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Visual surveillance: Contemporary sociological issues

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VISUAL SURVEILLANCE:
CONTEMPORARY SOCIOLOGICAL ISSUES

by

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Bachelor of Arts
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1985

Master of Arts
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
1992

A dissertation in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Sociology

**Department of Sociology
University of Nevada, Las Vegas
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ABSTRACT

Visual Surveillance: Contemporary Sociological Issues

by

Christopher Taylor

Dr. David R. Dickens and Dr. Donald E. Carns, Examining Committee Chairs
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The topic of this dissertation is visual surveillance. The research addresses two aspects of surveillance in the social world. First, how surveillance cameras oversee people and activities in social space, and second, how the individuals and technology of surveillance are organized. The introduction describes the recent proliferation of surveillance. The literature review describes what I call the six sociological tenets of visual surveillance. The methodology describes the qualitative techniques used in this research, including the issues and problems encountered in studying secret organizations. The results of interviews and interactions are presented as an ethnographic narrative that describes: a history of surveillance, surveillance practices, and surveillance organizations. The findings of this research propose an ideal-typical characterization of visual surveillance organizations.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: SURVEILLANCE SOCIETY

Visual Surveillance

Visual surveillance is the process of controlled observation that relies on human agency and visual technology to monitor, evaluate, and document social spaces deemed necessary for observation. The term "visual surveillance system" refers to more than one permanently installed visual surveillance cameras with monitoring and recording capabilities. A system is a configuration of closed circuit video cameras integrated with some form of computer technology. Visual surveillance systems can be covert, visible, or a combination of both. The goal of emplacing a visual surveillance system is to ensure compliance with established rules, policies, procedures, and laws within a social space. The purpose of this research is to study the social and cultural characteristics that make up a visual surveillance system and the organization that conducts its operations. This research explores the role of human agents in surveillance organizations, and the social/cultural impact of visual surveillance systems on contemporary society.

Colleagues and peers have on numerous occasions asked me: why study surveillance, and how is the study of surveillance a legitimate topic of sociological research? To answer these questions, my work is guided by two basic ideas. First, I want to

get people to notice surveillance. It is not a conspiracy or a coercive system of social control. But it is rapidly becoming a normal part of many different social environments. Second, I want to encourage people to see it differently. The clandestine attributes of surveillance make it simultaneously visible and invisible. It is present while it is absent. We rarely notice surveillance, yet it is always there. To see surveillance differently is to look at it reflexively. We need to realize its impact on us as well as our participation in surveillance. The questions we need to ask are, How has surveillance become pervasive in society? Why is it necessary? Who does surveillance serve? And, what impact does the ever expanding use of surveillance have on our quality of life? Just as any individual entering a social setting creates a ripple in that setting with their arrival, surveillance creates a ripple in our lives with its unintrusive presence. This research looks at the ripple effect that surveillance produces in ourselves and the society we live in.

Research Design

This research project is intended to be a resource that covers a broad range of surveillance issues, and also reports the findings of field research on a specific type of surveillance organization. The remainder of this chapter reviews popular media and scholarly literature that addresses our emerging culture of surveillance. A wide range of writers make the case that surveillance is an expanding social phenomena that is producing its share of new social problems. The second chapter is theoretical. It lays out the six tenets of surveillance that I have found typify visual surveillance organizations. Chapter three describes my research methodology. Interviewing people involved with surveillance organizations created several problems in the field. The issues of secrecy, deception,

rapport, and types of interactions that occurred in the field are addressed. The fourth chapter is an ethnographic narrative. The group I have chosen to study are members of surveillance organizations at Las Vegas casinos. These are unique organizations in the surveillance community because each utilizes advanced surveillance technologies, and relies on formal procedures of observation. Interviews were conducted between 1992 and 1997. This chapter is divided into three sections which are: a history of surveillance, the organization of surveillance, and the activities that surveillance personnel monitor. The final chapter reports the findings of the study. I propose an ideal-typical model of a surveillance organization that consists of six analyzable features.

Surveillance Society

Contemporary societies have developed elaborate systems of mass surveillance to help maintain social control within complex social structures. Mass surveillance is the systematic collection and evaluation of data about specific groups and individuals. The goal of mass surveillance is to maintain the social order by enforcing social rules. A society that relies on mass surveillance to maintain social order is called a "surveillance society" (Rule, 1974).

An extreme case of a surveillance society, according to Rule, could be derived from George Orwell's novel *1984* (1949). The idea of a "total surveillance society" is a touchstone by which one can judge existing systems of mass surveillance, and the extreme possibility of what a very large scale, highly centralized, and extremely effective surveillance society might be like (Rule, 1974:37; Lyon, 1994:59; Bogard, 1996:137). A total surveillance society comprises a single system of surveillance and social control that

treats all people as its objects. Such a system aims to produce rigid compliance with the norms that govern all aspects of social life. Every person's activities are continuously observed. An individual's activities are evaluated at the time of occurrence, and also later as a form of evaluating his or her accumulated behavior. Any form of misconduct, either actual or potential, is to be dealt with through immediate sanctions. "By making detection and retaliation inevitable," Rule (1974:37) points out, "such a system would make disobedience almost unthinkable." Although a total surveillance society is a theoretical construct without an actual counterpart in the public sphere of Western society, numerous scholarly and popular sources suggest a state of transition.

A variation on the idea of surveillance society is Gary Marx's notion of a "maximum security society" In his article "Privacy and Technology," Marx writes:

Such a society is transparent and porous. Information leakage has become rampant; indeed, it is hemorrhaging. Barriers and boundaries--be they distance, darkness, time, walls, windows, or even skin--that have been fundamental to our conceptions of privacy, liberty, and individuality are giving way. In such a society, actions, feelings, thoughts, pasts, and even futures are made visible--often without the individual's will or knowledge. The line between the public and the private is being obliterated; we are under constant observation, everything goes on permanent record, and much of what we say, do, and even feel may be known and recorded by others whom we do not know. . . . Data in many different forms and coming from widely separated geographical areas, organizations, and time periods can be merged and analyzed easily. (Marx, 1991:90).

Gary Marx emphasizes that emerging technologies are not necessarily reducing individual privacy but, social forces seem to be allowing this to happen. He suggests several actions that individuals can take to protect their privacy all of which suggest that people need to begin acting in a certain way to protect themselves from an increasingly intrusive social order (Marx, 1991:94).

David Lyon's text *The Electronic Eye: The Rise of Surveillance Society* (1994), further develops the idea of a "surveillance society." The author draws attention to the fact that in the modern social world an individual's formal identification is more important than people personally identifying themselves. Formal organizations assign to individuals numeric identification like a social security number, ATM accounts, credit card numbers, and so on. Such identification allows bureaucracies to instantly access information about all people: "Precise details of our personal lives are collected, stored, retrieved, and processed everyday within huge computer databases belonging to big corporations and government departments. This is the surveillance society" (Lyon 1994:3). People are not always being "spied on," but the ambiguity of surveillance often makes them feel as if they are. People are mostly unaware that this information is being acquired and disseminated (Lyon, 1994:3).

Lyon describes a significant change in modern society. The routines of everyday life puts more people under surveillance than ever before. An individual being surveilled was once the exception, but now it is common practice. Formal organizations which specialize in monitoring individuals turn everyone into a potential object of suspicion. How do such changes influence an individual's concept of self, life chances, human rights, and privacy? What effect does mass surveillance have on social issues like "political power, social control, freedom, and democracy?" (Lyon 1994:3). Lyon suggests that surveillance transcends bureaucracy because although surveillance is conducted by formal organizations, individuals are willingly in complicity with it. We merge surveillance with our internalized need to comply with power, authority, and social control.

William Staples assumes a similar viewpoint in *The Culture of Surveillance* (1997).

It is not so much Orwell's "Big Brother" because we live in a culture of "Tiny Brothers" that "keep us in line" by monitoring our work performance, evaluating our activities, accumulating evidence, and performing sanctions (Staples 1997:2). Staples refers to the video security camera as the source of a *hypervigilant* gaze that is hidden, faceless, and ever-present as it randomly scans everyone within its field of view. Staples (1997:4) contends that the security camera has become a defining trait of postmodern societies,

that today there are *more* impersonal, more methodical, and more technology -- driven forms of surveillance and social control in our society than ever before, and that today's forms -- and their sheer volume -- are enveloping even those who might have been previously exempt. For those who have traditionally been the target of monitoring and control, these developments serve only to intensify and increase the amount of formal regulation already in their daily lives (Staples 1997:6).

The Proliferation of a Surveillance Culture

There is a proliferation of surveillance technologies in parts of our society and culture that have traditionally functioned without such technologies. Is surveillance technology leading us into an Orwellian future? The capabilities of new surveillance technologies can certainly be unsettling when placed in the hands of irresponsible groups and individuals. The authorities' insistence that "the innocent have nothing to fear" is Orwellian in itself (Naughton, 1994:13). Other groups have expressed concerns of surveillance degrading the work environment and introducing unnecessary forms of coercion.

A University of Wisconsin study of telephone operators conducted in 1991 showed that "knowing that someone may be listening in makes stress-related complaints more common" (Bylinsky, 1991:131). Individuals typically complained of: headaches, back pain,

exhaustion, and anxiety (Reynolds, 1993:4; Aiello, 1993:502; Laabs, 1992:98; Bylinsky, 1991:132; Gandy, 1989:66). The Wisconsin study also addresses human resources groups who on the other hand tend to approve of surveillance technologies as a means of improving worker's skills and efficiency. Employee monitoring is a constructive tool for the work environment, they insist. Employees are clearly informed why they are monitored; it is used for coaching and counseling, and not for disciplinary purposes. Innovative corporations often have employees set up the surveillance program and monitor other employees. Thus, keeping management at a distance and getting workers to help each other (Bylinsky, 1991:136).

Such Innovative companies tend to be the exception rather than the rule. According to Lawrence Archer "Some companies use electronic surveillance to pit workers against one another in an attempt to improve productivity" (Archer, 1986:37). Jolyon Jenkins describes a surveillance system recently implemented by the Xerox Corporation. It

keeps track of people as they wander about the building. Each desk has a video camera trained on it; any employee who wants to talk to a colleague consults the system to discover the person's whereabouts, and can then converse by video. The system records where each person has been during the day, for how many minutes, and with whom. Soon, it will be able to record telephone conversations and identify types of meeting. This will be an 'aide memoir,' but it will also be a way in which managers can keep tabs on their employees (Jenkins, 1992:14).

Recent court cases reveal the problems that can result from the unscrupulous use of surveillance technology. An employee of Sheraton Hotel in Boston filed a lawsuit against his employer because of a surveillance camera placed in a locker room where the plaintiff was videotaped wearing nothing but his jockstrap. He is suing for invasion of privacy. Sheraton Hotels defends the activity because management had suspected drug use by the

employees. Ironically, the surveillance image of the plaintiff was printed with an article in *Newsweek* describing the case. A similar case was settled out of court against J.C. Penneys of Concord, California. A security worker videotaped a sales manager's breasts and then showed the tape to others (Hancock, Kalb, and Underhill, 1995:52).

Ellen Alderman and Caroline Kennedy address visual surveillance operations conducted by local law enforcement agencies across the country. In a particular situation in Carson City, Nevada the local police department had received complaints of "homosexual activity" occurring in restrooms at a public park. After obtaining a court order, officers began round-the-clock physical surveillance of the restrooms. They only videotaped activities that were deemed as "criminal conduct." Charges were brought against the men recorded on tape who claimed such covert monitoring of their activities violated their Fourth Amendment rights. The Supreme Court of Nevada rejected their claim stating that since the restrooms were public spaces, and had no locking doors; "there was no 'reasonable expectation of privacy' regarding what went on in the stalls" (Alderman and Kennedy, 1995:271). Covert surveillance was therefore, not an unreasonable form of search or seizure, or a violation of any person's privacy. Of special interest in this and other cases is the fact that video surveillance was used in conjunction with physical surveillance. Surveillance technology did not reduce the cost of such operations, but actually increased it. Undercover officers worked around-the-clock to accumulate videotaped evidence of activities considered victimless crimes. Such evidence not only convicted individuals, but also became public documents that could easily stigmatize a person's character (Alderman and Kennedy, 1995:270-272).

Jennifer J. Laabs provides the results of 1992 studies of workplace surveillance. In

1992 ten million workers were monitored electronically. Studies comparing monitored and unmonitored work environments indicated higher frequencies of problems with employee morale and overall well-being in monitored environments. Four out of five of those surveyed who work on monitored computers felt depressed. Almost half experienced carpal tunnel syndrome or related injuries, and most monitored employees felt that the opportunity for promotion as well as the fairness of evaluations had decreased.

The issue that bridges these views of surveillance is that surveillance technologies are organized and operated by social groups. Even a completely automated surveillance system requires people to make the data meaningful. Behind the practice of surveillance are social organizations that oversee and conduct surveillance operations. Human groups, social processes, and interactions are the forces that have contributed to the formation of surveillance organizations. All of which are the catalyst for activities, practices, interactions, and experiences that leave an indelible mark on individuals caught by the formalities that govern surveilled space. The problems posed by surveilling the social world are not limited to the external forces produced by the practice of surveillance. The influence of surveillance is also shaped by our perception of the social world.

A Culture of Hyperreality

The idea of hyperreality confronts our traditional knowledge of how we understand the social world. Many parts of contemporary society are showing characteristics of hyperreality. Hyperreality is a condition where mass media and technology construct a system of representations that are indiscernible from the original. Hyperreal images often prioritize our goals and values. Such images become social constructs suggesting to

individuals how to present themselves, the desirable places to live, what careers are prestigious, what material objects are symbolic of success, and how we should utilize our leisure time. According to Joe L. Kincheloe and Peter L. McLaren,

Hyperreality is a term used to describe an information society socially saturated with ever-increasing forms of representation: filmic, photographic, electronic, and so on. These have had a profound effect on constructing the cultural narratives that shape our identities... we become pastiches, imitative conglomerations of one another. In such a condition we approach life with low affect, with a sense of postmodern ennui and irremissible anxiety. Our emotional bonds are diffused as television, computers, VCRs. and stereo headphones assault us with representations that have shaped our cognitive and affective facilities in ways that still remain insufficiently understood (Kincheloe and McLaren, 1994:142).

Hyperreality is Jean Baudrillard's neologism that describes a copy that is more real than reality. He defines the real as "that of which it is possible to give an equivalent reproduction, and the hyperreal is that which is already reproduced" (Kellner 1989:82).

The real is traditionally understood as a totality consisting of parts. These parts as well as the totalities are routinely produced by society. This production process is a normal part of the operations of modern society. The social world is constituted through a system of signs whose stable referents are material objects (Poster, 1991:61). Examples of the real that make up our culture are: personal computers, careers, cars, homes, a human body, one's individual self and surveillance cameras. We simultaneously recognize these as totalities and also the parts of larger totalities in society. The hyperreal should be distinguished from the ideal. Ideal reality implies rational judgment that suggests an altruistic or unifying purpose of phenomena. The hyperreal de-emphasizes altruism or unification. The purpose of the hyperreal is reproduction with a goal of becoming more real than real. The hyperreal relies on representations that utilize "floating signifiers" that have

no relation to the object they represent. Instead, these signifiers portray "states of being" that optimize an individual's attention while they simultaneously diffuse or mute a person's reasoning and critical awareness (Poster, 1990:63). Baudrillard sees hyperreality as a social world where models are prioritized over the real. Models are invisible and have no apparent original. Examples of the hyperreal are internet chat rooms and interactive environments, the advertisement for an automobile that suggests the car will get you in touch with your inner self, housing developments that are identical to each other with a constructed sense of belonging, the notion of a perfect body developed through surgery, steroids, exercise machines and diets, the notion of one's self that reflects cultural images, icons, and representations, and surveillance systems that allow the observer to see more than she or he is normally capable of seeing. The hyperreal are reproductions of objects and ideas that are part of our daily life. We assume these to be original and unique aspects of our lives when this is not so. Table 1 contrasts examples of the real, the ideal, and the hyperreal.

(Table 1) Contrasting the Real, Ideal, and Hyperreal.

THE REAL	THE IDEAL	THE HYPERREAL
Personal Computer	Organizational and Educational Tool	Chat Rooms and Role Playing Environments
Live Music	The Best Seat in the House at a Performance	Recorded Music that Sounds Better than the Live Performance
Home	Neighborhood with a Genuine Sense of Belonging	Housing Development with a Constructed Sense of Belonging
Automobile	Efficient, Safe, and Comfortable Means of Transportation	Object that Provides Metaphysical Experience
Self	Citizenship: Honest and Productive	Reproduction of Media Heros and Icons

Human Body	Healthy , Normal Body	Perfect Body: Surgery, Implants, Steroids, Diets, Exercise Machines
Surveillance Camera	Observation for Safety and Security	Observation to See More than is Humanly Possible

David Dickens and Andrea Fontana describe Baudrillard's vision of society.

He describes modernity as an era dominated by production and industrial capitalism based on mechanization, commodification, and universal change. In contrast, postmodern society is post-industrial, defined by new technologies that feature the unlimited reproducibility of objects and images. The result is a 'hyperreal' society where the distinction between real and the unreal is obliterated, drowned in a seemingly endless flood of signs and simulations (Dickens and Fontana, 1994:3).

Kellner also provides a succinct description. "For Baudrillard, the entire facade or eco-sphere of neo-capitalist societies are hyperreal, in that more and more areas of social life are reproductions of models organized into a system of models and codes" (Kellner, 1989:83).

The merging of our traditional ideas of individualism, self autonomy and privacy with the concept of hyperreality suggests the social limits that govern rational decision making may be in the process of change. Changes in these rational boundaries shape our social norms and values. This is a normal process in the social world. However, the idea of hyperreality as an intervening force in this process is a situation unique to late modernism. The purpose of this research is to identify surveillance as an intervening force that is simultaneously a normal process and also contributing to changes in contemporary society. Surveillance is a condition of the hyperreal and simultaneously requires a social state of hyperreality for surveillance practices to be meaningful. The fact that an individual is on camera, or the idea that one may potentially be on camera becomes a construct influencing

how we act, and what we do. In this study, our common knowledge of the image produced by a surveillance camera contributes to the hyperreal. A world that has always-already been seen. We construct our social existence with the same assumption. According to Poster,

Baudrillard contends that the hyperreal is our 'reality,' not just in [television] but as the way in which late twentieth-century culture mobilizes subjects. "*It is the reality today that is hyperrealist. . . . Today it is quotidian reality in its entirety--political, social, historical and economic-- that from now on incorporates the simulatory dimension of hyperrealism. We live everywhere already in an 'aesthetic' hallucination of reality*" (Poster, 1990:63).

This research examines the idea that hyperreality is impacting our lives. Representations are not limited to aesthetic experiences in the mind. Such imagery influences the social world in how it is arranged, and how we act in it.

Television and Hyperreality

Television is the predominant communications medium contributing to the social condition of hyperreality. Television is almost exclusively responsible for introducing the technical image of the surveillance camera to popular culture. This is not a recent development, but its occurrence seems to be increasing. Recent televisual events, programs, and advertisements utilize images from covert or non-obtrusive cameras to communicate ideas. This visual technology has been utilized to enhance journalistic realism, rationalize the acceptance of the presence of cameras, and to celebrate the popularity of voyeurism.

Journalistic realism was enhanced by the introduction of non-obtrusive cameras during the 1996 Republican and Democratic National Conventions.¹ Television news correspondents wore headsets the size of a typical set of head phones but contained a video camera. Any person who was interviewed could carry on a conversation with the journalist

and simultaneously be video taped from the point of view of that correspondent. Non-obtrusive cameras tend to make people less uncomfortable in front of a camera, and simultaneously provide viewers with a participatory experience with those on television. It can be assumed that these cameras are becoming a normal part of television news broadcasting.

Several television programs depict a growing acceptance of the presence of video cameras. The syndicated program *RealTV* utilizes video images from surveillance cameras, home video, and news footage to depict catastrophic accidents, natural disasters, and sensational crimes as social events. The program takes segments of sensational moments that have been recorded on video tape and plays them several times pointing out specific details in events that only video recording can make visible. The program is intended as entertainment that is paid for by sponsors. However, *RealTV* is also a form of instruction that shows viewers how to analyze sequential events and look for details on video tape. The host of the program, John Daly, routinely closes the program with the statement. "Remember to take your cameras with you because you never know when real TV will happen."²

MTV broadcasts two programs that rely on the use of covert or non-obtrusive cameras. The program *Real World* depicts the events and lifestyles of a group of friends. Through the camera the viewer assumes the perspective of a passive participant among the unstaged conversations and interactions of the group of friends. The viewer is given the perspective of participant in these activities because of the non-obtrusive use of the camera. Another program entitled *Buzzkill* documents the activities of three guys as they assume a variety of spurious roles and videotape the responses of people they interact with. One of

these cameras is concealed in a pair of sun glasses. Interaction is seen by the audience from the perspective of a person who is acting as a camera.

The popularity of voyeurism is illustrated by two recent television events. CBS recently broadcast the fifty year anniversary program of *Candid Camera*. The program is commonly known for staging sight gags and practical jokes on unsuspecting people and taping their responses to these pranks with concealed cameras. It remains a highly popular program. The pranks always seem to be in good taste and provide humor by revealing how people cope with moments of cognitive dissonance. The number of people caught by the makers of *Candid Camera* combined with the program's longevity indicates Western culture's fascination with a voyeuristic eye³ (Berko, 1992:70).

Pepsi Cola is currently airing a television commercial from the perspective of a surveillance camera in a convenience store. The camera monitors a Coca Cola delivery person stocking the Coca Cola shelves. When he is finished, he suspiciously looks around to see if anyone is watching. He is unaware of the surveillance camera directly in front of him. He grabs a can of Pepsi Cola as he is about to leave. His touch causes the shelf to collapse and all the Pepsi cans fall on the floor creating a spectacle. The audio track of the commercial is silent with only Hank Williams' song *Your Cheatin' Heart* playing in the background. The commercial utilizes the image produced by a surveillance camera to create a humorous context to advertise a product. The use of surveillance cameras for entertainment and advertising suggest that the surveillance image has become common enough that it can be effectively used as a communications medium beyond its original security application. These television programs and commercials along with others like them are aired daily on network and cable television.

Salience of Surveillance

Surveillance cameras are becoming increasingly available and come in a variety of shapes and sizes. Pinhole lenses make it possible for covert cameras to peer through openings less than one quarter of an inch in diameter (Kruegle, 1995:92). Surveillance cameras with pinhole lenses have been concealed in the sprinkler heads of fire extinguishing systems, exit signs, emergency lighting fixtures, speakers, sunglasses, belt buckles, cuff links, tie pins, shirt buttons, brief cases, baseball caps, two way mirrors, translucent glass domes, furniture, pictures, works of art, and inside the eyes of mannequins marketed under the name Anne Droid. Surveillance is a part of our popular culture even though the merging of surveillance and popular culture has not been a salient occurrence. Within our social consciousness, the watchful eye of a camera symbolizes the idea of surveillance more than the actual surveillance practices of exchanging information through computer data bases and networks. Concerns about a New World Order and increasing power within big government are common topics of conversation as well as routine issues addressed in the mass media. Despite these concerns, most people direct little, if any, of their attention to the presence of surveillance cameras. The existence of surveilled space and individuals being constantly watched are ideas that most people rarely consciously think about. Whether an individual's daily activities involve a convenience store or gas station, bank or an ATM machine, grocery store, shopping mall, mass transit system, employment with a large public or private organization, involvement with the legal system, a visit to a bar/restaurant, hotel/casino, or a major traffic intersection, it is likely that person has been monitored by a surveillance camera. In our collective consciousness the idea of being

watched suggests an infringement of one's privacy. In actual practice people seem to be accepting and indifferent to the fact that they are surveilled. The significant sociological issue is that visual surveillance systems are becoming a normal part of society. As the cost of this technology continues to decrease, it also becomes increasingly available to anyone who wants it.

Surveillance: Facts and Findings

A 1994 study by the Freedonia Group estimated that the surveillance industry will continue to grow, with sales of various surveillance systems increasing by nine percent annually. The surveillance industry is expected to exceed five billion dollars by the turn of the century. Technological factors contributing to this increase are: significant advances in electronic sensors, the integration of computer and surveillance technology, advances in signal transmission, and developments in artificial intelligence. Surveillance systems are being purchased and emplaced in more parts of society than ever before because of several social factors: increasing consumer wealth and affluence, increasing loss of property and resources, and a perceived increase in the threat of terrorism and violent crime. Studies of armed robberies indicate that the average bank robbery lasts seventeen seconds, making traditional law enforcement techniques inefficient for apprehending these offenders. It has also been estimated that the annual cost of employee theft will reach two hundred billion dollars by the year 2000. Employers typically justify the use of surveillance to prevent theft, increase productivity, increase safety, and to minimize operating expenditures (Freedonia Group, 1996; United Food and Commercial Workers Union, 1990).

H. Jeff Smith has accumulated data from annual studies addressing privacy. These

indicate that eighty percent of respondents since 1983 have consistently expressed serious concern of threats to personal privacy. Two related issues are prominently addressed. First, new technologies are changing the ways that information is collected and exchanged. While computers improve our quality of life, they can also be recognized as a threat to individual privacy. Second, the value of information is increasing. Emergent technologies make new marketing strategies possible. Traditional strategies have relied on large homogenous mailing lists to solicit customers. New marketing techniques include accumulating information about consumers and then categorizing them into specific groups. Individuals and families are scrutinized to identify a wide variety of consumption patterns. In short, more information is available about a large number of people. This information is valuable to business and marketing which in turn creates a market for this information (Smith, 1994:7; Horowitz, 1995:1A; McNerney, 1994:4).

Studies of surveillance in England addressed by Elisabeth Geake further reveal the double bind of surveillance.

Around a third of people questioned agreed that cameras could be used to spy on people, or that 'in the future cameras will be used by the government to control people.' But only one person out of almost 2000 commented that 'the quality of life is affected by knowing you are being watched.' Overall, 53 percent of respondents felt that CCTV made them feel safe, 62 percent thought it would deter crime, 74 percent thought it would detect crime, and 80 percent welcomed the installation of video cameras in public places. Those figures appear to represent a strong vote for video security (Geake, 1993:20).

Jennifer Laabs reveals a reversal of public opinion regarding surveillance in the work place.

A 1978 study indicated that 69% of employees believed that surveillance cameras in the work place should be forbidden by law. The 1992 response to the same question showed that 77% of employees surveyed disagree with enacting such a law (Laabs, 1992:35). With

this kind of public opinion, government representatives, law enforcement agencies and corporate enterprises recognize surveillance as a socially acceptable method of social control. Many feel surveillance is non-intrusive, and can serve as a deterrence which is likely to increase the number of surveillance cameras in public and private places.

Efficient applications of surveillance is not limited to high technology. Important social issues need to be addressed, such as the appropriateness of a centralized system of observation, and the end use of such a system. Is surveillance to play the limited role of detecting and identification, or should it be actively involved in profiling and apprehension? As surveillance systems simultaneously become increasingly efficient and lower in cost, these are issues that need to be addressed (Gilbert, 1995:22).

The number of surveillance cameras in society is continually increasing yet simultaneously the location and number of surveillance cameras that are operating in society remain unknown. The full range of applications of this technology has yet to be assessed. As one gaming surveillance expert put it, "the hand is always quicker than the eye, but the camera makes the eye quicker, and more efficient by making a record of activities that have already happened." As the use of surveillance continues to increase, it will also increasingly become a normal part of our existing social spaces. The complexity of this expansion is unknown to any public or private organizations.

Purpose of the Research Project

Visual surveillance is currently an under-researched subject in sociology. Existing studies contain two similar characteristics. First, they identify surveillance as an umbrella term that primarily applies to electronic and computer surveillance designed to accumulate,

manage, and disseminate information about groups and individuals. Second, existing research situate surveillance within macrosociological frameworks. For example, the works of: James B. Rule, Anthony Giddens, and Christopher Dandeker address surveillance in formal organizations, bureaucracies, and modern nation-states. The power of surveillance is often recognized as all encompassing. Rule, Giddens, and Dandeker have written excellent texts addressing the changes and diversity as well as the social, political, and economic issues of surveillance in contemporary society.

The Orwellian image of "Big Brother" paints a grim picture of the future awaiting Western civilization. Whatever value it has as an ideal type, this vision is overly deterministic. It is based on the historicist assumption that social life progresses through definite stages and terminates in a predetermined state (Popper, 1961). This study is based on the assumption that social life is indeterminate and that surveillance's sinister implications are only a potential. It is necessary that we gather detailed information about surveillance to better understand its role in society as well as our own participation in it. Surveillance reveals our collective persona. On the surface we resent such social control; yet as individuals, we welcome the security and stability it provides.

This study is an attempt to conceptualize visual surveillance in terms of the interactionist perspective. The present research project examines the organization of surveillance practices in the Las Vegas gaming environment. I will try to show what a visual surveillance organization does by, first, defining a typical surveillance organization; second, recovering the organization's past; third, exploring its members ideas about themselves; and fourth, examining the interactions and experiences that occur in and around surveillance organizations. My purpose is two-fold: (a) understand the phenomena

of modern surveillance through the eyes of those caught in this comprehensive system, and
(b) to construct a typology of visual surveillance organizations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: SOCIOLOGICAL ASSESSMENTS

THE TENETS OF VISUAL SURVEILLANCE

The present literature review groups studies of surveillance in to six different categories. I propose the following tenets regarding surveillance, which will guide us through this literature review: (1) Surveillance is an idea that guides social power; (2) Surveillance is an instrument of social control; (3) Surveillance operates in social space; (4) Surveillance consists of social practices; (5) Surveillance requires a human gaze to operate. (6) Surveillance creates a setting typical of panopticism. These are not mutually exclusive categories. One can find overlapping ideas and practices in all of them. Each needs to be addressed because they are features of surveillance activities. The following literature review is arranged around these tenets. The chapter also examines the established as well as emerging sociological ideas that are relevant to a study of visual surveillance.

SURVEILLANCE AND SOCIAL POWER

Social power is a group's or individual's capacity to bring about specific events in the social world. These occurrences can be any social phenomenon including but not limited to interactions, relationships, change or maintenance of norms and values, and the formation, continuance or dissolution of groups. Social power is the primary force that

contributes to social control. Power operates within organizations that carry out social control, and it also operates within the masses that are governed by processes of social control. Traditional views have recognized power primarily as a negative social force associated with defining limits, enforcement of laws, censorship, and methods of obstructing thoughts and ideologies outside the norms and values of society (Dowding, 1996:58; Hindess, 1996:11). The central issue of this research is that social power is an internalized idea before it is an external object of control.

Structuration and Transformative Capacity

Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration addresses the merging of power between the individual and the greater social structure. Structuration is based on the assumption that social life is the enactment of social practices. To be an agent in the social world an individual must possess some form of transformative capacity. That is, the power to change social phenomena. Transformative capacity operates within individuals and small groups that make up social structures. Power is the capacity to make decisions that influence social practices, resources, and the structure of a society. According to Giddens, "Power may be at its most alarming, and quite often its most horrifying, when applied as a sanction of force. But it is typically at its most intense and durable when running silently through the repetition of institutionalized practices" (Giddens, 1985:9). Social structures that are effectively managed across time and space are "power containers" in which observable forms of power operate (Giddens, 1985:13).

The stability of power, Giddens continues, is grounded in patterned practices and activities. "All social reproduction and, therefore, all systems of power, are grounded in the

'predictability' of day to day routines" (Giddens, 1985:11). The regularized activities of daily life do not just coincidentally happen. Social practices are made to occur through the structure and organization of society. Actors consciously comply with the plans and goals of society. This conformity is also not always apparent to the individual. Daily life does not seem to be in any direct compliance with the social order. We do not recognize our daily activities as the following of established rules or laws. The practice of visual surveillance is a means of monitoring and maintaining the repetition of institutionalized practices across time and space.

Domination, Control, and Rule

Giddens recognizes other concepts contributing to the idea of social power.

Domination, control, and rule are components of social structuration which ultimately shape the transformative capacity of individuals. Domination is a relationship between individuals found in many interactions and significantly affects personal activities.

Domination is not necessarily a negative phenomena. According to Giddens, social systems "can be studied as incorporating or expressing modes of domination and it is this concept more than any other that provides the focal point for the investigation of power" (Giddens, 1985:8). Control is formalized domination operating within social collectives. In any stable institution, there are individuals who establish relations based on domination and control which are brought to bear on subordinate individuals. Domination and control in a stable form constitute "rule." A system of rule provides a sense of consistency for the members of society. Individuals construct a sense of identity between individual autonomy and dependence on society. Domination, control, and rule establish patterned regularities that

seem normal as well as natural. Rule that is justly exercised is a stabilizing force in society (Giddens, 1985:9).

Scope and Intensity of Rule

The concept of rule is further classified by scope and intensity, both of which are interrelated. The "scope of rule" refers to the variety of ways in which an organization can apply domination and control. Scope is the diversity of sanctions that an organization can effectively exercise. The scope of rule is apparent in most work settings as raises, promotions, warnings, reprimands, and termination. People come and go from their jobs with minimal impact in their personal life. People leave the scope of rule of an employer when they go home at the end of a work day. The "intensity of rule" refers to the limit of sanctions that an organization can apply. The intensity of rule is clarified through rules, policies, and laws. Modern society makes it difficult to avoid the intensity of rule. Once a formal sanction is rendered, there is little one can do to avoid its consequences. In any society, the maximum intensity of rule is the capacity to take human life.

An important trend in contemporary Western society, according to Giddens, is the expansion of the scope of rule without changing its intensity. Those in the position to rule use strategies of dominance and control to maintain compliance of rules, policies, and laws. Those in subordinate positions develop counter-strategies to resist the dominance, control, and rule of those in power. Individuals contribute to resistance through their transformative capacity. Giddens sees the expansion of the scope of rule and the ever-presence of transformative capacity as a dialectical process. Transformative capacity limits the effectiveness of the scope of rule. People always have the choice to arrange their lives to

reduce the scope of rule that they are subjected to:

All forms of rule have their 'openings' that can be utilized by those in subordinate positions to influence the activities of those who hold power over them. . . The more a social system is one in which the control exercised by superordinates depends upon a considerable scope of power over superordinates, the more shifting and potentially volatile its organization is likely to be. The literature on prisons or asylums, for example, is replete with descriptions of the 'effort-bargains' which those who administer such organizations are forced to conclude with inmates in order to make their rule effective (Giddens, 1985:11).

Organizations that attempt to exercise an expansive scope of rule in social space tend to become unstable and volatile over time. This form of rule may seem efficient from a theoretical standpoint, but it often becomes problematic in its day to day operations. An expansive scope of rule is not likely to remain consistent over an extended period of time. Surveillance is a tool that brings stability to expansive scopes of rule.

Successful Expansion of the Scope of Rule

Gary Marx addresses aspects of surveillance that may contribute to successful expansions of the scope of rule. He addresses visibility, targeting and intensity. Surveillance technologies have low visibility and are often invisible, and they make it difficult for an individual to know when he or she is being surveilled, let alone who is involved in the surveillance. The miniaturization and concealment of surveillance technologies creates new kinds of social distance between surveillers and surveilled. The group monitoring an individual can be in the same building, or in a different state. The whereabouts of the surveilled is always known, and the location of surveillers typically remains secret. Regardless of the spatial distance between surveillers and surveilled, the social distance is always great. The new technologies tend to be concealed. Those who are surveilled know

of the fact. Expanding surveillance technologies contribute to an atmosphere of suspicion and promote a society where people are perceived as guilty until proven innocent. Systems of continuous monitoring like video surveillance, computer monitoring, and metal detectors are installed on the pretext that people are doing something wrong or inefficiently and must prove otherwise (Marx, 1988:217).

Surveillance is becoming more intensive as well as more extensive. Surveillance technologies are capable of probing deeper into physical, social, and psychological areas than ever before. Technology makes possible the monitoring of activities in private and public spaces, especially in technology extensive environments like cyberspace. Blood and urine analysis lets surveillers know about a person's health and lifestyles. Voice stress analyzation and polygraph tests allows the person in charge to glean an individual's inner thoughts and secrets. Surveillance does not merely dig deeper, it also makes possible the monitoring of larger areas. As the number of people being surveilled continues to expand, so does the number of surveillers who monitor their activities (Marx, 1988:217).

David Lyon elaborates the ideas addressed by Giddens and Dandeker. He sees surveillance springing from such social institutions as the military, the corporate/business world, and government bureaucracy and crossing into other, more personal areas. This progression is aided by modern technology that make the act of surveillance less visible. What is invisible often remains unknown. Those working at a computer terminal or conversing on the telephone may not be aware that their interaction is being monitored or could be monitored. Although often invisible, surveillance is not necessarily secret. Surveillance occurs in "common place transactions of shopping, voting, phoning, driving, and working. This means that people seldom know they are subjects of surveillance, or, if

they do know, they are unaware how comprehensive others' knowledge of them actually is" (Lyon, 1994:5).

Power/Knowledge

Michel Foucault's theory of power/knowledge describes how each is intertwined in surveillance. Foucault recognized social life taking place in a disciplinary society, where power and knowledge are the primary forces shaping the social world (Kritzman, 1988:101-102; Dandeker, 1990:23). Power/knowledge is synonymous with politics/epistemology. Knowledge produces systems of thought that become social forces that control society. Each of Foucault's projects, according to Lemert and Gillan, (1982:57) addressed

the rise of modern knowledge, most especially the social and human sciences. And each pertains to knowledge's relationship to power. Psychology, clinical medicine, the human sciences, criminology, population theory, political economy, modern biology, psychoanalysis and modern psychiatry are, each, implicated in modern society's attempt to shape and control persons. Each therefore, requires critical reflection, simultaneously, on knowledge and politics.

Foucault recognized power as more than a force of social control. Power is implicated in the production of knowledge. One implies the other. The exercise of power accumulates information which in turn produces new forms of knowledge. The consequence is that knowledge continuously exhibits the effects of power (Tagg, 1989: 298). Foucault's power/knowledge provides an alternative view of social control. Rather than a social force governed by traditional institutions, it is a technical instrument that entails social interactions and relationships.

Power is not limited to controlling the powerless or the oppressed; it molds all

members of society including those who exercise power. Foucault's theory identified power creating new ways of enforcing itself -- it is not just a means to further an organization's end, but an end in itself. In today's world, power has become a web that intersects in all parts of the social world. The issue is no longer who has power and what are their intentions. What is relevant today are the effects of this sprawling web of power (Smart, 1985:77; Dandeker, 1990:23). Whereas traditional views link power to a hierarchical form of social control routinely operating in the social world, Foucault recognized social power operating beyond structural hierarchies. It does not merely come down from above. Power is diffused within our thoughts, desires, activities, and practices. Power is an instrument of control where the individual is the site of its operation. Foucault stated,

starting in the seventeenth century, this power over life evolved in two basic forms; these forms were not antithetical however; they constituted rather two poles of development, linked together by a whole intermediary cluster of relations. One of these poles -- the first to be formed, it seems -- centered on the body as a machine; its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls, all this was ensured by the procedures of power that characterized the *disciplines*: and *anatopolitics of the body*. The second, formed somewhat later, focused on the species body, the body as the basis of the biological processes: propagation and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary. There supervision was effected through an entire series of interventions and *regulatory controls: a bio-politics of the population*. (Foucault cited in O'Neill, 1986:45).

Various methods of surveillance, like documents and records, medical examinations, and panoptic observation became common practices within all social institutions. The development of these practices also contributed to the formation of new kinds of knowledge. All members of society became sites where knowledge could be acquired and power could be exercised. All people simultaneously experienced it and

contributed to it. Lemert and Gillan describe three consequences of Foucault's concept of power/knowledge. First,

power/knowledge assumes that power is not from the top down, from a dominant class upon a dominated class; power is immanent, diffused throughout society, on all levels. Second, knowledge (*savoir*) is not ideal or abstract, but material and concrete; it cannot be divorced from the workings of power throughout society, again at all levels. Third, as a consequence of the second, science cannot be arbitrarily divorced from ideology because science, as a form of knowledge (*connaissance*), is embedded in power relations (*pouvoir-savoir*) (Lemert and Gillan, 1982:136).

Knowledge emerges out of practice and becomes the source of social power. As knowledge is essential to systems of power, it is also subservient to the power it contributes to (Gutting, 1994:96).

Power/Knowledge and Social Practice

A social practice is the application of ideas which becomes a means of action.

Social practices are governed by established rules, policies, procedures, and laws. Different forms of rationality become inscribed with social practices. Social practices are rational and require a regime of rationality to be effectively carried out:

One isn't assessing things in terms of an absolute against which they could be evaluated as constituting more or less perfect forms of rationality, but rather examining how forms of rationality inscribe themselves in practices or systems of practices, and what role they play within them. Because it's true that 'practices' don't exist without a certain regime of rationality. But rather than measuring this regime against a value-of-reason, I would prefer to analyze it according to two axes: on the one hand, that of codification/prescription (how it forms an ensemble of rules, procedures, means to an end, etc.). and on the other, that of true or false formulation (how it determines a domain of objects about which it is possible to articulate true positions (Foucault cited in O'Neill, 1986:44).

Foucault identified power/knowledge as simultaneously hierarchical, and socially diffused.

Power/knowledge is hierarchical in the process of producing knowledge, and also in the

exercise of power by those in positions of power. He also saw power/knowledge diffused within all individuals and their activities.

The hierarchy of power/knowledge is apparent in most relationships and social settings. It is often invisible within social practices. A social practice is the application of knowledge where knowledge is subordinate to power. The formation of a social practice requires knowledge prior to its formation. Once a practice is established, it is used for the maintenance of power relations. Knowledge via practice serves power. In surveillance, knowledge of surveillance is privileged information and is only available to a few. Secrecy and concealment maintain the power of knowledge and helps perpetrate the power that knowledge serves. Although the knowledge of surveillance is privileged, it periodically becomes known in the social world. While power/knowledge establishes boundaries in the social, cultural, economic, and political spheres, occasional exposures of power/knowledge reveal how hidden social organizations function. It is at this point that strategies of secrecy can be used to maintain the integrity of the power/knowledge hierarchy. Surveillance is a power/knowledge medium utilized by organizations to monitor, evaluate, and control social practices.

