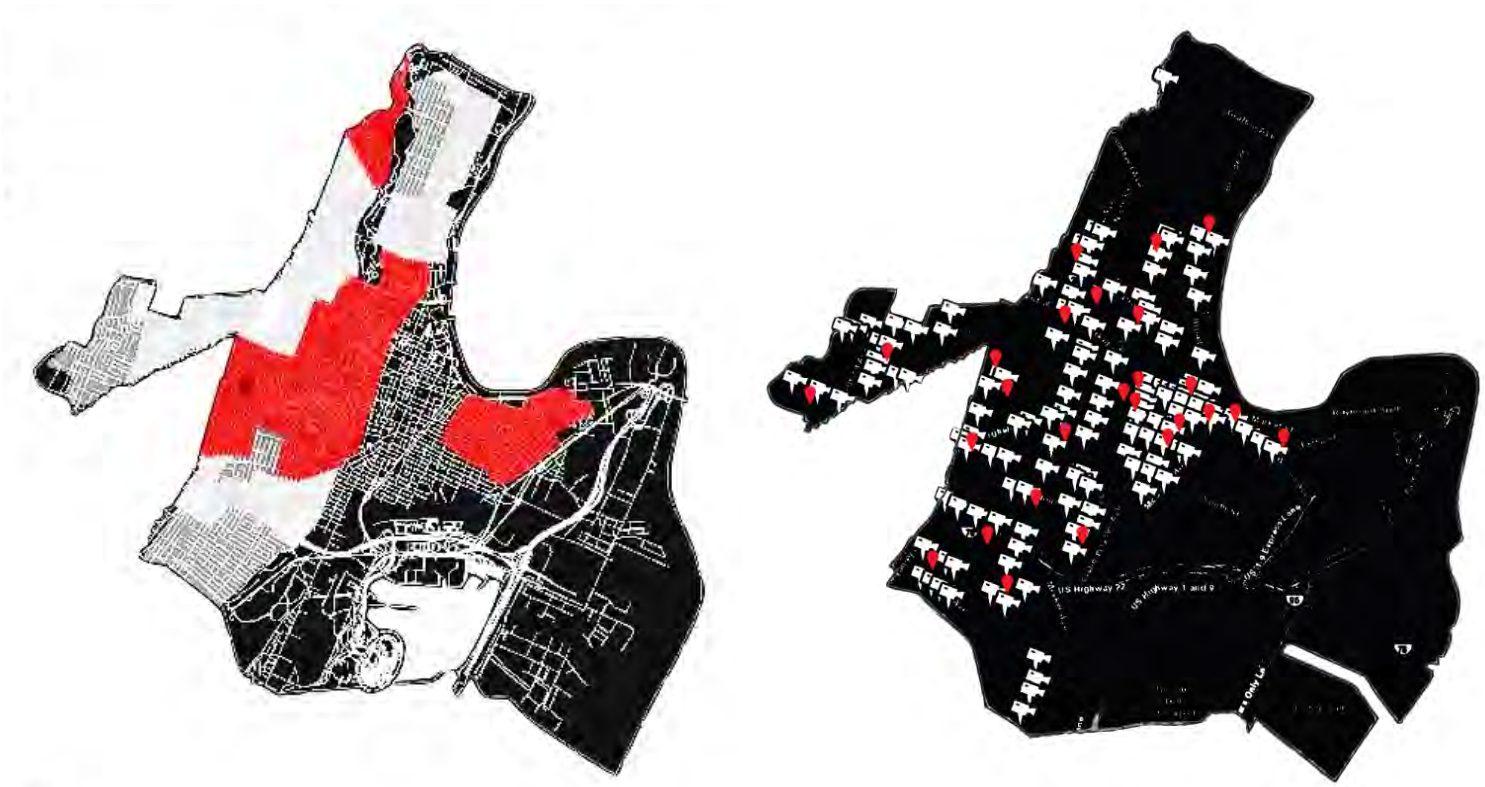


Figure 22. (Left) Newark Redlining Map (Source: Michaela Kramer *Mapping Uneven Geographies In Newark*, and Highlighting of Redlined Zones Grade 'D'by Author).
(Right) Mapping Police Stations And Camera Density Using Photoshop & Illustrator, (Map Source: Citizen Virtual Patrol).

Figure 23. Richard Hamilton, *Man, Machine, and Motion,* 1955 (Source: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2012).

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