Power/knowledge is diffused within social practices. The diffusion of power/knowledge in day to day activities contributes to making surveillance effective. Surveillers maintain compliance with the rules that govern surveilled space. The practice of surveillance is carried out by individuals. They do so by relying on their knowledge of what can potentially occur in surveilled space. Those occupying surveilled space conduct themselves based on their knowledge of the rules governing surveilled space. The practice of surveillance is powerful because it is covert and unknown by most people. The

power of surveillance is maintained by keeping the knowledge that makes surveillance effective a secret. We know that surveillance is powerful, but we do not know why. We know that surveillance is secret, but we make little effort to know about it.

Surveillance is a practice that makes the daily routines of modern society transparent. Yet, the extent of this transparency is not commonly known to individuals. The transparency of social life has become a central feature of modern society. Ironically, people seem increasingly accepting of such transparency. Acceptance is the process of diffusion. Surveillance combined with power/knowledge replaces the need for physical coercion as a means of social control. Surveillance produces a new kind of knowledge that is highly specialized. Power is reproduced by putting key individuals and groups "in the know" about the activities of others. Surveillance increases the spatial distance between the members of surveillance organizations and those they surveil which in turn enhances power and knowledge. As society becomes more transparent, the power/knowledge of surveillance grows more diffused. We become more visible while those who observe seem to vanish behind scenes and appear less threatening. Thus, power/knowledge maintains invisibility in an increasingly visible world, and diffusion of power/knowledge in the social world insures social stability.

Secrecy

Secrecy is a fundamental idea guiding surveillance activities. Secrecy refers to knowledge that is intentionally concealed from others. Access to this knowledge and information is restricted and can be hidden in a variety of ways. Secrecy is a normal part of the social world. To live an autonomous life, individuals need to freely exercise secrecy

within their thoughts and actions. Georg Simmel described secrecy as knowledge available to one individual and withheld from another as "consciously willed concealment." Secrecy is part of the normal exchange of information that occurs in all interactions. Reciprocal knowledge is a positive condition of social relationships. In any social interaction, some information is revealed and some is always kept secret. The issue here is not the act of deception according to Simmel, rather, what is of interest is how social relations are constructed around concealment. Deception limits knowledge because we selectively provide information about ourselves. Simmel saw deception as contributing to social stability (Simmel, 1906:448).

There are many "gray areas" surrounding the issue of secrecy. Ideas could be secret because individuals find them difficult to communicate. Other information remains secret simply because people outside the group are disinterested, or lack the capability to uncover secrets. The normal operations of a bureaucracy commonly generate information that has no need to be considered secret. But, because of an organization's structure and established procedures, this information will never be publicly known (Tefft, 1980:320). The criteria that helps people decide if information should be kept secret is context dependent and ambiguous.

Secrecy is a socially constructed phenomenon, dependent on the a priori of those involved in reciprocal interactions.

Since one never can absolutely know another, as this would mean knowledge of every particular thought and feeling: since we must rather form a conception of a personal unity out of the fragments of another person in which alone he is accessible to us, the unity so formed necessarily depends upon that portion of the other which our standpoint towards him permits us to see. . . No psychological knowledge is a mere echo of its object. It is rather, like knowledge of external nature, dependent upon the

forms that the knowing mind brings to it (Simmel, 1906:442).

Secret Organizations

Describing secrecy and secret organizations, Simmel stated that "It is the weakness of secret societies that secrets do not remain permanently guarded. Hence we say with truth: A secret that two know is no longer a secret" (Simmel, 1906:471). Despite its inherent weakness, secrecy provides meaning and purpose to secretive organizations as well as to its members. Sissela Bok describes the unification of groups sworn to secrecy in this way:

What unites them is not any one purpose or belief. It is, rather, secrecy itself: secrecy of purpose, belief, methods, often membership. These are kept hidden from outsiders and only by gradual steps revealed to insiders, with further secrets beckoning, still to be penetrated. In this way the secret societies hold out the possibility of exclusive access to the forbidden roots of secrecy, and promise the brotherhood and community feeling that many lack in their everyday life. Few experiences of secrecy are more intense, or give insiders so stark a sense of separation from outsiders.

For this reason secret societies offer an unusually sharp, almost fore-shortened perspective on the effects of secrecy on moral choice. They show how secrecy can both protect and injure human identity through efforts to transcend and to mold it, and how creativity and reasoning and moral concern can thrive or deteriorate as a result (Bok, 1989:46).

Secrecy within a surveillance organization guides rational activities. Secrecy influences the means as well as the ends of activities. In the words of Tefft,

Through regulated control and disclosure of information, individuals as well as groups may exert some control over their environments by making it difficult for outsiders, whether competitors, rivals, or enemies, to predict their actions and take counteraction against them. Of course, secrecy can bring intrinsic satisfaction to the individual (i.e., ego enhancement, by giving individuals a sense of power and superiority over outsiders); but for the most part these psychological benefits are incidental to the original social and political purpose. . . . Secrecy is one of the social resources available to individuals that they can employ in manipulating or reacting to their environment. For secret knowledge always gives its possessors some degree

of power over others (Tefft, 1980:321).

Such a social arrangement becomes a resource from which knowledge is constructed that helps a secret organization operate without compromising its power. Because of the secrecy surrounding surveillance organizations, all people are often in complicity with surveillance. Such complicity maintains the power of surveillance, and makes possible the production of knowledge that serves the power of surveillance.

SURVEILLANCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Social control is a society's fundamental capacity to regulate social activities and produce conformity within its social, cultural, political, and economic spheres. In modern society, regulation and conformity are guided by social norms and values which are shaped by rational thought. Modern societies are arranged so that its members voluntarily abide by existing norms and values. Methods of social control are the results of negotiation and reflect rationally constructed norms and values. Social control provides and maintains social stability. Surveillance is a fundamental means of social control (Westin, 1967:57). Whereas social power has been recognized as an idea guiding surveillance, this research addresses social control in terms of instruments of control. Such instruments are external objects ranging from urban designs, groups, and individuals within groups.

James B. Rule wrote the first extensive sociological study of surveillance with *Private Lives and Public Surveillance* (1974). In this work, Rule defines social control as any social mechanism that deters disobedience. Surveillance is one of many mechanisms that maintains social control. Social order requires mechanisms to assure that social rules are not violated. Rule relies on the functionalist assumption that people must be compelled

and willing to follow the rules for society to remain stable. According to Rule, "the social order would collapse according to this argument if everyone felt free to lie, steal, rape or cheat whenever she or he could avoid punishment for doing so" (Rule, 1974:19). The staging of social control involves a system of surveillance that efficiently combines compliance with enforcement of social rules.

In his book, Rule differentiates the internal components that make social control efficient, and shows how these components are related. Social control is conducted through systems of control, power, and surveillance (Rule, 1974:23). A "system of control" is any formal organization with the goal of maintaining some form of social control. The purpose of a system of control is the administrative management of social activities through the use of sanctions. Systems of control utilize "powers of control" which are the means of enforcing sanctions against violators. Powers of control require a "system of surveillance" to carry out the collection and management of information. Surveillance is a way of knowing when rules are obeyed and violated. An important issue guiding the operation of systems of control and powers of control is the cost of operations. Efficient systems of surveillance significantly reduce the cost of information management, compliance, and sanctions. The better the methods of detection and identification, the better the system of control will maintain social order. Gary Marx describes an aspect of surveillance technology that compliments Rule's ideas. Surveillance is capital rather than labor intensive. Cost reductions of surveillance technologies make it easier to monitor people and situations previously not considered as surveillance targets. In short, more can be watched for less (Marx, 1988:217).

Surveillance as Marx shows, turns into prevention, decentralization, and involuntary

participation. Surveillance is preventive because it reduces risk and eliminates uncertainty. Surveillance operations are intended to control social spaces as well as individuals. The goal is predictability through all-inclusive coverage. Surveillance is a form of decentralized social control that occurs within the relationships, interactions, and spaces that are monitored. Decentralization coincides with internalization. People actively participate "in their own monitoring, which is often self-activated and automatic" (Marx, 1988:218). We rarely question our own participation in practices of social control. Surveillance also contributes to involuntary participation in social control activities. People automatically trigger surveillance systems by entering and leaving a surveilled area, talking on the telephone, logging onto the internet, and checking out a library book or renting a video (Gandy, 1989:64). Compliance with surveillance is often involuntary because information about individuals is acquired without their participation or knowledge. Ironically, people rarely question the practices that incur their involuntary participation.

William Staples asserts that social control is maintained by "Tiny Bothers" rather than a "Big Brother" (Staples 1997:2). Staples constructs a continuum of social control with what he calls soft and hard forms of social control as its polar ends. Soft forms of social control are benign and inconspicuous. Surveillance cameras, computerized checkout stations in stores, and computer systems that require employees to log in and out of buildings are soft forms of social control. Hard forms of social control are obtrusive and confrontational. These are systems that assure guilt, reveal information about a person's activities and character, and make people aware that they are being watched (Staples 1997:3). Drug testing, sobriety checkpoints, and psychological profiles of employees are examples of hard forms of social control. Staples' continuum represents the everyday

surveillance activities which have become "meticulous rituals of power." Staples explains,

I call them *meticulous* because they are 'small' procedures and techniques that are precisely and thoroughly exercised. I see them as *ritualistic* because they are faithfully repeated and often quickly accepted and routinely practiced without question. And they are about *power* because they are intended to discipline people into acting in ways that others have deemed to be lawful or have defined as appropriate or simply 'normal.' In this way, *meticulous rituals* are the specific, concrete mechanisms that operate to maintain unbalanced and unequal authority relationships (Staples 1997:3).

William Bogard describes surveillance as producing a shift in social control from looking for violations to anticipating crimes. Surveillance involves understanding the activities that need to be looked for. Profiling is a technique of identifying, and then monitoring for the attributes known to be associated with specific violations. Individuals that match a profile are more likely to be observed and questioned about their activities. Surveillance as a means of social control is not a new idea. However, profiling adds a new dimension to surveillance operations. Power/knowledge allows surveillers to construct profiles making it easier to anticipate violations before they occur. Such practices make surveillance operate silently, invisibly, and efficiently (Bogard, 1996:54; Naughton, 1995:13; Chen, 1995:14). Oscar Gandy points out the age old problem with this new dimension. "The capacity to predict also provides the opportunity to control" (Gandy, 1989:65).

Rationality and the Surveillance Society

Surveillance in all its forms is an instrument intended for increasing rationality in social life. In the broadest sense of the term, rationality refers to the fact that social activities are directed towards specific and chosen goals. Our notion of what constitutes rational actions are derived from micro-economic theory. Agents acting rationally will fulfill

their needs by calculating the most efficient and productive means of attaining those needs. To act rationally, individuals are assumed to be directing their activities towards goals that have been selected from several options. Our options within a rational act are determined by social or natural limits. Limits can be actual as well as perceived. Individualism, self autonomy and privacy shape the limits of rational action in contemporary society.

Rationalism is associated with the advent of modern society (Webster and Robins, 1993:244). Staples summarizes the main themes and characteristics of modernity.

An increased rationalizing or calculating attitude toward social life based on notions of efficiency, predictability, control, and discipline-epitomized by the emergence of the factory and machine based capitalism.

The rise of large-scale state and private organizations and bureaucracies as well as large, urban centers.

The acceleration or 'compression' of time-space relations -- a fast paced world that is made 'smaller' by emerging modes of transportation and communication.

The institutionalization of the belief in progress, driven by the idea that scientific knowledge, objective reason, and technology could harness nature and could change social life and human existence for the better (Staples, 1997:16).

Privacy

Individualism, self autonomy, and privacy are the traditional foundation of modern Western society (McLean, 1995; Samar, 1991; Schoeman, 1984; Madgwick and Smyth, 1974; Raines, 1974; Miller, 1971; Toqueville, 1840). A central concern in contemporary studies of surveillance is that our original notions of privacy are being transformed by ever increasing rationalization. John Curtis Raines describes the condition.

We are not wanted as citizens anymore. We are wanted as passive system inhabitants. In return we are promised a plenitude of pleasantries, weekend diversions, and an ever expanding variety of legal opiates. The only thing we must give up is the already unfashionable notion of our own seriousness and integrity. We grow modern and behavioral. We receive our place in reality

as subjects of bureaucratic manipulation (Raines, 1974:11).

Privacy reflects our fundamental need and desire to remove ourselves from the forces of domination and assert individual dignity and public freedom (Raines, 1974:21; Schoeman, 1984; McLean; 1995). Alan Westin describes privacy as an individual's ability to achieve personal autonomy, solitude, intimacy, and anonymity within a society. It is also the individual's ability to carry out personal evaluations and maintain private communications with others without concern of compromise (Westin, 1967:32-37). Privacy is the capability to control the dissemination of information about one's self. Donald Madgwick and Tony Smyth define privacy in practical terms as the right of the individual to protect him or herself against:

- 1) Interference with private, family, or home life.
- 2) Interference with physical or mental integrity as well as moral and intellectual freedom.
- 3) Attacks against honor and reputation.
- 4) Being placed in a false light.
- 5) Disclosure of irrelevant and embarrassing facts relating to private life
- 7) Interference with correspondence.
- 8) Misuse of private correspondence both written and oral.
- 9) Disclosure of information that is given or received in circumstances of professional confidence (Madgwick and Smyth, 1974:8-9).

In 1927, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis described privacy as "the right to be let alone" (U.S. Supreme Court v. Olmstead, 1927). "Eloquent in its simplicity," Alderman and Kennedy elaborated, "Brandeis' phrase seems to sum up what most Americans have in mind when they think of privacy. However, legally, it offers no guidance at all. Coveting an indefinable right is one thing; enforcing it in a court of law is another" (Alderman and Kennedy, 1995:xiv). Many of our beliefs about autonomy and privacy are framed within the notion of an ideal society. The continuous struggle between the

individual's ability to withdraw from society versus the State's right to know about individuals is a normal part of the social order (Machan, 1995; Gandy, 1989:70; Madgwick and Smyth, 1974). Video surveillance has documented a multitude of robberies and other violent crimes. Surveillance tapes were used as evidence to convict Timothy McVeigh of killing 168 people at the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City. Such criminal activities recorded by surveillance cameras can easily justify the growing need to monitor public spaces. Whatever the social need, increased use of surveillance impinges on the privacy of all people (McLean, 1995:129).

Contemporary Western society is guided by the imperative that a free society must treat privacy as a right of all citizens. Surveillance and the bureaucracy it represents pose a potential threat to privacy. Alderman and Kennedy describe how the meaning of privacy is becoming diffused by contemporary political bureaucracies.

Whether you have a recognized right to privacy, and whether that right has been violated so that you can vindicate yourself in court, depends on what area of privacy you are talking about. There are different legal sources for the right to privacy: the federal Constitution, state constitutions, federal and state statutes, and judicial decisions. Different legal doctrines govern the resolution of a given conflict, depending on the area of privacy involved (Alderman and Kennedy, 1995:xiv).

To protect our privacy, we are constructing a world in which people must be monitored to make sure they are not violating the rules that govern our own freedom (McLean, 1995; Schoeman, 1984).

Surveillance: Voyeurism or Protecting Privacy

The increasing use of visual surveillance technologies seems to be undermining our traditional notion of privacy. Just as it promises to increase security for us all, it impinges

on everyone's privacy. Lyon describes the social impact of surveillance.

Talk to anyone about electronic surveillance and they are very quick to tell you what's wrong with it. Their privacy is invaded. Government departments are accused of snooping, prying, and spying on hapless citizens. 'Big Brother,' it appears, has now extended his operations to the workplace computer; employees' activities are scrutinized with increasing intensity. Even the once-sacrosanct home is now penetrated by the relentless gaze of marketers who ceaselessly sift through our personal details in order to tempt us with new commodities. It seems there is nowhere to hide; everything is public, transparent, visible to invisible others. The sheltering walls of privacy have been digitally dissolved.

However privacy may have been conceived in times past, today it is tightly tied to avoiding surveillance. As surveillance intensifies in all spheres of social life, so more and more appeal is made to privacy as a reason for withholding personal information, or trying to control its unrestricted circulation (Lyon, 1994:180).

Our collective need to monitor and control activities in the social world is inconsistent with our need for an individualistic and private society. We value our own but insist on keeping track of what others are doing. Consequently, voyeurism is becoming a feature of modern institutions. Alderman and Kennedy describe voyeurism as not only the oldest form of privacy invasion, it is also the most compromising. It makes a person vulnerable because an individual's most personal or intimate moments are compromised in a setting that is often assumed to be secure. There is a general feeling that individuals do not have the right to pry into the lives of others. However, prosecuting a case of voyeurism by formal organizations like government agencies, the press, and employers is a different issue. An individual is likely to have a difficult time challenging an invasion of privacy by bureaucratic organizations because of the competing interests that are at stake (Alderman and Kennedy, 1995:225-226). Protecting the individual remains important, but protecting the bureaucracies that govern society seems to be the focus of a rational society.

Ethos of Modern Capitalism

Christopher Dandeker describes the ethos of modern capitalism as modern society's overemphasis on rationality in all its major institutions. Members of modern society are typically disenchanted because life has become demystified by the rational requirements of daily life. Dandeker describes Weber's ideas in this way. "Science destroys the old gods, but it does not provide any new ones: it does not answer the questions of ultimate meaning" (Dandeker, 1990:13). As society becomes increasingly rational, the beliefs and ideals that provide a sense of meaning and purpose become obscure.

The modern emphasis on rationality, efficiency, and productivity propagates psychological insecurity in individuals. Doubt and uncertainty have become endemic to modern capitalist society. Bureaucratic social control produces feelings of dependence combined with a loss of individual will and spontaneity. According to J. P. Mayer, "Modern society becomes a bureaucratic 'iron cage' in which people need order and nothing but order, who become nervous and cowardly if for one moment this order wavers, and helpless if they are torn away from total incorporation in it" (Cited in Dandeker, 1990:13). In this form of social structure, the individual "becomes a regulated cog in the administrative machine; an implementer in detail or receiver of decisions made elsewhere at its commanding heights" (Dandeker, 1990:13). Changes in rational decision making processes seem to be subordinating the fulfillment of our needs to the most efficient means of adhering to rules and procedures.

This modern existence contrasts the ethos of early stages of capitalism that Weber addressed in the *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1903). At the time, people were religiously compelled to pursue the economic gains considering profit as a duty, and

the pursuit of financial gain as a virtue of the highest order. Success in the endeavor to accumulate wealth signified a higher probability of a share in the world to come. Today, the modern bureaucratic order is no longer motivated by the Protestant ethic. People are pressured to pursue the goals of capitalism by external forces.

The modern project has transformed the social world into a "society of strangers." The social, political, and economic changes that have been the result of societies being shaped by expanding markets have made traditional means of social control inefficient. The public spectacle of corporal punishment is no longer in use, as rational and impartial incarceration has increased. The contemporary rational society is governed by a standardized penal code, and brutality of enforcement is being replaced by the systematic processing of offenders. The standardized and systematic practices of bureaucracies utilize systems of surveillance that produce a new kind of knowledge for the purposes of social control. Although this knowledge is governed by bureaucratic organizations, its production is the outcome of voluntaristic activities within a capitalist economy. People often perceive this social condition as the result of external coercive powers. This is a misnomer. Existing systems of surveillance are responses to activities motivated by capitalist opportunism (Dandeker, 1990:14).

Rule describes how surveillance is a rational approach to maintaining social control in large scale areas. In small-scale social settings like towns and rural communities, an individual's behavior is often publicly known. People know each other through face to face acquaintance. Any violation of social rules like crime or infidelity becomes known to others through interpersonal means. Sanctions are applied through personal acquaintance in the form of gossip and face to face disapproval. An individual's behavior, interactions, and past

are an "open book" in the community. In small-scale settings, the notion of acceptable and correct behavior tends to be standardized and uniform. Rule suggests that rather than solidarity, these practices make up informal mechanisms of social control that resemble compliance more than they do social cohesion (Rule, 1974:27).

In large-scale social settings like urban areas and cities, an individual can easily elude their pasts. Face to face acquaintance is limited because large-scale settings are environments inhabited by strangers. An individual's behavior and interactions are largely unknown. The notion of acceptable or correct behavior is flexible and nonuniform. Public settings are anonymous and continuously changing. Effective mechanisms of social control need to replicate the methods of small-scale settings. This is accomplished by utilizing a system of surveillance. The collection and management of information is achieved through identification and documentation. Surveillance replaces the face to face sanctions that are characteristic of small-scale settings. Rule states that "formal rendering of information about people comes to take the place of informal mechanisms of surveillance found in small scale settings" (Rule, 1974:28). Documentation and identification link people to their past activities. Identification reduces one's mobility and anonymity. In short, surveillance makes individuals accountable for their activities in social settings where their activities cannot be known through interpersonal means. The purpose of surveillance in large-scale settings is to identify and sanction rule breakers the same way as gossip and face to face disapproval sanction an individual in small-scale settings (Rule, 1974:26).

SURVEILLANCE IN SOCIAL SPACE

The practice of visual surveillance appropriately challenges traditional views of time and space. Contemporary thought increasingly attempts to account for the social dimensions that shape social space. The concepts of time and space are taken for granted categories of human existence. Each is self evident. That is, we rarely question the meanings we assign to time and space. Space is commonly understood as consisting of direction, distance, shape, pattern, and volume. Each of these attributes exists in the objective world and can be measured empirically (Harvey, 1992:201-203). Current theories of space are being developed for the purpose providing new and alternative ways of understanding space. To be sure time cannot be discounted; but it can be de-emphasized. Fredric Jameson asserts that the postmodern condition involves a shift from a priority of the temporality of events to the spatiality of the same phenomena. He describes the impact of representation through Plato's idea of the simulacrum. Representations are becoming identical copies of phenomena where there is no original (Jameson, 1984:18). Surveillance produces such a simulacrum. The actual occurrence of events is less important than creating copies of the same events that can be studied at a later time. Events in surveilled space have always already occurred, and the observation of these events is possible at any time. Social space is recognized as a container in which social control is carried out.

The concept of social space differs from the ideas of absolute and relational space. The natural sciences offer several theories that define and explain space. Absolute space is physical and objective. It precedes human cognition and is unaffected by social as well as natural events. External forces, either natural or human controlled cannot influence, alter, or change absolute space (Ray, 1991:99; Lefebvre, 1991:234). Scientific inquiry has raised

a multitude of questions: What is space? What is in space? What is space made of? How do objects exist in space? How are they related? How do objects occupy and move through space? Is space contained? What is its container? According to Robert Sack, the structure of absolute space is "rigid and cannot be changed by matter or energy, and its description in geometric terms is independent of one's view point or frame of reference" (Sack, 1980: 55). Absolute space occurs in nature and cannot be changed (Ray, 1991:105). Relational space is an alternative to absolute space that is also recognized by the natural sciences. Relational space is physical as well as subjective. Sack continues, "Relational space, on the contrary, assumes that space can be acted upon, that its properties and descriptions are dependent on the distribution of mass and energy" (Sack, 1980:55). Relational space is considered natural but can be changed to varying degrees.

The concept of social space merges the ideas of absolute and relational space. Human cognition is essential to giving social space meaning and purpose. Social space raises an entirely different set of questions. What is the meaning of space? How are interactions influenced and bound by space? Who has access to space? Who controls space? Who owns space? What is space worth? Social space is subjective and relative because it is a product of social life. Its meaning can be changed by interactions and practices. Access can be allowed or denied by human agents. Social space can be owned, sold, traded, taken over, removed, replaced, and claimed not to exist. In short, as social space is created, social groups commonly emerge seeking to control social space.

John Agnew points out that common views of social space assume it to be "a board or backdrop across which social processes move and are imprinted" (Agnew, 1993:252). He challenges this view by identifying social space as an effect of location. That is, social

space is more than a backdrop. It is the location where social processes occur (Lefebvre, 1991:12-16). Social space can be recognized as a container consisting of a full range of social phenomena. Agnew uses the term "scale" to describe to the spatial dimensions of social space, which can range from local, national, to global scales. Social space is structured; groups and organizations occupying various locations maintain relations because of proximity as well as for the purpose of exchanging resources. While absolute space remains the same, social space has a tendency to contract. The physical proximity of groups changes less frequently than our perception of the distance between them. Far from being a static container, social space continually evolves as individuals and groups lay claim to it. It is not so much geography as culture and society that give social space its salient characteristics (Agnew, 1993:252).

Henri Lefebvre identified a "lived triad" of social space in his seminal text, *The Production of Space* (1974). The lived triad of social space consists of perceived, conceived, and representational space. The idea of perceived space is closely associated with absolute space. Lefebvre emphasizes the epistemology of absolute space. For pure physical space to be meaningful, we must understand its existence prior to occupying it. This is accomplished through what he refers to as spatial practice (Lefebvre, 1991:38). "Everyone knows what is meant when we speak of a 'room' in an apartment, the 'corner' of the street, a 'marketplace'. . . , and so on. These terms of everyday discourse serve to distinguish, but not to isolate, particular spaces, and in general to describe a social space. They correspond to a specific use of that space, and hence to a spatial practice that they express and constitute" (Lefebvre, 1991:16). Perceived space is understood through perception. Representations aid our perception in the form of maps, diagrams, and location

theories. Perceived space is recognized as territorial, regional, communal, and forbidden. It is the place of social hierarchies (Harvey, 1992:220). Spatial practices are produced based on how these attributes of space are understood.

Conceived spaces are locations constructed by architects, engineers, and social planners. This is the dominant space of any society. It is made meaningful by those who construct it for its inhabitants. (Lefebvre, 1991:38). Conceived space is known through experience. It is the place where resources and information are exchanged. It is controlled by concepts like private property and zoning of such spaces. Buildings, infrastructures and transportation systems are the objects that occupy conceived space (Harvey, 1991:220).

Finally, there is representational space, also known as lived social space. Representational spaces are rendered meaningful by its inhabitants through symbols, language, and culture that are a consequence of people occupying social spaces (Lefebvre, 1991:39). Lived space is a combination of real and imagined space. Representational space requires human imagination. It can be distant or near, attractive or repulsive, accessible or denied. It is the place of people's homes as well as popular spectacle. Representational space is aesthetically recognized as monumental, utopian, landscape and symbolic of repression as well as desire (Harvey, 1991:221). Lefebvre describes some meanings and interrelationships within his social space triad.

Social space thus remains the space of society, of social life. People do not live by words alone; all 'subjects' are situated in a space in which they must either recognize themselves or lose themselves, a space which they may both enjoy and modify. In order to accede to this space, individuals who are, paradoxically, already within it, must pass tests. This has the effect of setting up reserved spaces, such as places of initiation, within social space. All holy or cursed places, places characterized by the presence or absence of gods, associated with the death of gods, or with hidden powers and their exorcism-all such places qualify as special preserves. Hence in absolute

space the absolute has no place, for otherwise it would be a 'non-place'; and religio-political space has a rather strange composition, being made up of areas set apart, reserved-and so mysterious (Lefebvre, 1991:35).

Lefebvre's ideas about social space are interrelated. We commonly traverse perceived, conceived, and representational space in the course of our daily lives. Social space requires no cohesion or stability, but typically remains coherent through our knowledge and understanding of representational space as well as by the ideologies that shape social practices. Social space is external and objective, but always subject to revision (Lefebvre, 1991:41).

Edward W. Soja is inspired by Lefebvre's ideas of social space and addresses *Thirdspace* (1996). The concept of thirdspace is a reflexive term intended to capture a continuously changing milieu of ideas, events, appearances, and meanings associated with social spaces (Soja, 1996:3). He identifies the attributes of first, second and third space. Firstspace is the "concrete materiality of spatial forms, on things that can be empirically mapped" (Soja, 1996:10). It is important to distinguish between firstspace and knowledge of first space. Soja explains,

Firstspace epistemologies tend to privilege objectivity and materiality; and to aim toward a formal science of space. The human occupancy of the surface of the earth, the relations between society and nature, the architectonics and resultant geographies of the human 'built environment,' provide the almost naively given sources for the accumulation of (First) spatial knowledge. Spatiality thus takes on the qualities of a substantial text to be carefully read, digested, and understood in all its details. As an empirical, text, Firstspace is conventionally read at two different levels, one which concentrates on the accurate description of surface appearances (an indigenous mode of spatial analysis), and the other which searches for spatial explanation in primarily exogenous social, psychological, and biophysical processes (Soja, 1996:75).

Soja's idea of firstspace is ultimately epistemological. He emphasizes the importance of empirically measuring firstspace. But, any quantification of space is precluded by how such

phenomena is understood. Firstspace cannot be lived in without knowledge of its existence.

Secondspace refers to ideas about space in thought as well as in representations of spatiality. Secondspace is imagined. It is recognized through cognitive mapping which is a technique people use to coherently navigate the social world:

Secondspace epistemologies are immediately distinguishable by their explanatory concentration on conceived rather than perceived space and their implicit assumption that spatial knowledge is primarily produced through discursively devised representations of space, through the spatial workings of the mind. In its purest form, Secondspace is entirely ideational, made up of projections into the empirical world from conceived or imagined geographies. This does not mean that there is no material reality, no Firstspace, but rather that the knowledge of this material reality is comprehended essentially through thought (Soja, 1996:79).

First and secondspace coincide more with Lefebvre's ideas of perceived and conceived spaces. Firstspace is often thought of as real and secondspace as imagined (Soja, 1996:10).

Soja goes on to describe a new thirdspace:

In the late 1960s, in the midst of an urban or, looking back, a more generally spatial crisis spreading all over the world, an-Other form of spatial awareness began to emerge. I have chosen to call this new awareness Thirdspace and to initiate its evolving definition by the creation of another mode of thinking about space that draws upon the material and mental spaces of the traditional dualism but extends well beyond them in scope, substance, and meaning (Soja, 1996:11).

Thirdspace represents a trialectical process. The difference between firstspace and secondspace is a binarism that is commonly recognized as a dialectical model. Soja asserts that instead of a traditional thesis-antithesis-synthesis model, thirdspace introduces a third opposing idea that expands our ideas about social space beyond the standard binarism. We commonly accept the idea of real and perceived space. But merging ideas derived from conceived space and representations of space provides alternative ideas about living in real space and comprehending perceived space. Visual surveillance can be recognized as a form

of thirdspace. The monitoring of space provides new ways of observing what is occurring in space, and it also imposes ideas about how we should act in surveilled space. Both Lefebvre and Soja claim that a dialectical model based on the ideas of real and perceived is no longer an adequate approach to understanding the spatiality of the social world. The issues associated with representations of space need to become part of the process.

Surveilled Space

Surveilled space is a form of social space created by integrating visual technology with human agency. Surveilled space is contained within absolute and relational space. The spatial boundaries of surveilled space are the technical limitations of a surveillance system. It is conceived as well as perceived. Interactions, activities, and practices in these spaces provide surveillance with purpose and meaning. Procedures guide the formal observation of surveilled space. Surveilled space is a location where social control is exercised. It is simultaneously controlled, repressive, desired, and denied. The fact that people are rarely consciously aware of surveilled space does not negate its presence. Surveillance is used to monitor spaces that are desirable and attractive. Such operations also construct spaces that are off limits.

Surveilled space is a location where social interactions, activities, and practices occur. Although any interaction or activity can potentially occur in surveilled space, specific practices are expected to occur. These are closely monitored to assure compliance with established rules, policies, and laws. Surveillance groups are formal organization that observe, document, and evaluate any activities that may be a violation of rules, or the concealment or distraction of an occurring violation. Although the surveillance system is

often visible to some degree to those in surveilled space, the organization that oversees the operations of the surveillance system is typically invisible.

Surveilled space encompasses two standpoints, that of the surveillers and the surveilled. The people who monitor surveilled space do so with a specific purpose in mind. They observe the activities and interactions that occur in surveilled space differently from those who are involved in these activities and interactions. Those who occupy surveilled space experience these phenomena differently. While the surveillers tend to see surveilled space as useful and benefitting society, those who occupy surveilled space are more diverse in their views. Some are likely to be indifferent to it. Others may see it as a violation of their privacy, albeit an unavoidable one. Still others who are aware of surveillance are bent on violating the rules that govern surveilled space and avoiding detection.

Visual surveillance creates a unique form of social space in society. Surveillance technology has progressed from a few technological uses to a plethora of surveilled spaces. Surveilled space is becoming a maze within the modern social world. One can recognize surveilled space as a template placed over social space. Social groups that are in positions to conduct some aspect of social control are gradually and systematically constructing this working template in various spaces that make up the social world. Lili Berko describes the German film *Der Reise* as a montage of surveillance images that depicts the city of Hamburg, West Germany.

It is the image of a city whose streets, towers and edifices, borders, corners and highways are the product of the omnipresent spatializing work of the apparatus of video surveillance. *Der Reise* offers us a glimpse of Hamburg through the eyes of the thousands of remote control surveillance cameras whose images form the threads of a net which marks the boundaries of its city. Black and white surveillance footage from airports, private homes, department stores, banks, gas stations, peep shows, and highways are

intercut with color images of central control stations, where security agents watch scores of monitors at once. . . , the image of the city, superimposed, slightly blurred long takes, slow and deliberate zooms, expansive swipes all in the service of the production of social space (Berko, 1992:80).

The placement of surveillance cameras creates a distinct form of social space through angles of coverage and camera movements. To understand the shape of this space, I refer to it as a template placed over existing social spaces. A plurality of groups are involved with installing, monitoring, and assessing this visual information. The all-encompassing coverage of surveillance cameras throughout society is currently unknown by any formal organization. This is a double bind because it implies that surveillance is not comprehensively centralized. It also indicates that there is minimal oversight evaluating the full range of surveillance applications.

The consequences of such expansion can be unsettling. It not only influences how we live, it also has an impact on how we think. Joshua Meyrowitz suggests that society is becoming a world devoid of secret places.

Our own age is fascinated by exposure. Indeed, the *act* of exposure itself seems to excite us more than the content of the secrets exposed. The steady stripping away of layers of social behavior has made the 'scandal' and the revelation of the 'deep dark secret' everyday occurrences. Ironically, what is pulled out of the closets that contain seemingly extraordinary secrets is, ultimately, the 'ordinariness' of everyone (Meyrowitz, 1985:311).

Technology combined with our need to know about others creates social space in which there are fewer places we can retreat from society. The normalization of monitoring others seems to be reducing our individual need to retreat from the forces of society. Baudrillard describes the extreme form of this condition as the ob-scene -- where there is no more spectacle or illusion -- everything becomes immediately transparent, visible, exposed in the raw in the inexorable light of information and communication (Baudrillard in Levin, 1996:

274).

Surveillance Organizations and Bureaucracy

The concepts of organization and bureaucracy are distinct yet interrelated. Organizations consist of people and exist in social space. In general terms, organizations are social collectives where people commonly work together through cooperation and negotiation. Social organizations can be formal or informal; and membership may be brief, transitional, or permanent. The existence of organizations may be official, common knowledge, private, or clandestine. The arrangement of social organizations usually reflects the methods of social control, norms and values, and cultural characteristics of a society.

Bureaucracy connotes the administrative methods that govern the operations of a formal organization. A bureaucracy merges standardized rules and procedures within an arranged human group. Weber identified bureaucracies as organizations where rational thought and actions are carried out. Bureaucracy refers to a formal organization with clearly defined purposes and goals. The activities of a bureaucracy are carried out by specialists whose expertise is assigned to specific tasks. In a bureaucracy, the power to make decisions is delegated to a specific group within the organization. Bureaucratic organizations are typically recognized as separate or external to the rest of society. A bureaucracy routinely constructs and enforces policies, procedures, and rules for its members as well as for the groups it is assigned to oversee. As a result; unique ideologies, attitudes, beliefs, and opinions develop among the members of that bureaucracy. In short, a bureaucracy develops its own ethos.

Organizations that conduct surveillance operations tend to rely on bureaucratic

administration. The members are knowledgeable of the resources, as well as the scope and intensity of rules that make the organization efficient. They also understand the organization's goals and direct their activities towards the achievement of those goals. The intensity of rules govern production and efficiency within the organization. The scope of rules influence the social life of the members of the organization beyond the boundaries of that organization. According to Giddens, "All forms of state administrative bodies are organizations in this sense., the reflexive monitoring of system reproduction is much more highly accentuated than in any pre-existing form of state, and, in addition, 'organization' characterizes many other aspects of social life" (Giddens, 1985:12). Organizations and bureaucracies create spatial boundaries in which social practices are carried out.

Modern society is characterized by the expansion of bureaucratic organizations' power over those within their influence. The resilience of modern bureaucracies depends in part on surveillance capacities. Surveillance capacity operates within a rational bureaucracy in two fundamental ways. First, a "knowledge of the files" involves the mastery of the data and information systems that are centralized in a bureaucracy. Administrative decision making supersedes traditional and charismatic authority. Administrative decision making is based on the assumption that any individual within the bureaucracy can understand as well as replicate bureaucratic decisions because of rational methods of social control combined with his or her knowledge of the files. Second, "rational discipline" means that bureaucracy derives its power from knowledge. Dandeker states that "bureaucracy is analogous to the machine in the extent to which subjective or irrational elements of will or mood are eliminated" (1990:9). All members of a bureaucracy are subject to the same standardized rules and policies to assure that the goals of the organization are achieved.

Surveillance: Power and Modernity

Dandeker (1990:1-2) addresses the relationships between surveillance and power within the bureaucracies of modern capitalist societies. He aligns his position with Giddens' assumptions about the purpose of rational bureaucracies. First, governments based on democracy operate along a theoretical continuum between liberal and authoritarian forms of citizenship. Most societies share qualities of both. Citizenship contributes to a society's political structure, the purpose of which is to centrally control all forms of deviance (by the people as well as the government) within the state. Second, within the economy the production and distribution of goods and services are mediated by corporate business and market conditions. Third, the division of labor is influenced by technological progress. Labor is centered around information management rather than the production of tangible products. Fourth, modern bureaucratic societies are involved in the production and reproduction of power. Government and corporate business have become the social centers of the reproduction of social power. Rational bureaucracy is the administrative instrument that makes this process effective and efficient:

Without it, few of the routine features of contemporary life in modern society would be possible: the collection of taxes, the provision of external defense, internal policing and welfare services, the production and distribution of goods and services at a level and regularity required for a 'reasonable' standard of living and so on. Today, one of the most obvious indicators of the pervasiveness of bureaucracy is the massive expansion of personal documentary information which is held by a range of organizations, such as the branches of the welfare state, banks, credit agencies, police authorities and so on. The age of bureaucracy is also the era of the information society (Dandeker, 1990:2).

Joining issue with Weber, Dandeker reflects on the iron cage of bureaucracy in modern capitalist societies. "The members of modern societies, as products of an individualistic

tradition, are increasingly dependent on bureaucratic organizations which can subject them to detailed administrative control and gather information about their lives. . . This modern rational bureaucracy is a highly effective and durable mode of surveillance" (Dandeker, 1990:2). The rise of bureaucratic surveillance is thus directly associated with the way social power is organized in modern society.

Systems of Mass Surveillance

Systems of mass surveillance consist of bureaucratic institutions that maintain different forms of social control. Mass surveillance is the systematic collection and management of information about specific groups and individuals. Information management is the ultimate purpose and goal. The bureaucracies that conduct mass surveillance are capable of monitoring any group in society that it chooses to. Systems of mass surveillance are intended to benefit both regimes and clientele. A regime is a formal ruling organization. According to Rule, a "regime" is any organization, group, or individual who's goal is to maintain some aspect of control in society. A regime refers to the idea of "the system." The term "clientele" on the other hand refers to those who must comply with the regime that governs them. In short, those who are surveilled are known as clientele, and those who surveil make up a regime (Rule, 1974:23).

Rule describes five conditions in which systems of mass surveillance may be developed as the primary means of maintaining social order. First, surveillance assists a regime when a particular social setting becomes too large and anonymous to monitor through interpersonal means. Surveillance is effective when face to face acquaintance becomes an inadequate means of social control. Second, surveillance helps in situations

where traditional enforcement becomes difficult. Surveillance also assists a regime where the enforcement of social rules must be strict and without exception. Laws, rules and policies are often written to benefit a regime. Clientele sees this as unfair or unreasonable. As a consequence clientele may perceive their violation of such rules as actions in their own best interests. Third, surveillance is a quality control mechanism that assures a regime that clientele is acting in appropriate ways. Fourth, surveillance assists a regime in decision making about individuals. Bias is removed from decision making that reflects personal knowledge of an individual's past and/or work performance. Finally, surveillance data is evidence in the form of documentation and records. Such evidence makes people accountable for their past behavior, interactions, and performance (Rule, 1974:29).

Just as Rule's idea of interactions between regimes and clientele is functional, such interactions monitored by surveillance can be identified as a source of inequality and exploitation. Langdon Winner describes the electronic regime that society constructs through computer surveillance.

To an increasing extent in today's workplace, computers are delegated the role of supervising; human beings have been assigned roles that involve working faster and faster while engaging in less social conversation—all in the name of a system called 'communications,' but one that drastically limits people's ability to communicate in a human sense.

The term 'regime' seems perfectly appropriate in such cases. For once they have been designed, built and put in operation, sociotechnical systems comprise regimes with features that can be described in a political way. It makes perfect sense to talk about freedom or its absence, equality or inequality, justice or injustice, authoritarianism or democracy, and the kinds of power relationships contained in technological instruments and systems (Winner, 1991:20).

The use of such technology creates tensions between workers and employers. Workers claim that monitoring is an infringement of privacy while employers justify that it is their

right to select and monitor employees based on their own standards. The introduction of technology into the debate exacerbates this conflict. As surveillance technology needs to be paid for, it is also found to be productive. Consequently, the use of monitoring technology tends to increase rather than decline. (Office of Technology Assessment, 1987:128-132).

Surveillance, Social Space, and the Nation-State

A nation-state is currently the largest social space that can be the target of surveillance, and also carry out its own surveillance operations. The impact of surveillance on a nation-state is beyond the scope of this research. However, the literature addressing surveillance within nation-states illustrates three aspects of surveillance that are noteworthy here. First, the diffusion of social control and power. Second, the dissolution of spatial boundaries and collapsing of social space. Third, the emergence of social practices as the predominant type of social activity. The rise of the modern nation-state coincided with industrial capitalism. It is a system of government that oversees a large geographical area that consists of diverse human groups and economic resources.

Giddens identifies surveillance as an instrument of social control in different forms of social totalities. Surveillance has become an integral part of modern nation-states. A nation-state is made up of structures and institutions that emerges out of social practices. Practices are in turn shaped by localized power, domination, control, and rule prior to reflecting the larger social totality. Giddens suggests that the concept of modern society is obsolete if thought of as a totality. The concept of nation-state can be recognized as replacing the concept of modern society because of spatial and temporal changes in the ways that societies are organized. Life in a modern rational society has contributed to new

understandings of time and space. Technologies have reduced distances and collapsed the duration that interpersonal activities typically require (Harvey, 1992:200).

The concept of "locale" combines the social and physical settings where interactions occur. Locale includes physical characteristics like geographical boundaries, architecture, as well as formal and informal relationships between people. Locales are the physical and social location where institutions are reproduced through interactions and social practices. Giddens refers to locales as "power containers" where allocative and authoritative resources are concentrated. Within these containers, power is generated and administratively managed by bureaucratic organizations. In a modern nation-state the institutions of business, education, government, and the judicial system are locales where power resources are concentrated. Giddens asserts that "power is generated by the containment of resources. . . [The modern nation-state is] the preeminent form of power container" (Giddens, 1985:13; Agnew, 1993:251). It is through the power generated within locales that authoritative resources utilize surveillance to maintain power. The modern nation-state is characterized by the concentration of individual and group practices in defined and controlled spaces. The modern nation-state is made up of manageable and observable locales that bring more people into the realm of surveillance than ever before (Giddens, 1985).

Modern societies exist and operate within a nation-state system. A nation-state's surveillance capability increases the power and efficiency of the societies that make up a nation-state. The influence of this power transgresses our social conceptions of time and space in unprecedented ways. According to Gary Marx, the power of a nation-state transcends time. Technologies make it possible to temporally "freeze dry" information.

Surveillance data can be stored for years and then integrated with new information creating a new context in which these data are understood, both as data within itself, and the interpretation of data in different social contexts. This data takes on a reality of its own devoid of the actual phenomena the data represent. Standardized technologies collapse traditional conceptions of distance and space by making it possible to merge, send, and communicate surveillance data on a global scale. Surveillance technologies are transcending distance, darkness, and physical barriers. Societies that rely on geographically centralized power often have difficulty maintaining power at their geographical perimeters. Surveillance changes this by making centralization more powerful than it was before. The physical barriers of distance and darkness becomes media in which surveillance operates (Marx, 1988:217).

SURVEILLANCE AND SOCIAL PRACTICES

Social practices are the merging of ideas and actions. A practice is a form of action that coincides with an idea that is understood to match the action. According to Pierre Bourdieu, practice is the result of integrating habitus and the social field. That is, practices emerge out of regularized activities occurring in social space (Harker, Cheleen, Wilkes, 1990:11). Social practices are developed through negotiation and repetition of action in specific locations. As a social practice becomes understood, it also becomes established as part of a social space. A practice is an activity where knowledge and action become indiscernible (Lefebvre, 1991:9).

Social practices are governed by social norms, rules, policies, and laws. Social practices are commonly recognized as rational activities directed at specific and predefined

goals. Social practices should not be recognized as merely some form of behavior.

Bourdieu identifies practices as regularized activities that are unique characteristics of a particular social space. The attributes of any practice is likely to vary with different locations. Practices are also non-constant. The unfolding and emergent qualities of being human make practices continuously variable (Schatzki, 1996. Bourdieu, 1990, 1977).

Social practices also establish boundaries between individuals and their activities. A practice may not represent a person's beliefs and values, but it does represent that person's actions. In the course of our lives, we all must act in ways that we may disagree or feel uncomfortable with.

Theodore R. Schatzki distinguishes between dispersed practices and integrative practices. These two types of social practices are typical of surveillance operations. Dispersed practices are individual activities where the individual understands the meaning of the practice and is knowledgeable of how to do it. Practices become dispersed by the widespread occurrence of these actions in different areas of social life. Everyone's daily life is made up of dispersed practices. These are recognized as normal because of their common occurrence (Schatzki, 1996:91). Surveillance consists of numerous dispersed practices like observation, identification, description, having a conversation, and writing reports. Each of these are dispersed because there are unlimited ways in which an individual can carry them out. The act of observing is a normal part of life. It is so common that we rarely think about it. Observation is a practice when it becomes a routine, or part of a larger routine. Observing casino activities is a dispersed practice because it involves procedures of looking for specific phenomena like illicit acts and missing objects.

Integrative practices are typical activities of groups who inhabit a particular space.

Integrative practices are often accumulated dispersed practices. But, integrative practices are also more complex because they are constructed through negotiation. The meaning of a dispersed practice is continually negotiated through interaction and the repetition of the act. By reflecting on the process of negotiation of dispersed practices, integrative practices become apparent. Negotiation, interaction, and repetition reveal the meaning as well as the purpose of integrative practices to entire groups of people (Schatzki, 1996:98).

In a visual surveillance setting, a dispersed practice is the routine observation the video monitors and following the established procedures of this activity. Surveillance becomes an integrative practice when an individual lives the role of a surveillance agent. The individual no longer simply observes the monitors. He or she adapts the lifestyle associated with being a surveillance agent. Along with secrecy, avoiding people and places becomes a normal part of daily life. Surveillers develop integrative practices by learning the specialized knowledge associated with their task. The discovery of rule violations is not necessarily the result of repetitive observation. The surveiller detects wrong-doing because she or he understands the potential variations of an illicit act. Through negotiation with others and continuous observation of casino activities, repetitive acts develop a meaning beyond the acts themselves. This is what surveillance observers look for.

Surveillance organizations are involved with making social practices uniform. People engage in social practices with different people in a variety of contexts throughout their daily routines. There are many occupations where social practices need to be uniform for purposes of production, efficiency, and safety. Persons conducting their required tasks in a casino setting must do so in a routine, uniform, and standardized way. Everyone's activities must appear similar because this is easier to observe. Surveillers must conduct

their observations in similar ways. The practice of surveillance makes the management of social practices as uniform as the practices themselves.

Social practices are legitimized by localized norms and values. A practice that is normal in one environment may appear absurd in another. Social practices are commonly maintained by ideology. Members of groups are socialized to believe practices are necessary and in their best interests. If people believe this to be true, they are likely to accept such practices as part of their daily routine. If a person can rationalize that a practice is important, he or she is likely to believe it is important. Dispersed and integrative practices thus can be identified as the "building blocks" of microsociological environments. Social practices become diffused and ambiguous when observed in a larger social milieu.

Surveillance and the Organization of Social Practices

The practice of surveillance involves the accumulation of information for the purpose of monitoring and influencing people. Storage and dissemination of information are a central issue, because surveillance involves storage capacity and systems of dissemination that exceed human ability. Electronic storage and dissemination of information accomplish tasks that face to face interactions cannot. Technology utilizes language in ways that transcends the traditional idea of immediate communication relying on the presence of people. Such spatial and temporal changes in the use of language, information exchange, and communication play a significant role in the negotiation of integrative practices. Individuals are continually trying to "catch up" with the capabilities of technology.

Surveillance consists of three basic practices. First, the accumulation, organization,

and dissemination of useful information about people, objects, and activities. Second, the overseeing of persons, objects, and activities within social spaces. This includes defining and negotiating the meaning of patterned activities that occur in social time and space. The supervision of subordinate groups and individuals by those in positions of authority requires effective control of resources, organizations, and social spaces. This is accomplished through management, as well as enhancement of social spaces. Work settings, urban designs, prisons, and spaces occupied by institutions are enhanced to make surveillance possible, let alone efficient. Third, these prior aspects of surveillance are integrated into the daily activities of bureaucracies. The practice of surveillance becomes an end in itself for the bureaucracy and not just a means to a particular end. As a vehicle of bureaucratic rationalization surveillance legitimizes and furthers bureaucratic expansion (Giddens, 1995:169; Dandeker, 1990:37).

Surveillance Practices and the Nation-State

Surveillance practices are interrelated within various formal organizations. Surveillance serves three basic purposes in a modern nation-state. First, the management and coordination of the economy. Authoritative resources must be reproduced through the management of allocative resources. Second, surveillance is a catalyst for changing the scope and intensity of sanctions. This occurs in two locales of the nation-state. The military maintains external social order, and law enforcement maintains internal social control. All forms of order and control involve formal sanctions that are administered by officials representing the nation-state. Such administration is only effective with the potential and implied threat of using of violence. The use of violence as a sanction has become indirect

and attenuated. Third, the goal of the nation-state is to maintain hegemonic order of its members. The nation-state produces and maintains social conditions that influence ideologies. This is reproduced through institutions like education, religion, business, and government bureaucracy. Surveillance assures that these institutions remain stable and the members of the nation state are complying with the rules and laws that makes society ordered and stable (Dandeker, 1990:52; Giddens, 1985:16).

Lyon also addresses the outward expansion. Contemporary surveillance practices are a merging of information obtained from both public and private spheres. Public surveillance has always been a practice of the state through authorized agencies and formal organizations. Private surveillance is a growing trend that has been changing the collective perception of surveillance. According to Lyon, "In addition, being accepted as a fully participating member of society today depends more and more on one's ability to consume, and much contemporary surveillance is in fact commercial" (Lyon, 1994:12).

Public surveillance monitors individual citizenship. Public knowledge of individual citizenship has always contributed to social order. Commercial surveillance monitors people at a deeper level. It transcends knowledge of citizenship to find out who individuals are, what they do, where they go, what they consume, and their financial and health status. Surveillance has penetrated the private sphere by entering people's homes. Both public and private organizations can easily obtain information about who lives where and with whom. This in turn has affected voting capacity, welfare distributions, and people's financial status. Lyon points out that there is little resistance to the growing spread of surveillance (Lyon, 1994).

Surveillance Capabilities

Surveillance is associated with the accumulation and management of information, and the organization of power within bureaucracies. Surveillance capacity reflects the social power that a bureaucratic organization has compared to others. Dandeker and Rule associate the idea of a "total surveillance society" with the extreme limit of surveillance capacity. They identify four criteria by which surveillance capacity can be defined. First, the "size of files" which refers to the number of individuals that an organization can efficiently surveil and the amount of information that can be managed in decision making processes. The size of files tends to be a limitation because the information that is useful is often significantly less than the information that is available (Rule, 1974:38; Dandeker, 1990:40).

Second, "centralization" refers to how efficiently information can be gathered at one location and then be used as an instrument of social control at another location. Centralization involves the integration of information resources and then cross-referencing this information with other resources. Effective centralization prevents individuals from escaping the consequences of their past by moving to a new location. Rule states, "to be fully effective, any system of surveillance should be able collect information on a person's behavior from any point in society, and use it to enact measures of control on the same person at any other point" (Rule, 1974:39; Dandeker, 1990:40).

Third, "speed of information flow" refers to the time required to accumulate, organize, and communicate information for the purpose of social control. In a total surveillance society, information flow and decision making are instant. Actual surveillance systems are not that efficient. Data collection is characteristically slow, and decision-making may not occur until long after the data has been collected and analyzed. These

limitations provide individuals with opportunities to escape their past. Organizations are always playing "catch up" with individuals and small groups (Rule, 1974:39; Dandeker, 1990:40).

Fourth, "points of contact" refers to the places and times where data about an individual or group can be collected. These are the access points where an organization is able to accumulate information, as well as sanction individuals or groups. A key here is accurate identification and continuous monitoring of individuals and groups. The capability to identify individuals and link them with their records is an important aspect of a surveillance system's capacity. A total surveillance society can monitor an individual anytime and anywhere. Actual surveillance systems have limited points of contact. Modern society provides various opportunities for individuals to "drop out of sight." However, our opportunities to disappear are rapidly decreasing. If a formal organization deems it necessary to find a particular person, there is little that an individual can do to avoid detection and apprehension.

The greater the size, centralization, speed of information flow, and points of contact, the greater that organization's surveillance capacity. Surveillance operations in formal organizations have become the framework around which modern bureaucracy is organized. Rule, Dandeker, and Giddens asserts that as bureaucracies continue to expand, the need for surveillance capacities will continue to increase to assure that maximum productivity and efficiency is achieved. Although technologies of surveillance are changing, the purpose of surveillance operations remains relatively the same (Giddens, 1995:169). The question is not what we want to know about others, but rather; how do we go about getting the information about those we want to know about (Rule, 1974:41).

SURVEILLANCE AND THE HUMAN GAZE

Modernity and the Primacy of Vision

Western culture has historically privileged our visual senses. Martin Jay calls this phenomena ocularcentrism which refers to historical periods as well as cultures that have been overshadowed by a primacy of vision over the other senses (Jay, 1994:3). Georgia Warnke explains,

By ocularcentrism, Jay means the epistemological privileging of vision that begins at least as early as Plato's notion that ethical universals must be accessible to "the mind's eye" and continues with the Renaissance, the invention of printing, and the development of the modern sciences. For Descartes, truth is associated with clear and distinct ideas discerned by a "steadfast mental gaze," while for Bacon objectivity is associated with observation, and objective knowledge is that knowledge obtained through sight. But such a privileging of sight has also inspired a deep distrust, a distrust that one can find in Bergson's work and that runs through the work of Wagner, Nietzsche, and Heidegger. More recently it has taken form in Foucault's analysis of modern surveillance techniques, in Guy Debord's condemnation of the society of the spectacle, and in Richard Rorty's critique of ocular metaphors in philosophy (Warnke, 1993:287).

An ocularcentric critique realizes the priority of our visual senses and observation technologies. It is important to distinguish that vision in itself is not a source of power. Vision defines the arrangements of power and consequently influences the exercise of social power. Accordingly, surveillance in itself is not a social force governing phenomena because it requires our complicity to be effective. Visual surveillance is operated by human agents who simultaneously oversee social space while they develop new ways of observation that exceed natural human ability. Robert E. Innis addresses the expansion of our "exosomatic organs" which are any socially constructed object that replace or increase natural human abilities. Visual surveillance is an exosomatic organ that allows human

observers to see more than they are capable of. Multiple camera angles, video play-back, and slow motion capabilities let the observer see activities the naked eye is likely to miss.

According to Innis,

As a probe, an exosomatic organ constitutes a peculiar form of contact between self and world. As filter, it constitutes a peculiar way of sorting... specifically instrumental auxiliaries of perception, which are assimilated to the systems of senses themselves, can either magnify the unaided sense-organ or power or they can reduce-through a kind of negative abstraction-the complex polymorphy of sense perception which is its 'natural' as well as 'culturally induced' state to a single mode of perception (Innis, 1984:76).

The natural limitations and imperfections of human vision are reflected in the modern project's development of technologies that expand our range of vision (Jay, 1994:3).

Although these are commonly recognized as positive developments, there have been a multitude of criticisms. Walter Benjamin described the loss of aura that occurs to an original work of art through its mass reproduction:

The desire of contemporary masses to bring things closer spatially and humanly, which is just as ardent as their bent toward overcoming the uniqueness of every reality by accepting its reproduction. Every day the urge grows stronger to get hold of an object at very close range by way of its likeness, its reproduction. Unmistakably, reproduction as offered by picture magazines and newsreels differs from the image seen by the unaided eye. Uniqueness and permanence are as closely linked in the latter as are the transitoriness and reproducibility in the former. To pry an object from its shell, to destroy its aura, is the mark of a perception whose 'sense of the universal quality of things' has increased to such a degree that it extracts it even from a unique object by means of reproduction (Benjamin, 1968:223).

Throughout history, as the aura of the image continues to recede, the instrumental uses of reproduced images continue to increase.

The invention of optical instruments or exosomatic organs like the camera obscura, the telescope, and the microscope extend the natural limits of seeing. Modernity encompasses a multitude of projects that have been gradually changing how we see the

world. Formal observation is prioritized over our natural and often casual ways of looking at the environment. Optical systems contribute to new ways of understanding the natural and social worlds. Just as Benjamin saw this leading to a decline in the aesthetic purposes of images, Staples sees a culture in decline. He sees us as a culture of voyeurs.

As a society, we have become obsessed with the gaze of the videocam, not only because we perceive that it brings us 'security' but also because we are fascinated by the visual representation of ourselves. We are today, very much, a culture of voyeurs. This 'playful' and 'serious' fascination with the camera's eye results. . . in the normalization of the gaze in everyday life. . . make us more and more comfortable with, and even drawn to, the idea of being preserved on tape. The proliferation of video means that we can all be 'on film,' just like our cherished cultural icons of television and the cinema. A state of 'permanent visibility' looms over us as cameras and their tapes encroach into everyday life. . . But as we are watched and monitored, we are also called to join the watching. Programs like *America's Most Wanted* call on the public to 'join the force,' and provide information about criminals on the loose. . . Ironically while tapes may turn out to be 'rarely needed' for the justice function they are supposed to serve, they are being gobbled up by the public as voyeuristic entertainment (Staples, 1997:58-61).

Again, an aspect of the social world that resembles Baudrillard's notion of the "ob-scene." In this situation, the hyperreal is the real that has been pushed to its extreme. The distinction between what is perceived as real and a simulation put in its place merge together. What is of significance is that the secrets, illusions, and veils of privacy that make up traditional social life are removed (Levin, 1996:274). On the internet, the web voyeur is a site designed for people to view real time images of closed circuit television cameras located all over the world. Staples continues, "Anyone with a computer and access to the Internet can 'surf' through 'live' images generated by cameras set up in more than a hundred settings including schools, bus stops, and even people's homes" (Staples, 1997:59).

The question that arises from the ocularcentric critique is, is seeing truly knowing? Most of the advancements in visual systems contribute in one way or another to uniting

vision with knowledge and power. Modernity encompasses an extensive project of formally observing and documenting all aspects of reality. As discoveries in the external world gradually decline, our need to continue the practice of formal observation continues. We can identify systems of observation that turn our capabilities of seeing toward ourselves and closer inspection of the social world. Visual surveillance is such a system. The last part of this chapter reviews writings about the human gaze and panopticism. The gaze is defined as what people do during the act of looking. A panopticon is an architectural design that formally structures the act of looking. It is a controlled setting where the act of seeing becomes the rational process of observation.

Social Psychology of the Gaze

A social psychological review of the gaze provides a summary of experimental studies that address looking, gazing, and eye contact. These studies isolate aspects of non-verbal interaction and concentrate on the gaze, or what our eyes do during social interactions. This area of research has been criticized for overemphasizing the gaze over other aspects of non-verbal interaction. Such research disembodies the gaze -- isolating it from the other attributes of an individual. This limitation, however, is why these studies of the gaze are relevant to visual surveillance. Surveillance technologies rely on a disembodied gaze. Surveilled space is the environment in which such a gaze can operate.

The gaze is fundamentally defined as one person looking at another. The act of one person gazing at another creates a seeing/being seen dyad. Gazing at the eyes of another person is referred to as looking. Eye contact is made the moment both persons look at each other's eyes. The gaze is a primary means of nonverbal communication. In its basic form,

the gaze involves encoding and sending messages that indicate one's feeling, emotions, and attitudes toward another person. An individual's gaze is decoded by the person at whom her or his gaze is directed. The interpreting person then communicates his or her interpretations. Gazing allows us to nonverbally communicate to others who we are. It is a medium of communication where messages are sent, received, and interpreted both consciously and unconsciously (Enzle and Anderson, 1993; Argyle and Cook, 1976; Rutter, 1984; Argyle and Dean, 1965). Michael Argyle and Mark Cook recognize the gaze as a cultural universal because "the use of the gaze in human behavior does not vary much between cultures" (Argyle and Cook, 1976:169). The summary of the gaze based on social psychology research will address the concepts of gaze dyad, mutual gaze, and gaze aversion.

Gaze Dyad

Social psychological research commonly recognizes a basic hypothetical model describing a gaze dyad. Any common dyadic interaction consists of gaze and equilibrium. In most interactions, there is an area of equilibrium that both persons seek to attain. A face to face social interaction typically has an area of equilibrium that is observable as several variables: eye contact, physical proximity, the topic of conversation, and expression. Changes in any of these is likely to influence the balance of the interaction. For example an increase in eye contact duration will probably result in a change in physical proximity. Whether proximity increases or decreases will be influenced by the topic of conversation. Sustained interaction typically requires a balance between these variables. If equilibrium cannot be maintained, one or both individuals are likely to experience anxiety. The result is

avoidance practices becoming part of the interaction in one of two ways. First, individuals may begin to feel anxiety from signs of rejection. Second, they may feel compromised by revealing personal information about themselves. Both of which tend to produce feelings of inadequate fulfillment from the interaction. If both individuals cannot maintain equilibrium, the interaction is likely to be terminated (Argyle and Cook, 1976; Rutter, 1984; Enzle and Anderson, 1993; Riggio and Friedman, 1983; Patterson, 1977; Anderson, 1976; McClintock and Hunt, 1975; Russo, 1975; Modigliani, 1971; Ellsworth and Carlsmith, 1968).

Additional criteria that may influence the gaze and the equilibrium of the interaction include an individual's internal state, the external setting of the interaction, and social norms. Internal state refers to an individual's mood, feelings, thoughts, and emotions that either one or both individuals are experiencing at the moment of interaction. External settings include the actual and perceived setting as well as proximity to others. Social norms consist of folkways, mores, laws, and values that may influence an interaction. The study of a gaze dyad is best conducted when an individual's internal state and the external setting are recognized as major influences of the interaction (Marcus, Wilson, and Miller, 1996; Iizuka, 1994; Kleinke and Taylor, 1991; Fugita, 1974; Knight, Langmeyer, and Lundgren, 1973; Carlsmith, 1973; Ellsworth, Carlsmith, and Henson, 1972; Efran and Broughton, 1966).

The gaze is significant for communicating interpersonal attitudes. The gaze is commonly recognized as a signal of liking. Argyle and Cook called it the "like-look" relationship between people (Argyle and Cook, 1976). We tend to look more at people from whom we expect messages of notice and approval. The expression of approval

consists of positive gestures like nods and smiles. People look at or attempt to begin a mutual gaze with those with positive expressions. People do so because we tend to find these characteristics appealing. People expressing negative gestures are less likely to be looked at by others. If an individual decides that she or he does not like the other person, the disliking individual's gaze duration is likely to decrease. Once dislike is established in an interaction, gaze duration tends to be shorter by the one doing the disliking. In short, people tend to look at those who are sending positive messages like friendly or pleasant expressions and avoid those who are sending negative messages like straight faced and frowning expressions (Argyle and Cook, 1976; Rutter, 1984; Enzle and Anderson, 1993; Goldman and Fordyce, 1983; Nairman and Breed, 1974).

Mutual Gaze and Gaze Aversion

The gaze is analytically divided between the mutual gaze and gaze aversion. People seek a mutual gaze with people they are attracted to. The goal of mutual gaze is to attain recognition or acknowledgment from the other. Mutual gaze rarely lasts more than two or three seconds without some form of interaction. Noninteraction typically leads to gaze aversion. Gaze aversion is commonly produced by what is referred to as "cognitive overload." This occurs when one or both individuals develop overwhelming feelings of shyness, inadequacy, embarrassment, guilt, intimidation, and so on. Such feelings may play no role in an interaction, but they are typical influences of mutual gaze and gaze aversion. Gaze aversion is a way of shutting out information and eliminating cognitive overload (Rutter, 1984:82). This entire process occurs in an extremely brief moment of time. We may recognize cognitive overload in an imbalanced interaction, but this same process

commonly occurs when two people pass each other in a public space.

Mutual gaze and gaze aversion are influenced by proximity, place, and context.

Mutual gaze is more likely to occur between individuals where the distance between them is greater. As distance decreases, the likelihood of mutual and individual gaze also decreases. A conversation will influence mutual gaze and gaze aversion. Gaze decreases as distance is reduced in a person who is listening while looking. The person who is talking on the other hand is likely to look directly at the other more than the individual who is listening. The dynamics of a conversation make this a complex process to observe, let alone participate in. Gaze aversion is more likely to occur in crowded places than in areas where only a few people are. A crowded elevator is a classic example because people are in very close proximity but not likely to look at each other. People also tend to look at each other more frequently in humorous and relaxed situations than in serious ones. These are only a few of the situations that make it difficult for most individuals to maintain a sustained mutual gaze in a dyadic interaction. This difficulty often increases during moments of silence in interactions. Finally, the individual who looks away first during a mutual gaze is often recognized as submitting to the other person's gaze dominance (Argyle and Cook, 1976; Rutter, 1984; Enzle and Anderson, 1993; Schaeffer and Patterson, 1980; Coutts and Ledden, 1977; Buchanan, Goldman, and Juhke, 1977; Jellison and Ickes, 1974; Snyder, Gretter, and Keller, 1974; Libby and Yaklevich, 1973; Kleinke, 1972; Thayer, 1969).

Visual surveillance is a continuous state of gaze dominance. All the topics of the previous discussion can be observed through surveillance. But, surveillance will always function regardless of their occurrence. Surveillance is a disembodied gaze that consistently observes social activities, but does not require such activities for its sustenance. Reaching a

state of equilibrium is of no relevance.

A Social Epistemology of the Gaze

Epistemology is the study of knowledge or ways of knowing. This is large part of philosophy with a comprehensive body of literature. A social epistemology of the gaze is a means of getting at specific ideas pertaining to the human act of looking combined with the formal process of surveillance observation. It addresses the ideas of merging our ways of knowing with how we casually see and formally observe the social world. A social epistemology of the gaze delves into to how we know about ourselves through ocularcentrism. How we see each other is often reflected in the ways that society looks at itself. Just as the gaze is a primary means of interpersonal interactions, a social epistemology of the gaze can help us better understand the ocularcentric culture of groups, organizations, and institutions. Surveillance organizations are an exemplar of formal organizations whose purpose, organization, and goals require a human gaze at its controls.

Jean Paul Sartre, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Lacan all have offered philosophical perspectives on Western culture's ocularcentrism (Jay, 1994). Sartre's ideas emphasize the secrecy and doubt that are associated with an individual's gaze. Sartre established the notion of the pre-existence of the gaze and has been a major influence on subsequent thought about the gaze. Merleau-Ponty explored the idea of knowledge and vision embodied within the individual. Foucault emphasized the power that operates within the gaze, while Lacan emphasized the gaze as an autonomous force or an essence existing in the realm of the intersubjective. The epistemological underpinnings of the gaze can be recognized as influencing the social aspects of contemporary visual

surveillance operations. In other words, Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, Foucault, and Lacan provide theoretical reference points from which an analysis of surveillance organizations can be proceed.

Jean Paul Sartre: Gazing Through a Keyhole

Sartre pointed out the pre-existence of the gaze by making distinctions between the act of gazing and apprehending the gaze of another person. According to Sartre, we cannot simultaneously perceive and imagine. We are capable of only one or the other at any particular moment. An individual cannot gaze upon another person and simultaneously comprehend the gaze of that person upon them. The look of another person is an intermediary that creates a shift in one's awareness. The moment an individual becomes aware of another person's gaze, he or she cannot avoid becoming aware of being looked at. The individual shifts her or his awareness and consequential thoughts and actions from looking to responding to being looked at (Sartre, 1956:259).

Sartre identified the act of gazing as the reversal of a means/ends schema. As a person looks, the means of looking is unimportant because the end is seeing the Other. The act of the gaze justifies the ends over the means. The end to be attained, which is looking at and comprehending the Other, organizes all moments and actions that precede seeing the Other. Accordingly, one's gaze can be recognized as the reversal of causal ordering (Sartre, 1956:259).

Sartre's explanation of the gaze is addressed through his example of voyeuristically looking at the activities of Others through a keyhole in a door. Kaja Silverman describes Sartre's perspective:

He is so completely engrossed in the act of seeing that he is devoid of self-consciousness—so absorbed in the spectacle in front of him that his 'very being' escapes him. As Sartre explains it. 'There is nothing *there* but a pure nothingness encircling a certain objective ensemble and throwing into relief outline upon the world.' This 'nothingness' is paradoxically synonymous with a certain transcendence of spectacle, of the body, and, ultimately, of self (Silverman, 1996:164).

The moment he is discovered by them his awareness shifts from gazing at the Other to becoming the object of the Other's gaze. Silverman continues,

But suddenly, the voyeur hears footsteps in the hall or the rustle of leaves on the ground, and the first visual tableau gives way to the second. He is conjured out of nothingness into existence in the guise of an image for that Other who is evoked by the footsteps or the leaves. The voyeur now vibrates with an awareness of himself-as-spectacle, and through that awareness a consciousness of self is produced in him (Silverman, 1996:164).

This brings about feelings of shame, guilt, embarrassment, and submission to the Other.

The individual falls into the dominant gaze of the Other the moment he is discovered to be looking at the Other. The gaze is always already occurring. Only through situations and or coincidence do we realize its on-going occurrence. We can never sustain our awareness of the gaze that is always already occurring because we eventually revert to seeing or being seen. Surveillance substitutes the frailty of the gaze with technology. The gaze of technology cannot be apprehended. Its discovery does not make it look away. If anything, inspection is likely to increase. Feelings of shame, guilt, and submission are not part of the surveiller's emotional repertoire. Surveillance merges detachment with uniform observation.

Maurice Merleau-Ponty: Living as If We Are Watched

Maurice Merleau-Ponty identified a pre-existing gaze that emanates from the individual. He recognized the gaze as "the regulation of form, which is governed, not only by the subject's eye, but by his expectations, his movement, his grip, his muscular and

visceral emotion-in short, his constitutive presence, directed in what is called his total intentionality" (Lacan, 1978:71). According to Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, the visible is dependent on the eye of the individual seer.

In the *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945), he devised a taxonomy of existing theories of perception and the gaze that consisted of two general approaches -- those of the empiricists and of the intellectualists. Empiricist theories are based on the general assumption that the retinas of the eyes are passive receptors of external objects. Vision is no more than an exercise in objective observation. The intellectualist theories emphasize subjective perception where the primacy of vision originates within the individual. Observation is subordinate to intuition, speculation, and interpretation of one's lifeworld. Merleau-Ponty collapsed these theories into one another.

For Merleau-Ponty, both traditions were equally at fault for factoring out the actual phenomena of perception itself. Empiricism because it turned the subject into an object in the world like all others, intellectualism because it made the cognitive subject all-powerful, turning perception into a mere function of thought, an effect of judgment. In both cases the world was construed as a spectacle to be observed from afar by a disembodied mind (Jay, 1994:308).

The individual is neither physical object nor disembodied consciousness only. Rather, a person is both, so an explanation of human perception and the gaze can only be found by collapsing the boundaries between these two aspects. Merleau-Ponty rejected the Cartesian mind/body dualism.

Just as Descartes, seated in his room, gazed out the window at the suspicious forms on the street below, so too Sartre's consciousness peered out 'through the holes of the eyes' from the depths of its 'invisible retreat' at the panorama that lay open before it. For both, consciousness was a voyeur, eager to see everything, but careful to remain unseen (Schmidt, 1985:96).

For Merleau-Ponty perception was never purely in the realm of consciousness, nor

exclusively an act of the body. It is both. One cannot be separated from the other.

Consciousness, perception, and physical experience are embodied in the individual. An individual is both subject and object (Schmidt, 1985:93). Schmidt describes Merleau-Ponty's dilemma with an example. "What happens when one hand touches the other hand while this other hand is touching something else?" (Schmidt, 1985:92). This example illustrates the always already occurred nature of phenomena. Human perception is always playing "catch up" with what has occurred.

Merleau-Ponty's notion of embodiment suggests that we live social life as if we are always being watched. What has not been seen by an individual has already been seen through the collective experiences of others. Merleau-Ponty relied on a passage written by Paul Valery to make the point.

Once gazes interlock, there are no longer *quite* two persons and it's hard for either to remain alone. This exchange. . . effects. . . a transposition, a metathesis, a chiasm of two 'destinies', two points of view. You take my appearance, my image, and I take yours. You are not I, since you see me and I don't see myself. What is missing for me is this 'I' whom you can see. And what *you* miss is the 'you' I see (Valery Cited in Schmidt, 1985:91).

Visual perception is thus a sociocultural practice because previously constructed social experiences shape the way we see the world. An individual does not exist prior to the gaze because she or he is always effected by it (Crossley, 1993:411). As a consequence, people act in accordance with this internalized idea of always being watched. Individuals exist as embodied totalities. Dualisms only occur between individuals. Visual surveillance hinges on such an internalized perception of the gaze. Visual surveillance technologically merges rationality and efficiency with the human gaze. By relying on internalized embodiment and external dualities, surveillance makes us better at observing the external world than we

already are. Ironically, such technological innovations become entwined in power/knowledge relationships. Rather than being accessible to the masses, surveillance is exclusive. It is reserved for the few who recognize a need, and can afford to use it.

Michel Foucault: Discipline and Formalized Observation

Modernity is encapsulated by an ocularcentric privileging of vision. Foucault recognized the gaze as an implicit part of formal observation. Much of his work has involved the uncovering of the latent problems resulting from vision guiding the progress of knowledge. Throughout the ages, practitioners of the medical arts have conducted their observations of the afflicted in a specific way. Foucault described this medical gaze as silent and all knowing -- the qualities ever present in the practice of surveilling spaces. Each relies on power operating within interactions, secrecy, and a standardized setting where observations can be conducted. According to Foucault,

The observing gaze refrains from intervening: it is silent and gestureless. Observations leave things as they are; there is nothing hidden to it in what is given. The correlative of observation is never the invisible, but always the immediately visible. . . In the clinician's catalogue, the purity of the gaze is bound up with a certain silence that enables him to listen (Foucault, 1975:107).

The function of the gaze in a formal setting normalizes observation. The bodies of those surveilled become transparent as well as visible. Foucault continues,

As soon as medical knowledge is defined in terms of frequency, one no longer needs a natural environment; what one now needs is a neutral domain, one that is homogeneous in all its parts and in which comparison is possible and open to any form of pathological event, with no principle of selection or exclusion. In such a domain everything must be possible and possible in the same way (Foucault, 1975:109).

The medical gaze is seen by Foucault as a metaphor for greater issues of social

control. The idea of an objective and purifying gaze contributing to freedom, autonomy, and social order remains a myth that shapes contemporary society. Again Foucault, "The gaze will be fulfilled in its own truth and will have access to the truth of things if it rests on them in silence, if everything keeps silent around what it sees. The clinical gaze has the paradoxical ability to *hear a language* as soon as it *perceives a spectacle*" (Foucault, 1975:108). Foucault recognized the idea of formal observation via a medical gaze as transgressing thoughts of control to acts of violence.

To look in order to know, to show in order to teach, is not this a tacit form of violence, all the more abusive for its silence, upon a sick body that demands to be comforted, not displayed? Can pain be a spectacle? Not only can it be, it must be, by virtue of a subtle right that resides in the fact that no one is alone (Foucault, 1975:84).

Visual surveillance is not an act of violence. But it is a continuous intrusion that establishes its own depth and intensity. The penetration of surveillance is not negotiable. Those who operate it, establish its purpose based on their expertise of what needs to be watched. The gaze of surveillance is a form of social control that utilizes and pursues the relationship between power and knowledge. Foucault further addresses the ideas of the gaze, power, and social control with his discussion of panopticism in *Discipline and Punish*.

Jacques Lacan: Intersubjectivity and the Gaze

Lacan described the gaze as "the stain" that an individual leaves in the environment. As an individual looks at an object in her lifespace, the eyes scan and select out specific objects and simultaneously avoid others. Lacan suggested that as objects are looked at, the seer stains them with his gaze. It also implies a preexistence of the gaze. An individual's gaze places a mark on objects that are already assumed will be seen. The objects in space

that have been stained by a person's gaze immediately hale back to the observer. This is how objects in the environment attract our attention. According to Lacan,

If the function of the stain is recognized in its autonomy and identified with that of the gaze, we can seek its track, its thread, its trace, at every stage of the constitution of the world, in the scopic field. We will then realize that the function of the stain and of the gaze is both that which governs the gaze most secretly and that which always escapes from the grasp of that form of vision that is satisfied with itself in imagining itself as consciousness (Lacan, 1978:74).

The gaze is practiced by the individual subject, and is directed at external objects. Accordingly, an individual's gaze occurs independent of both the subject and the object. The individual continuously represses emotions such as desire, like, and dislike within her or him self. These emotions operate within the gaze that occurs between subject and object. The individual (subject) does not control his or her gaze. The gaze occurs and an individual constantly adjusts one's self to what her or his gaze is doing. The individual can suppress one's desire within his or her self, but this does not suppress desire operating within her or his gaze. The individual cannot suppress it, nor can the object stop the gaze from doing what it does. Ignoring an individual's gaze does not terminate his or her gaze. The gaze exists and operates in the realm of the intersubjective (Zizek, 1991:125).

The social world maybe conceived as a space that is stained by the gaze of its inhabitants. The idea of the gaze involves the notion of a social world that has always already been gazed upon. The act of reflexivity or attempting to "see oneself seeing oneself" is an attempt to avoid the function of the gaze within oneself (Lacan, 1978:74). Lacan refers to this aspect of the gaze as "the underside of consciousness" (Lacan, 1978:83). We can never sustain this reflexive state for an extended period of time. The gaze is always there, already occurring, our acts to avoid it only brings us back to it.

Lacan's analysis implies the human gaze is not rational. We do not see the social world as precisely and thoroughly as we assume that we do.

Lacan's position is that the gaze functions like an object in the external world. According to Lacan, whose insights in this matter go back to Merleau-Ponty's idea that "there is a preexisting gaze, a kind of staring at us by the outside world" (Lacan, 1995:139). Social life is lived through the assumption that an "absolute seer" exists and is watching everything. Lacan explains.

This seer is watching me, what I do, how I present myself, and how I perceive others. There is an imaginary being behind the eternal gaze. Yet such a being does not exist outside of our beliefs. What does exist is a split between what one sees and the gaze. The gaze is neither apprehensible nor visible; and it cannot be erased from the social world in which we live (Lacan, 1995:139).

Lacan makes the case that the gaze is both invisible and ever-present. People often live out their lives in the social world as if they are being watched. Charles Horton Cooley's "looking glass self," and Irving Goffman's "dramaturgy" also rely on this assumption. Visual surveillance is a means of institutionalizing the idea of always being observed. This notion is prevalent in Foucault's analysis of panopticism.

SURVEILLANCE AS PANOPTICISM

Panopticism describes the application of surveillance in a technologically advanced society. Foucault derived his theory from Jeremy Bentham's panopticon, which is an architectural design that makes it possible to continuously monitor everything within an established space from a single centralized location. It is a multi-story annular building consisting of equally sized cells. Each cell is designed to contain a single prisoner. The front of each cell is unobstructed, making the inhabitant continuously visible. In the open space

in the center of the building is a tower consisting of large windows with blinds. This tower is the vantage point from which an observer can watch individuals who inhabit each cell. The illumination of each cell prevents the occupant from being able to look into the tower. The occupants of the cells are aware of being observed by the surveiller in the tower, but they never know exactly when they are being observed. In Berko's words,

The invisibility of the bearer of the gaze, the guard who resides in the panoptic tower, serves the purpose of inducing in the inmate a state of consciousness and permanent visibility which consequently assures an automatic functioning of power regardless of the guard's actual presence. The design of the structure is such that prisoners find it impossible to see or speak to each other while never being able to tell when or by whom they are being watched (Berko, 1992:69).

The panopticon is a controlled environment where people become socialized assuming that they are under constant observation (Foucault, 1979:200; Bogard, 1996:66; Staples, 1997:28; Lyon, 1994:63; Jay, 1994:381; Pratt, 1993:380; de Cauter, 1993:2; 1993; Kazmi, 1993:198; Bracken, 1991:238; Strub, 1989:42). The goal of the panopticon is complete social control. Bentham's panopticon is the ideal model from which surveillance can be conducted. This makes possible the production of "the obedient subject, the individual is subjected to habits, rules, orders, an authority that is exercised continually around him and upon him, which he must allow to function automatically in him" (Foucault, 1979:128).

A Modern Instrument of Social Control

Panopticism intertwines the relationships between secrecy, power/knowledge, visibility, and the gaze. Foucault's idea of panopticism challenges the prevailing perspective on social control. Traditional views are based on the assumption that the modern Enlightenment produced a society based on freedom, individuality, humanism, rationality,

and reason. Foucault's theory of panopticism suggests that modern society may rely less on these ideas than we tend to assume. Modern society exists in a state of "unfreedom" constructed from internalized obedience and conformity. Foucault specifically addressed formal sanctions. Discipline and punishment by the state has gradually changed from a public spectacle to a systematic and invisible process. Bentham's panopticon is the structural design that embodies the latent norms and values that Foucault recognized as the source of unfreedom. The purpose of a panoptic society is control and stability. E. Halevy describes the purpose of the panopticon, "The prison realizes the ideal of a school in which the educator is to be the absolute master to determine the external conditions in which the pupil is situated, or of a society in which the legislator is absolute master to create at will all the social relationships of the citizens among themselves" (Halevy Cited in Semple, 1993:2). The goal of a panopticon is to replace chaos with order, deviance with conformity, and inefficiency with productivity.

Panopticism refers to the relationship between the observer and the occupant of the panoptic cell. The panopticon is a mechanism that breaks down the seeing/being seen dyad, privileging the gaze and turning observation into the locus of power (Foucault, 1979:202; Berko, 1992:69). The act of the gaze is hierarchicalized, and its power becomes diffused in those who are watched. The panopticon merges social space with the practice of surveillance. Panopticism also describes a state of consciousness that manifests itself in this relationship. Invisibility within this space is a guarantee of order (Foucault, 1979:200). Panopticism assumes that power functions automatically regardless of the intentions or actions of those within the panopticon. According to Foucault,

surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if discontinuous in its action;

that the perception of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary; that this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it; in short, that the inmates should be caught in a power situation of which they themselves are the bearers (Foucault, 1979:201).

The Social Consequences of Panopticism

Bentham's panopticon is a marginal footnote in social history. However, Foucault argues that panopticism is an established part of modern society; in architectural styles, but noticeably in social arrangements. Visual surveillance is based on panopticism and can be recognized in greater architectural structures like public buildings, work settings, mass transit systems, the layout of airports and military installations, and specific to this research, the eye in the sky surveillance systems in Las Vegas casinos. Within social arrangements, people have been socialized to accept being surveilled without knowing if they are actually being surveilled. It is a simple system of social control that can be applied in a wide array of social settings. The principle of an "unknowing-surveillance" has been effective in major social institutions like religion, education, the occupational world, the legal system, and the family (Foucault, 1979:210-213; Kazmi, 1993:198; Sewell and Wilkenson, 1992:274). Panopticism is efficient because any individual can perform the role of the panoptic observer. According to Foucault, "The more numerous those anonymous and temporary observers are, the greater the risk for the inmate of being surprised and the greater his anxious awareness of being observed. The panopticon is a marvelous machine which, whatever use one may wish to put it to, produces homogenous effects of power" (Foucault, 1979:202). Its simplicity strongly influences our need, let alone desire, to conform.

The effects of panopticism have produced a new type of society. Social life was

once characterized as public. Foucault described the spectacle of public executions as producing power for those who control society. The visibility of decision making and action legitimized those in power. This Foucault argues has changed with the modernization of society. "Traditionally, power was what was seen, [and] what was shown. . . . Disciplinary power, on the other hand, is exercised through its invisibility; at the same time it imposes on those whom it subjects a principle of compulsory visibility. In discipline, it is the subjects who have to be seen. Their visibility assures the hold of the power that is exercised over them" (Foucault, 1979:187). Invisibility has become a symbol of power. Those in power are unapproachable by the masses. For example, political officials are commonly surrounded by security, aids, and assistants who channel inquiries to the appropriate representatives. Such a shift suggests the demise of a public sphere that was once a source of sovereignty.

Panopticism makes discipline an extension of production. The production of discipline undermines social movements directed at social change. Disciplinary power makes any multiplicity of ideas, values, and cultures manageable, making diversity an accomplice with the distribution of power. In a society preoccupied with the production of discipline, movements towards diversity become part of a pluralistic distribution of power. Foucault claimed that a social structure maintained by observers who observe the observer encourages diversity of social life. But instead of the emergence of social movements promoting social change, such activities become diffused within the greater society. Diversity and multiplicity of cultures become unified toward a common goal that is not always apparent. The result is a homogenous society where efficiency of power is the result of its diffusion in all its members. Our internalized preoccupation with the production of

discipline undermines any effective action towards change. Traditional powers are symbolic before they are coercive. In a panoptic society, diversity becomes united through the diffusion of power (Foucault, 219-221).

Visual surveillance contributes to the emergence of this new kind of society (Foucault, 1979:216). The practice of visual surveillance implies that denied spaces are sites where power is exercised. Levels of power operate around surveilled space. Its symbolic distribution is apparent, but its diffusion is often unrecognized as well as unknown. The people inhabiting each level may have more or less power over others depending on their status and position. However, all people generally perceive themselves with a high degree of power over others. This is the illusion that drives modern society's production of discipline. It is also the delusion that makes diversity a meager force in society. Berko explains,

The very idea of subversion implies a commitment to action, a performative response which demands that one take a public position which would define one's place (both physical and social), one's stance, one's sense of self, not only to oneself, but to other members of a particular subculture and especially to the powers that be, to Them, those "others" who serve as witnesses to our existence. For Dick Hebdige, the formation of subcultures is always dependent on surveillance and the performative response to it. The outrageous displays which some sections of our youth engage in, gang warfare, punks, break dancers, rap artists, etc., might be reinterpreted as a response to the exploitative, supervising, voyeuristic attention which has been lavished upon them by a variety of interested parties including the media. He states: 'Subculture forms in the space between surveillance and the evasion of surveillance; it translates the fact of being under scrutiny into the pleasure of being watched. It is hiding in the light' (Berko, 1992:86).

In a panoptic world, we can hide in the light. But we are always visible. A panoptic order makes hiding difficult not because it is easy to find someone, but because it is difficult to remain hidden.

Foucault viewed existence in modern society as life in a panopticon. A panopticon is a model of a micro-society where social life is totally controlled and regulated (Pratt, 1993:374). The panopticon is also a simulacrum because it exists in society as a reproduction without an original. Bentham's actual panopticon never existed, but the idea behind his design is reproduced in many parts of contemporary society (Lyon, 1994:63; Pratt, 1993:374). The panopticon is also a form of hyperreality because it represents how society is controlled and disciplined in the same uniform ways. It does not physically exist, but many parts of our lives are lived as if society were encompassed by a panopticon. The original design has become less important than the effect of its application. Ironically, Bogard, describes how the existence of the panopticon is the process of its own destruction. It was always destined to become a simulation.

The technology of surveillance functions by subtly subverting itself, not simply by creating an 'illusion' of operation with what is essentially a blind apparatus (the central tower), but a frictionless mechanism of self-observation and 'participatory' policing. . . a simulation of power which secretly works to dismantle the old efficient technology of control while simultaneously refashioning it in a purer, less confined, less obtrusive, yet more inflated form (Bogard, 1996:66).

SUMMARY

Foucault and other analysts of panopticism provide some far reaching ideas about the power of clandestine observation in benign parts of society. My intentions were to outline and address the major issues associated with the six tenets of surveillance stated at the beginning of this chapter. The result has been a discussion of a wide range of ideas. Issues of power and social control are traditionally established areas within the sociology, where as the issues of social space and the gaze on the other hand are often treated as non-

central topics to the discipline. Ideas about these issues are most frequently addressed in the literature encompassing postmodern thought. New ways of looking at these issues continue to emerge -- challenging established ideas and simultaneously bracing the rigor of modern thought. The merging of such a diversity of thought inevitably reveals lacunae between these issues. The project of cohering these issues is complex and beyond the scope of this project, but this literature review attempts to construct an epistemological map from which additional research might be conducted to address the gaps and discontinuities in existing thoughts about social power, visual perception, and surveillance.

At this point, I shall reduce the scope of the research to study one particular type of surveillance organization. My goal is to assess each of these tenets within existing surveillance organizations. The next step of this research is to enter the field and look at a specific type of surveillance organization. This phase of the research focuses on the Las Vegas gaming industry. Gaming operations in Las Vegas are monitored by complex surveillance systems that are controlled by secret organizations within the casinos. The goal is to converse and interact with members of the gaming industry with the purpose of identifying the six tenets of surveillance within their surveillance environments.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY: QUALITATIVE STUDY OF SECRET ORGANIZATIONS

Visual Surveillance and Las Vegas

The city of Las Vegas is an excellent setting to conduct a sociological study of visual surveillance as security cameras are a common feature of the social landscape. The gaming industry has developed a complex web of surveillance throughout what is referred to as the resort corridors of the city. The larger properties are commonly known as mega-resorts and each utilizes surveillance systems consisting of more than four hundred cameras. It is a technology that makes all human activities observable. A camera placed on top of the tallest building is capable of revealing the numbers on a credit card held in some one's hand across the street. Surveillance cameras routinely monitor a variety of social spaces in Las Vegas. Besides casinos and hotels, places like convenience stores, grocery stores, restaurants, shopping malls, movie theaters, banks and ATM machines, many public and private executive buildings, airport facilities, freeways, traffic intersections, mass transit facilities, buses, taxis, and even the Classroom Building Complex at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas (which is the location of the Department of Sociology) are silently observed by the panoptic eye of surveillance cameras.

Las Vegas casinos have developed a reputation that advances chance, miracles, and beating the odds to a mythical status. Las Vegas gaming is internationally famous for high

rollers who engage in fast and loose play. The owners of Las Vegas properties understand that casinos are social spaces where non-rational actions are a normal part of the day-to-day activities. Questionable actions on the part of players as well as employees are expected to occur. Casino environments operate on two fundamental assumptions. First, those interacting in and around the casino require continuous monitoring. Second, the surveillance department is a nonpartisan organization that has final say in the assessment of questionable situations. The surveillance department of a casino is a powerful organization within a larger organization that most people are aware of but few people know about. This can be attributed to the fact that effective surveillance is not intended to intervene in or influence normal social activities. Surveillance operations are nonintrusive and invisible. However, if established rules or procedures are violated, the incident is documented, the appropriate authorities are notified of the violation, and formal sanctions are administered. This process is conducted secretly, swiftly, and impartially. Surveillance organizations are responsible for monitoring spaces, detecting infractions, and accumulating evidence.

As surveillance cameras occupy numerous innocuous spaces throughout the city, demographic data show that many people visit as well as inhabit Las Vegas's social spaces where visual surveillance is normal. In 1996, over thirty million people visited Las Vegas, and this number is expected to increase (Las Vegas Perspective, 1996: 72). The city consists of several mega-resorts that employ between four and five thousand personnel per property (Nevada Employment Security Department, 1993: 19). In total, the gaming and resort industry employs over 135,000 people in Clark County, Nevada (Nevada Gaming Abstract, 1996: 1-13). Much of what Las Vegas tourists are doing in the city is observed by one or more of a multitude of organizations. All on-the-job activities by gaming and

resort employees also occur within systematically monitored settings.

Las Vegas has frequently been characterized as a transient community. Although a third of those living in Clark County have been here for twenty years or more, only six percent were born in Southern Nevada (Las Vegas Perspective, 1996: 2). In 1996, the Las Vegas area was the fastest growing metropolitan area in the United States. Las Vegas was rated one of the best places to live, and remains a popular destination for relocation (Las Vegas Perspective, 1996: 2). Among the major reasons people relocate to Las Vegas are job opportunities, and improvement in their quality of life (Las Vegas Perspective, 1996: 10).

These trends do not necessarily imply that surveillance is becoming a normal part of society. But we need to ask ourselves whether the trends in question are legitimizing surveillance in other geographical, social, and cultural spaces. It is my speculation that visual surveillance organizations in Las Vegas might serve as models for surveillance organizations emerging in other parts of society unrelated to the gaming industry. As surveillance technology becomes increasingly available and less costly, it is likely that surveillance organizations similar to those in gaming will become normal in other parts of society.

Methodology Overview

The purpose of this research is to identify and define the social practices that typically occur within surveillance organizations. The goal of the research is to construct a typology of surveillance organizations that can contribute to a better understanding of the role these organizations play in the social world. The substantive body of this research

includes: a discussion of basic surveillance theory, a history of gaming surveillance, and ethnographic accounts of surveillance organizations and the activities that cheaters engage in to thwart surveillers and their surveillance systems.

Several methodological themes and topics have been central to this project. Each concerns problems I experienced in the field and describes ways in which I attempted to overcome them. The methodological issues encountered while studying visual surveillance include: (1) conducting exploratory research, (2) gaining access to secret organizations, (3) working within the rules of the social setting, (4) establishing entrance and rapport with participants, (5) self-reflexivity and anonymity, (6) self perception and negative experiences, (7) the role of the researcher, (8) informed consent, (9) deception, (10) covert research, (11) confidentiality, (12) information gathering, and (13) data collection techniques. Each shall be considered in the order stated.

Exploratory Research

Exploratory research is normally undertaken when relatively little is known about the phenomenon under investigation. The field of casino surveillance clearly falls into this category, for very little is publicly known about it. Since it is virtually unknown, and I have no practical experience with casino surveillance, exploratory inquiry seemed an appropriate means of initiating research. Several texts addressing the business, practical, and administrative sides of casino surveillance were excellent sources for developing a basic understanding of surveillance operations. George Lewis (1996) and Marcia A. McDowell (1995) discuss the field in broad terms, making the fundamental aspects of surveillance operations accessible and clear to understand. Both are excellent resources describing

surveillance operations, and the typical activities that surveillers focus on. John Brubaker (1994, 1993) has written comprehensive surveillance manuals that address the business, administrative, and the practical aspects of surveillance operations. Brubaker's work is thorough and directed toward management and professional surveillance personnel.

The focus of exploratory inquiry is broad and undefined at the outset and becomes focused and refined as the research proceeds. Brubaker's, Lewis', and McDowell's texts provided reference points from which the research could begin. They are not explicitly concerned with sociological questions, nor do they raise pertinent methodological issues concerning entering the closely guarded world of surveillance and establishing rapport with people associated with gaming surveillance. Taking a sociological perspective provided the opportunity to conduct a study of surveillance that is significantly different from these existing sources. As William Foote Whyte's field experience shows, the researcher conducting exploratory research seeks enlightenment by observing and discovering the relevant issues and questions:

His research is literally a search for the right questions to ask: 'As I sat and listened,' recalls Whyte, 'I learned the answers to questions that I would not even have had the sense to ask if I had been getting my information solely on an interviewing basis.' In other words, the interactionist avoids the premature closure of the theoretical process, remaining on the lookout for the unforeseen and serendipitous (Shalin, 1986:21).

Martyn Hammersley describes exploration as "open-minded flexible observation of the area under study using any methods that seem appropriate, and producing detailed descriptions..." (Hammersley, 1989: 42). According to Blumer, the goal of exploration

is to develop and fill out as comprehensive and accurate a picture of the area of study as conditions allow. The picture should enable the scholar to feel at home in the area, to talk from a basis of fact and not from speculation. . . It should be pointed out that the mere descriptive information unearthed

through exploratory research may serve, in itself, to provide the answers to theoretical questions (Blumer, 1969: 42).

Exploratory inquiry serves two purposes. First, it provides the opportunity for the researcher to inform him or herself as well as the academic community about phenomena that have not been previously addressed through formal study. Second, it allows the researcher to delve into aspects of social settings not fully apparent to its inhabitants. What little is known about surveillance suggests that the process must remain unobtrusive in order to be effective.

Secret Organizations

Secret organizations consist of their own unique set of norms and values, as well as their own culture and ideology; all of which remain cloaked in secrecy. The casino surveillance department is a highly secretive organization that is not accessible to the public. It is commonly referred to as part of "the back of the house area." The surveillance organization is so clandestine that only a few select employees at the property know of its location on "a need to know" basis. Social groups that are surrounded by such secrecy are difficult to research. Secret organizations are unlikely to allow a researcher access to the premises, let alone encourage participation in observing day to day activities. These are groups who are not interested in being the subject of research. Members of secret organizations have no desire to have their story told, nor do they wish to express an ethnographic voice by revealing information about their identities and activities. Studying a secret organization involves acquiring and presenting information that does not compromise any surveillance organization or any individuals. This research project would undermine itself if it were to reveal information that brings about change in how

surveillance organizations are structured or conduct their operations.

Casinos are typically strict and very serious about surveillance operations. Each has a standard policy regarding the disclosure of information about the surveillance organization. I found that at some properties, a simple inquiry about the surveillance department requires that the individual I approached report my query to a higher authority. Throughout the period of data collection, I was never formally approached regarding my presence or activities. Still, at times, it was difficult to avoid the feeling of being watched. The serious attitude about surveillance tends to make compliance among employees complete and unquestioning. Individuals in the role of surveillance agents or observers had very little to say about their jobs and activities. The people who talked about surveillance most were individuals in executive, management, or consultant positions. These persons also understood the importance of secrecy and security, but they were also capable of sharing some of their experiences without disclosing sensitive information.

Problems of Participant Observation

Traditional field work is based on the idea that a researcher immerses oneself in the world of the particular group under study. The goal is to make first-hand observations of social activities and to get at the meanings these activities have for members of the group. Various parts of the social world, however, consist of secret organizations that are not accessible to sociological research. Groups and organizations associated with the military establishment, intelligence community, and law enforcement cannot be penetrated for purposes of research under any circumstances. The activities of these and other secret groups are closed to public scrutiny on the grounds of security, safety, and/or public health.

The surveillance department of casinos in Las Vegas are secret groups. Surveillance organizations within casinos thus make the immersion required by participant observation difficult if not impossible. The activities of surveillance organizations are closely guarded and knowledge of such activities strictly controlled.

Qualitative methods assume that to achieve *verstehen*, one must become immersed in the social world under study. How can one achieve *verstehen* of the life of individuals who are members of secret organizations? The fact that secret organizations are difficult to study directly, however, should not exclude such groups as subjects of sociological research. The subjects of this research are in many ways typical citizens of the community. By requirement of their employers, however, they must keep their identities low key while their occupations remain invisible. This makes the members of surveillance groups difficult to find. To seek them out it was necessary to approach them in social settings other than where they work. Gaming conferences and conventions are social settings in which members of the surveillance community make their identities known and their occupations visible. This seemed like a reasonable place to begin research.

Participant observation in the surveillance world also proved to be problematic on other fronts. Participant observation in surveillance areas would involve gaining access to social spaces that are off limits to people not involved in surveillance operations. I was not successful at gaining access to a single property where I could act as a participant observer. Individuals whom I initially approached with the intention of developing a gatekeeper or sponsor relationship strongly discouraged this idea. Persons acting as gatekeepers and sponsors instead played only a limited role in negotiating entrance to the surveillance community. No one was willing to "juice me in" to a particular surveillance organization.

Several individuals were helpful by introducing me to other members of the surveillance community. Thus I met people who enjoyed reflecting on their experiences, and they introduced me to others willing to share some of their knowledge of casino surveillance.

Participant observation might also involve playing casino games with people who successfully cheat at these games. During the process of data collection, I was solicited on three occasions by game mechanics to play at a casino with the intention of cheating at a game. My role would have been as a "confederate" creating a distraction so the mechanic could manipulate the game being played. One mechanic said "I need a partner, and this would be a great opportunity for you to see how things work." People have asked me, "How do you meet these people?" My response was, "This is Las Vegas. It is not difficult to find someone who says he or she has cheated a casino game, let alone thought about it." Rather than engage in activities that could lead to arrest and conviction, I decided that alternative approaches were necessary to attain data.

Working Within the Rules of the Social Setting

Surveillance organizations are governed by bureaucratic rules and policies. To avoid legal and ethical difficulties, it was important to meet and interact with individuals associated with surveillance within the rules that govern their organizations. One could challenge the conventional ethics of research by finding a way to deceptively penetrate a surveillance group, but such a task would be extremely difficult. Instead, there are alternative means of studying secret groups that do not violate accepted ethical standards of research and simultaneously avoid compromising the secrecy that surrounds surveillance groups. Rather than getting into any kind of trouble through covert immersion in the social

space controlled by visual surveillance organizations, my research takes advantage of an alternative social setting where members of the surveillance community converge several times a year: at gaming and security conferences. These are settings where surveillers openly present themselves and their activities. Blumer addressed the value of such an approach.

One should sedulously seek participants in the sphere of life who are acute observers and who are well-informed. One such person is worth a hundred others who are merely unobservant participants. A small number of such individuals, brought together as a discussion or resource group, is more valuable many times over than any representative sample. Such a group, discussing collectively their sphere of life and probing into it as they meet one another's disagreements, will do more to lift the veils covering the sphere of life than any other device that I know of. (Blumer cited in Hammersley, 1989: 158).

By attending several panel discussions on surveillance and then talking to presenters as well as attendees, I was able to indirectly construct an image of the world of surveillance. An ethnographic narrative is constructed from interviews, interactions and observations conducted in a variety of settings instead of immersion in a single surveillance environment. Panel discussions were a "stepping stone" that led to many contacts with individuals associated with surveillance. The settings where interviews and interactions occurred were diverse, ranging from panel discussions at formal conferences addressing surveillance issues to casual discussions at coffee shops, drinking establishments, and people's homes. Observations were also made in Las Vegas casinos. The knowledge of gaming environments that I gained during interviews and interactions gave me an entirely different outlook on day-to-day life in a casino environment.

Data thus was gathered through a variety of interactions, interviews, and observations. Ultimately, this diversity contributes to the authenticity of the research

because it does not construct the story of a single organization or the ideas of a few members of the surveillance community. This research is an ethnographic narrative that is a compilation of many different stories from a variety of people associated with the gaming industry. Data about surveillance organizations were collected in Las Vegas between March 1992 and March 1997. During this time, I attended four gaming conferences and two industrial security conferences. Each conference was also associated with a trade show promoting gaming and security. All of these events had panel discussions addressing a wide range of surveillance issues. Decisions of how to approach individuals were made in the field. How to conduct myself in interviews and interactions was often a spontaneous decision made during a greeting or a handshake.

Entrance and Rapport

The researcher's entrance to the field and rapport with its members often affects the quality of data that becomes available. Entrance and rapport shape the interactions, activities, and the experiences through which an ethnographic narrative is constructed.

According to Andrea Fontana and James H. Frey:

Because the goal of unstructured interviewing is *understanding*, it becomes paramount for the researcher to establish rapport. He or she must be able to put him or herself in the role of the respondents and attempt to see the situation from their perspective, rather than impose the world of academia and preconceptions upon them. Close rapport with respondents opens doors to more informed research (Fontana and Frey, 1994:367).

One's impact on the social environment will ultimately influence how individuals will share their experiences in the world of visual surveillance.

Entrance to the field was a difficult process. I initially contacted individuals associated with the College of Hotel Administration at the University of Nevada, Las

Vegas. Members of this department that I spoke to expressed little interest in the research. One individual however, was helpful by providing me with a pass to the March 1992 gaming conference. During this conference I met several representatives from companies who manufacture and distribute surveillance equipment. One representative was particularly helpful. She provided a handful of catalogs, brochures, manuals, and a pass to the conference panel discussions. My first experience at the conference panel discussion was as an observer only. I listened to several presentations on surveillance from casino executives and surveillance experts. My purpose was to become acclimated to the conference setting. In lay terms, I was "people watching;" looking around to see what was going on. My goal was to connect individuals, organizations, companies, and properties, as well as to get an idea of who interacted with whom. Hammersley addresses the delicate relationship that exists in public spaces through Goffman's idea of civil inattention.

Anonymity in public settings is not a contingent feature of them, but is worked at by displays of a studied lack of interest in one's fellows, minimal eye contact, careful management of physical proximity, and so on. There is, therefore, the possibility that the fieldworker's attention and interest may lead to infringements of such delicate interaction rituals (Hammersley, 1995: 56).

Social arrangements and relationships within surveillance organizations are made up of similar fragilities that could be violated by reckless snooping and intrusion. Was it possible to recognize any dissociations, conflicts, or rivalries in which my presence as a researcher could be a catalyst leading to some kind of disruption of the social setting? My plan was to get a sense of ongoing struggles or disagreements that might not be apparent through one's first impressions in order to access this delicate infrastructure without compromising any organizations, the members of any organizations, or any organizational or individual

activities.

Perception of Failure

Entrance and rapport is commonly attributed to chance, being in the right place at the right time, and to the availability of sponsors and gate keepers. Each have been a part of this research. As I met people, my initial goal was to establish rapport with one or several individuals who would act as sponsors introducing me to a surveillance organization and its members. I experienced both failures and successes while attempting to establish such a relationship. Failures tend to make one ask, "What am I doing wrong?" Much of the write-up of this research has involved overcoming my perceived failures. Rather than recognizing unpleasant interactions as failures, one must recognize how such interactions shape the data.

Attempting to develop a relationship with a sponsor was unsuccessful because my interactions with these individuals were brief. The longest relationship I formed with a participant lasted three days. Initially, people were helpful and cooperative. They told many stories and typically answered any questions I asked. Then I was abruptly informed, and sometimes quite rudely, that I had received all the information I was going to get. This was a common pattern in my interactions with people from the gaming community. Such immediate acceptance and sudden rejection was disheartening and at times disturbing. Several incidents seemed to be indirect threats to my well being. Rapport was maintained through perseverance and maintaining a humble state of mind. There were moments of indifference, rejection, laughing at the researcher, and outright hostility. I cannot say I did not take these experiences personally because it is often easy to internalize negative

responses from people.

Negative Experiences Diffused by Time

This research was conducted over an extended period of time, which was an advantage given some of the unpleasant interactions. Conferences typically lasted three to five days. During this time I interacted with many individuals, some on several occasions. By the time I wore out my welcome, the conference was over, and several months would lapse before the next one. This was enough time for awkward moments to become diffused or forgotten. At the next conference, several individuals that I distinctly remember having a less than pleasant experience with looked at me with an inquisitive expression. They seemed to remember me from somewhere, but could not recall the specifics of our original interaction. If the new situation seemed cordial or appropriate, I interacted with them again.

It was important to understand that a person's negative response to me as a researcher was based on their interpretation of my presence. My actions were never intended to be intrusive, but this does not mean that I was not. One can make every effort to be non-intrusive, and intrusion will still remain a problem. Just as one can never throw a pebble in a pond without creating a ripple. The moment people expressed discomfort with my inquiry, I considered our interaction finished. I always tried to thank people for their time, yet negative responses to the research were common. But such responses could be overcome by approaching other individuals. Not everyone was negative to the idea of researching surveillance. The negativity reflects how members of surveillance organizations present their organizations to the outside world.

The Role of the Researcher

The conferences were settings where members of the surveillance community freely answered questions about any aspect of surveillance. The topic of informal discussions after panel sessions typically coincided with the topic of the panel. Not all of my interactions were unpleasant. Many individuals were surprised as well as curious about the presence of a researcher. Common responses to informing people of my role as a researcher were, "that's interesting, how can I help you." or, "oh really, what do you want to know?" An unusual response to my presence was, "what is a researcher doing here? We don't get people researching this stuff very often." In these situations, I sincerely believe my role as researcher had a minimal impact on how individuals presented their experiences. Deception did not seem to be an intent of most of those I talked to. Many were intrigued by what they perceived as an unusual inquiry and viewed my presence as a refreshing break from their conference routines. If anything, some people may have embellished their stories trying to make the routines of surveillance more exciting than they actually were. Occasionally, my inquiries made some individuals suspicious or uncomfortable. If the topic of discussion made an individual uncomfortable, either the topic was changed, or the interaction was terminated. The outcome was typically decided by the respondent.

Although positive interactions were encouraging, one idea I found important to remember was that I would never be an accepted member of the surveillance community. Glaser and Strauss emphasize that it is not necessary for the researcher to know a particular social world better than its members, which is an unrealistic goal. Instead the researcher's "job and training are to do what these laymen cannot do -- generate general

categories and their properties for general and specific situations and problems" (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 30). My role-set in the research setting was complex; I was an individual seeking acceptance, an interviewer, and an observer. One cannot live such multiple roles without engaging in certain tactics and techniques. According to Fontana and Frey,

there are techniques involved in interviewing, whether one is just being 'a nice person' or is following a format. Techniques can be varied to meet various situations, and varying one's techniques is known as employing tactics. Traditional techniques tell us that the researcher is involved in an informal conversation with the respondent, thus he or she must maintain a tone of 'friendly' chat while trying to remain close to the guidelines of the topics of inquiry he or she has in mind. The researcher begins by 'breaking the ice' with general questions and gradually moves on to more specific ones, while also, as inconspicuously as possible, asking questions intended to check the veracity of statements made by the respondent (Fontana and Frey, 1994: 371).

Living multiple roles where experiences and impressions often clashed was a frustrating ordeal. One struggles with constructing multiple loyalties only to realize that loyalty to no one individual or group is the best coping mechanism. Academia has a certain set of expectations -- the research should include information about the sources of data. The individuals who share their experiences have their own expectations -- it is imperative that identities of people and properties are not divulged. All parties have demands concerning what the research should consist of, while I sometimes saw the work itself becoming devoid of meaning. I perceived people around me as seeing me as a maverick, or perhaps "not getting" the idea that there is a certain kind of role that I am expected to play. Others seemed to perceive me as unstructured and undisciplined. I on the other hand saw myself as discovering new understandings of social life and personal experiences. This may seem trite, but it frames the central question that confronted me while conducting a study of secret organizations: How can such research be conducted where all the parties involved

can agree that it is not a form of deception?

Informed Consent, Deception, and Covert Research

The issues of informed consent, deception, and covert research are all sources of controversy within sociology. Hammersley describes covert research as involving "an ethnographer who carries out research without most or all of the participants being aware that research is taking place" (Hammersley, 1995: 264). An ethnographic narrative is based on data collected from two kinds of sources. First, information about people, activities, and places is attained from members of the social setting who freely provide information to the researcher. Second, the members of the setting are unaware of being the subject of research. Throughout the process of data collection, I have relied on both kinds of sources.

It was never my intention to conduct covert research or deceive anyone who participated in the interviews and interactions. Still there were certain issues surrounding this research that need to be addressed. I never attempted to conceal my role as a researcher in any way. Nor did I walk around announcing that a researcher had entered the setting. I believe that informed consent is a sound guideline to follow when accumulating data (Reece and Siegal, 1986; Boruch and Cecil, 1979; Bower and de Gasparis, 1978). But I also believe that making the announcement that a researcher is asking questions is both overly self-centered as well as a good way to disrupt the setting.

Informed consent, deception, and covert research contain issues that form a double bind. A careless use of informed consent is likely to corrupt the setting introducing "Hawthorne Effect" types of responses to inquiries. Under-informing individuals can easily be construed as deception. The discovery of a deceptive researcher in a setting by its

inhabitants is likely to corrupt the setting and silence those willing to participate. My research follows ideas laid out by Maurice Punch. There are situations and settings where

gaining consent is inappropriate, because activity is taking place that cannot be interrupted. . . One need not always be brutally honest, direct, and explicit about one's research purpose, but one should not normally engage in disguise. One should not steal documents. One should not directly lie to people. And although one may disguise identity to a certain extent, one should not break promises made to people (Punch, 1994:90-91).

Again I must emphasize that my intention was never to deceive anyone or conceal my identity. At each conference, I wore an access badge that identified me by name with the title of "Researcher" with the Department of Sociology at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. If any one inquired about my activities, I explained what I was doing and provided that person with a business card that associated me with the university.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

I openly discussed the purpose of my research during numerous interviews and interactions with gaming executives. The issue of confidentiality quickly became of paramount importance. One executive made this clear: "This is a friendly business, and we have no secrets, I will tell you anything you want to know, under the agreement that you do not identify me, any specific properties or any individuals. In the end, you don't know my name and I don't know yours."

Another individual whom I interviewed is employed by a prominent Las Vegas casino. Our interview involved sitting in a quiet corner of a lounge and sipping single malt scotch. He was very helpful and informative. At the conclusion of the interview he gave me a very firm handshake, with an equally stern look. He said, "I have told you a lot of things about people and the business. I trust you will use good judgement with what I have told

you. It was nice talking to you, but I don't want to see you again. Do we understand each other?" He did not let go of my hand until he was finished speaking. My response was a simple, "yes, I understand." He continued his stern look and said nothing. He turned and walked away. His words were very clear. His expression left no doubt in my mind.

The issue becomes: is someone being deceived? The university as well as the Department of Sociology require adherence to the procedures of informed consent. Specific information about who, when, where, and how interviews and interactions occurred is usually expected. But as the above example suggests, including such information would constitute a breach of confidentiality. As I am not willing to compromise myself or any individual in the name of research, my study develops a sort of covert dimension. The question is who am I keeping information from? The goal is to maintain the anonymity of participants, and to keep specific details they provide confidential. However, maintaining the confidentiality of participants might be seen as a form of covert research within the sociology department insofar as I intentionally concealed details of my experiences from my colleagues. At the same time, I am also engaged in concealment when I interact with members of the gaming community. The purpose of this research is purely academic. But people from surveillance organizations are only doing a good job if they are suspicious of such a claim. Consequently, carrying on this way made me feel like my work, which was done to the best of my abilities, was deceptive and unethical. Life became a constant bending of the rules, and going against what I am expected to be. Denying some types of knowledge of the subject of research as well as non-conformity with some conventional academic expectations has been a source of introspection throughout the research. My feelings have often been alienation, displacement, and a lack of purpose. I

have grown accustomed to these feelings, but I will be glad when this experience is over.

Anonymity of participants is maintained in three ways. First, no names, either fictitious or actual, are used in the ethnographic narrative. Personal titles, like surveillance official, surveillance expert, or casino executive are arbitrarily assigned to quotations and descriptions. The association between personal titles and quotations in the ethnographic narrative does not necessarily reflect actual individuals. For example, if someone were to go through the research and arrange all the quotes and stories of a "surveillance expert," these would not represent a single individual. Second, information within quotes and stories has occasionally been altered and/or omitted. The purpose of this was to arrange information so that people who work with participants would not recognize the information. Third, similar stories were merged together to create information unique to itself rather than to a specific individual. These reconstructions have been carefully crafted to avoid contriving the data. As well as maintaining anonymity, this also was a means of managing and organizing a significant quantity of field notes. I believe this method serves the best intentions of the research. Anonymity of participants is maintained, and the ethnographic narrative is an accurate representation of my experiences.

Information Gathering and Reflection

Qualitative research begins with a basic notion of the issues to be researched. The methods of data collection emerge once entrance into the research environment has been achieved. The best way to gather information is to let the research environment shape the method. One should search for social phenomena that may not have been recognized or considered in previous research. Of central importance is the collection of data from

various social situations. One should utilize as many opportunities and techniques to collect data as possible. Multiple sources typically clear up uncertainties concerning information that does not seem to fit the way the social setting is initially understood.

Of central importance to qualitative research is the opportunity to reflect on one's experiences and interactions as they occur. According to Hammersley, "a common ailment in fieldwork is where the researcher feels it necessary to try to be everywhere at once and stay in the setting for as long as possible. As a result of this, a great deal of data is collected but little time is left for reflection on the significance of the data and the implications for further data collection" (Hammersley, 1995: 206). Much of my reflection about the research involved questioning the authenticity of the data. Most of the ethnographic narrative addresses surveillance organizations, as well as the history and activities of surveillance. How can information about such phenomena be authentic when little of it was accumulated in the actual space where it occurs? To access a single surveillance organization and act as a participant observer would have produced an ethnography based on different experiences. Although the data were acquired in alternative settings, I believe this approach has produced authentic descriptions of surveillance organizations and activities.

The ethnographic narrative is written from the stories and experiences of many individuals who represent a cross section of the surveillance community. Panel discussions provided descriptions of surveillance organizations, gaming and surveillance policies, the purposes and goals of surveillance organizations, examples of cheats and scams that have occurred in casinos, and effective procedures to apprehend, arrest, and prosecute cheaters. Panel discussions thus provided an organizational standpoint of surveillance. Networking at

the conferences led to numerous interactions and interviews. Many interactions were brief, lasting only a couple of sentences. Brief conversations with members of the surveillance community often answered specific questions and clarified uncertainties. Others interactions led to in-depth interviews about casino surveillance. Individuals who participated in these in-depth discussions provided descriptions of experiences and situations that depicted life within a surveillance organization. Data collection consisted of three types of sources: unstructured intensive interviews, informal interactions, and observations.

Unstructured Intensive Interviews

Unstructured-intensive interviews are in-depth discussions in which the participant is made aware that the interview is for the purpose of research. My interview approach was similar to what Fontana and Frey describe as "brainstorming." That is, interviews were conducted in a formal or informal setting with an unstructured question format. My role in the interview was nondirective. Assuming a controlling position in the interview would have sent a message to participants that I had some kind of knowledge or authority of the topic of discussion. Such a controlling position was often a "turn off" to a participant. Rather than attempt to control the interview, I let participants tell their stories and address the issues that they believed were important. This kind of interview lets the participant tell her story, and answer specific questions about his experiences and activities (Lofland and Lofland, 1995: 18). I found it was more productive to let people talk about the issues they thought were important. The purpose of such interviewing techniques and tactics coincides with the tenets of exploratory research.

Individuals who participated in unstructured intensive interviews provided personal descriptions and experiences in and around surveillance organizations. The people I talked to were representatives and associates of many different kinds of gaming establishments. Unstructured intensive interviews in this research include: four members of surveillance organizations, three blackjack dealers, two accomplished gambling cheats or mechanics, three corporate representatives from surveillance equipment manufactures, and two gaming executives. The act of formally identifying each other always introduced some uneasiness which is why we rarely exchanged our names. If a participant wanted to know about me, I answered their questions and provided a business card. I did not inquire about them. Nor did I inquire what property they worked for, or their specific role at the property. These details were intentionally left ambiguous to avoid compromising individuals or properties. The unstructured-intensive interviews in this project ranged from thirty minutes to four hours in duration, and some occurred over a period of several days.

Informal Interactions

Informal interactions are distinguished from unstructured intensive interviews. Informal interactions are brief descriptions of experiences, beliefs, idea, and attitudes. Participants were encountered by chance, which means I happened to be in the right place at the right time. These encounters were numerous and were initiated by networking and spontaneous interactions in informal settings. Informal interactions produced unanticipated data, and were a source of discoveries that revealed relationships in data that seemed otherwise unrelated. I was able to develop impressions ranging from redundant and superficial to personal and highly revealing aspects of surveillance I would never have

considered.

Informal interactions were spontaneous and short-term. The duration of these encounters ranged from around thirty minutes to less than one minute. Participants were either unaware or only partially aware of my role as a researcher. Sometimes people were never informed of the research project because of the awkwardness associated with informing them. Many of the interactions were so brief that describing my role as a researcher would shorten the interview time. People often liked to talk more than they liked to listen. My impression was: why interrupt a person by informing them that I am conducting research? Informing people of my role as a researcher never really fit easily into the conversation. In interactions that lasted approximately two minutes or less, the act of describing myself as a researcher would have shortened if not ended our interaction. People often were not informed during these brief encounters, just as our names were rarely exchanged. If an informal interaction lasted more than five or ten minutes, I sought informed consent. The individual was informed of my role as a researcher and the purpose of our interaction. If someone began to provide a lot of information, I felt obligated to inform them that their stories would become part of a formal research project.

Informal interactions were conducted at gaming conferences with panel discussion members, individuals from the surveillance industry and gaming industry, and representatives from manufacturers of surveillance equipment. Informal interactions also occurred in a variety of public settings where people I met socially provided information and told stories. Many of these people introduced me to friends and acquaintances who also shared their knowledge and experiences.

Observations

Attending the gaming seminars offered an additional perspective on understanding the casino environment. Observations involved many hours of walking around in casinos throughout Las Vegas. There were specific activities and interactions that I wanted to observe. These included watching typical interactions between floor personnel and interactions between casino personnel and players. I was particularly interested in how workers conduct themselves while handling money, dealing the games, repairing gaming machines, practicing dealing techniques, and watching for cheaters. After many hours of observation the central issue seemed to be, who is watching whom? Observing casino activities directly enhanced the knowledge I acquired during the panel discussions.

Organization of Data

The data were separated into three categories as they were collected. The criteria for separating data is derived from the process of open coding which is part of grounded theory (Corbin and Strauss, 1991:451, 1990:12). This involved comparing data as they were collected and separating these data based on similarities and differences. The diversity of social situations encountered in the field produced numerous variations on the following three types of questions: (1) Can you tell me how surveillance came about, how did surveillance used to be conducted, and how is it today? (2) Can you tell me how the surveillance organization you are associated with is organized? What does your surveillance organization do? (3) Can you tell me about your experiences working with surveillance? Can you describe some of the typical things that you do? Can you tell me about some of the unusual things that have happened?

The variations on these questions were context-dependent. These were subjective decisions that were made in the field as to how to approach people who might provide meaningful information. Most of these decisions were effective for establishing a dialogue with individuals. However, there were several situations in which my inquiries met with disapproval and immediate termination of the conversations. These experiences were good reasons to reflexively assess my methods of approaching potential participants.

Three categories of data emerged during the field research. The first concerns the history of casino surveillance. There is no extensive written history of casino surveillance. But members of the surveillance community, many of whom have been around since its inception, have memories of "the old days." Many people readily recall the way surveillance used to be. The issue of recall is methodologically problematic. However, a person's recall can be useful for "filling in" missing and unclear ideas. A premise of symbolic interaction is that people do not base their interpretations of phenomena exclusively on their current knowledge. Individuals interpret phenomena based on their previous experiences in similar situations. An individual's interpretations of phenomena occurring today are directly influenced by his or her past experience. Therefore, it is necessary to account for a person's understanding of his or her past to get at his or her interpretations of the present.

The second category concerns the nature of surveillance organizations. Surveillance organizations are secret organizations. It was important not to compromise these organizations in the process of this research. However, understanding certain aspects of surveillance organizations can help develop a better understanding of the role of surveillance in society. We can ask questions like: What is the purpose of a surveillance organization? How is it organized? What is day to day life in a surveillance room like? How

do they detect criminal behavior?

The third category consists of applied surveillance theory. Aside from understanding the technology and complying with the rules of secrecy, to be a surveiller requires specialized knowledge. What are the techniques that surveillance organizations use to make several hundred cameras work together? What knowledge is required to be a surveiller? How does one acquire such knowledge? What does surveillance look for?

During time in the field as well as in moments of analysis, relevant information emerged. Interactions, observations, and interviews revealed surprising and unexpected insights. Similarities and differences became apparent during interviews as well as during coding. Analysis of data provided discoveries and realizations as much as interviews and conversations did. According to Bryman and Burgess, "ideas and hunches emerge during the encounter and are explored or eventually discarded as fieldwork progresses. Writing up involves a similar experience. The ensuing analysis is creative, demanding and all consuming. It cannot be fully comprehended at the early writing-up stages by someone other than the fieldworker" (Bryman and Burgess 20-21). Emergent theories are confirmed or rejected during the process of analysis.

A Final Methodological Note about this Ethnographic Narrative

The next chapter is an ethnographic narrative constructed from my interactions and experiences with people from the surveillance community. It is organized into three sections that coincide with the original three categories into which the data were separated. The narrative begins with the story of the development of surveillance in Las Vegas. The second section is a description of a hypothetical surveillance organization, what it does,

how it is organized and why, and what it is like to be a member of such an organization.

The last section addresses the application of surveillance. That is, how is surveillance used, what do surveillers look for, and what do mechanics typically do to cheat a casino.

Categorizing this information has been an arduous process. The narrative consists of written descriptions of conversations, experiences, interactions, and notes from lectures and demonstrations that have been accumulated over a period of five years. Moments that were completely unrelated and sometimes written down by chance have come together to create a unique story about the world of surveillance.

Finally, I should like to emphasize that I have never worked in the gaming industry, nor have I ever attempted to see if any of these techniques work. I claim no expertise in surveillance or gaming. I have recorded people's ideas and experiences, and have arranged them to coherently reflect how this information was presented to me. In short, I may have written this narrative, but the words and stories belong to those who took the time to talk to me, explain things, and share their experiences. I am grateful for the cooperation and faith that these people have given me. It is my sincerest effort not to compromise anyone who has participated in this work. Again, my appreciation is beyond words. These are the stories, experiences, and knowledge of Others.

CHAPTER 4

THE SURVEILLANCE ORGANIZATION IN ACTION

History of Surveillance

There has always been a fascination with watching casino games. The need to observe them through complex surveillance systems, however, is a relatively recent social phenomena. This story of surveillance is more about social life in a world of chance, fast moves, and high stakes than it is about technological development. Although surveillers tell their stories around the idea of technological development, they tend to reveal more about themselves and the social life that makes up the Eye in the Sky than they do about technological innovations.

The exact point in time when casinos began using surveillance cameras to monitor gaming is unimportant to those who work in surveillance. The advent of surveillance cameras is not recognized or remembered as a specific moment: Depending on who one talks to, any one of several properties was the first. A long-time surveiller described the beginning of surveillance as "a hole in the ceiling of a property in about 1954. Forty some years later, the property is bigger and there are more holes in the ceiling." The decline of organized crime control and the incorporation of gaming as a more legitimate business seems to mark the moment when the transition began. This was a period when Las Vegas

changed from a city characterized by organized crime control to a city of big business and legitimate corporations. As casinos became more legitimate institutions, the power that managed them also became institutionalized. Although a hierarchy of control would remain, the power of the corporate entity became diffused, all encompassing, and ever-present. Power began to be exercised as rational bureaucratic decision-making rather than final decisions resting in the hands of a few powerful individuals.

Howard Hughes, with his aura of reclusiveness, has been prominently described as being most influential in introducing the eye in the sky to Las Vegas casinos in the late 1960s. As Hughes began buying up properties that were allegedly run by the mob, rumors began to flourish that every room in his hotels were bugged, and Hughes was always watching and listening. Every person's moves, routines, and activities were continually monitored. Hughes was largely responsible for transforming Las Vegas gaming from an activity that was controlled and operated by organized crime to a more legitimate business. The casinos changed from round-the-clock night club party atmospheres to regimented assembly lines that more resembled a factory. The forming of surveillance organizations tended to coincide with the introduction of technology and bureaucracy to the practice of observing casino games.

In its early days, Las Vegas had developed a reputation of corrupt gaming because of reputed organized crime control, crooked pit bosses, dishonest dealers, and fast players capable of manipulating or altering a game. The period of organized crime in Las Vegas produced some of the best game mechanics in the world. The term "mechanic" refers to an expert at cheating casino games. Their specialty was sleight-of-hand and deception through presence, motion, and interactions with others. These people spent countless hours

practicing their trade and refining it to an art form. According to one long-time grifter, "One had to be the best because getting caught cheating by the mob was not an option." As surveillers recall the past, the gaming industry can be recognized as existing in a world where everyone knows about its past, but people prefer to avoid acknowledging this aspect of its reality. A casino executive summarizes, "Real or imagined, this perception existed and continues to exist. Gaming needed a system of checks and balances to protect professional reputations as well as to protect casino assets."

In the early days visual surveillance was not considered a resource to the casino. Rather, it was a liability because surveillance operations did not generate income. Surveillance was conducted with as little equipment and personnel as possible. Early surveillance consisted of people in chairs behind mirrors. A single portable movie camera was moved wherever something needed to be recorded. Surveillance was staffed by a menagerie of gambling characters such as old-time pit bosses who could no longer walk the floor, and mechanics who had been caught stealing, and some kind of deal had been made. As one individual phrased it, "If you steal from us, you will help us catch other thieves or else." The development of surveillance practices in the gaming industry has been a slow and discursive process with no unilinear story of progress and development.

Today all this has changed because the sophistication of scams and cheating devices have increased significantly. Surveillance is used to keep up with these changes. Today, surveillance capabilities continue to expand. It now generates revenue by pointing out problems on the property. Loss is as much a concern on the inside with employees as on the outside with crooked players. The surveillance department is no longer limited to watching casino games. It routinely monitor customer service, the efficiency of the games

through time motion analysis, and is directly involved with the enforcement of house procedures and gaming regulations.

Spotters: the Original Surveillers

Prior to the use of surveillance cameras the casinos relied on individuals to make sure the games were played straight. The term "spotters" described specialists that casinos hired to watch gaming practices and activities on their properties. Many of them were mechanics, experts at casino games. They understood how to play the games as well as beat them. They could use the house rules, or they could beat the games with moves that only a few individuals knew about. The best way to catch a cheat was to have someone who knows how to cheat watch the games. One long time surveiller recalls,

Spotters basically came in and looked around to see what was going on. They reported any questionable or suspicious activities directly to senior management or the owners of the property. Spotters walked the floor and observed gaming activities from the perspective of the players.

Their observations were limited to the points of view of the customers. This limited point of view created unique problems. Over time regular players and especially floor workers figured out who the spotters were. Their presence often deterred crooked games, but this did not get cheaters off the property, which was the ultimate goal. The work of spotters was physical surveillance. Any wrong-doing had to be verified by a witness. This was a problem because the confidentiality and secrecy of the spotter's identity was important. The witness was the spotter. Their identity was often compromised in the task of doing their job. According to one early spotter, "If your cover is blown, forget it because if one person knows, everybody knows. One person tells another and another"[sic]. The exposure of a spotter's identity could potentially compromise that individual's job and physical well being.

Eventually this limitation proved its inefficiency and spotters were given access to catwalks in the ceilings above the gaming area. The catwalks significantly improved their vantage point over the games, and the spotter's presence was once again unknown. They could see the games from a third person or objective perspective that encompassed the players, bystanders, dealers, and other pit personnel. But while the spotter's vantage point was improved, these were unpleasant working conditions. The catwalks were originally installed so that maintenance personnel could have access to environmental ducts and lighting systems. These spaces were very difficult to work in. One person who worked as a spotter recalled, "they were dark, dirty, cramped, and located above mirrors and glass ceilings. Over the years there have been several incidents where spotters had fallen from the catwalks through the ceiling onto the gaming floor." Needless to say this was quite a spectacle to those working and playing in the casino.

Spotters had to maintain their professional appearance and cleanliness because they could be required on the gaming floor at any time to act as an official representative of the casino. Spotters had to climb around on the catwalks as required and simultaneously be ready to look and act like an employee or, or in certain situations, a player. One ex-spotter described having to move quickly along a catwalk to get down to the gaming floor. On his way, he walked into a suspension cable.

Not thinking anything of it, I went to the floor. People were staring at me and I did not know why. Eventually I got to a rest room and saw in the mirror that I had a diagonal strip of grease across my face and sport coat from where I had walked into the cable. It was embarrassing to say the least.

Employing spotters in the catwalks was a very cumbersome operation. Large staffs were required to cover required and peripheral areas. Spotters had to stand above slot

areas, cashier cages, gaming tables, count rooms, and pits areas. Personnel were required to work around the clock, seven days a week because it was never known when a scam might occur. A typical property employed at least twenty spotters with a supervisor for every four to five of them. Spotters used hand held cameras on the catwalks. This equipment was heavy and bulky making it awkward and intensive labor practice. The costs seemed to outweigh the benefits. As spotters spent many hours on the catwalks above the gaming floor, some of them seemed to live there. Some properties had cots, hot plates, and refrigerators. Spotters became moles in the woodwork that only came out when it was necessary. Another surveiller summed it up: "Those were strange days."

One surveiller described his first surveillance job, before electronic surveillance. He worked the catwalks above the slot area.

This was the worst job I ever had. After three weeks, I told them I quit and was going to walk off the job. They offered me a job as a security investigator. This gave me access to the entire property. I stayed on for three more years. Although that first job was lousy, we started catching thousands of dollars in slugs per month. It was not long after this that we started incorporating closed circuit television [sic].

The early catwalk observers were primarily interested in catching crooked games. The introduction of video surveillance, on the other hand, brought the entire property under scrutiny.

Surveillance Organizations and the Introduction of Video

Video technology had been around for a long time, but it only slowly became the prominent system of surveillance in the gaming industry during the 1970s. Temporary cameras at first were mounted for eight hours at a time in problem areas. At the end of a shift spotters and casino managers could observe the tape in fast forward in a relatively

short period of time. Around the same time that video equipment was being introduced to surveillance operations, spotters were being incorporated into newly-formed surveillance departments within gaming properties. The newly formed surveillance departments were beginning to discover dishonest practices that had always been occurring but went undetected. These discoveries brought prestige and respect for surveillance departments. The effectiveness of the spotters brought legitimacy to the practice of surveillance. They also contributed to the increases in formal rules and procedures in casinos. Strict procedures for handling money were developed. Tighter internal controls helped monitor for both legal and illegal improprieties. The surveillance department's role of monitoring and reporting to the owner also became one of monitoring and enforcing gaming laws as well as enforcing in house procedures. All of these changes began to occur simultaneously. As a result, surveillance departments were given increased responsibilities. This increased the security and secrecy surrounding surveillance departments.

One surveiller recalled: "Relations and communications changed with all this increased tasking. The relationship between the surveillance department and the rest of the casino became an adversarial relationship. We against them, and we have a dealer doing this or that"[sic]. As surveillance systems became more common, they also became silent and secretive entities within the larger property. "Surveillance never talked to anyone, not the employees and not the surveillance personnel in the casino next door. If you did talk to the people next door, everything you said had to be approved by the general manager"[sic].

Those employed in surveillance began to be referred to as peeks, spooks, and the CIA. Personalities began to interfere with objective surveillance practices and reporting procedures. There was a problematic reporting structure. Surveillance personnel could

report to any department or individual they felt was necessary. They were not accountable to any of the operations areas such as internal audit, the controller's office, or sometimes the general manager or owners of the property. The surveillance department became set apart from the rest of the casino business. It was often referred to as an ivory tower. One casino executive recalls:

Surveillance was an unchecked system of checks and balances with too many personalities involved. The observation department would call the pit and say the dealer did this. The pit boss would claim "no they did not." This created a stand-off. People from both departments would go up and tell the shift supervisor who would talk to the general manager. This only created another stand-off at a higher level [sic].

Rather than producing revenues and profits, this method created a problem. He continues, "Today communication between pits and observation is very important. Prior to video it was not like that. It was our word against theirs and visa versa" [sic].

Video as an Objective Perspective and Surveilled Space

The introduction of video systems and the eventual emplacement of complex systems of surveillance brought about a redefining of social space. This had both positive and negative consequences. According to one executive,

the positive aspect was that video does not lie. It does not have a personality. It began to take away the adversarial relationships between operations and surveillance. The biggest negative aspect of video surveillance when it was first used was the nature of video itself. The medium was limited. Spotters conducting physical surveillance could hear conversations, and watch the surrounding area from a three dimensional perspective. Video was two dimensional. It was tunnel vision. Video had a big hole in its own system [sic].

Another surveiller recalled the difference between physical surveillance and watching the games through a closed circuit video camera. "The view from surveillance is very different

from watching from the pit. It's like looking through a telescope backwards."

Permanently Emplaced Surveillance Systems

Permanently emplaced surveillance systems consist of two types of cameras that are commonly used today. Fixed cameras are defined as cameras that are typically placed in a visible location and constantly monitor single areas such as race and sports book counters, all cash handling areas, and the Megabucks slot machines. Dome cameras are defined as concealed cameras with pan, tilt, and zoom capabilities. They are concealed inside a translucent glass dome and monitor large areas. The surveillance agent can aim these cameras toward any location in their 360 degree area of coverage. Those in surveilled space never know when or where these cameras are pointed.

Combining these cameras created a technology that gave back the three dimensional perspective that the original spotters had. The benefits of spotters was returned without the personality problems and adversarial relationships between surveillance and operations. Video was able to document incidents. Because of video, observers were discovering practices that had never been seen before. Not all of them were illegal. Inefficient procedures were revealed, and holes in the gaming system were found because of this new way of observing gaming. Video also solved the surveillance manpower problem -- personnel could be reduced and simultaneously more areas could be monitored.

At first, both of these types of cameras were only placed in the most obvious and essential areas because they were very expensive. Careful decisions had to be made where to put them. They were usually placed over the slots and pit areas. These systems became successful at detecting cheaters, and dishonest employees were also caught. Holes were

plugged in casinos where money was going out the doors. This justified increasing the complexity of surveillance systems. As systems become larger and more complicated, the reduced staff suddenly was becoming over-worked. They could not watch everything that was going on. The surveillance staffs began to expand as the complexity increased. Surveillance expanded and the equipment became more sophisticated and less expensive. As one surveillance expert asserts, "these systems got better"[sic]. Surveillance systems were being operated by computers. Another surveillance official describes the new technology: "Automatic override systems told you if an observer that was on duty was trying to override the system. It told you who, when, and where. You could respond to the circumstances with appropriate actions." Surveillance departments were becoming computerized systems in which human agents interfaced with technology. They carried out their tasks by adhering to procedures that were monitored and enforced by surveillance systems surveilling them.

Advent of Color Video

Observing casino games on black and white monitors was a difficult activity for surveillance agents. The colors black and red are commonly part of most casino games. These colors appear very similar on a monochromatic field. Along with difficulty in identifying the suit of playing cards, different colored chips that were worth different amounts of money were also often hard to distinguish. Barber pollers, that is players who stacked cheques of different denominations on one column, were easier to spot on the floor than in the surveillance booth. When it arrived in the mid 1970s, color video technology opened up a whole new dimension of surveillance. Casino activities that once required

close scrutiny now could be observed at a glance. Quick and easy identification of colors, which was important to many aspects of gaming, allowed the surveillers to focus closer attention on other parts of the games.

A surveillance executive describes the essence of professional gambling:

Gaming has always been made up of half superstition and half procedure that is combined with the myths of the culture. These can never substitute for a sound knowledge of the games. Surveillance eliminates the need for superstition-based changes. Games were often played by changing the deck and crossing your fingers, or tapping out the dealer and kicking the drop box [sic].

Surveillance provided a rational approach to analyzing the play and the payouts of casino games.

The responsibilities of surveillance organization have grown considerably in recent years. Owners and upper management often assume that video evidence is beyond question. Operators of the system are monitored to assure their compliance with the rules and procedures that govern the system. In turn surveillance does not lie, because what is observed and recorded on tape is what actually happened. With this, the reputation of surveillance departments have changed. They are no longer seen as weapons or as sources of adversarial relationships. They have become tools for management and supervisors.

A surveillance consultant described the massive expansion of visual surveillance systems that has occurred in the last five to seven years:

Many of the companies that make surveillance equipment today were defense contractors ten years ago. A lot of this technology was classified during the 1980s. Much of the current state of optical technologies like light sensing and digital video is the result of Strategic Defense Initiative research of the 1980s. What were cost-prohibitive prototypes ten years ago are now being mass produced for whoever wants to purchase them. What cost millions of dollars then is affordable to business and high-ended consumers today. As the defense industry winds down, these companies need to sell

their products in alternative markets. To avoid the closing of companies much of this technology is becoming available to consumers and the private sector. As a result the surveillance technology market is going through some major changes. The use of surveillance systems increases and becomes more wide spread. This is not purely a market phenomena. The changing role of military and defense technology has contributed to the increased availability and application of surveillance technologies.

Summary

With this description of the development of surveillance operations in the gaming industry, there is clearly a technological trace that reflects the incorporation of surveillance practices through the passage of time. However, the human stories provide coherence in the development of surveillance more so than does technological progress. On the surface, technological progress suggests a continuous flow of development. However, it is social interaction that produces historical discontinuities. The hindrance to progress, and changes to policies and systems, are governed by personal motives and hidden goals. The practice of surveillance came first, and technology has followed.

The people who tell these stories tend to construct their experiences around the belief that technological progress has somehow coincided with an increased need to play the games legitimately. The human stories of people living among these day to day transitions reveals something else. The introduction of surveillance technology has made the human stories less visible, but they remain. Rather than the external struggle between human groups seeking power in casinos, the story has shifted to an internal struggle between individuals and technology. The struggle is veiled in the continuous rationalization of the need for such technology. Surveillance practices are not guided by technological developments as is commonly thought.

APPLICATIONS OF SURVEILLANCE THEORY

The idea that the camera makes it possible to see things the human eye would otherwise never see is a thought that emerged with early photography. Although visual surveillance is a form of high technology, the crimes that these systems are used to detect are not always high technology crimes. Innovations in technology tend to be accompanied by uses of these technologies in less than ethical and legal ways. Organizations dedicated to social control actively pursue the apprehension of individuals and groups attempting fraudulent acts through the use of high technology. Law enforcement agencies often claim that in order to combat these emerging forms of crime they need technology that is equivalent with the technology that is available to those who commit high tech crimes. Visual surveillance typically monitors a different kind of crime. Acts of deception, manipulation, and sleight of hand are techniques that have been employed by people to commit fraudulent acts for centuries. Rather than playing technological "catch up," casinos use surveillance technologies to better see activities that have always been occurring, but have always been difficult if not impossible to see.

Surveillance Resources

Surveillance cameras are not arbitrarily placed in and around the property. They are installed for the purpose of monitoring specific activities, persons, and events. All of these occur in social spaces where strict procedures govern people and their activities. Any deviation from these procedures will bring close inspection and evaluation of the deviation. The surveillance department routinely monitors and records human activities in all areas where cash is handled and games are played. Both public and non-public social spaces are

routinely surveilled.

Surveillance departments commonly recognize their organizations as under-equipped as well as under-staffed. Surveillance techniques are designed to produce maximum performance from a property's existing resources. Surveillance departments must to utilize techniques that are effective for their particular property. A surveillance consultant explains, "Casinos in Atlantic city direct a large part of their surveillance resources towards protecting against tort actions and civil suits. People who have been assaulted in elevators and parking lots, and people tripping on loose pieces of carpet have turned into multi-million dollar law suits." The physical size of the casino makes a difference in the types of surveillance techniques used. He continues,

Large casinos have many employees. It is difficult and takes along time to get to know every employee's name. Smaller places are different. A goal of the surveillance department is to know all the names and faces of the dealers. A greater goal is to be able to recognize a dealer by their hands and also how they are dealing. With a good staff and efficient use of surveillance resources this can be accomplished at a property that involves over a thousand people in its gaming operations [sic].

Specific surveillance techniques are methods of deterrence. Time targeting and saturation targeting are basic surveillance techniques intended to get the most efficient use of surveillance resources.

Surveillance Techniques

Time targeting is a temporal method that is designed around the gaming patterns of the property. Time targeting coordinates surveillance resources around the time of day that known cheaters are likely to frequent the casinos and attempt their scams. The goal is to schedule surveillance resources around the time periods that rip-offs are likely to occur.

This requires reviewing surveillance records and establishing patterns as to when specific types of scams are occurring. Surveillance resources are then concentrated based on this information. Time targeting is only as effective as the property's existing methods of observation and documentation. As one surveillance expert explains, "The better your methods, the better time targeting will work. Time targeting is efficient use of time and surveillance resources"[sic].

Time targeting engages surveillance tactics that look for specific activities at the times of day they are most likely to occur. A surveillance executive describes some time targeting tactics.

Certain groups prefer certain settings, and these settings often occur at different times of the day. A common blackjack scam involves an inside and outside collusion where a dealer stacks the deck to benefit a player. This scam is less likely to occur on a busy table. These acts of collusion typically occur on a table with two or three people. Some of the groups involved in some of the recent baccarat scams tend to like a quiet table in the morning or the afternoon. Past-posters, pinchers, and pressers on the other hand tend to prefer a busy table with lots of activities and distractions [sic].

He also describes how time targeting is used to watch specific groups. He continues:

"Many of the Italian groups are well connected. They have people on the inside of the properties telling them what's been going on lately. They plan their rounds according to this inside information"[sic].

Saturation targeting is a spatial technique. By gathering detailed observation of activities in particular areas, and communicating these observations to employees through indirect means, the property develops a reputation that is intended to deter dishonest play by both employees and players. Another surveillance official explains how to use this technique: "The idea is to saturate a particular area with surveillance. Get people to believe

that if anything happens, I mean if anybody farts we are going to know about it!" [sic]. He continues, by describing how a typical application of this technique involves

going over to a table and making your presence known. Then obviously go to the bar and be visible there for a while. Let the dealers and pit personnel see you moving around. They know where you are. When the time is right, quietly disappear and go review the tape from the table you were at, or have someone you can completely trust review that tape. Eventually return to the table, like fifteen minutes later, and again make your presence known. Go back to the bar and be visible for a while. Then quietly disappear. Go review the tape again. In these reviews look for the smallest, most insignificant details. Major errors or problems are obvious, but minor details of performance are effective using this technique. Find something that is wrong with the dealer or the players. After a while come from the bar directly to the table and pull the dealer. Tell them that "eight minutes ago you did this and that." The psychological impact from this is enormous. The dealer and anyone who witnesses this will talk to other employees. It becomes known that every detail of their activities is watched and noticed. This will get them to play straight on your tables [sic].

The technique of saturation targeting is also used when handling violations. An executive explains:

Violations need to be dealt with immediately and not two weeks after the fact. This shapes the property's reputation. If a violation or incident occurs on a game, be on the phone to the pit about it immediately. Don't wait until next week. The thing to do is distinguish time sensitive issues from non-sensitive issues and act accordingly. If an issue is not time important let it wait couple of days. If an employees is frequently late for their shift, observe them for several days and accumulate documentation. Then talk to them about specific days and times that there was a problem [sic].

This technique shapes the reputation of the surveillance department as an ever-present and all-seeing system of control.

Cash Handling Areas

The hard and soft count rooms are internal parts of the casino, referred to as the back of the house area. Theft in these areas is most likely to occur from internal sources.

Cash handling areas include casino cages, soft count, hard count, and employee banks. A surveillance expert makes the point. "Our primary goal is to be sure that money in these areas makes it from point *A* to point *B*." Soft count refers to the counting areas where all paper money is counted that belongs to the casino bank. A soft count is usually conducted daily and lasts several hours. Hard count is the counting of coins or hard money in the casino bank. This is usually done every other day or as required. Rather than physically counting coins, hard count money is weighed on scales and metal detectors like those used in airports assure that no one leaves the count room with hard money on their person. The responsibility of the surveillance department is to videotape the entire procedure from several camera angles. These camera angles are predefined in the surveillance manual. Taping begins prior to personnel entering the count rooms and terminates when all personnel have exited. The surveillance agent assigned to the task is responsible for identifying all personnel in the count rooms. He must make sure that these personnel are wearing appropriate uniforms with no pockets, and that they follow established money handling procedures such as keeping their hands visible at all times.

The countrooms require continuous surveillance even when no one is in the room.

A surveillance official describes the system and its purpose:

The countrooms are monitored by alarmed override systems that do not require twenty four hour surveillance by a surveillance agent. If anyone enters these areas, the override system activates the surveillance system and recording begins automatically. The surveillance agent assigned to monitor this area is also notified by the system. This person will begin the appropriate documentation of the activity.

Some of the biggest rip-offs occur in the countrooms. He continues, "Our internal procedures require that there is three-person control at all times. The only time less than

three people may access this area is if a machine is down and no money is in the room. If money is in the room, the cameras are activated and two security guards accompany the technician into the room." Countrooms are continuously monitored by computer-interfaced cameras to assure that these procedures are not violated.

One casino noticed that the same person routinely kept coming in and cashing five dollar chips from another hotel. The surveillance department called the casino where these chips were coming from. They exchanged a photograph and information electronically about the individual. A surveillance official explains the incident: "It turned out that he was a hardcount employee and he was stealing chips from where he worked and cashing them in at the other casino. Good communication through the surveillance network contributed to apprehending this thief."

In another count room situation, it appeared as if a counter was palming money. Surveillance reported this to management and security came down and removed her from the count room. A search was conducted and she had nothing on her. The security official recalls, "We had real egg on our face because it was human error on our part. Instead of hurrying into a situation like this in the count room, it is possible to put multiple cameras on a suspicious person and mark some money to catch them. Do it up right so to speak."

A hard count executive describes one experience:

I was working in a count room where a camera and microphone was obviously present. We were examining coins. The strike at the mint was not putting the finish on the coins that we had expected. I asked my colleague what his opinion of the coin quality was. His response was "if it were up to me, I would throw this coin away." Immediately after saying this, four security personnel entered the room and demanded to see the coins. The head security person walked up to me and threatened to have me arrested without introducing or explaining himself [sic].

It seemed that this person was so used to observing people through the surveillance system that he did not immediately distinguish between a surveillance observation and an actual face to face interaction. He continues, "Those kind of people scare me."

Cage Areas

The cage areas include the casino cashier and the change booths. Losses in these areas can be incurred from both internal and external sources. Internal cage losses are identified as tangible and intangible losses. Tangible loss involves money. If an employee is responsible for an intentional tangible loss, that person can be arrested, prosecuted and sent to jail. Intangible loss involves anything that is not considered stealing in legal terms. An employee who is responsible for an intentional intangible loss is terminated. A casino executive addresses the reality of people working in money handling areas:

The basic problem in cage areas is putting a hundred thousand dollars in front of an individual who makes ten dollars per hour. These are people dealing with car payments, house payments, and a spouse who may be having medical problems. It is easy for them to think, "what is five dollars?" Our problem is that if one hundred people get this idea on a daily basis. Temptation is always a potential problem [sic].

Theft from internal sources can sometimes be difficult to observe. Losses from external sources are often obvious. In a video tape of a casino cage rip-off, the thief comes up and taps on the door to see if it is alarmed. He quickly walks away. He comes back and reaches in to open the cash drawer. It is locked. Again he quickly walks away. He comes back and reaches in and forces open the cash drawer with a screw driver. He reaches to the side where the hundred dollar bills are. He cannot reach the cash. Still again he quickly walks away. He comes back and climbs over the glass wall and grabs the cash and then takes off. The surveillance camera monitors this entire event with explicit detail. In a

separate but similar incident the thief reached up and unplugged the surveillance camera before stealing the cash. The surveillance department must contend with people that have no fear or concern of violating laws while being videotaped.

Back of the House Areas

Back-of-the-house areas are non-public areas. The back of the house area includes the shipping and receiving dock and central stores. This is the biggest hole on the property. It is a very sensitive area because all playing cards and dice pass through here, as well as confidential documents. This area should be coordinated with central dispatch and security. Access needs to be controlled to prevent theft. Vendors need to pass through some kind of access control point and sign in. They should be wearing an appropriate uniform as well as a proper identification badge. A security official explains,

There are soft drink machines at several locations on every floor of the hotel. An unauthorized person was caught accessing these machines and refilling them with soft drinks obtained from central stores and then removing the cash. This went on for several months. What may seem relatively harmless turned into a loss of big money [sic].

Loading dock operations also tend to be informally managed. Another security official describes one incident:

A couple of times a week, two trucks would arrive to change out linens and laundry. No one thought anything of it. Over a period of one year, five hundred thousand dollars in linens needed to be replaced. It turned out that one of the trucks was a rental and the occupants were unauthorized people accessing the laundry area. They were taking a couple of loading carts full of linens at a time. This may seem harmless. They were taking these loads of laundry to Southern California and selling them at swap meets. Over the course of a year this incurred a half million dollar loss to the property [sic].

Cheating and Nevada Law

Nevada state law defines the term "cheat" in Chapter 465 of the Nevada Revised Statutes entitled "Crimes and Liabilities Concerning Gaming." To cheat is to "alter the elements of chance, methods of selection or criteria which determine: (a) the results of the game; (b) the amount or frequency of payment in a game; (c) the value of the wagering instrument; or (d) the value of a wagering credit" (Nevada Revised Statutes Annotated, 1995:38).

Cheating in a licensed casino is defined as a fraudulent act. Fraudulent acts are categorized as any privileged knowledge of a game, the placing of or altering a wager based on any kind of privileged knowledge, the intentional manipulation or alteration of a casino game, and recruiting other persons to participate in any of the above actions. Privileged knowledge makes it possible for a player or a gaming establishment to alter their strategy or misrepresent the outcome of a game after the results are assured but not revealed to the players of the game. Placing or altering a wager involves adding to (pressing or capping) or subtracting from (pinching or dragging) the amount of a wager after acquiring knowledge of the outcome of the game that is not available to all players. Intentional manipulation or alteration of a casino game includes but is not limited to cherry squeezing slot machines which is working the handle of a slot machine in a certain way to make the machine payoff, marking or daubing cards, stacking or slugging a deck of cards, or altering dice which may involve flattening one of the surfaces, loading to alter the balance of the dice, or juicing which is a loaded dice with a magnet inside. A recruited person who participates in acquiring privileged knowledge of any game or plays a game where it is known that this knowledge can be acquired is known as a confederate. Cheaters

are known as advantaged players. A confederate is a cheater's partner or assistant. A confederate is also known as a "capper" who may be a member of a cheating ring, or an accomplice of a cheater.

Cheats and Scams

A device or method that helps an advantaged player cheat or pull off a scam is known as a gaff. The term "cheat" commonly refers to a illegitimate player. It also describes a moment of opportunity, whereas a scam is a preconceived and practiced technique that makes it possible to cheat at a game. Cheats and scams are of two basic types. These are manipulations and alterations. Manipulations are the art of the mechanic. These involve sleight of hand and distractions combined with split second timing. False shuffles and deals, peeks, mucking, pinching and pressing, and past-posting are different forms of manipulation. Alterations involve changing some component of the game to alter the odds or outcome of play. Marking and daubing cards, and loaded or juiced dice are classic forms of alterations. The term gaff can refer to an actual physical device like a mirror or computer on a blackjack game; a monkey paw or light device in a coin activated game, or a playing technique that the house considers illegal.

Players who routinely manipulate or alter the games discover the places where they can practice their trade. "Good joints" are casinos where surveillance and security may be relaxed and unaware of their gaff. These are good places to play according to cheats. "Burn joints" on the other hand are bad places to play because their gaff or shtick has been detected and is known by surveillance and security. A surveillance person who has played both sides explains: "People steal with the hands. They get caught by the eyes. This never

changes. The greatest cheater is the one you never see. Cheating can be devastating to the property because it is a state of mind. We had a dealer who took one quarter at a time just to see if he could get away with it, and he did for many years" [sic].

Honesty in a World of Big Money

People who are typically honest in their daily lives often change when they enter a casino. People go to casinos to win. They are enticed by visions of big money, and do things they would not normally do to win. A casino executive provides his thoughts about the typical player.

A problem with people is that no one is absolutely completely honest. If an error is made and a cashier hands a person an extra hundred dollars, that person is not going to say anything. However, people are always quick to speak up if you short-change them. They rarely say anything if they have been overpaid. All people are basically like this [sic].

A surveillance executive tells a similar story about a senior employee. "We had a shift boss in playing one night after work. When he cashed out, the cashier gave him an extra two hundred dollars. He knew this was too much money. He looked around, finished his drink, scooped up the money and went home." Later when this was detected, "we had the cashier call him to get the money back. He hung up on her." Later the surveillance director called him. "Look, we need that money back. I don't want this to get on your employment record. The next day he brought the money back. After his shift he sat down, ordered a drink, and began playing. After he won three hundred dollars legitimately he went home."

Recognition Factor

The average player who plays big money likes what is referred to as the recognition

factor. A casino executive explains, "they like to have a lot of attention thrown on them. But they prefer that this attention is not a big scene. They like the attention of the house, and simultaneously they do not want other people to see them and see that they have a lot of money on them as they are about to walk out the door into a dark alley" [sic]. A variation on the recognition factor is effective at getting a cheat and their confederate to leave the casino. He continues:

The last thing a cheat or a group of cheaters wants is a lot of attention. A big way to draw attention is to change out the dealer. Do this in an obvious way. Bring in a new dealer that deals the cards in a faster and tighter way. A new dealer has a tighter hole card tuck. These guys are no longer getting the information they need. They split the game [sic].

Basic Strategy

Basic strategy is playing by the rules of the game. It is used by a player when they have no knowledge of the outcome of the game. That is, they have no hole or top card information or knowledge of how the dice will fall. Any book that explains casino games does so in terms of basic strategy. This is the game, and this is how it is played. Basic strategy for any game can be learned in about three hours. The game of blackjack will be used to describe violations of basic strategy (Wong, 1981:25).

Each card combination has a basic strategy. There are three violations of basic strategy that reveals one of three kinds of players. A playing technique that reveals a violation of basic strategy is known as a "tell." A tell can be a technique, cheat, scam, or gaff that gives away a crooked player. The first violation of basic strategy is a *swag* which sometimes refers to a "sophisticated wild ass guess," but more frequently refers to a "stupid wild ass guess." A swag is a player who is not knowledgeable. He or she does not know

the game. When a swag plays in a casino, he or she does not follow basic strategy. A dealer explains: "Many people who play blackjack on their kitchen table are just playing out their cards. They feel they just have to keep playing to as close to twenty one as they can get. They do not know how to play the game they are playing. They are violating basic strategy" [sic].

The second violation of basic strategy is a sophisticated card counter. The tell is that card counting gives the player an advantage in betting. Card counting informs the player how they should play their hand. A card mechanic explains: "A card counter will alter their playing and betting strategy with the count. This gives the counter an advantage over basic playing strategy. Their betting strategy is secondary to keeping track of the cards. A card counter tends to fluctuate their bets according to the count" [sic]. Typically, the amount a card counter bets will increase as the dealer deals deeper into the deck.

The third violation of basic strategy is a player who is getting hole or top card information. Their playing and betting strategy will change depending on the information they are getting. Their betting strategy is also secondary to the information they are getting. The tell is flat betting and consistently hitting cards just above the dealer's hand. A surveillance official explains, "a flat better is typically not counting cards. If they are cheating, they are getting hole or top card information. Attaining hole card or top card information is considered conspiracy to cheat" [sic].

To effectively monitor the casino, a surveillance agent needs to understand the basic strategy of the games. A surveillance executive explains. "Without knowledge of basic strategy, an observer may miss a cheat going on under their nose. They may never see a scam going on right in front of them. They need to be shown what to look for, as well as

taught what to look for. Surveillance agents routinely observe and document how players and dealers play the games. They then file a report if they detect any deviation from basic strategy" [sic].

Count Sheets

Surveillance agents use count sheets to keep a record of players' bets and how they hit or stand through out a game. This is a record of how someone is playing. A surveillance executive explains:

A count sheet reveals patterns that simple observation might not catch. If a pattern appears we can pay closer attention to the game. Is the player counting cards and chasing aces, or are they flat betting because the player knows what card is coming up? Are the cards bent? Did someone come in and bend the cards prior to that player getting on the table? Video tape does not go away, whereas our memory does. A count sheet is a valid piece of information. It is legal evidence that documents any illicit play. You can give the pit people this information as it accumulates. It is then their responsibility to deal with the issue by tapping out the dealer, changing decks, calling in security, or taking corrective actions against an employee [sic].

Professional Cheats

People who cheat are well practiced and accomplished at the art of distraction. A practicing mechanic explains. "There are people out there who are extremely talented at manipulating cards, dice, and any other casino game. As of right now there is only a handful of the old-time mechanics still around. Many of them have died. But they all had students. The times are different but there are still highly talented people out there" [sic]. Another mechanic explains the success of his gaff: "I have been working in the gaming industry for thirty nine years. I have never worked for a casino that I have not stolen from or for. The whole thing is putting on a big act. It is really quite easy because if it were not I

would not do it" [sic].

Signals and Body Language

Gambling is a world full of body language that consists of gestures and symbols that are uniquely its own. To play the games straight players must communicate with dealers in established ways. Variations of these rules either arbitrary or intentional are sure to draw attention from the dealer, the pit supervisors, and the surveillance department. Cheaters often develop a body that language consists of gestures that are actually signals concealed within the legitimate gestures and signals of the game.

Surveillance operations involves searching out the body language of cheaters. As one surveillance agent explains, "Some are definitely better at it than others. One must remember that a cheater's body language is often outside the norm in a gaming environment. Their are actual physical moves that are associated with cheating on casino games. But like everything, these have become specialized and sophisticated." A card mechanic describes how basic strategy and signals are worked together in a blackjack game:

A player will play basic strategy all night until they get a signal to alter their strategy. This makes detection very difficult. Sounds are even more difficult because you never have to look. I can ripple my cheques or the whiff (He inhales through his nose); if you hear the whiff, that means go against basic strategy. No whiff means play basic. The whiff is very easy and natural to hear. Even in a noisy casino. You can hear it subconsciously [sic].

These are some of the standard casino gaffs that have been around for a long time. The surveillance department routinely monitors for activities that may be concealing these cheating techniques. The purpose of the gaff has always been basically the same. But the techniques continue to change. Some become very sophisticated while others are so simple

it takes a trained eye to see them.

Standard Cheating Strategies

There are several kinds of gestures that suggest that players may be colluding with each other to steal from the casino. "Rubber-neckers" and "look-outs" are individuals who are doing a lot of looking around in conspicuous ways. These people are obvious because their actions are different from normal players in the casino. Rubber-necking is what the term implies. A player is sitting at the game constantly looking around at the employees and security personnel. On a coin activated gaming device, rubber-neckers are obvious because their concentration is on other activities in the casino rather than on the game. A "look-out" is a person standing in an unusual location observing casino activities. This person may not be rubber-necking. But their position in the casino is what tends to give them away. A person standing in a location that allows her to see a large part of the gaming area for an extended period of time tends to appear suspicious. If surveillance spots a "look-out," they will watch this person to see if he is sending signals to other people in the area.

A "blocker" is person who uses her body and activities to obstruct the view of others. A blocker typically uses his body in a stationary position to block the view of the surveillance cameras, dealers, and floor personnel. A surveillance person describes a particular incident. "In one situation, a woman was acting as a blocker. A person walked over next to her. She suddenly became startled. This drew our immediate attention because what is there to be startled about in a casino?" Finally, if these methods are failing and cheaters are being detected, there is the "brush-off" signal. The brush-off is a signal among

cheaters to leave the game because something is wrong. If someone gives the brush-off, this means get out of the game immediately. An index finger pointed in the air, in a person's ear, or rubbed across the nose are common brush off signals.

Sophisticated cheaters often work in groups. From the surveillance perspective one can observe groups as consisting of rubber neckers, look outs, and blockers. While reviewing a surveillance tape, a surveillance official explains.

We can often spot them, but it is very difficult to prove conspiracy to cheat. We identified a team of five players at a craps table. This group is very proficient. One distracts the box man and another blocks the stick man while the shooter slides the dice. We also recognized four new members of the group in the video. These four were there to distract and act as hand off men. If security is chasing the money man, he hands off a handful of one hundred dollar chips to this woman who is acting as the hand off person. She drops them in her purse and they take off. A female guest that is standing behind the hand off woman has no clue what is going on. She just stands there. We suddenly put the heat on them. Security started moving in. Their lookout saw us moving. He signals and they were off the property in two minutes. We chased one of them out the door and we read him the trespass order as we were chased him down the street. They made over nine thousand dollars in less than an hour. One hour of work split nine ways, not bad. We were not able to get good face shots on the surveillance video [sic].

However, a week later, they returned. He continues: But We recognized them and told them, 'hey, you guys are good customers, we would like to "comp" you to dinner. By the way, what are your names?' We got their names, surveillance got clear pictures, and security eighty-sixed them from the property."

Rat-Holing

"Rat-holing" is a term that describes a player putting chips in their pocket. Rat-holing is not necessarily cheating, but it may be a tell suggesting that something is happening that should not be. Rat-holers take large denomination chips and put them in

their pockets. If surveillance spots a rat-holer, they continue to closely monitor the game. They watch the flow of the larger denominations chips. If they are going down, where are they going? Surveillance typically looks at the bank role and the fluctuation of the large denomination chips. They need to find out if money is leaving the game that should not be leaving. Rat-holing can be a sign that players are pinching and pressing.

Pinching and Pressing

Pinching and pressing are terms that refer to subtracting or adding money to the game illegally. Pinching or a drag is the removal of chips from a stack. Pressing or capping is adding chips to the existing stack on the table. These techniques are a form of past-posting and require the distraction of the dealer and the pit boss. A common strategy of pinchers and pressers is to stack their chips in what is referred to as a barber pole, combining cheques of different values. A presser can cap the bet in a past-post move with one or several high valued cheques to increase the value of the bet. Barber poling makes it more difficult for dealers and observers to keep track of the player's bet.

Front Load

A common mistake of dealers in the industry is front loading. Front loading is a term that refers to the dealer revealing hole or top card information. This can be intentional or non-intentional. A casino executive explains, "Front loading occurs when the dealer is not holding the cards properly. They are holding the cards too high" [sic]. That is: "The dealer is not dropping the deck to the level of the table before the top card is brought off the top of the deck. If a dealer is frequently front loading, a cheating player can likely see what the dealer's hole card is. The player uses this to their advantage by changing their

playing strategy and winning" [sic].

The tell in this scam is a player that is winning and refusing to give up her position on the table. A surveillance official describes a typical situation: "A surveillance agent noticed on overview that a player was guarding their spot. He does not want anyone to sit at third base because this position gave him a clear view of the cards because the dealer was inadvertently frontloading" [sic]. Although unintentional front loading can occur at any position on the table, third base is often the preferred position for a crooked player to get a peek.

Card Mucking

Card mucking is a term for card switching. A card mucker is a person that takes cards in and out of the game for the purpose of setting up a winning hand. A mucker typically makes small and large bets, and adjusts the cards accordingly. In one situation:

A mucker had an ace on his lap. All he was doing was waiting to be dealt a ten card. As security gathered around, his confederate got up from the table and split. He needed to get off the table, but he still had a card on his lap. He eventually tried to put it back on the table. However, three cards in an original blackjack hand gave him away. Even the dealer did not believe it. We arrested him [sic].

Marking and Daubing

Marking cards is the alteration of the back of specific cards in any way that will reveal the denomination of that card when it is in a face down position. Altering one's playing and betting strategy to coincide with marked cards is a form of cheating because that player has knowledge of the game that other players do not. Common marks include crimps, nail marks, bends, bows, and scratch marks from sanding the surface of the card. A

mark can be as simple as crimping a card between one's thumbnail and index finger.

Daubing is a term that refers to a special technique of marking playing cards.

Daubing is the application of a foreign substance to the back of cards so that its denomination can be determined from a face down position. Daubing techniques are only limited by the cheater's imagination. A daub can be as simple as the oil from one's finger to as complex as a substance that is invisible to everyone but a cheater who is wearing special glasses or contact lens. Daubers typically puts their hand inside their coat, jacket, or shirt and get a foreign substance on their index finger. However, there are unlimited variations to this cheating technique.

A smudge pot is a container that a daubing substance is concealed in. It can be an actual container or part of the player's body. A smudge pot can be hidden almost anywhere. They have been detected on the backs of coins, behind or in the player's ear, inside of one's sports coat, and on a drinking glass. Daubing material inside a smudge pot has included ear wax, snot, spit, oil from one's skin, make up, lipstick, and rouge. A surveillance expert describes one elaborate daubing incident:

Some of the more sophisticated daubs are difficult to detect. We noticed a player breaking basic strategy and determined that he was getting hole card information. When the deck was pulled his game went cold. We examined the deck and found that by placing the deck in a microwave oven the daub was some kind of vegetable oil that began to boil on the surface of the cards when heat was applied. The daub was designed so that in good bright light, and up close the dealer could not see it. In the shadows, it would cast a shadow on the cards. The smudge was a shadow or reflection on the card. It was one of the better daubing scams I have seen. [sic].

Markers and daubers frequently play in teams. A surveillance executive explains:

We can see them daubing but there is nothing we can do until we know they are playing by the mark. We had this person come in and mark the cards. He was not playing for the marks, so he was not cheating. There is no

conspiracy to cheat. He could claim that his motion is just a habit and you can do nothing. Another player comes along, and the dauber moves over. He has been saving the seat for the money man. If you can prove that the dauber marked the cards, and his friend is using the cards against the house, then you have a conspiracy to cheat [sic].

If a surveiller knows what to look for, a person's motions suddenly become obvious. A surveillance executive describes one situation:

Four players were buying in with fifty dollar bills. Every time they would buy in they would slam their money down on top of their previously played hand. These cards were face up. As they slammed the cards they were denting the face of the cards with a ring on their fingers. When the cards were turned face down the dent was visible when the cards were dealt. House rules forbid players from touching the cards after the hand has been played. However, in this situation no one was stopping them. The dealer went to management with what was going on. They told her she did not know what was going on. So she called surveillance. After we acquired complete documentation of this game, we called the pit who changed out the dealer and the cards [sic].

A situation like this can also create communication problems. The executive continues, "If observation informs the pit that marking is occurring on a particular game, the supervisor will probably order the decks to be changed by rationalizing that by removing the decks, the players will have to start over or take off. This is true. But, the evidence is removed from the table" [sic]. Such a lack of coordination that make it impossible to apprehend these types of cheaters.

Mirror Man or Prism

The terms "prism" or "mirror man" refer to a player using a small mirror in the hand or somewhere on the table to acquire hole or top card information. A mirror can be cupped in the player's hand. They can also be concealed inside a pack of cigarettes, and have been found inside a translucent lighter. A shiny coin placed in a strategic location has also been

effectively used to get face down card information. Any kind of mirror or prism on a table is considered a cheating device or gaff because it can potentially reveal hole or top card information. One surveillance official explains:

The mirror man's job is to pick up hole card information and to signal to his confederates how to play their hands. A mirror man typically communicates this information to his confederate through hand or body signals. A cheat and their confederate(s) will play according to those signals. The use of a mirror is conspiracy to cheat because these players are taking advantage of information that is not available to all players of the game. This falls under the guidelines of the state of Nevada as cheating [sic].

The tell of a prism is an occasional reflection of light in a player's hand. If they move their hand, a light off the ceiling may reflect off the shiny surface. "Watch for the flash" as one surveiller describes it. "The light will pop every now and then as a mirror man moves their hand around the table" [sic]. A second tell to this scam is motionlessness. A surveillance official describes a situation where he was reviewing a surveillance tape:

Here is a player on the table for almost an hour. His left hand has not moved the entire time. He did not take a drink from his drink. He never touches his big stack of checks. There is an ash tray near his hand but he does not smoke. In fact a mirror man will strategically place these objects around his mirror hand believing this will make the mirror harder to see. These are not a light bulb going on over your head, it's a baseball bat across the side of your head [sic].

A surveillance expert describes how a cheater and a confederate work together by reviewing a surveillance tape:

We had this big guy playing at center base. The game seemed routine. Then the person at third base leaves. The big guy at second gets up and moves to third base. He is the mirror man. He wants that seat because he has an advantage at third base. That's the best spot to try and get a peek at the dealer's cards. A couple of hands later, The money man shows up. He is the distraction. He introduces himself. "How the hell is everybody tonight? I'm Billy Bob from Houston, Texas, I just lost ten grand at the joint down the street. If my wife catches me she's gonna kill me. She doesn't know I'm here [sic].

The money man will do anything he can to distract the pit personnel. His distractions remove attention from the mirror man who is sitting at third base. He continues:

He is doing everything in the world he possibly can. He is extremely animated. His arms are waving around. His hands are in and out of his pockets. He's talking to people, and flirting with the cocktail waitresses. He's introducing himself to people. "Hey, where are you from, how many kids do you have, what kind of car do you drive?" Anything he can do so no one pays any attention to the mirror man sitting quietly at third base [sic].

The surveillance expert describes how the mirror man and the money man work together.

The first hand out and the mirror man's left hand moves slightly to see the dealer's hole card. He then signals to the money man with his right hand to hit. His hand casually bounces off the rail up in the air. He is telling the money man to hit and to keep hitting. In a moment he will lay his hand down. This is the signal to stand. The money man does not even have to look at his cards. He just needs to be able to look at the right hand of the mirror man [sic].

Card Counting and Computers

Card counting has been around for as long as there have been games of strategy and gambling with some form of playing cards. A computer can imitate any card counting system better than a person. People cannot exactly imitate a computer because they can be distracted, become stressed by the game, or just make a mistake. The next step is to bring a computer to the card game, which is illegal. The introduction of computer technology to card counting makes this kind of card counting a form of high-tech cheating. The technology makes the cheater more efficient and camouflages his scam.

The following description is considered the classic set up for computer card counting and is being used all the time. The computer consists of four parts, the central processing unit, the power source, and an input and an output device. The central

processing unit is about the size of a deck of cards. There are only four or five people who manufacture these computers in the world. They all look the same, only the packaging is different. The typical models are known as the Casey and the David. They are named after those who designed and build them. The newer designs include a shuffle tracking chip that can calculate probabilities based on the number of decks in the shoe and how deep into the deck the cut is usually made. This technology significantly reduces the chance of the game. The central processing unit is typically concealed around the player's waste with an ace bandage. The power source is commonly concealed in a boot or wrapped with an ace bandage just under one's arm pit. The input device is a four key pad that works with binary codes. You can make any combination of the cards on a binary system. The input device can be worn in any number of places. It can be strapped under the arm so that the user simply crosses his or her arms and inputs card data with her or his concealed hand. It can also be strapped on the side of the thigh. This can be noticed by the user's hand going under the table. The user's hand is on her hip or in his pocket. The user will usually belly-up to the table to camouflage his activity. Users have been known to use multiple input devices under their arms, on their hips, and in their shoes. This lets the user appear natural and animated because she or he is not frozen in one position. The output device is known as a "thumper" because it gives off a vibration. It is typically strapped inside the thigh or cut into a sole of a shoe on the instep. The thumper signals the user by giving off long and short duration vibrations.

There are several common variations on output devices. The first is a digital watch that is worn on the inside of the wrist. A wire runs up the user's shirt sleeve to the central processing unit. The watch shows the correct time until the user pushes a button on it to

flash a numeric code. This is much easier to learn than memorizing the series of vibrations given off by a thumper. The second variation is inside a hearing aid. The new small portables are wireless and hide completely inside the ear. The cheat wears a transmitter on the shoulder immediately below the ear with the hearing aid. Long hair worn on the shoulders makes this system impossible to see. These systems use a digitized voice that whispers in the user's ear. It can tell the player to stand, take a hit, or double down. This system is referred to as a "guardian angel on your shoulder."

A new high tech scam involves a cheat using a watch that transmits data to and from a lap top computer that can be concealed in the trunk of a car in the parking area or in a hotel room on the property. A pager with a digital read out is modified to send and receive messages to this computer. The user can keep this in a top shirt pocket and look down at it when necessary. Perhaps the most bizarre variation involves people who have had electronic receivers surgically implanted behind their ear. These are implanted 1/16 of an inch of under the skin. A surgeon only has to go through 1/32 of an inch of skin to replace the battery.

Detecting a computer user at a game is more difficult than detecting a traditional card counter. Non-computerized card counters are "sweating the game." They are in deep concentration. They are stressed and perspiring. They are not having much fun. Instead of drinking and partying, they are quietly drinking coffee or a soft drink and keeping to themselves. The computer system makes a person not look like a card counter. A normal card counter has a two percent edge on the house. A computerized card counter has a twelve to seventeen percent edge on the house. A card counter will typically bet in increments. A computer user flat bets all day long. The house takes this method of cheating

very seriously.

These computer systems are often two man operations. One man wears the computer and the input device. The other man wears the output device. The second man is the take off man because he is the one winning the money. The first man may simply be observing the game at a distance. This makes it possible for the second man to play the game blind folded. He can appear to be a real party animal. He can be partying, drunk, flirting with the cocktail waitress, talking to and/or toking the dealer. The new way utilizes hand signals between two players. Posture is a classic example: slump and sit up. Old card counting hand signal methods involving up to eight different hand signals. The new ways that are used with computers require only one signal.

There are several tells that suggest a player may be using a computer. Computer users will wear loose fitting clothes to conceal their equipment. They may also carry fanny packs, back packs, day planners, any objects that may look out of place in the casino. They may walk in a slow and awkward manner as they move through the casino. This is because they may have hardware taped to their body, or they are walking softly so as to not activate the input device of their system. While sitting at the table they may be tapping their foot or exhibiting some kind of toe movement in their shoe while the cards are being dealt. They are inputting data. Finally, these players are likely to be wearing hats or sunglasses to conceal their eyes. If they are using a visual output device, their eyes will have to keep looking at it for information. These are serious cheaters. These people have invested serious time and money in acquiring these systems. They will go to great lengths to conceal their scam and their goal is to take big money from the casino.

THE SURVEILLANCE ORGANIZATION

Las Vegas lives with its own self-perpetuated myth that "if you have a system to beat the games and enough money to finance your scheme, we'll send a plane for you." This kind of reputation draws all kinds of people with many diverse ways to play the games. The casinos expect everyone to play the games straight, and at the same time extend an open challenge to try and beat them. The result is gray areas within the house rules and gaming laws where accomplished players try to beat the odds. To better understand what is going on in these gray areas, casinos have formed surveillance organizations to watch the games from a third party perspective. These organizations are commonly known as Eyes in the Sky.

The purpose of the surveillance organization within a casino is game protection. The role of the surveillance department is to oversee and protect the casino's assets from any form of theft originating from internal or external sources. A major casino rip off typically ranges anywhere from twenty five to two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. As one surveillance official explains:

The surveillance department exists under the assumption that the people who make up the gaming industry are bunch of crooks, and this is largely true. One must assume that every person in the business has been, is, or maybe a potential thief. Any person on the property is a potential crook and everyone on the property knows it. Therefore, the property needs a security system that obviously says we know they are crooks. The first line of defense is to deter them from stealing. If that does not work, the bottom line is catching and prosecuting those who choose to rip off the property. In principle gaming people do not like this. But this is how it is. You have to work on the assumption that anyone out there can and will steal from you if given the inclination and the opportunity [sic].

The surveillance department is considered an independent organization that reports directly to the people who need to know anything that is occurring in the casino that may affect the

casino's assets, resources, money and reputation.

Surveillance organizations monitor social spaces, individuals, and their activities. Social spaces that require protection include: all the table games, video poker and slot areas, the sports book, keno, card houses, all cash handling areas, gift shops, hotel, elevators, stairwells, valet and parking lots, and the back of the house areas. The individuals that the surveillance organization routinely observes within these spaces are dealers, floor persons, technicians, cash handlers, pit personnel, casino cage cashiers, security personnel, pit bosses, shift managers, casino managers, parking attendants, any persons or players entering and exiting the property, and even themselves. In short, anyone other than the owners of the property may be subject to surveillance at anytime and anywhere on the property.

While the activities that the surveillance department monitors can include all human activity on and around the property, its primary concern is the casino games. Surveillance monitors all games and the interactions that occur around the games continuously. The surveillance department informs upper management and/or the owners of the property of all significant gains and losses as well as any unusual activities. Surveillance exists on the premise that any persons and their activities could be directed toward ripping off the property. Whether one thinks a person is good or bad does not matter because what that person does in surveilled space ultimately reveals these qualities. Another surveillance official explains, "It is a fact that employees turn bad. It is not the fact that they get caught. Honest employees do not get into trouble with surveillance and security. If an employee turns bad, it is our responsibility to arrest them" [sic]. The goal of surveillance is to observe and detect activities that may be an internal or external scam before they interfere with

monetary resources. If detection occurs after losses have occurred, surveillance has been ineffective.

The existence of the surveillance department can contribute to a hostile work environment. This can be unproductive and is not part of the goals of surveillance operations. As a surveillance director describes:

We are there to protect honest employees as much as we are to protect the company. Surveillance is the same as invisible employees who watch the activity on the floor. Those actually on the floor have responsibilities beyond watching for trouble makers. Informing workers of the need for surveillance is to the casino's advantage. The goal is to get dealers and pit workers to become rubber-neckers for you. You suddenly have several hundred pairs of helping eyes. Getting employees to be active participants in maintaining security is important. The workers feel like the company is taking them in. The casino becomes in part the worker's casino. This contributes to individual morale as well as to the efficient operation of the property. Surveillance does not get all the predators. The goal is to get workers to become rubber-neckers for you [sic].

Surveillance protect the casino's resources as well as the jobs of legitimate employees.

Purpose of the Surveillance Organization

The surveillance group fulfills many positive functions for the property. These functions involve monitoring for dealer errors, controlling access to minors, and employee tracking. It is an excellent system for resolving disputes between customers and dealers. A surveillance executive provides an example:

When a dealer takes a bet on a blackjack play where the player hits to nineteen and the dealer hits seventeen. The dealer is obviously in error, but two hands later this is old news. The dispute becomes the player's word against the dealer's. The pit boss can call surveillance to review the play. The surveillance department then plays back the tape to the hand in dispute to verify the play and the payout. Surveillance then informs the pitboss who in turn informs the dealer. In this example, if the casino is wrong and the dealer takes a bad bet, the player has the right to take the casino to a higher authority. The state gaming commission may come in and review how the

casino plays. They are a third or objective investigating party who will view the tapes of the play in question. If the is dealer in error, the goal is to resolve this kind of dispute on the property. This process informs the player, the dealer, and the pit boss that surveillance works. The dispute is resolved and hopefully the customer is satisfied. This process keeps honest people honest [sic].

The surveillance department also protects the casino by identifying and controlling minors entering the gaming area. A senior security official makes the point: "Nevada state law requires that to play in a gaming establishment you must have proper identification on your person. We are not a grocery store, we are a gambling joint. If you do not have proper identification, we can legally ask you to leave" [sic].

The surveillance department routinely monitors the location and activities of both employees and players. A sophisticated system can follow specific individuals around the property. As another surveillance official explains:

Again, the goal is to keep honest people honest. Employees who disappear a lot are problem employees. They are the ones you have to keep track of. Workers who frequently disappear and cannot be accounted for are assumed to be potential thieves. Camera coverage is the most effective means of monitoring and controlling these individuals and where they disappear to.

This system of monitoring can account for these workers and accumulate evidence against them if necessary.

Surveillance is also used to monitor the employee's routine activities. The access door to coin activated gaming devices are alarmed and programmed to a computer and dome camera. Workers are required to log in and out of machines electronically. Every time a worker opens a machine, a computer can monitor that person by the swipe of their employee identification card as they access the machine. The moment they swipe their identification card the computer logs their access and automatically turns the camera

towards their activity, making a video recording.

The surveillance department monitors the work shift routines as well as the activities of all personnel on the gaming floor. Dealers and pit personnel are identified and documented at the start and close of each shift. A surveillance agent is required to get an establishing shot of each dealer's table, a close up of the dealer's face and hands, and a close up of their identification badge with each shift rotation. This procedure is also conducted as floor personnel are rotated during the shift. The goal is to have a complete record of all activities on the gaming floor and all who are involved. A surveillance executive describes: "gaming is one of the few industries in the world where physical motions of an employee can be dictated in writing as a written procedure. Violation of these written procedures, like changes in one's particular body motions, can alert you to activity that is not right. These are signs of possible embezzlements, money going out the door that should not leave" [sic].

Restaurant and retail cashiers are also monitored by continuous surveillance. Cash registers are integrated with the surveillance and auditing departments. Surveillance creates a visual record of all transactions and simultaneously the cash register record of activity is super-imposed on the video image. This creates a real time record of an individual worker's activities that must coincide with the daily reports of the register. If an employee takes money from a register, the exact transaction when the theft occurred is documented on video tape. Data acquired from this system is admissible as evidence in a court of law. It prevents what is referred to as "sweet-hearting." That is, "some one who pays for two sodas, and takes two bottles of whiskeys instead" [sic]. This system can detect if a cashier is working with an outside partner.

Any person that is detected and documented as breaking a law is taken to the detention room, which is referred to as S-1. There is a sign in this room that clearly states that "all interviews and activities in this room are video and tape recorded for your protection." A security agent explains:

When dealing with an employee, the casino has the same rights as an individual. We can question them about an incident or a violation. We do not have to read them their legal rights. As soon as we say we are going to call the police department or gaming control board the situation changes. We are now acting as agents of the gaming control board. At this point we can no longer ask questions that will be admissible in court [sic].

The casino is likely to prosecute law breakers to the full extent of the law. However, interviews in S-1 can provide information about the scale and complexity of a theft or cheating ring. Another security official describes one tactic: "When dealing with people who we have accumulated evidence against, we can use this as a bargaining chip for more information. If we get a confession in the first ten or fifteen minutes of the interview, we don't really worry about them retracting their statement because we have beaten them psychologically. The goal is find out as much as we can about who else may be involved" [sic].

Surveillance Department Organization

The surveillance department is the center of the casino's security and property protection. Management personnel from the casino surveillance department interact with and coordinate activities with physical security, loss prevention, and internal investigations. These groups are compartmentalized and interactions between them are governed by rules and policies that form a distinct pyramid of authority. This pyramid is structured based on two criteria. First, who different members of the surveillance department are authorized to

interact with. And second, how access to the surveillance system is delegated. The surveillance system is programmed so that certain members of the department have specific and limited access to the surveillance system. The task of the surveillance workers are specifically defined and adherence to these procedures is maintained by encrypted systems with passwords.

The hierarchy is typically organized as follows. The director of surveillance answers directly to the owners or board of directors of the property. This person develops and oversees all surveillance operations. He or she is expected to assure the owners that surveillance operations are in accordance with established casino policies and state gaming regulations. The surveillance director coordinates operations between physical security, loss prevention, and risk management. She or he also works directly with internal investigations. The director of surveillance is a powerful position within the entire casino organization. This person is responsible for the entire encrypted surveillance system. The director of surveillance can be expected to interact with local, state, and federal agencies. He or she also maintains open lines of communication with other properties.

The surveillance manager and the senior supervisors routinely interact with the director of surveillance. The surveillance manager coordinates surveillance activities on all three work shifts. This individual answers to the surveillance director. This person oversees the tasks and delegates surveillance projects to the senior supervisors. The surveillance manager maintains the integrity of encryption and passwords between work shifts. The surveillance manager acquires encryption information from the surveillance director and disseminates this information to the senior supervisor. The surveillance manager is responsible for maintaining the integrity of the surveillance system between all shifts. This

person must account for any unauthorized use of the surveillance system. The surveillance manager works with internal investigations as required.

Senior supervisors coordinate the shifts to which they are assigned. These individuals manage the surveillance agents and the technical support staff which are two separate groups within the surveillance department, each having different responsibilities. Senior supervisors assign access to encrypted systems to the members of their shift. The senior supervisors are accountable to the surveillance manager for the use of the surveillance system on their designated shifts.

The surveillance agents are the observers who watch the games and other parts of the property. Their responsibilities involve observation, documentation, and reporting to the officials of the surveillance department. The senior agent is the observer with the most experience on the shift. The senior agent watches the games, and more critical areas of the property. Surveillance agents gain access to the encrypted systems with their passwords. Once they are logged on, the system monitors their activities. Each camera and monitor that the surveillance agent is responsible for has their identification number, the camera's identification number, and the time and date continuously displayed in the corner of the screen. The surveillance agent's activity with the surveillance system is documented and available for review the same way as other parts of the property are documented and available for review by surveillance officials.

The technical support staff maintains the operations of the video and computer systems, and also maintains the video tape library. The senior technician oversees the technical aspects of the surveillance system. These include any technical problems with cameras, recorders, computer systems, and computer-interfaced cameras. The technicians

complete tasks that are assigned by the senior technician. The videotape technicians maintains the tape library. This involves routine changing of the tapes, the logging of tapes into appropriate libraries, and the retrieval of tapes as required by surveillance management. The technical support staff gains access to the surveillance system the same way as the surveillance agents. The tape libraries are monitored by continuous visual surveillance to assure that tapes in the library are not removed or replaced unless authorized by the surveillance management.

Activities on the casino games and in cash handling areas are video taped constantly. These tapes are classified in one of two categories, either seven day rotation or the composite library. Seven day rotation tapes are the routine documentation of all casino operations and activities. These tapes are filed for seven days. If no need arises to view them within seven days they are recycled by being recorded over. The Megabucks slots are the exception. These tapes are kept for thirty days in accordance with Nevada gaming laws. The composite library is a permanent collection of video tapes that includes the following: procedural violations, risk management, customer complaints, large jackpots, cheating incidents, and "eighty sixes" (evictions from the property). These tapes are studied as required by surveillance management. The persons documented on these tapes are identified and information about them and the recorded incident are kept in special surveillance files.

Surveillance Technology

The surveillance system consists of three basic types of observation stations. A one to one station consists of a single screen dedicated to a single camera. A quads station

consists of four cameras dedicated to a single screen (where four camera images appear on one screen). A multiplex station is a single screen where up to sixteen cameras images can appear on one screen. Any image on a quad or multiplex can be enlarged to a one to one image at the click of a mouse. The surveillance control room also has monitors that are tasked for special purposes. Some are dedicated to a hard copy print out system, while others feature special observations like close up views of hands, feet, and pockets.

Quads and multiplex systems can reduce control room costs. The trade off is placement of these systems in appropriate areas. These systems compress information into manageable ways of observing multiple cameras. However, the skill of the surveillance agent is paramount. As a surveillance executive describes, "for these systems to be useful, the agent must know what to look for. Increased surveillance technology is no assurance of catching someone cheating at the games. If someone is cheating and the agents do not detect it, you only have multiple angles of something that occurred that no one saw."

Surveillance Agents

The definition of a trained surveillance agent is a person who is a non-participant in the casino's gaming activities. Surveillance agents are, however, experts at casino games. They observe and report specific activities that they observe to a higher authority. A senior surveillance executive explains that such agents "are an extra set of eyes and ears for the owners, management, and the employees; not their actual set of eyes and ears. Surveillance agents do not make decisions about any violations. They observe and report only. Decisions and authority regarding what a surveillance agent observes remains with the owners and upper management, not the observer" [sic]. It is important that surveillance

agents understand this arrangement and their responsibilities. He continues, "Surveillance agents need to know what you want them to know. They need to be able to look for what you want them to look for, and see what you want them to see. They need to know who needs to be watched and evaluated."

Properly trained surveillance personnel are considered the cornerstone of protection in the gaming industry. Surveillance agents must be as knowledgeable of the rules of the games as the pit bosses and dealers. They must know the roles and responsibilities of all the various casino and hotel staff. One surveillance official states: "They should be able to tell you the procedures and why they are in place. They must be able to understand procedures and make them work. Otherwise money is going out the door" [sic].

New people in the surveillance department are referred to as "break ins." To become a surveillance agent a person must be knowledgeable of state gambling laws, the rules of the games, and the casino's policies and procedures. "Break ins" are required to read the casino's procedural manuals and then sign a confidentiality statement stating that they have read and understand the procedures in these manuals. One surveillance expert explains, "it takes about two years to become a basic surveillance agent. The sophisticated equipment does not work by itself. Once a person is hired in the surveillance department, it is imperative that you get the employees to care about the property. If it is worthwhile to them it becomes worthwhile to you" [sic].

Requirements to work in this area include a stable job history, experience in some aspect of the gaming industry, and excellent telephone and computer skills. A complete background screening provides a thorough assessment of a person's character. The internal investigations department searches prospective agents' background for any criminal records

as well as their credit history. Finally, a subjective assessment is made to decide how well they will fit in with the existing staff.

As a surveillance executive summarizes: "Working in the Eye-in-the-Sky requires one's complete and undivided attention. Surveillance is not an all seeing system. It is important to have the best trained people we can get. Observers must thoroughly understand the procedures. One missing move by a dealer who is "cornering" or "slugging the deck" and that deck is not shuffled. If the observer does not recognize a routine like this, it will go on all night and never be detected" [sic]. Another surveillance executive explains, "The quickest way to catch a thief is having the proper personnel know how to operate the system and know what to look for. Video tape does not lie. The problem is with the people who watch it. The tape will tell you what happened if you know what you are looking at. The surveillance system is only as good as the people operating it. A surveiller can easily turn a camera away from an activity that should be monitored. These positions require absolute trust" [sic].

Life in the Surveillance Room

The surveillance agents and technicians have precisely defined tasks in the surveillance room. There are specific locations and games that require continuous monitoring. If they deviate from these procedures there must be a specific purpose. Changing or retasking a camera requires special documentation so that a surveiller does not turn a camera away from a location so that an illicit act can be committed in the blind spot of a camera.

Tape changes are usually conducted three times a day. They coincide with each

shift change. A technician will go down the line of recording decks and remove the tapes from each machine and put them in a basket, then take them to the tape library. Another technician will immediately follow and insert new tapes in each deck. Cameras that are dedicated to these decks are switched over to a temporary bank of recorders until the change out is completed. This is a formal procedure. It maintains continuous twenty four hour coverage of all activity in the casino space. There is never a moment or space that has not been documented and is not available for closer inspection. To assure that these procedures are followed a computer record is kept of all camera and tape recording activity. A monthly report is produced by the director of surveillance and is submitted to the owners and the gaming control board. Those working in other parts of the casino often see the positions of surveillance personnel as secretive and powerful. In actuality their responsibilities make their activities regimented and controlled in much the same way as those working on the gaming floor.

Internal Investigations

The Internal Investigations department is responsible for all new employee screening as well as monitoring employees suspected of illegal activities. Internal investigations use the same techniques that law enforcement and intelligence agencies have been using for many years. These techniques simply have been adapted to the casino environment. Internal investigations' primary purpose is to collect every bit of significant information they can about employees and questionable players. This involves keeping files of everyone on the staff and specific players. They document every significant thing that they see about them. An investigator explains: "If we see a worker walking along outside

the casino and get into his car, we write down the kind of car it is. You may think this is Big Brother, maybe it is. But when that dealer shows up a couple of weeks later in a brand new Ferrari, this information becomes very significant." The internal investigations department works closely with surveillance management. They do not bring outside people into these investigations and procedures unless they have a need to know. A surveillance director explains, "if you are going to arrest a bad dealer or supervisor and the word gets out, this gives them the opportunity to bail or the opportunity to file a law suit" [sic].

Physical Security

The surveillance department and security department are separate organizations. Surveillance is strictly associated with observation, detection, and documentation. Physical security is involved with apprehension, eviction, and direct interaction with local law enforcement agencies. These two organizations are strictly separated from one another. Surveillance agents are not involved with physical security or their activities and visa versa. Observation provides information and evidence. They are not involved in any aspects of law enforcement.

Loss Prevention

A major activity of the auditing and accounting departments is loss prevention. An important aspect of modern surveillance is the observer's capability to interact with the accounting departments. Surveillance personnel need to be aware of gaming accounting and auditing procedures. A casino executive explains the relationship: "A lot of surveillance work provides an audit function. It is the monitoring of paper work. A shortage can be traced by reviewing surveillance tapes to see where the loss occurred. The surveillance

department provides the auditing department with information as well as verification of audit procedures." By interacting with auditing departments, surveillance can "target slot machines that are losing money, table games that are losing money, and shifts that are losing money. Audit information gives the surveillance department targets to start honing in on. The surveillance department is only as good as the support team. This makes everyone a member of the surveillance organization."

Observation and Evaluation

Surveillance takes on an objective or third party position that observes casino operations and evaluates activities. One senior surveillance manager describes the difference between surveillance personnel and the role of the supervisory staff on the gaming floor:

Floor supervisors are typically honest people. That's why we hire them. A pit boss tends to be subjective. Their concerns are in the best interest of the pit area. As a result we may have a pit boss who might overlook something to maintain the efficiency of their area. This might not be illegal, but it might be hurting the casino as a whole. By us observing casino operations, a pit boss does not have to watch if procedures are followed. This allows them to concentrate on their responsibilities. They need to keep the games moving, keep the customers happy, change the decks, keep the racks filled, and keep the cocktail personnel coming [sic].

Surveillance routinely evaluates people, activities, and events. A senior surveillance official explains this aspect of surveillance operations: "We get involved in the training of personnel. We video tape dealers, floor persons, bosses, and cocktail personnel to show people what they are actually doing and evaluate their performance. A new dealer can be reviewed routinely rather than at the standard six month evaluations. We can provide regular feedback on their performance." Time motion studies are conducted by the

surveillance department as requested by the casino management.

Surveillance is extremely useful for evaluating events or incidents. Another surveillance official emphasizes the necessity of close evaluations:

We get a phone call at three in the morning. So and so has won \$80,000 in the last two hours. We can evaluate the general environment. Look at the pace of the game. Evaluate all the players in the general area. Suspicious craps games have been placed in the composite library and evaluated six months after the game was played. Who were the people at this game? Who were the dealers? Are all of these people involved in another game six months later? Is this a coincidence or is there a connection? [sic].

Gaming Language

The gaming industry speaks its own language and it is very important that surveillance personnel know and understand this language. For example, an *HLA* is a high limit advisory. This means that "big money is playing and surveillance needs to give this game special attention" [sic]. A *GO* is a general observation. This means that "something is wrong with the game. We are unsure what it is. Can surveillance please evaluate what is going on?" Floor persons as well as the surveillance staff needs to understand this language because it makes everyone's job easier and more efficient. A surveillance executive makes the point, "The observation department gets in the area of five thousand phone calls from the pit and three thousand phone calls from the slot department each year. Do the math. Telephone time is a big part of the surveillance agent's activities. A clear understanding of each other becomes very important" [sic].

Uniformity

Surveillance protect the casino's assets by assuring compliance with rules and procedures. A casino executive explains:

Casino management designs systems and procedures of control that eliminate the possibility of breaching your bank roll. Every one needs to follow these procedures. Surveillance watches and makes sure that everyone is following these procedures. Surveillance observes and they take notes. They get on the phone and notify people if things are not being done correctly. They work with internal audit making sure that procedures are followed. These procedures produce uniformity in all the casino's activities. This maintains the integrity of the entire operation [sic].

Uniform procedures also involve standardized dealing procedures. Another casino executive explains, "We like to communicate with the dealing schools. The goal is to have different schools teach dealing the same way. When new dealers come out they all deal the games the same way." Uniformity makes it easier for the surveillance department to monitor the casino games. He continues, "the dealer's actions become a dictionary of moves and language. Not all dealers are on the casino's side. This is where uniform procedures are effective. Uniformity is stronger than any cheap move a dealer can do" [sic].

Reputation of the Surveillance Department

The surveillance department actively engages in developing and maintaining a reputation for itself that is distinct from the other departments that make up the property. It constructs an image of itself as an elite group and it is important that the rest of the property understands this. This reputation in turn influences and shapes the reputation of the casino and its employees. In short, the surveillance organization consciously practices impression management. For the department to be successful, its reputation needs to be consistent and unyielding. A surveillance official addresses the issue:

If an observer sees something that appears incorrect when it is not, a problem can occur between floor personnel and observation. The pitboss may call and correct the observation department. This produces doubt in the surveillance department's capabilities. It is important that surveillance maintain legitimacy as an organization. We accomplish this through

communication and uniform procedures [sic].

Surveillance also can be used for public relations. A casino executive describes a situation:

Suppose you see a questionable play on the cameras upstairs. You realize that a player did not get paid properly. You come down stairs and inform that player that several hands ago they won a hand and did not get paid. Here is your money. This skyrockets your public relations because it tells this player and others who see this that you are running a clean house. In the long run, what is ten or twenty dollars? Your reputation and public relations far outweighs the cash involved [sic].

Surveillance maintains the reputation of the property and the owners as well by assuring compliance with state gaming laws. An individual's answering to the owners of the property or to state agencies can be subjective. Surveillance removes this subjectivity and maintains the integrity of the operation in a way that is acceptable to both owners and state gaming agencies. Surveillance is a system that must be trusted. As one surveillance expert explains, "Surveillance has always been a separate reality. It is considered the last line of defense against thieves. It is often a small department compared to the rest of the property. Lots of responsibility. It is a tough job. In order to protect the company, we must stay separate from everyone else on the property" [sic].

Paradoxical Pyramid

One casino official comments about "who observes the observer that observes the observer." Surveillance operations create a hierarchical pyramid that eventually becomes a paradox.

Sure that situation exists, but that's just the way it is. The bottom line is the system works. There is a room that surveils the casino. There is a room above them. This room is surveilling the surveillers, and a there is a room above them. The pyramid ends at the top. The top people are not surveilled,

nor are they surveilling those immediately below them. The system ends where it becomes a full time job to surveil the surveillers. Those on top have multiple responsibilities, and surveillance is one aspect of these responsibilities. They have someone else or a group that can handle it. Trust and loyalty is extremely important. The organization of the surveillance pyramid is not perfect. It stops where it becomes inconvenient or financially inefficient. It is an imperfect system that works [sic].

Surveillance and Secrecy

There are two philosophies of surveillance and different properties use them differently. The first is to keep it secret. No one is ever allowed in the surveillance room. People in the surveillance room are a distraction and a potential compromise of surveillance agents. Distraction is the main problem because there is really nothing secret in the room. The second philosophy is to show people the surveillance system. As one surveillance expert argues, "Use it to put fear in the employees. Show them how good the capabilities really are. This keeps honest people honest" [sic].

A general rule is that workers and customers never see the surveillance tapes. Compartmentalization of surveillance and review processes protects the casino's interest. Some properties make exceptions. Workers are shown videos of pick pockets, distract and grabs, and slot scams. This informs them of the value of surveillance and also gives them an idea of what to look for. Special tapes can be made for evaluation purposes and for public affairs purposes. Employees should not be shown surveillance tapes that reveal the surveillance techniques and capabilities of the system. As a surveillance specialist explains, "There are always blind spots in the surveillance system. No one should know where these blind spots are in the casino. No one should know the coverage and the complete capabilities of the surveillance system. Access to the room provides an opportunity to

identify the coverage and the blind spots" [sic]. Techniques, capabilities, and coverage must be kept secret. He continues, "employees find out that surveillance works by the 'phone call' rather than actually seeing it. It is imperative that the surveillance group remains separate and restricted from the rest of the property" [sic].

Surveillance Network

A group of surveillance organizations in casinos in several states have organized a surveillance network (SIN). It is a cooperative whose goal is to catch and arrest cheaters. They share information about cheaters through faxes and the internet. The goal is to monitor cheaters, catch them, and put them in jail. This group does not exchange names until an incident has occurred and has been investigated. The group does not get involved in internal disputes at individual properties. Currently there are over forty properties involved in this network with meetings twice a month. There are no dues. Membership is strictly voluntary. As one member explains: "If there is a bad guy out there and he gets away from our place. He could be coming to your place next" [sic].

The surveillance network routinely exchange information about current cheats and scams that are occurring in casinos. They describe techniques and the people involved. Another member addresses overcoming legal and technical issues to make the network efficient: "There has been a liability question regarding the communication of people's names electronically. We can work around this by using physical descriptions to describe specific events, and nicknames to describe individuals. To avoid the possibility of tort actions, surveillance organizations and the network use nicknames rather than actual names to describe individuals." Individuals are referred to by letters like Mr. D. or Ms. H. They

are also known by colors like Mr. Blue and Ms. Brown. Special individuals have earned nicknames like The Rug Doctor for a man with a strange hair piece. Other nicknames have included: Stringbean, Halfmoon, Tap Dance, Flapjack, Porkchop, The Rocker, Roadrunner, Wiley E., Sundowner, The Goose, and The Skipper and Gilligan.

Surveillance Network and Information Sharing

The video documentation and identification capabilities at most the larger properties is excellent. But the system is not perfect. A security official explains:

Once a thief gets off the property it is difficult to apprehend them, most of them know this. Thorough documentation must be used in conjunction with security. We need to exchange this information so that we know where these people are and what they are up to. All this requires a group effort. Information sharing involves sharing mug books and exchanging information about everyone from simple card counters to complex mechanics. None of this information is ever made available to the public [sic].

Networking surveillance information requires strict confidentiality. He continues, "the exchanging of information can be exchanged freely without compromise or threat of a law suit. Thieves really do not want to see information about them exchanged. These activities need to remain confidential so that thieves are not in the know" [sic]. This is why surveillance needs to be kept highly confidential.

Documentation and Evidence

If a tape is required to be made and retained as evidence, there is an established procedure that must be followed. This procedure is precise, accurate, and formal. Identification is very important for making a video tape acceptable as evidence in a court of law. A security expert explains, "all this documentation makes law enforcement's task

easier to arrest and prosecute cheaters. It is very important to protect the chain of evidence" [sic]. A minimum of three camera angles is required. One directly overhead observes the game. The table's identification number should be visible. If this is a coin activated gaming device the camera angle also should include the machine number and its general location in the casino. Second, a high angle view that clearly identifies the faces of the dealer and all players of the game. If this is a coin activated gaming device, it also should include an identifying view of the player, and machine number and all people in the immediate area. A third view features a long shot showing the table, dealer, players, pit personnel on duty and any bystanders. A fourth and optional view may include the player's interactions with the change booth and casino cashier. This view should show how much the player cashed in and how much money they received. The quad systems are ideal for this procedure. These tapes are retained in the composite library. The security expert continues: "Gathering information to prosecute cheaters is difficult if you have to prove conspiracy to cheat. If you have no accurate face shots, no arrest can be made. Surveillance personnel need to know the local legalities for the preservation of evidence. A well documented video tape is the most important piece of evidence in a trial for cheating or embezzlement. If a picture is worth a thousand words, then a video tape is worth a million" [sic].

Surveillance Files

The surveillance files are records of specific persons and activities that are kept separately from the seven day rotation and composite libraries. These are records that identify specific individuals. The surveillance files are classified into several different

categories. If a player or employee is notorious enough, she or he may occupy more than one of these categories. The surveillance files consist of still photographs obtained from the surveillance system and other forms of information that identify any persons the casino considers bad for business. The *slot file* is a record of any person or group that has cheated or attempted to cheat any of the coin activated gaming devices. The *table game file* are a record of all individuals and groups that have ripped off or attempted to rip off any of the table games. The *undesirable file* contains photos and information of individuals or groups whose activities violate or interfere with the casinos best interests and business operations. This includes pickpockets, distract and grab artists, purse snatchers, silver miners, and slot club cheaters. *Daily action reports* include documentation of procedural violations, incidents occurring in the casino, and any violations by employees or players of house rules. If employees are documented in a daily action report, they are also filed in the *employee surveillance file* as well. An *incident report* is the documentation of violations in or near any of the casino games. An incident report will usually get a person in the slot, table game, or undesirable file. This makes for a system that can potentially monitor, identify, and control access by predators. The idea is to know who they are, identify them and get them off the property before a problem occurs. Final decisions about the use and status of these files is made by the director of surveillance. The surveillance department also keeps files on all "high rollers" who play in the casino.

Legal Issues

A tort is a wrongful act committed against a person's rights as a citizen. This can be an invasion of an individual's legal rights, or the violation of some form of public duty in

which a an individual's rights are violated. The person acted against can by law file a civil suit against the individual or group responsible for the action. A security supervisor explains, "if you forcefully take a violator to the security office against their will, you may be guilty of false arrest or imprisonment. This can potentially result in a tort action. Dealing with people you catch is a very sensitive issue. Casinos require a set of standard procedures" [sic]. The commonly established procedure is: first, call the in house security; second, call the local police department; and third, notify the gaming control board.

A legal issue of concern is that gaming crimes are typically not crimes of violence. Judges tend to sentence lightly with the stipulation that the person does not enter a gaming establishment during a probation period. Surveillance and security officials maintain a strong position on this issue. An executive makes the point:

This is impossible to enforce consistently because there are too many people wondering through the casino to keep track of. This does not change the fact that these cheats are out there training other people to rip off the casinos. We need a conviction process. The prosecution of cheaters and thieves is very important because it sends a message. If people are prosecuted, cheaters will not come back and your dealers will stay honest [sic].

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS: A VISUAL SURVEILLANCE TYPOLOGY

Sociological Aspects of Visual Surveillance

In the literature review I proposed six tenets of surveillance and arranged current ideas about surveillance in terms of them. My goal here is to assess the significance of each of these tenets in reference to existing surveillance organizations. These tenets represent six features or dimensions that sociologically characterize surveillance. The tenets are: (1) Surveillance is an idea that shapes and manages social power; (2) Surveillance is an external instrument of social control; (3) Surveillance operates in social space; (4) Surveillance consists of social practices; (5) Surveillance requires a human gaze to operate. (6) Surveillance creates a setting typical of panopticism. These are not mutually exclusive categories because the features that make up each tenet often coalesce with others, yet each is a separately identifiable feature of surveillance activities.

This research has involved entering the field and studying accessible aspects of surveillance organizations that oversee the Las Vegas gaming industry. Gaming operations in Las Vegas are monitored by complex surveillance systems that are controlled by secret departments within the casinos. My goal has been to understand through dialogue with members of the gaming industry how each of the six features relates to surveillance

environments.

By studying the social life associated with surveillance, a typology of a surveillance organization can be constructed. This typology does not represent any single surveillance organization. It is a composite constructed from data that reflects many surveillance organizations. As expressed in abstract ideal typical terms, the purpose of this typology is to formally arrange information about existing surveillance organizations to provide guidance as to how to look at gaming surveillance, as well as other kinds of surveillance operations. The typology is defined by the following dimensions.

SURVEILLANCE AND SOCIAL POWER

Social power is commonly understood in sociology as the capacity to get others to do something even against their will. Power exists in all social phenomenon and becomes apparent in interactions, relationships, norms and values. Power commonly operates from two vantage points in the social world. First, within organizations that conduct various forms of social control. Second, within the masses who are governed by processes of social control. A central point in this research has been the idea that social power is voluntarily internalized prior to existing as an external object of control. In the social world power often operates unobtrusively as it guides the routines of social life. Power remains stable through the patterned regularities of social life. Predictable day to day activities are not happenstance. Although we consciously comply with the rules and laws of society, our conformity is often unapparent. We typically do not recognize social life as compliance with any mechanisms of control. In the realm of surveillance, power is exercised by: establishing social control, guiding domination and control, deflecting various forms of

resistance, maintaining stability between itself and knowledge, and constructing and maintaining secrecy.

Social power establishes control in surveillance environments in order to monitor social space to protect assets and resources. Visual surveillance organizations exist on the assumption that dishonesty is a normal part of social life. The idea that an employee may be tempted to steal from the casino is understood and is often discussed in a sympathetic way. People in the gaming industry realize that the temptation is normal and never really goes away. But gaming properties maintain the firm position that offenders must be prosecuted to the full extent of the law. The presence of surveillance expresses the idea that thieves are known to be out there. If it can be instilled in people that surveillance is present and effective, people will be deterred from violating the rules. People typically do not like the presence of surveillance, but the potential temptation to steal supersedes how people feel about being continuously observed.

Surveillance is not intended to be adversarial according to those who emplace and oversee its use. They say so to reduce tension, as it is the goal of organizations utilizing surveillance to get workers to accept its presence. Surveillance they say, is intended to provide a sense of belonging. Hopefully, workers are watching for thieves, and the surveillance system is their backup. The surveillance organization in actuality is more complex than this. But, properties see establishing such a belief in the workers as beneficial to the casino. As well as being an ally to workers, surveillance is also intended to be protection of people's activities through the perspective of a third party or neutral observer. It is believed that such an organization occupying a such a position can keep honest people honest.

Interpersonal Domination and Institutional Control

Interpersonal domination and institutional control refer to the idea of social power in relationships. Although interpersonal domination influences much of social life, it is a common part of social interaction, not just a negative phenomena. Institutional control is more formalized domination involving individuals who establish routinized power relations. Accordingly, subordinate individuals are subjected to these power relations. Interpersonal domination and institutional control often provide meaning and a sense of order for the members of social groups, where people construct a sense of identity ranging somewhere on a continuum between full autonomy and complete dependence. Domination and control thus establish patterned regularities that are simultaneously stabilizing while seemingly normal.

Domination and control are exercised in a variety of ways in organizations monitored by surveillance. As casino management keeps a number of sanctions at their disposal. Surveillance is the visual lens supporting administrative decisions regarding appropriate sanctions of workers and players. Surveillance is an idea that people are socialized with when they enter the gaming industry. It is never discussed because a person never knows when surveillance is watching and listening. People rarely think about it explicitly, but its presence is always in the back of people's minds. To some degree, it influences all people occupying surveilled space, including surveillers themselves.

The procedures that individuals must complete to become a member of a surveillance organization is one form of domination in which participants freely involve themselves. Those wanting to become members of surveillance organizations must take

part in a rite of passage that may last for years. It is an arduous process that involves developing trust within an environment steeped in dishonesty. During this time, new members strive to overcome the neophyte label of "break-in," while those already established in the organization act as gate keepers who regulate the ritual. Once accepted into the organization, domination is reproduced in the positions that people occupy in a surveillance organization. The organization consists of the surveillance director, surveillance managers and supervisors, agents, and technicians. The existing hierarchy of the organization ensures that domination will occur regardless of who fulfills the roles. Surveillance becomes institutional control when it is used to enforce the rules of the greater organization. The precise definitions of who has access to what part of the surveillance system is a form of institutional control. It is always arranged to benefit the organization, not the individual. This provides stability in both dominance and control relationships.

Surveillance is used by the supervisory staff to dominate workers on the entire property. The use of saturation targeting is how surveillance is used to dominate workers. Such domination instills in the minds of workers that surveillance is observing every minute detail of their on-the-job activities. Although surveillance can be recognized as an external object of control, it is the ideas it fosters in the minds of the workers that makes surveillance powerful.

Profiling is a strategy of control that identifies and categorizes people whom the greater organization considers questionable or undesirable. It is a selection process to determine which individuals and groups require control. Institutional control is often delegated to the appropriate organizations within the casino like internal investigations, physical security, and auditing and accounting. Those who are profiled may be closely

observed, ejected from the premises, or detained until public law enforcement agents can arrest them.

Institutional control is based on the idea that different areas of the property have prescribed activities like gaming procedures, cash handling, and counting. Just as there are standardized ways of carrying out these activities, there are also deviations from these activities that are considered a violation of rules. Surveillance assures that prescribed activities are carried out appropriately. Workers must comply with this process or be sanctioned.

Resistance

Interpersonal dominance and institutional control inevitably lead to resistance. Those in subordinate positions develop counter-strategies to resist the power of dominance and control. Resistance limits the power of organizations because individuals can always arrange their lives to alter or reduce the domination and control influencing their lives. Also, organizations exercising excessive domination and control tend to become unstable over time. Consequently, surveillance has become a tool that helps maintain stability in the exercise of domination and control. Surveillance makes domination and control less intrusive in people's lives. It is installed on the pretext that people are doing something wrong or inefficiently and must prove themselves otherwise. Expanding surveillance technologies contribute to an air of suspicion where people are perceived as guilty until proven innocent.

Surveillance is in place to detect resistance. Properties must protect themselves from the common belief that illegitimately gained money belongs to the person who

attained it. People will not report being overpaid, but will always report being underpaid. Surveillers tell stories of people taking twenty five cents at a time just to see if they can get away with it. Other situations have occurred where workers are inadvertently overpaid by a cashier. When the casino demands the return of the money, individuals have returned to the casino after their shift to win that money back legitimately. Video evidence has documented thieves unplugging surveillance cameras while committing a crime. Rather than a deterrent, the cameras is something that gets in the way of committing a crime. Certain individuals are not intimidated by the presence of surveillance. Surveillance is in place under the assumption that all people will steal from the property if the opportunity presents itself. However, surveillance by itself is not enough to deter all violators of the rules. In addition, an image of power and secrecy is needed.

Power/Knowledge

Michel Foucault's theory of power/knowledge is highly relevant for surveillance. Foucault recognized a social world shaped by discipline, where power and knowledge are the primary forces governing social life. Power is implicated in the production of knowledge. The exercise of power accumulates information which in turn produces new forms of knowledge. Knowledge and human agency develop systems of thought that become social forces controlling society. As a result, knowledge always exhibits the effect of power. Knowledge is essential to systems of power while it is subservient to the power it contributes to. Power molds all members of society including those who exercise power and is diffused throughout all aspects of social life -- within our thoughts, needs, desires, activities, and practices. All members of society are also the sites where knowledge is

produced while power is exercised. Consequently, all people simultaneously experience and contribute to power/knowledge.

Surveillance was born out of the relationship between power/knowledge. The power/knowledge of surveillance began with the transition of gaming from control by organized crime to the emergence of corporate gaming enterprises. The incorporation of Las Vegas gaming replaced one kind of power/knowledge with another. Although different forms of power/knowledge emerged out of previous forms, the relationship between power/knowledge has not changed. With the transition, knowledge continues to serve power.

The introduction of surveillance coincided with the integration of bureaucratic styles of organization with advanced technology. The emplacement of surveillance created new forms of knowledge through which gaming activities could be monitored. New knowledge revealed new aspects and points of view concerning gaming. New improprieties were detected and holes were plugged in the system. Consequently, such knowledge has continued to increase administrative power and control of gaming environments.

The power/knowledge concepts accurately describes how surveillance organizations maintain control of the settings they monitor. Power is routinely reproduced by keeping key individuals and groups "in the know" about the activities of others. Surveillers make sure that those in surveilled space comply with established rules. They do so by relying on their knowledge of what is supposed to happen in surveilled space, as well as what is not. The power of surveillance is maintained by keeping this knowledge a secret. Such knowledge is encoded in surveillance techniques, gaming language, and recognizing cheating techniques like pinching and pressing, rat holing, and card mucking, and so on.

A surveillance organization routinely maintains impression management. The surveillance department of a property constructs an elite image of itself and carefully disseminates this impression throughout the work setting. People know surveillance is present, but are unsure of its activities, their extent, and efficiency. The surveillance organization let it be known that its official position is firm, consistent, and unyielding. This image is important because it reflects the property's attitude regarding state laws and legitimate gaming. The power of surveillance is instilled in workers, and diffused in their day to day activities. By carrying out prescribed activities with the precision that is expected, workers become part of this power/knowledge nexus in the context of what seems to be a normal work day. The knowledge shaping this power is kept secret, it is known only by a few. To maintain this power/knowledge function the surveillance organization remains a separate group from the rest of the property.

Organizational Secrecy

Secrecy refers to knowledge that is intentionally concealed from others. Access to such knowledge can be hidden in a variety of ways. Secrecy, like domination, is a normal aspect of social life. It commonly occurs within exchanges in social interactions, as people reveal certain information while they intentionally conceal other details. Although there is no such thing as a true secret, secrecy provides meaning and purpose to members of secret organizations. Concealment limits the exchange of information.

Secrecy has always been a fundamental idea guiding surveillance activities, since spotters began watching gaming activities from catwalks in the ceilings. Concealment of spotters' identity allowed them to perform their jobs more efficiently. It also protected their

well being from perpetrators they exposed in the course of their work. Within surveillance organizations secrecy rationally guides action influencing the means as well as the ends of surveillance activities. The process constructs knowledge and conceals information that helps secret organizations operate without compromising their power. Because of secrecy, all people are in some form of complicity with surveillance. Such complicity contributes to the power of surveillance, and also makes possible the production of knowledge that serves the power of surveillance. Secrecy and deception together thus contribute to stability in surveillance environments.

SURVEILLANCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Surveillance Organizations and Bureaucracy

Social control refers to the capacity to regulate social activities and produce conformity. Regulation and conformity are often seen as rational aspects of contemporary society. Whereas social power has been discussed as an idea guiding surveillance, social control is here addressed in terms of instruments or mechanisms of control. More specifically, this section addresses how mechanisms of control are organized and function, and the effects of such mechanisms on the social setting. Instruments are external objects including systems of surveillance, formal organizations, individuals, and social spaces. Mechanisms of social control are emplaced by individuals and groups in positions of authority with the purpose of increasing "rational" control over aspects of social life.

Surveillance eliminates superstition from gaming and thus provides a rational approach to analyzing casino activities. To maintain this capability, surveillance organizations rely on bureaucratic administration. Members understand the goals of the

organization and direct their activities toward achieving those goals. Members are also knowledgeable of surveillance resources and understand how domination and control make the organization efficient. A surveillance bureaucracy develops its own ethos -- unique ideologies, attitudes, beliefs, and opinions become ingrained among the members of the group that make its operations efficient. Systems of surveillance require bureaucratic organization that efficiently combines voluntary compliance with the enforcement of social rules.

Increasing rationality, however, also produces a variety of social problems. As modern society is increasingly characterized by an encompassing sense of social order, the emphasis on rationality, productivity, and efficiency creates a sense of insecurity and loss of purpose in many individuals. Individuals become bureaucratic cogs within Weber's "iron cage" whose purposes are to carry out practices designed and implemented by those in positions of authority. People are increasingly dependent on bureaucratic organizations that utilize administrative control and gather information about their lives. Rational decisions often seem to subordinate the fulfillment of our needs to the most efficient means of adhering to rules and procedures. As traditional meanings become obscure, society coincides by becoming a chaotic social world full of strangers.

Surveillance in all its forms is an instrument of social control whose purpose is increasing rationality in social life. Surveillance is a system of deterrence that is conducted by an autonomous organization. It is an external mechanism of control that often coordinates the activities of detection, apprehension, prosecution, and the accumulation of evidence. The surveillance department routinely monitors for dishonest players, dealer errors, the comings and goings of visitors to the property, and often resolves discrepancies.

For all these practices to be successful, detection must be made before any losses occur. Consequently, a surveillance organization often operates within its own self constructed iron cage. Different departments promote the idea that surveillance provides many positive functions like: protecting jobs, reputations, assets, and personal safety. The surveillance department remains secret, but also actively cooperates with other key areas of the property. Cooperation increases its capacity as a mechanism of control. Also, as surveillance groups have been continually tasked with more responsibilities, fulfilling these responsibilities supersedes the quality of life that characterizes the surveillance work environment. To work in surveillance, one must deal with isolation, suspicion, and secrecy.

Working in a surveillance department can be an alienating experience. It is a work setting with precisely defined procedures. The goal of many properties is to develop and maintain uniform working procedures. In fact, gaming is one of the few industries where adherence to these established procedures is a condition of employment. Deviations from these procedures periodically occur while conducting surveillance operations. Such deviations are scrutinized to be sure their occurrence is not guided by an illegal agenda. Everyone in surveilled space as well as surveillers themselves can be the subject of suspicion. Thus although visual surveillance is a systematic approach to maintaining honesty, it is also a means of reproducing doubt and suspicion in social settings where it is utilized. As the technology monitors itself, surveillance contributes to making suspicion normal. It is programmed to assure that the people who are operating it are doing so according to the procedures. Complex surveillance systems monitor human activities to assure compliance with the rules. Automatic override systems document changes to camera positions and video recording systems. It makes a record of who, where, and when such

changes have occurred. Over the years, surveillance systems have become more efficient. This efficiency has made people an interface with surveillance systems rather than human agents guiding the technology. Surveillance as a mechanism of social control becomes a technical instrument consisting of social interactions, relationships, procedures, and technology. Social power thus permeates the system and the human body is one site of its operation.

The medium of video is considered beyond suspicion because what is recorded is what actually occurred. Video is not deceptive, nor is it selective as to what it observes. Deception, decisions, and attitudes are the attributes of humans who are the weak link in a technological system. In short, the technology can be trusted, people cannot. The systematic practices of bureaucracies utilize systems of surveillance to produce a new kind of knowledge for the purposes of social control. This knowledge is governed by bureaucratic organizations that contribute to work settings that operate along a theoretical continuum between liberal and authoritarian forms of management. Surveillance is involved in its own production and the reproduction of power. Rational bureaucracy is the administrative process that makes surveillance efficient.

One part of a surveillance organization's activities is the rationalization of its expansion. Members of surveillance organizations tend to see their resources as both under-equipped and understaffed. Personnel from surveillance organizations present their organizations as just barely able to keep up with external threats. To combat the illicit activities occurring in surveilled space, more complex systems as well as trained observers are required to conduct surveillance operations. As long as these beliefs persist, surveillance will likely continue to expand.

Surveillance and Social Scale

Surveillance is a mechanism that maintains social control in large scale settings. In these settings, interpersonal means of social control are limited because it is difficult to personally oversee the activities of everyone in an area. In small-scale settings on the other hand, people's activities are easily observed. People know each other through face to face acquaintance. Violations of social rules are sanctioned through a variety of interpersonal means. An effective mechanism of broader social control needs to replicate the methods of small-scale settings. Surveillance merges the attributes of large and small scale settings. It replaces face to face interactions with formal monitoring and documenting of social activities to make people accountable for their activities. Surveillance is also a means of identifying and sanctioning people who violate the rules. It has the effect of small scale social control techniques without direct interpersonal contact with management. Face to face acquaintance is replaced by bureaucratic policies and established procedures. Workers who are peers sanction each other through interpersonal means while management who carry out formal sanctions are invisible, but always present in the minds of workers.

Changes in social scale can be attributed to the technology. Surveillance collapses social space through the use of observation stations known as: one to ones, quads, and multiplex systems. The latter types consist of multiple viewing screens that display the image of four and sixteen different cameras simultaneously. A surveillance agent can thus observe many locations on a single screen. The multiple images on the screen can be arranged to observe specific areas simultaneously. If a perpetrator is attempting to flee the property, surveillance can anticipate the individual's route of exit before he or she can get

to it. No person or group can have this perspective while at the actual location.

Surveillance technology is also capable of collapsing time. Periods of time ranging from minutes to months can be compressed on video tape and observed in a matter of moments. In the work setting, surveillance systems can obtain data about a particular dealer rotation, work shift, or activities in a particular area during a specific period of time, over a period weeks, months, or years. Studying events in this unique fashion produces whole new ways of understanding what goes on in the course of a day as well as a fiscal year. The surveillance network further collapses time and space beyond the work setting and the gaming property as the above information can be communicated with other properties, gaming experts, and law enforcement agencies. Surveillance organizations located in different countries routinely exchange information about suspicious and undesirable groups and individuals as people may cross international boundaries to avoid detection. The surveillance network makes it seem as if the individual has simply crossed the street. The goal of implementing the surveillance network is thus to expand the reach of interpersonal domination and institutional control.

The Surveillance Group as a Mechanism of Control

The surveillance group as a mechanism of control can be addressed in terms of individuals, groups as instruments, the organizational pyramid of power, and invisibility. Individual surveillance agents are instruments of social control. They are socialized to become this way. The term "break-in" implies a process of transformation that people experience as they become surveillers. It is a process that people actively participate in. Just as seasoned surveillance personnel see new workers as break ins, new members are often

anxious to overcome the label. The term implies a desire to transcend. This transformation process is important because the efficiency of an organization is based on how well new workers are socialized to become surveillers. The role of a surveillance agent can be summarized in terms of two notions: observe and report. The best surveillance agent is a person who recognizes him or her self outside of decision making processes. Observe everything, detect suspicious activities, and accumulate evidence about those activities. Let people in authority handle all situations beyond this level.

Surveillance groups are formal organization that collectively observe, document, and evaluate any activities that may be violations of established rules. Surveillance especially looks for activities that conceal or distract attention from an occurring violation. If a violation is detected, the group begins a process of observing, identifying, accumulating evidence, and notifying the appropriate groups or agencies to handle the situation. Surveillance groups makes up a pool of knowledge about gaming legalities and improprieties. This knowledge is sophisticated, but discussed through a variety of slang terms like pinching and pressing, marking and daubing, mucking, and so on. Accordingly, the people they suspect and observe are given nicknames associated with their scam or appearance. Nick names like: The Rug Doctor, Tap Dance, Halfmoon, and Stringbean objectify perpetrators. Rather than recognizing people with thoughts, feelings, and a variety of human issues; violators are objectified with nicknames that make them seem like characters from a comic strip. Objectified and depersonalized -- violators become easier to have arrested and convicted.

The power of the surveillance department is organized as a paradoxical pyramid. It is a setting where surveillance agents watch workers and players, surveillance management

watches the agents, a surveillance director watches surveillance management, and the director answers to owners or a board of directors. As a person advances through the ranks, the intensity of observation and control decreases. It is recognized as an imperfect system, but it is a system that works. This paradoxical pyramid constitutes a hierarchy of authority where power is constant, and knowledge is controlled. The power of this hierarchy is diffused among all members. The paradoxical pyramid describes how human agency makes an instrument of control both efficient and inefficient. The pyramid serves the casino and the surveillance organization before it benefits any individuals working in any part of the property. The surveillance network is yet another level of this pyramid and illustrates the distribution of power/knowledge. Only those at the top of the pyramid actually interact with other organizations and groups through the network. Those at the upper levels of the pyramid disseminate information from the network to workers below them. The goal of utilizing the surveillance network is the expansion of interpersonal domination and institutional control.

Invisibility is another mechanism of control. Although the surveillance system is often visible to some degree to those in surveilled space, the organization that oversees the operations of the surveillance system is typically invisible. The invisibility and normalization of surveillance makes people unaware of it, and certainly not conforming to it. Displaying awareness of it implies to observers that they are doing something wrong. To avoid suspicion, it is best to act as if surveillance is not there. Although the mechanism is invisible, it is revealed in several ways. Surveillance utilizes two types of cameras called fixed and dome cameras. Fixed cameras are emplaced and aimed to watch a particular area like employee areas, cash handling areas, entrances, parking lots, the back of the house, and

large payout gaming machines. This type of camera is not always obvious, but it is not meant for concealment. Dome cameras on the other hand are concealed in a translucent bubble. These are emplaced to blend into ceiling decorations and lighting fixtures. Domes are used to monitor the casino and other large areas of the property. A dome is often visible, but the camera inside of it cannot be seen. No one in the casino ever knows where, who, or what these cameras are monitoring.

SURVEILLANCE AND SOCIAL SPACE

The concepts of time and space are self evident categories of human existence. We rarely question the traditional meanings assigned to time and space in the course of our daily lives. As discussed in the previous section on surveillance and social control, surveillance manipulates both time and space in pursuing its goal of rational efficiency. In constructing a typology of a surveillance organization, the topic of social space in particular needs to be addressed. The postmodern condition is sometimes understood as de-emphasizing the temporality of events and privileging the spatiality of the same phenomena. Contemporary thought increasingly attempts to account for the social dimensions that shape social space. Surveillance is a visual medium that challenges our traditional views of social space. My goal is to describe how surveillance contributes to our changing views of space.

From Lefebvre's (1991) and Soja's (1996) ideas of social space, it is possible to derive five characteristics of social space that are relevant to visual surveillance. Mutual exclusiveness is unimportant here. Rather, human perception and our use of space creates a hierarchy of space that reflects different stages of value and aesthetics. Visual surveillance

affects each of these categories. My goal is to describe each category and how surveillance affects social space. The hierarchy becomes apparent if we observe how values as well as the aesthetic qualities are recognized, constructed, exchanged, and protected in social space. The categories are: (1) Ontological space; the ontological has no value or aesthetic qualities in itself. (2) Perceptual space; perception recognizes value and aesthetics as a part of ontological space. We assign value and aesthetics to our perceptions. (3) Conceived space; involves the construction of value and aesthetic qualities in ontological and perceived space. These are constructed through conception. (4) Social space; this is the environment where value is exchanged and aesthetic qualities are appreciated through interactions, social life, culture, groups, and events occupying social space. (5) Surveilled space; this combines the previous categories of space. It is created for the protection of value. Aesthetic qualities are de-emphasized in the process of protection. Again, each of these categories are often self evident. Each is addressed to describe how surveillance operates in space, and how value and aesthetics can be recognized differently based on our notions of space.

Ontological Space

Ontological space is based on the assumption that both the social and the natural worlds exist as an external reality. Ontological space is physical and objective. It precedes human cognition and cannot be affected by natural or social events. External forces exerted by nature or human agency cannot influence or change ontological space. The structure of ontological space is constant. It exists independently of any frame of reference. In short, ontological space occurs in nature and cannot be subjected to change.

Knowledge of ontological space is constructed for the purpose of understanding it. Such knowledge tends to privilege objectivity, external reality, and a material world. Knowledge of ontological space is guided by the idea of mimesis. Mimesis relies on the positivist assumption that there is a "best" or certain way of representing the external world. Accurate descriptions and explanations of its appearance can be constructed. The goal of representation is to produce as accurate a representation of the external world as possible. Although ontological space is accepted as existing prior to human consciousness, any description of the ontological requires knowledge of how it is understood. Ontological space cannot be inhabited without some degree of knowledge of its existence. Knowledge of the ontological is derived from human comprehension and experience. Through socialization, how we perceive, construct, inhabit, and protect social space is grounded in mimesis and rationalization.

Ontological space has no inherent value or any inherent aesthetic qualities. Both the concepts of value and aesthetics are human inventions. Since the ontological exists prior to and regardless of human comprehension and inhabitation, the concepts of value and aesthetics are null. The assumption of the ontological being void of value and any aesthetic qualities is the starting point from which a hierarchy of social space can begin.

Surveillance has no purpose in ontological space, but the assumptions associated with the ontological are important to surveillance. Surveillance does not monitor ontological space, it assumes it. For surveillance technology to work as well as be meaningful, there must be a physical reality that is external to perception and social experience.

Perceptual Space

Perceptual space accounts for the phenomenal aspects of ontological space. Perception of the ontological is the origin of ideas about space. Out of perception, we comprehend space and seek to better understand it by recognizing its value and aesthetic qualities. We perceive space encoded as signs and symbols to be interpreted and understood. Perceptual space is thus imagined. We discover aesthetic qualities in the ontological through perception. Imagined representations aid in our perception of space. People navigate through perceptual space by a process known as cognitive mapping. It is a mimetic technique based on rationality that we commonly use to make sense of reality. Perceived space then, is often represented by ideas. Perception constructs a rational frame of reference within which we can begin the process of recognizing aesthetic values of space and assigning values to it. Through perception, value and aesthetics are recognized in the thing in itself. All perceived spaces have some kind of aesthetic quality and value.

The perception of space is the tool of those conducting surveillance. Perception gives the act of observing spaces a purpose. But the full range of meaning of conducting surveillance is yet to be defined. The fundamental assumptions of the ontological merged with perception creates the ideas of conceived and surveilled space, which provides surveillance with meaning.

Conceived Space

The merging of the ontological with perception produces conceived space. Conceived space is the dominant space of any society. It is the actual location that becomes

meaningful through planning, construction, and development. The inhabitants of conceived space fill the hierarchies that are often intentionally constructed in conceived space. By merging the physical with the subjective, conceived space can be acted upon. Human manipulation and alteration changes the aesthetic qualities and value of space. We create conceived space when we physically project our aesthetic ideas of perceived space into ontological reality. The construction of conceived space produces representations. Knowledge of conceived space is often reflected in constructed representations of perceived space.

Value is often reflected by the control exercised on a particular space. It is controlled by concepts like private property and the zoning of such spaces. Cityscapes, buildings, transportation systems, organizations, groups, and individuals are the humanly created objects that occupy conceived space. Conceived space is the location of industry, commerce, housing, social events, and cultural spectacles. It is the place of social hierarchies. Conceived space is known through experience. It is a reflexive concept that addresses the continuously changing milieu of ideas, events, appearances, and meanings associated with social spaces.

Conceived space is constructed, and its value as well as aesthetic qualities are constructed in the process. Through perception, we recognize value and aesthetics in the ontological. Conceived space on the other hand constructs value in the ontological and is made aesthetically pleasing. Las Vegas is an exemplar of this concept. Resort properties worth several hundred million dollars are constructed on land that in other parts of the state (less than one hundred miles away) is reserved for range cattle and weapons testing. The same properties create sunsets on the ceilings, project a powerful beam of light into outer

space, house exotic animals like dolphins and white tigers, create a volcanic spectacle every fifteen minutes, and stage mock pirate battles complete with a British galleon that sinks every ninety minutes. People do not visit these constructed spectacles because they are expensive. They travel to see these things because each is aesthetically unique to Las Vegas. These are spaces that displace our mimetic and rational grounding of representational ideas. Such constructed value and aesthetics make conceived space worth surveilling.

The concept of conceived space prioritizes space over time. People inhabiting conceived space create the need for surveillance in the minds of those controlling that space. This is evident in the fact that members of the gaming community do not clearly remember when or where surveillance became a part of gaming. In a sense, it has always been. Their emphasis is on the fact that it is here, and that it must protect resources of conceived space. Time does not matter because conceived spaces that require surveillance must be monitored all the time.

Social Space

Social space is an elaboration of conceived space because it is the space occupied by social life. The objects of conceived space -- individuals, groups, social events, and cultural life become the subjects of social space. Social space is subjective and relative because it is a product of social life. Through human perception and conception, we give social space both meaning and purpose. Meanings can be changed through countless forms of interaction.

We simultaneously inhabit and traverse ontological, perceived, conceived, and

social space in the course of our daily lives. Yet, social space remains meaningful through our understanding of representations, social events, and cultural life. Social space encompasses numerous continua: internal/external, subjective/objective, public/private, attractive/repulsive, valued/worthless, and so on. Such dualities make social spaces always subject to change and revision.

Social space is the location in which social processes occur. It is a continuously changing container that encompasses a full range of social phenomena. Social space includes social structures. Groups and organizations occupying various locations maintain relations for the purpose of exchanging information and resources. Social space continually evolves as different individuals, groups, and organizations lay claim to it. As conceived space is created, social groups commonly emerge seeking to control social space. Access to social space can be allowed or denied by human agents. It is routinely owned, sold, traded, taken over, removed, replaced, and claimed not to exist. Aesthetically, conceived spaces are constructed to be appealing and inhabitable. Through the daily routines of social life, these aesthetic qualities are appreciated.

In short, social space is the merging of ontological, perceptual, and conceived spaces. Social space is made meaningful by its inhabitants through representation. Symbols, language, and culture are a consequence of people occupying conceived spaces. Ontological and perceptual space are categories grounded in philosophy and science. Conceived space and social spaces are the product of social life. Culture and society give social space its prominent characteristics.

Surveilled Space

We commonly accept the ideas of both ontological space and perceived space. However, merging the concepts derived from conceived space and social space provides alternative ideas about social reality. Visual surveillance provides new ways of observing what is occurring in space, and it also imposes ideas about how people should act. High technology integrated with real-time optical systems, like surveillance, has created new kinds of spatial awareness. Such awareness contributes to new modes of thinking about space that rely on the value and the aesthetic uses of social spaces. Surveilled space is thus a result of integrating visual technology with human agency. The emplacement of a surveillance system is selective. It involves subjective decisions as to what should be observed. Based on where it is emplaced, it will encompass ontological, perceived, conceived and social spaces. Surveilled space encompasses its own set of dualities: known/unknown, secret/disclosed, visible/invisible, accessible/denied, above/below, before/after, and so on. These are continua in which the social control that is governed by surveillance routinely operates.

Just as ontological space is given meaning through perception and conception, human interactions give social space meaning and surveillance its purpose. Surveilled space is a location where social control is exercised. Surveillance is used to monitor spaces that have been constructed to be valuable. The assets and resources that make those spaces valuable need to be protected. As value is protected, surveillance constructs restricted locations and spaces that require adherence to procedures. The fact that people are relatively unaware of surveilled space does not negate its significance. Visual surveillance makes it possible to surveil an individual's life world while he or she is in surveilled space. Thus even if people's experiences exclude the acknowledgment of surveillance, this does

not deny the existence of surveilled space. Regardless of perception and social life, surveilled space is a part of external reality. Surveilled space exists beyond common experience making anyone who enters its boundaries in some way in complicity with it.

Surveilled space encompasses two standpoints, those who observe and those who are observed. Those who observe do so for a specific purpose. Observers of people, activities, and interactions occurring in surveilled space always see these phenomena differently from those who are involved in these social phenomena. Those involved rarely consider the standpoint of the observers. Observers tend to see surveilled space as a benefit to society. Those who occupy surveilled space on the other hand are more diverse in their views. Most are likely to be indifferent to it. Others acceptingly see it as an unavoidable violation of their privacy. Still others are fully aware of surveillance and are intent on surreptitiously violating the rules that govern surveilled space. Surveillance agents observe people as objects in surveilled space. People are basically recognized as desirable and undesirable. It is this last group that surveillance actively seeks to observe and identify.

Surveilled space is both constructed and representational. It is emplaced to protect constructed assets. The observation of surveilled space relies on mimesis and rationality while the aesthetic qualities are denied in surveillance operations. Surveilled space is constructed in two ways. First, by identifying conceived spaces that require observation. Protection of conceived spaces is the underlying purpose guiding these decisions. These are social spaces where procedures govern people and their activities. They include both public and nonpublic areas like cash-handling areas, gaming areas, the back of the house, hallways, entrances and exits, parking areas -- any location where objects of conceived value are placed. Second, a single camera can create a surveilled space. But a single camera

provides less information about that space than our mimetic assumptions about representation require. Surveilled spaces are thus constructed by an array of cameras. For surveilled space to be meaningful, it must be representational based on mimesis and rationality. Our ideas of mimetic representation is typically more than one individual's ability to construct a mimetic representation.

Surveilled space is constructed within social space for the purpose of detecting deviance, wrong doing, and illegal activities. It is a technological site where ontological, perceptual, conceived, and social space are merged together through formal observation. Surveillance organizations rely on the assumption that conceived as well as social space exists within the ontological. The surveillance system provides an objective perspective that documents exactly what is going on. Surveilled space is constructed for the purpose of overlooking appropriate activities and searching for inappropriate behavior in social space. Those who are doing nothing wrong have nothing to worry about. Surveillance makes social space a static container in which all people are observed and potentially evaluated, identified, and documented.

Visual surveillance creates a unique form of social space. The boundaries of surveilled space are defined by the technical limitations of a surveillance system. A system of surveillance consists of a multitude of different types of cameras. Entering a location that is monitored by such a system is like entering a maze that only the observers can see. The placement of surveillance cameras creates a distinct form of social space through angles of coverage and camera movements. Surveilled space thus forms a template over ontological, perceived, conceived, and social space. Surveilled space is the location of Baudrillard's notion of the ob-scene: a location where spectacle and illusion vanish in complete

transparency and visibility. Undesirable objects in surveilled space are converted into documentation and evidence that is closely inspected and communicated with other groups who do the same. Surveilled space becomes a container in which problem employees, and undesirable people can be kept track of. Surveillance detects people who attempt to conceal themselves.

Invisibility is constructed as a part of surveilled space. Cameras are both concealed, and in plain view. Each type is always inaccessible. Concealed cameras are encased in translucent domes that obscure where they are aimed. Visible cameras are typically emplaced out of reach, making them extremely difficult to inspect or tamper with. The presence of the camera and the potential that an unknown person may be using it for observation is enough to deter most people from giving a surveillance camera any attention.

The nonintrusiveness of surveillance technologies creates a unique kind of social distance between surveillers and surveilled. The surveillance group monitors gaming environments from one centralized location. Centralization contributes to invisibility, making surveillance difficult to locate. Those who monitor people can be in the same building, or in a different state. The whereabouts of the surveilled is always known, yet the location of surveillers typically remains secret. Surveillance makes it difficult for people to know when they are being surveilled, and by whom. Surveillance thus increases the social distance between the members of surveillance organizations and those they surveil. Regardless of the actual distance between surveillers and surveilled, the arrangements of surveillance technologies make social distance great and impenetrable. The value of surveillance is this impenetrability and secrecy. People know that surveillance exists

because of the presence of cameras. Common knowledge of the existence of surveillance groups is derived from perception rather than actual interactions with surveillance workers. Interactions with people might reveal fallibility in the system. There are also other limitations. No surveillance system can cover a complete area continuously. Blind spots in the system are deficiencies in surveilled space. These are closely guarded secrets. If surveillance workers, and blind spots in the system become known, the value of secrecy may be compromised.

Once surveilled space is constructed, it becomes representational. As a representation of ontological, perceived, conceived, and social space, surveillance represents the merging of the subjective with the objective. It is representational and therefore subjective and phenomenal as opposed to objective and noumenal. Representations of space created by surveillance emphasize mimesis, rationality, and visibility. Mimesis de-emphasizes the aesthetic or subjective qualities of an image and emphasizes accuracy and the precision of an image. Surveillance operations are unconcerned with any aesthetic aspects of a representation. The surveilled image relies on resolution as lines per inch, area of coverage is measured by lens focal lengths and angles of degrees, details in shadow and dark spaces are shades on a gray scale that are enhanced electronically, and the speed of data retrieval is valued by its capabilities in megahertz and gigabytes.

Visual surveillance fulfills our need to look at what is going on in social space. For the individual observer, visual surveillance is the subjective process of observing objects. The surveiller understands what is going on in surveilled space because it fits within his or her frame of reference. Surveillance images represent social life occurring in conceived

space. Although the process of observation is subjective, visual surveillance is considered objective. The surveillance organization considers the surveillance system incapable of inaccurate representations. The camera does not lie. The legitimacy of visual surveillance is that it allows observers to look for activities that are not necessarily visible to the human observer. People can be deceived or distracted, the surveillance system cannot.

Surveillance prioritizes space, but it does so by constructing representations of space. The original spotters walked the floors watching to see what was going on. As they became known they were given access to the ceilings and walls with mirrors to secretly observe the activities in social space. Employing spotters was an awkward and expensive operation. Eventually, it was discovered that cameras could replace people in the ceilings and walls. Space was prioritized, but constructing representations became more important than people. Spotters at first did not like video surveillance because it was extremely different from actually watching people. However, what was occurring in social space was more important than the quality of life required to watch it. Utilizing surveillance video reduced the problems of people lurking in the walls and ceilings, but it produced a new set of problems surrounding the technology based on power, control, and secrecy. The capability of constructing representations thus tends to impact the social arrangements that make surveillance meaningful.

Visual surveillance produces a simulacrum of social space, or multiple representations that are identical copies of phenomena without an original. The actual occurrence of events and creating copies of the same events are distinct moments that generate additional activities and spaces. Events in surveilled space have always already occurred, and the observation of these events can be conducted, repeatedly if necessary, at

any time. Surveillance thus constructs a static container of social space, and then creates representations of it in which the events that occur are documented. Different phenomena are treated differently. The video data is handled differently than actual persons involved in a dispute. People become representations in the form of files, evidence, and nicknames communicated through cyberspace.

As surveillance routinely suspends information in time, surveilled space that is recorded transcends our sense of time. We can replay a moment in both time and space over and over. Video images can be stored for years. Additional information can be merged at a later date, Creating a new context in which the original information can be understood. Surveillance data thus takes on a reality of its own separate from the actual phenomena the images represent. Surveillance technologies also make it possible to transcend distance and physical barriers, as surveillance is simultaneously centralized and diffused. Centralization thus becomes more powerful than it was before and the physical barriers created by time and space become the media in which surveillance operates.

SURVEILLANCE AND SOCIAL PRACTICES

Some surveillance organizations utilize more than four hundred cameras to monitor a variety of social spaces with constructed values. Such systems accumulate a significant amount of visual data that must be organized, analyzed, and disseminated. This is where social practices become integral features of surveilled space.

Social practices are patterned regularities involving the routine application of specifically defined ideas. People carry out social practices within established rules, policies, and procedures, where knowledge and action often become indistinguishable.

However, this does not always reveal a person's intentions. Social practices can be both authentic and incongruous. Authentic social practices are typically maintained through both rationality and ideology. As rationality guides the development of social practices, practices are typically directed at specific and predefined goals. Ideologically, members of a group often believe that certain practices are necessary and in their best interests. If people believe this to be true, they are likely to accept such practices as part of their daily routine.

Incongruous social practices, on the other hand, establish boundaries between an individual and his or her activities. A practice may not necessarily represent a person's beliefs and values, but it may shape those individual's actions. In the course of our lives, we all frequently act in ways that are incongruent with our beliefs, norms, and values.

Surveillance relies on the idea of social practices in two distinct ways. First, practices establish clearly defined patterns for action. Workers as well as players in surveilled space perform them. The dealing of cards, exchanging money, throwing the die, and playing video poker are different social practices. The fact that we do not understand them as such does not negate them as practices. The role of surveillance is to assure that people are performing different social practices appropriately. Second, surveillance itself is governed by social practices. As much as surveillance makes sure that practices are carried out appropriately, surveillers must abide by the rules of surveillance practices.

Dispersed and Integrative Practices

Schatzki (1996) distinguishes between dispersed and integrative practices. Dispersed and integrative practices are the "building blocks" shaping activities in social spaces. Based on Schatzki's distinction, I intend to describe the differences among

dispersed, integrative, and spatial practices; and the role each has in both surveillance operations and surveilled space.

Dispersed practices are individual activities where a person understands the meaning of the practice and is knowledgeable of how to do it. Dispersion characterizes the first stage of development of social practices. Practices become dispersed through sustained occurrence in different areas of social life. Daily life is thus made up of a variety of dispersed practices. Their common occurrence makes them seem normal. Dispersed practices can be either authentic or incongruous. Surveillance consists of numerous dispersed practices like observation, identification, description, having a conversation, and writing reports. Each of these are dispersed because people have a common knowledge of how to do them, and there are a variety of ways in which each can be carried out. For example, the act of looking is a normal part of life. It is so common that we rarely comprehend the fact that we are doing it.

Integrative practices constitute the next stage of the development of social practices. These are often accumulated dispersed practices. But, integrative practices are also more complex because they are the result of negotiation. The integration of a social practices results form negotiation through interaction along with the repetition of the act. Integrative practices are represented by formal procedures, policies, and rules. Integrative practices are constructed for specific groups of people. The meaning of these practices are revealed through negotiation, interaction, and repetition. Formal observation in the surveillance department is one such integrative practice because it is one routine that is part of a larger routine. Observing casino activities becomes integrative because it involves procedures of looking for specific phenomena like illicit acts and missing objects, both of

which require negotiated understanding to recognize them. Integrative practices may conceal a hidden intent or activity. For example, the act of looking is often dispersed. It becomes integrative if a player in the casino is acting as a lookout. Standing in a setting and casually looking around may conceal the actual act of detecting and protecting.

In a visual surveillance setting, one dispersed practice is the routine observation of video monitors and following the established procedures for this activity. Surveillance becomes an integrative practice when an individual lives the role of a surveillance agent. The individual no longer simply observes the monitors, he or she adapts the lifestyle associated with being a surveillance agent. Along with secrecy, avoiding people and places becomes a normal part of daily life. Surveillers develop integrative skills by learning the specialized knowledge associated with their task. The discovery of rule violations is not necessarily the result of repetitive observation. The surveiller detects wrong-doing because she or he understands the potential variations of an illicit act. An unusual hand motion in a game may be just what it appears, or it could mean that people are altering or acquiring knowledge of the game prior to its outcome. Through negotiation with others and continuous observation of casino activities, repetitive acts develop a meaning beyond the acts themselves. The practices of rat holing cards, using a mirror in a card game, and marking and daubing cards are concealed within what appear to be dispersed practices -- playing the game legitimately. These are integrative practices veiled by dispersed practices. This is that surveillance observers look for.

Surveillance began as a collection of dispersed practices. Trusted old time players and pit bosses who understood the games and knew how to cheat were responsible for watching the games. In the early days, simply observing the games was a liability. It needed

to become a resource. As surveillance departments increased in size and technological capabilities, surveillance became characterized by integrated practices guided by rules and procedures. The original knowledge of the spotters remains important, but it is used in conjunction with technologies and procedures. Spotters were the old time experts.

Surveillance has become a comprehensive system of documentation. Video began to be used to analyze casino practices as well as surveillance practices. Slow motion play back made it possible to scrutinize any practice deemed necessary. Today, life in the surveillance room is governed by the regimentation of social practices that include strict cash count procedures, and precise video tape rotations. Visual surveillance is a means of monitoring and maintaining the repetition of social practices. Thus, surveillance contributes to maintaining legitimate gaming operations.

Spatial Practice

Spatial practices are regularized activities that are unique characteristics of a particular social space. The particular attributes of any social practice vary with different locations, as spatial practices reflect highly localized norms and values. A spatial practice that is normal in one setting may appear unusual or awkward in another. The idea of spatial practices merge dispersed and integrative practices. Spatial practices refer to activities that are accepted as a normal part of a social space. Thus in a casino, people understand how to play the games they are attracted to or feel comfortable with.

Employees understand the practices they must carry out on the job. This is a condition of employment. Visitors and players at a casino understand practices in a similar way. Their knowledge varies from highly accomplished players and mechanics who are

expert at sleight of hand motions, to first time visitors who may know very little about gaming. Even though knowledge of practices vary, people of all levels of experience have a general knowledge of what is going on, and if they are doing something wrong. Dealers and floor persons typically remind players in a polite way that they are violating a rule. Surveillance removes the pleasantries from enforcing the rules of spatial practices. Monitoring for dealer errors, controlling access to minors and undesirables, and employee tracking are spatial practices of surveillance. Those involved have no idea they are being monitored. Surveillance is intentionally meant to be unknown. This is how a surveillance department develops an advantage at maintaining the compliance of rules in surveilled spaces.

The different types of social practices provide a guideline as to how activities in surveilled space can be monitored. Any person or group's activities can be separated into these different practices. The real art is in recognizing integrative practices that are concealing illegitimate intent. Some people who are consciously violating rules may be poor at concealing their intent. But, they have the nerve to attempt the crime anyway. The serious threat to gaming establishments are accomplished mechanics who conceal illicit acts within the routine of what they do. This latter group is so proficient that they may be employed by a property, or routinely visit and remove assets without anyone knowing. This can go on for years, and the losses can be in the millions.

Mass Surveillance and Monitoring Capacity

Mass surveillance and monitoring capacity are surveillance practices. Mass surveillance involves the systematic collection and management of information about

specific groups and individuals. An organization that conducts mass surveillance is capable of monitoring any group that it chooses to. Mass surveillance is commonly used where surveillance is the primary means of social control. The complex array of cameras combined with the surveillance network makes casino surveillance a form of localized mass surveillance. Monitoring capacity reflects the efficiency of an organization conducting mass surveillance. This efficiency can be assessed by defining surveillance practices in terms of activities and attributes. Practices that are identified as activities are accumulation, organization, analysis, and dissemination, enforcement, and decision making. Attributes of these practices include uniformity, centralization, and invisibility and secrecy.

Surveillance Practices

The presence of an active surveillance system continuously produces representations. Significant quantities of visual data are accumulated. These data must be organized and analyzed, and if necessary disseminated to the appropriate groups and agencies. Three interrelated surveillance practices are the accumulation, organization, and dissemination of useful information about people and their activities. The practice of surveillance involves the accumulation of information for the purpose of protecting assets and resources.

The most important practice conducted by a surveillance department is the accumulation of evidence. Surveillance data is formal evidence. Documentation and records make people accountable for their activities recorded by surveillance. The practice of accumulating evidence has defined procedures, and is grouped into categories. Evidence requires specific alpha-numeric data like the time and date, camera numbers, and the

surveillance agent's identification number. Legitimate surveillance evidence also requires at least three different camera angles of an incident. Each angle needs to provide specific types of information. Evidence is then categorized into different files like slot files, table game files, employee files, high roller files, and undesirable files. When deemed necessary, evidence is disseminated to other properties and law enforcement agencies. These latter practices are part of organization and dissemination.

The processes of organization and dissemination of accumulated information are continuously refined because surveillance involves storage capacity and systems of dissemination that exceed human ability. Computerized organizing and dissemination of information efficiently accomplishes tasks that face to face interactions cannot. However, the human element is none the less an essential feature of surveillance practices.

Organization involves evaluating people, activities, events, and incidents. A common practice of accumulation is the identification of all floor personnel at the beginning and end of each work shift. Each worker is identified by identification badge, face, and hands. Other practices of accumulation involve identifying who is playing a particular game, the pace of the game, and who is winning and losing. Organization also involves establishing patterns of game when known high rollers and undesirable are playing. It needs to be determined whether they are playing legitimately or are incorporating illegal techniques or a system. This information can be disseminated to other properties. Are the same groups winning in the same way, and, is this a coincidence?

Organization and dissemination have their own language. A *GO* or general observations, and an *HLA* or high limit advisory are standard terms associated with practices. Cheating techniques are described and identified with jargon that is unique to

insiders and may seem exotic to neophytes. Bad dealers can flash hole cards, and help out a group by slugging the deck, or stacking a cooler. Professional cheats like playing with Casey or David, and feel confident with a guardian angel on their shoulder. Players of such reputation and notoriety are given nicknames that only those behind the scene understand.

Organization involves the routine analysis of visual data, and cross-referencing this information with similar information from other properties. Dissemination refers to how efficiently information can be gathered at one location and then be used as an instrument of social control at other locations. Dissemination includes the time required to collect, analyze, and communicate information. Ideal dissemination would be instantaneous. Actual dissemination of surveillance information is less efficient. Data collection and analysis is often a time consuming process. Sometimes it may take days, weeks, or months to discover improprieties. Decision-making may also take as long because of procedural and legal guidelines. These limitations of surveillance often provide individuals with opportunities to get away with committing crimes. Surveillance organizations must often play catch-up in order to keep up with individuals and small groups out to exploit the casino.

Effective organization and dissemination prevents perpetrators from escaping the consequences of their actions and attempting their scam at another property. Organization and dissemination make it possible to collect information on individuals and groups from a multitude of observation points, and utilize this information at a variety of locations. Observation points are times and locations from which useful surveillance data can be accumulated. The key here is to achieve accurate identification and continuous monitoring of individuals and groups. To be able to identify individuals and associate them with questionable activities is an important aspect concerning observation points.

The practices of accumulation, organization, and dissemination together constitute monitoring capacity, which refers to the number of individuals that an organization can efficiently surveil and the amount of information that can be managed in decision making processes. Monitoring capacity tends to be a limitation because the information that is useful is often significantly less than the information that is available. An organizations monitoring capacity is an internal secret. This is closely guarded knowledge. A prevailing attitude in many organizations is that monitoring capacity needs to be increased, as surveillance organizations see themselves as chronically understaffed and under-equipped.

Enforcing the Rules

As the practices of accumulation, organization, analysis, and dissemination are routinized surveillance is able to carry out its primary purpose, the enforcement of rules. The purpose of mass surveillance and monitoring capacity is to detect any form of deviance by workers and players. Surveillance is used where the enforcement of social rules must be strict and uncompromising. The rules and policies of gaming establishments are typically written to benefit the casino. To avoid tension between workers and management, casinos attempt to keep workers informed of the importance of the rules. However, they do so by making workers realize that they are subordinates in a complex structure of power. Resistance to the rules can result in sanctions that may include warnings, termination, or legal prosecution, all of which may negatively impact on an individual's opportunities in the gaming industry.

Decision Making

Decision making is a peripheral practice that is aided by surveillance. Surveillance

assists management regarding decisions about various individuals and groups. Although decision making is a byproduct of information management and the enforcement of rules, it is an integral part of these central practices. Management groups relying on surveillance believe that it removes bias from decision making. Video is beyond question. Accordingly, assessments of individuals and situations can be made without the influence of personal opinions or knowledge of an individual's past and/or work performance. Rational-legal discipline is a source of a bureaucracy's power and knowledge. The goal is to replace subjective, emotional, and nonrational aspects of human life with rationality and formal organization. Decisions are made in a hierarchical bureaucracy where different members understand different aspects of decisions. Such knowledge is restricted and based on a need to know. An individual's knowledge becomes greater and more complex, the higher he or she advances in the organizational hierarchy. In such a setting, all members are subjected to, and expected to comply with, the same standardized procedures that will assure that the goals of the bureaucracy are achieved.

Uniformity

Uniformity is often an attribute of surveillance. People engage in social practices with others in a variety of contexts throughout their daily routines. Surveillance organizations are involved with assuring that social practices are uniform. Persons conducting their required tasks in a casino setting must do so in a routine, uniform, and standardized way. Everyone's activities must appear similar because this is easier to observe. For a surveiller, a dealer sets the pace of the game, and often establishes how players will respond to his or her actions. The dealer's practices make her or his actions a

language of motion, Similarly, surveillers must conduct their observations in similar ways. They must fill out daily action reports, incident reports, and other documentation as well as take notes when necessary. Failure to do so is a violation of procedure. A goal is Baudrillard's ob-scene: the making visible of all intentions and activities. If all can be seen, assets and resources are safe. The practice of surveillance attempts to make the management of social practices as uniform as the practices themselves.

Invisibility and Secrecy

Invisibility and secrecy are other attributes of surveillance practices. Surveillance is used to anonymously monitor the pace and efficiency of activities. What is invisible often remains unknown. Although invisible, surveillance is not, however, necessarily secret. If one looks around in a casino setting, the ceilings have an array of different cameras arranged to monitor specific as well as general activities. This suggests that people are rarely aware of being the subjects of surveillance, and if they do know, the comprehensiveness of surveillance remains unknown.

The overseeing of people and their activities involve defining and negotiating the meaning of patterned activities. The supervision of subordinate groups and individuals by those in positions of authority require the ability to identify and evaluate the social practices associated with gaming. This is accomplished through the management and enhancement of social spaces. In contemporary gaming environments, the work setting is constructed for the purpose of carrying out and monitoring practices so that surveillance is efficient.

SURVEILLANCE AND THE HUMAN GAZE

In the most basic sense, surveillance requires a human gaze to operate. Yet, the

gaze is also a broad concept with several meanings and implications. I intend to clarify the role of the gaze in surveillance by describing the following. (1) How the attributes of a gaze dyad are implicated in surveillance. (2) The role of ocularcentrism and a social epistemology of the gaze in defining the meaning of surveillance. (3) The distinction between a technical gaze and a human gaze.

Gaze Dyad

The gaze is defined as what people do during the act of looking. The act of one person gazing at another creates a seeing/being seen dyad. Gazing at the eyes of another person is referred to as looking, and eye contact is made the moment both persons look into each other's eyes. The gaze involves encoding and sending messages that indicate one's feeling, emotions, and attitudes toward another person. Gazing allows us to nonverbally communicate who we are to others. It is a primary means of nonverbal communication. Studies of the gaze have been criticized for overly isolating what our eyes do during social interactions. Such research disembodies the gaze, isolating it from the individual. It is this limitation that makes the study of the gaze relevant to visual surveillance. Surveillance technologies employ a disembodied gaze, and accordingly, surveilled space is the environment in which a disembodied gaze operates.

The gaze is sometimes recognized in terms of a hypothetical model in which any gaze dyad consists of a gaze and equilibrium. This dyadic model assumes there is a state of equilibrium that both persons seek to attain. Equilibrium is observable in terms of eye contact, physical proximity, topic of conversation, and expression. Changes in any of these typically influences the balance of the interaction. If both individuals cannot maintain

equilibrium, the interaction is likely to be terminated.

Noninteraction typically leads to gaze aversion, which is a way of avoiding external phenomena like people, objects, and events. Gaze aversion routinely occurs in all settings where people physically interact. This is often a brief occurrence lasting only a few moments when two people pass each other in a public setting. Gaze aversion is a common method of reducing cognitive dissonance. It is a way that individuals maintain a sense of balance in social settings. Surveillance makes gaze aversion continuous, producing a constant state of cognitive dissonance.

Mutual gaze occurs when two people's eyes meet. In such an interaction, the individual who averts the gaze of the other is often recognized as submitting to the dominance of that person's gaze. Visual surveillance may also be seen as a continuous state of gaze dominance since surveillance is a disembodied gaze that continuously observes activities in social space. It functions regardless of the social situations occurring in its space. Unlike human beings, surveillance does not require social activities for its sustenance. Reaching a state of equilibrium is of no relevance. For surveillers, there is no gaze aversion or cognitive dissonance, just an unconditional and continuous state of observation.

Ocularcentrism and a Social Epistemology of the Gaze

In the literature review, I proposed a social epistemology of the gaze as a means of addressing specific ideas pertaining to the human act of looking combined with the formal process of surveillance observation. Such an approach takes into account our "ways of knowing" as they pertain to both casual looking and formal observation of the social world.

A social epistemology of the gaze delves into to how ocularcentrism influences how we know about ourselves. Ocularcentrism addresses the natural limitations and imperfections of human eyesight, and the modern project's development of technologies to expand the range of human vision. Just as the gaze is a primary means of interpersonal interactions, a social epistemology of the gaze can get at the ocularcentric culture that shapes groups, organizations, and institutions. Visual surveillance is rapidly becoming an institutional resource. A surveillance department is an exemplar of a formal organization that's purpose and goal require a human gaze at its command. In such a setting, the gaze of surveillance is privileged by power/knowledge.

Surveillance, in a small but significant way, contributes to how we see the world. The formal process of observation is prioritized over our natural and discursive ways of looking at the environment. Surveillance contributes to new ways of understanding social space and social practices. Visual surveillance is conducted by human agents whose routine involves overseeing social space while they simultaneously develop new techniques of observation that exceed natural human ability. In this way, visual surveillance allows human observers to see beyond what is humanly possible. Multiple camera angles, video playback, and slow-motion capabilities let the observer see activities the naked eye is likely to miss.

Although the ocular developments of modernity are commonly recognized as positive developments, there have also been criticisms. An ocularcentric critique realizes the priority we place on our visual senses and observation technologies. A major question that arises from an ocularcentric critique is, is seeing truly knowing? Most of the advancements in visual technology contribute to merging vision with power/knowledge, as

modernity encompasses an extensive project of formally observing and documenting all aspects of reality. Surveillance is a system of observation that turns our capabilities of seeing inward toward ourselves and closer inspection of the social world. The loss of aura described by Benjamin that results from the mass production of original works of art is among the best known of such criticisms. Historically, as the aura of images has receded, the instrumental uses of reproduced images has increased. The works of contemporary French philosophers, mainly Sartre, Merleau-Ponty, Foucault, and Lacan address ocularcentric issues that are relevant to visual surveillance. My goal here is to briefly review their ideas and describe how any account of visual surveillance needs to utilize their original thoughts. Sartre and Foucault can be contrasted because Sartre addresses the nonrationality of the gaze, whereas Foucault seeks to understand the problems associated with rational observation. Similarly, the ideas of Merleau-Ponty and Lacan are differentiated by emphasis on the physical embodiment of the gaze and the gaze being embedded in the unconscious, respectively. I do not take favor with any particular standpoint. Rather, I argue that each contributes to understanding the relationship between vision and surveillance.

The Sartrean Gaze

Sartre's explanation of a gaze dyad is addressed through his famous example of voyeuristically looking at the activities of Others through a keyhole in a door. Among his obsessions was the secrecy and doubt associated with the human gaze. He established the notion of the pre-existence of the gaze by making distinctions between the act of gazing and of apprehending the gaze of another person. Sartre secretly peers through a keyhole at

the activities of Others who are unaware of his presence. The moment he is discovered by them his awareness shifts from gazing at the Other to becoming the object of the Other's gaze. This brings about feelings of shame, guilt, embarrassment, and ultimately submission. The Sartrean individual falls into the dominant gaze of the Other the moment he is discovered to be looking at the Other.

According to Sartre's gaze dyad, the gaze is always already occurring, and it is beyond our human capacity to simultaneously perceive and imagine. We are capable only of doing one or the other at any particular moment. Only in certain situations and or coincidences do we realize its on-going occurrence. We can never sustain our awareness of a gaze that is always already occurring because we eventually revert to a seeing/being seen dyad. I cannot gaze upon another person and simultaneously comprehend my gaze upon that person. The gaze of another person is an intermediary that creates a shift in my awareness. The moment I become aware of another person's gaze, I cannot avoid becoming aware of being looked at. I shift my awareness and resulting thoughts and actions from looking to responding to being looked at.

Surveillance substitutes the frailty of the human gaze with technology. I refer to this as a technological gaze. The technological gaze merges surveillance technology with human agency, and prioritizes the surveillance system over those operating it. One can think of a technological gaze metaphorically. Just as a ship plunging through the waves develops enough momentum to move itself, it requires human agency to navigate it. Surveillance is similar because it requires human agency to control its multitude of cameras and recording systems. The removal of human agency might not create a disaster as would happen in the example of the ship, but a surveillance system would accumulate a massive

amount of useless information. The system must always operate, but can never do so completely by itself. Surveillers must submit to the system to prevent the discovery of their not looking at the Other. Failure to perform one's surveillance duties properly will result in sanctions that lead to shame, embarrassment, and guilt.

Surveillance is also a visual medium that eliminates the apprehension of the gaze by those in surveilled space. Surveillance organizations remove the apprehension of being gazed upon through technology. For those inhabiting surveilled space outside of the control room, surveillance presents a different persona. Surveillers can watch continuously and never be known when, where, and at whom they are looking. A technological gaze cannot be apprehended by human beings. Its discovery will not make it look away. Attempts at discovery and apprehension of a technological gaze will only increase its inspection. If an individual walks into a surveilled space and looks at the camera, he or she tends to do so for only a brief moment to avoid being discovered looking at the camera. Sartre's idea of apprehending the gaze of the Other is reversed because it is the person being looked at by surveillance rather than the observer behind the camera who feels shame and embarrassment from looking at the camera. Surveillers can gaze at those in surveilled space through a "technological keyhole" without Sartre's fear of discovery. Surveillance exists under the assumption that it should not be looked at. The act of looking at a surveillance camera implies that you are doing something wrong. Thus, a technological gaze creates a shift in the traditional gaze dyad. Feelings of shame, guilt, and submission do not exist among surveillers. Detachment and uniform observation procedures negate the emotional aspects of a gaze dyad.

Sartre identified the act of gazing as the reversal of a means/ends schema. As a

person looks, the means of looking is unimportant because the end is seeing the Other. The act of the gaze prioritizes the ends over the means. The end we seek to attain is looking at and comprehending the Other. Seeing the activities of those in surveilled space justifies the means of organized and formal observation. Consequently, the end organizes our thoughts and actions that precede seeing the Other. Surveillance operations work under a similar assumption. Sartre's idea that the gaze reverses the causal order of looking applies to surveillance. The end or goal is to detect any and all violators of the rules. The ends determine the means by rationalizing the emplacement of complex surveillance systems. How people feel about surveilled space is of no consequence because the greater end has already been established. People must submit to its presence.

Foucault and Disciplinary Observation

Foucault emphasized the power that operates within the human gaze. As the modern project has been characterized by an ocularcentric privileging of vision, Foucault recognized the gaze as an implicit part of formal observation. Much of his work has involved the uncovering of the latent problems resulting from vision guiding the progress of knowledge. The function of the gaze in a formal setting normalizes observation. Throughout the ages, practitioners of the medical arts have conducted their observations of the afflicted in a specific way. The bodies of those surveilled become transparent as well as visible. Foucault described this medical gaze as silent and all knowing -- the qualities ever present in the practice of surveillance. Each relies on power/knowledge, secrecy, and a standardized setting where observations can be carried out.

Foucault's medical gaze is a metaphor that reveals contradictions within our

accepted views of social control. The idea of an objective and purifying gaze is an illusion. Yet, such an assumption contributes to the social order. Surveillance requires the attributes of a human gaze and simultaneously rationalizes it. Visual surveillance is recognized by surveillance organizations as an objective, third party for monitoring social spaces and human activities. Surveillance perpetuates the myth that freedom and autonomy can be maintained through stricter methods of social control. Visual surveillance is thus a continuous intrusion that establishes its own depth and intensity. The penetration of a surveillance gaze is not negotiable based on the assumptions of a gaze dyad. Those who operate it establish its purpose based on their decisions as to what must be observed. Again, how people feel about such a gaze is of no relevance. The gaze of surveillance is a form of social control that utilizes the complicity of all people in surveilled space.

Mass surveillance can be characterized as disciplinary observation. Discipline and control may be its purpose and goal, but human agency introduces nonrational components into the observation process. People make voyeurism a normal part of a surveillance organization. People working in surveillance organizations would probably resent the label of voyeur, but this is a part of what they do. Becoming the object of a voyeur produces a feeling of being compromised because it makes people vulnerable by subjecting them to unknowing inspection. Surveillance as a form of voyeurism that requires both those who watch and those who react to being watched, encompasses involuntary as well as voluntary participation. Surveillance involves involuntary participation because all people in surveilled space (including surveillers) are objects of observation. Awareness does not change this. Compliance with surveillance is involuntary because information about individuals is acquired without their participation or knowledge. Ironically, people rarely question these

practices that incur their involuntary participation. Participation is also voluntary as a form of internalized social control insofar as activities, practices, interactions, and relationships are observable in surveilled space. It is a condition of employment that people freely accept without question as they do when they visit a casino. Surveillance in itself thus does not directly govern social phenomena because it requires human complicity to be effective. Equally ironic is the fact that we rarely question our own participation in practices of social control.

Merleau-Ponty and the Embodied Gaze

Merleau-Ponty emphasized the embodiment of the gaze. He collapsed ontological and epistemological theories into one another by asserting that an individual is neither physical object nor disembodied consciousness. A person is both. Accordingly, an explanation of the human gaze is to be found by collapsing the boundaries between ontological and perceived realities. For Merleau-Ponty, the gaze was never purely in the realm of consciousness, nor exclusively a physical act of the body. It is both, and one cannot be separated from the other. Consciousness, the gaze, and physical experience are embodied in the individual making him or herself both subject and object simultaneously.

Merleau-Ponty explored the notion that both knowledge and vision are embodied within the individual. He identified a pre-existing gaze emanating from all people. This gaze is directed by the eyes of an individual, but more importantly, a person's gaze is determined by his or her expectations and state of mind. The gaze projects an individual's intentions. Thus, the visible is dependent on the eye of the individual seer. Merleau-Ponty's notion of embodiment suggests that we live social life as if we are always being observed. What has

not been seen by an individual has already been seen through the collective experiences of others. Consequently, as social phenomenon has always already occurred, human perception routinely plays "catch up" with persons, objects, and events that are already in an individual's lifespace.

Visual perception and previous social experiences shape the way we see the world. An individual cannot exist prior to his or her gaze because she or he is always influenced by it. As a consequence, people act in accordance with the internalized idea of always being watched. Visual surveillance hinges on such an internalized notion of the gaze. The technology of visual surveillance merges rationality and efficiency within the human gaze. Surveillance makes us better at observing the external world than we already are by merging technological efficiency with human agency. This efficiency becomes a major part of the members of the surveillance department. I call this condition the socio-technological embodiment of surveillance because human efficiency requires the technology. The actions of surveillers are governed by rules, but what they see is determined by their state of mind, morale, and knowledge of the environment. People in surveilled space may typically conduct themselves as if being observed, but this is not enough to assure compliance with the rules. Surveillers are always playing catch up with what the technology documents. This indicated by periodic tape reviews, and the accumulation of surveillance files and evidence.

The embodiment of technology within human visual abilities produces doubt among those who operate the surveillance system. Just as surveillance can conclusively detect violators, there is always uncertainty regarding what has been documented, but not discovered. A sense of doubt prevails because, even with surveillance technology,

observers cannot anticipate and comprehend everything that is occurring in what they observe. The surveillance department cloaks uncertainty with secrecy. The presence of visual surveillance projects the property's intentions. However, what is occurring in surveilled space is dependent on what the surveillance department detects. Intention and detection is different. Doubt is indicated by the fact that intention needs to be known, and detections are kept secret. The socio-technological embodiment of surveillance increases human capabilities, but it increases doubt and uncertainty as well.

Lacan: The Surveillance Gaze and the Unconscious

Lacan emphasized the gaze as an external autonomous force or an essence projected from an individual's unconscious. For this, Lacan created a concept of the gaze as a stain that an individual leaves as he or she discursively looks around the environment. As I look at objects in my lifespace, my unconscious directs my eyes to scan and select out specific objects while simultaneously avoiding others. As I unconsciously look at objects, I stain them with my gaze. Lacan's position also implies a preexistence of the gaze because my gaze places a mark on objects that will eventually be seen by others. Yet Lacan also emphasizes that the gaze is both invisible and ever-present. The objects in space that I have stained immediately hail back to me based on what is occurring in my unconscious. According to Lacan, this is how objects in the environment attract our attention.

A surveillance gaze is like a human gaze in that it is practiced by an individual subject, and is directed at external objects. Accordingly, both types of gaze are external and independent of both the subject and the object. However, unlike a human gaze, a surveillance gaze mutes human emotion. A person can repress emotions such as like and

dislike. However, these emotions emerge within the gaze occurring between subject and object. An individual can control her or his emotions to a degree, but cannot control his or her gaze. The gaze occurs and a person constantly adjusts to what it is doing. Reflexivity, or trying to comprehend oneself in the moment of seeing oneself, is an attempt to avoid the function of the gaze within oneself. We can never sustain this reflexive state for an extended period of time. The gaze is always there, already occurring, our acts to avoid it only bring us back to it. The individual can repress one's emotions in the mind, but cannot suppress his or her emotions from operating within her or his gaze. I cannot suppress my gaze just as the object of my gaze cannot stop it. Ignoring a person's gaze does not terminate it. Lacan assumes that the gaze originates in the unconscious and functions like an object in the external world. From this standpoint he establishes the idea that there is a preexisting gaze staring at us from the outside world. Social life is guided by the assumption that there is an "absolute seer" who watches everything.

The surveillance gaze exists externally, and operates in the realm of the unconscious. A technological gaze is external, yet as an instrument of social control, it is part of us. It is unlike the human gaze because it does not embody our emotional needs and desires. Its technical function is to observe and document. Surveillance operations are an attempt to control the human gaze through technology. In fact, this a necessity in more complex surveillance operations. However, the human unconscious is the weak link in any such operation. People may be merged with technology, but the human aspect can never be removed. Our unconscious contributes to the discursive and meandering moments of existence. Human thought and actions can be regulated and controlled to a degree, but the unconscious cannot. Lacan's analysis implies that the human gaze is not fully rational. As

much as we may resent the idea, We do not see the social world as precisely and thoroughly as we assume that we do. Surveillance can reduce the difference, but not eliminate it.

The unconscious thus peers into the social world through one's gaze. The unconscious is a voyeur -- compelled to see while it is compelled to conceal the compulsion to watch. To take Lacan's ideas literally implies a society becoming devoid of private places where people merge with technology in the routines of daily life. Surveillance operations and acceptance of it produces an unconscious need to know about others. Our need to know combined with the normalization of monitoring others makes the individual's need to retreat from society less important. The social world increasingly resembles Baudrillard's notion of the ob-scene. A place lacking in myth, romance, illusion, and spectacle. In this situation, the hyperreal displaces the real through the use of mass surveillance. The distinction between perceived reality and the simulated reality of surveillance evaporates. The secrets, illusions, and veils of privacy that enrich social life are removed. Complete visibility and the merging of simulations with our unconscious robs society of its meanings much in the same way that Weber described the disenchantment associated with modernity. Today, meanings continue to be impoverished by social life shaped by technology. Yet, ironically, this is so obvious that it is not readily apparent.

VISUAL SURVEILLANCE AND PANOPTICISM

Foucault's panopticism merges the previously discussed ideas of power, social control, space, practice, and the gaze. There are two points that need to be addressed in regards to the panopticon and surveillance. First, the panopticon is an architectural design

that resembles typical surveillance configurations. As a technological innovation, it produces power/knowledge that is inaccessible to the masses. The panopticon of surveillance is exclusive, reserved for those who comprehend a need for it. Second, and more importantly, panopticism is a social condition produced by surveillance. Visual surveillance is a means of socializing people to the idea of always being observed.

The Panopticon as an Architectural Design

Jeremy Bentham's panopticon is an architectural design that makes it possible to continuously monitor everything within an established space from a centralized location. As such, Bentham's panopticon is an ideal model representing contemporary surveillance operations. A panopticon is a controlled setting where the act of looking becomes a formal process of observation, it is an environment where people become socialized by the assumption that they are under continuous observation. The purpose of the panopticon is regulable and predictable social control, to produce obedience and conformity within all people inhabiting its space.

In a panopticon the surveiller has complete power to observe and administer sanctions to unknowing inhabitants. A panopticon is thus intended to replace chaos with order, deviance with conformity, and inefficiency with productivity. Its an architectural design created for the purpose of sustaining power relations that are independent of those conducting the observations. As people are observed, they are continuously subjected to rules, procedures, and authority that produce habits of conformity. The result is compliance and conformity internalized by the individual. People in a panoptic setting become sites where power efficiently operates.

Bentham's panopticon never actually existed. It remains a marginal footnote in social history. Foucault, however, has asserted that panopticism is an established part of modern society, manifesting itself in architectural styles and most noticeably in social arrangements. While it does not physically exist, many parts of our lives are lived as if society were encompassed by a panopticon. The original design has become less important than the effect of its implication.

Visual surveillance a concrete embodiment of panopticism. The actual location of the surveillance department is restricted information (on "a need to know" basis). Its operations and capabilities are carefully guarded secrets. Those working in surveilled space never know if they are being watched. The result is that they act as if they are. Complicity with the system and its rules are a major part compliance with the rules.

Bentham's panopticon design embodies an objective gaze meant to contribute to a uniform and rational society. As existence in contemporary society is increasingly becoming like life in a panopticon, surveillance organizations are increasingly focal points from which social life is monitored, regulated, and, to a degree, controlled. The panopticon of contemporary surveillance is also a simulacrum because it exists only in reproductions. There is no original surveillance organization, and there is no organization that monitors operating organizations. The invisibility of these activities guarantees social order, and the legitimacy of surveillance. Such invisibility has become a symbol of power, as surveillers are unapproachable by the people they surveil.

Panopticism as a Social Condition

Panopticism can be concretely defined as the application of surveillance with

advanced technology. The concept is derived from the original relationship between the observer and the occupant of the panoptic cell. The panopticon is a mechanism of control that nullifies a traditional seeing/being seen dyad. Formal observation is privileged, creating a hierarchical arrangement social of power. As power becomes diffused in those who are observed, the gaze dyad is hierarchicalized. Panopticism describes a state of consciousness resulting from this hierarchy. The invisibility of the surveillance gaze accentuates this state of consciousness. Assumptions form within the unconscious that we exist in a permanent state of visibility. Such assumptions assure the efficient functioning of power without the presence of persons of authority. The design of a surveillance system produces a state of uncertainty because people, workers in particular are never sure if they are being watched.

People largely accept the socialization of being observed without knowing if they are actually surveilled. The dichotomy of surveillance/uncertainty is a simple system of social control that can be applied in a multitude of social settings, producing a need and a desire to conform. Panopticism assures that power will function automatically regardless of the intentions and actions of those in the position of observer. The socialization produced by surveillance is powerful, continuous as well as permanent reducing the need for coercive measures of control.

Disciplinary power is exercised through the limited invisibility of observation. People can see the cameras, but not surveillance operations. At the same time, it makes those in surveilled space completely visible. People never know exactly what surveillance sees or even what it is looking at. Inhabitants of surveilled space must simply be visible to assure the effects of panopticism. Panopticism thus challenges prevailing ideas regarding social control based on the assumption that modernity brings with it an increase of

freedom, individuality, humanism, rationality, and reason. Panopticism suggests that modern society relies less on these values than we tend to assume. From a panoptic standpoint, modern society exists in a state of unfreedom that has been constructed from internalized obedience and conformity.

Visual surveillance thus contributes to the emergence this new kind of disciplinary society, where discipline becomes an extension of production. Disciplinary power makes any multiplicity of ideas, values, and cultures manageable. Diversity becomes implicated with the affectivity of power. In settings preoccupied with producing discipline, diversity becomes part of a pluralistic distribution of power. In this way panopticism's preoccupation with producing discipline may actually subvert social movements advocating social change under the banner of diversity or multiculturalism. Thus, in contemporary society, traditional power has become more symbolic than coercive.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this research has been to develop a better understanding of the role of visual surveillance in contemporary society. Constructing an ideal-typical conception of visual surveillance can help identify and understand the purpose and meaning of surveilled space as well as surveillance organizations. By developing a typology of a surveillance organization, this research attempts to layout an epistemological map from which additional research might be conducted to address the gaps and discontinuities in existing thought about the relationship among power, social control, practices, space, the surveillance gaze, and panopticism. At this point, I can recommend two directions in which to continue this research. First, the surveillance typology can be further developed.

Additional features might be added, or more importantly, the ones I have identified might be ethnographically addressed in other parts of the public sphere like airports, traffic management, public buildings, and so on. Secondly, the features within this typology could be used to construct variables for a quantitative study of surveillance. Such a study could be conducted as a telephone survey, mailed questionnaire, or face to face intercept interviews.

Surveillance operations will always requires a human factor as surveillance systems require human agents to conduct their operations and make decisions about what is observed. For surveillance information to be meaningful, it must be observed and interpreted by people. The dissemination of surveillance information to others further expands the meaning of that information. As the capabilities to monitor and accumulate surveillance information increase, it is likely that the need to communicate this information with other groups will also increase.

The all-encompassing coverage of surveillance cameras throughout society is currently unavailable to any formal or official organization. This implies that surveillance is not comprehensively centralized as there is minimal oversight evaluating the full range of surveillance applications occurring in society. Surveillance operations in formal organizations have become the framework around which modern bureaucracy is organized. As bureaucracies continue to expand, the need for surveillance is likely to increase to assure that maximum productivity, efficiency, and security are maintained. Yet, the purpose of surveillance operations remains relatively unchanged. The central issue is not what needs to be known about individuals, but instead, how is the information to be efficiently acquired and disseminated?

Visual surveillance in one sense is the least intrusive form of surveillance because it does not track an individual as thoroughly as other methods of surveillance utilized by credit, medical, and insurance corporations. Yet visual surveillance is also symbolic of total intrusion. In so far as it represents the intrusion that people recognize as Orwellian, or as an instrument of an emerging New World Order. I believe it is reasonable to state that there is no New World Order or any form of "Big Brother" watching everyone. However, such an assertion does not reduce these concerns in people's minds. It seems there will always be a mix of healthy skepticism and paranoia surrounding this issue.

This research reveals three conflicting viewpoints about how people discern the presence of surveillance. A first viewpoint emerges when people discuss surveillance in the abstract. People commonly express concern about the presence of cameras. Even those conducting surveillance operations try to assure the public that it harmless and benefits society overall. Second, more concretely, we as individuals tend to ignore the presence of the camera. Most people live with the assumption that "I am doing nothing wrong so why would surveillance be watching me?" Opinions seem to waiver between these two viewpoints. although in actual social situations, one cannot be in agreement with one viewpoint without disregarding or de-emphasizing the other.

A third point viewpoint emerged from my discussions with surveillance professionals. My questions regarding their practices were answered only to a limited degree. The longer I was in the field, information about surveillance became increasingly detailed up to a point at which my subjects became uncooperative and sometimes even hostile. This obstacle to conducting more in-depth investigation of surveillance organizations and their practices suggests to me that surveillance professionals share the

same sort of ambivalence towards surveillance as those they surveil. As long as this viewpoint remains that of the surveillance industry, the contradictory views of the public toward their activities are likely to remain unresolved.

END NOTES

- 1) Ed Bradley of CBS News and Diane Sawyer of ABC News both included a description of the new technology as part of their report from the conventions.
- 2) Daly, John. *RealTV*, Paramount Pictures, 1997.
- 3) A special anniversary program of *Candid Camera* was aired on CBS in November 1996.

HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTOCOL

This study has been conducted in accordance with research policies at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas as stated in the document entitled "UNLV Procedures for Research involving Human Subjects Protocol Application and Guidelines." The Office of Sponsored Programs (FDH Room 304, Extension 1357) "is the clearinghouse for all information and actions involving institutional compliance with federal rules regarding the use of human subjects in academic research. The Office of Sponsored Programs was petitioned for authorization to conduct this research project on October 28, 1996. The petition was approved on October 30, 1996 and assigned the Office of Sponsored Programs file number 115s1096-112e. The following is the description of the study and informed consent statement approved by the Office of Sponsored Programs.

HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTOCOL

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY

1) **SUBJECTS:** I will conduct unstructured-open ended interviews and observations of people associated with visual surveillance operations in the Las Vegas area. This includes employees at casinos, banks, and convenience stores. Participation in this research is voluntary. This is a sociological study. A goal of this research is to acquire a gender/ethnic profile that accurately represents the people who work in surveillance settings.

2) **PURPOSE-METHODS-PROCEDURES:** The purpose of this research is to understand the practices, rules, policies, and procedures that govern visual surveillance activities. The methods to be used in this research are unstructured open ended interviews and observations. The goal is to produce descriptions of work settings, practices, and interactions that occur during the daily activities of surveillance departments in local casinos, banks, and convenience stores. The procedures I will use for this research will include informing participants of my status as a researcher. I will also inform them that their participation is voluntary and that they may terminate their participation at any time. Confidentiality is extremely important in this research and all participants will be informed that their names and places of employment will be changed to maintain the confidentiality of their identities.

3) **RISKS:** I believe that no harm will come to the participants of this research through the interviews and observations. Avoiding harm to the subjects of research is the primary ethical issue in social science research (Babbie 1995, Fowler 1993:132, Punch 1994). This research emphasizes the social practices and interactions that occur in these work settings. To reveal: surveillance capabilities, the identities of participants, and/or the locations where research is conducted would in fact undermine the goal of this research. Compromising the sources would likely lead to changes in practices and procedures which would make this research obsolete. The names of all participants and locations will be changed to maintain strict confidentiality.

4) BENEFITS: Unlike survey research that involves designing a study based on the researcher's knowledge of the topic, unstructured open ended interviews will allow those who work in these environments to describe their occupation and experiences in their own words. This research will be made available to anyone who requests it, It can be a resource for both workers in surveillance environments and management personnel who oversee these operations.

5) RISK-BENEFIT RATIO: Creating a resource that is useful to all groups who have an interest in surveillance operations will benefit from the final project. It should be of special interest to those who participate as well as their associates. This research combined with a strict adherence to confidentiality makes the benefits of this project outweigh the risks.

6) COSTS TO SUBJECTS: Participation in this research will not cost participants anything.

7) INFORMED CONSENT: I have enclosed the informed consent form that I will provide to participants.

8) INFORMED CONSENT: No one under the age of eighteen will participate in this research.

HUMAN SUBJECTS PROTOCOL

INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT

My name is Chris Taylor. I am a Doctor of Philosophy student in the Department of Sociology at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. I am conducting dissertation research which involves interviews and observations. Those who will be interviewed are members of formal organizations that conduct visual surveillance for the purposes of security and protection.

The purpose of this research is to describe the activities, rules, policies, and procedures surrounding visual surveillance practices. I will address: how these practices are organized, their historical development, their effectiveness, and plans and visions of the future of surveillance. These interviews and observations will take place in Las Vegas at the work locations of consenting adults who volunteer to participate in this research. The research will be conducted between November 1996 and March 1997

The results of the study will be presented in a doctoral dissertation which is a book length written report. The dissertation will eventually be published and available for public reading. A copy of this dissertation or any part of it will be available to anyone that requests one. Any comments or suggestions regarding this project prior to its completion are encouraged and appreciated.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary and may be terminated at any time. Participation in this research will not incur any costs to the participants. The confidentiality of all participants and the acquired data is guaranteed. This will be accomplished by changing the names of individuals and locations in the initial and all subsequent drafts including the final report. No tape recording or videotaping of interviews or observations will be done during this research.

Questions regarding this research can be addressed to Chris Taylor at 893-3322. Questions about the rights of human subjects in research can be directed to the Office of Sponsored Programs at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas (893-1337).

Thank you for your participation in this research.

Name

Date



DATE: October 30, 1996

TO: Christopher Taylor (SOC)
M/S 5033

FROM: *W. Schulze*
Dr. William E. Schulze, Director
Office of Sponsored Programs (X1357)

RE: *W. Schulze*
Status of Human Subject Protocol Entitled:
"Visual Surveillance: Contemporary Social Issues"

OSP #115s1096-112e

The protocol for the project referenced above has been reviewed by the Office of Sponsored Programs and it has been determined that it meets the criteria for exemption from full review by the UNLV human subjects Institutional Review Board. This protocol is approved for a period of one year from the date of this notification and work on the project may proceed.

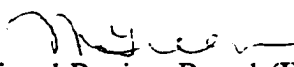
Should the use of human subjects described in this protocol continue beyond a year from the date of this notification, it will be necessary to request an extension.

cc: D. Shalin (SOC-5033)
OSP File



DATE: September 2, 1997

TO: Christopher Taylor
M/S 5033

FROM: Marsha L. Green 
Secretary, Institutional Review Board (IRB)
Office of Sponsored Programs (X1357)

RE: Status of Project Involving Human Subject
Protocol Title: Visual Surveillance: Contemporary Social Issues

Advisor: D. Shalin
OSP Number: 115s1096-112e

The protocol for the project referenced above was reviewed by the UNLV Institutional Review Board in **October of 1996**. The protocol was approved for a period of one year from the date of that approval notification.

According to Federal regulations, approvals may be given for a one year duration. If the project is still active, i.e., interaction with human subjects still being conducted, then the investigator must notify the Office of Sponsored Programs. If all interaction with human subjects is complete on the project, no notification is necessary.

Please submit to our office through your advisor a written request to extend your research project. In your memo please indicate whether there is a change or no change in your protocol. If there is a change in your protocol, i.e., research methods or procedures or subjects, please resubmit a protocol to this office for review.

If we do not receive any notification by way of memorandum requesting an extension of your protocol, then we will assume that the project is completed. Please submit your memo and/or protocol to our office as soon as possible (M/S 1037). Please reference the above name of project and the OSP number when submitting your memorandum.

If you have any questions regarding the above, please contact our office at Ext. 1357.

cc: Advisor
OSP File

251a
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Dissertation Title: Visual Surveillance: Contemporary Sociological Issues

Thesis Title: Videocentrism: Postmodernism and the Deconstruction of Television

Dissertation Committee:

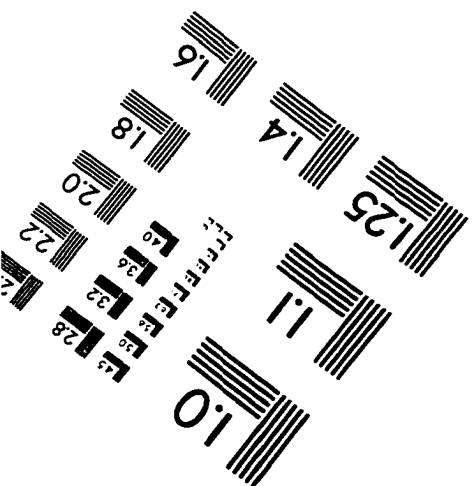
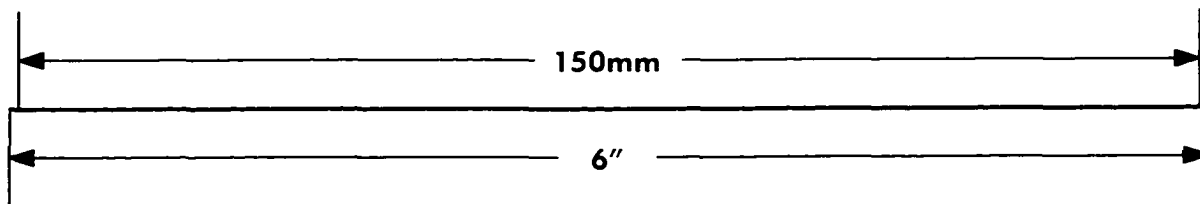
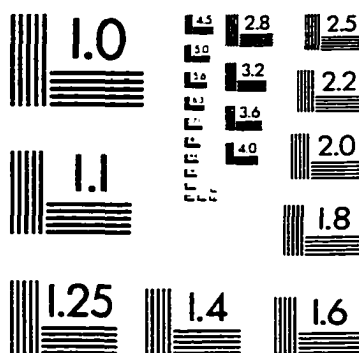
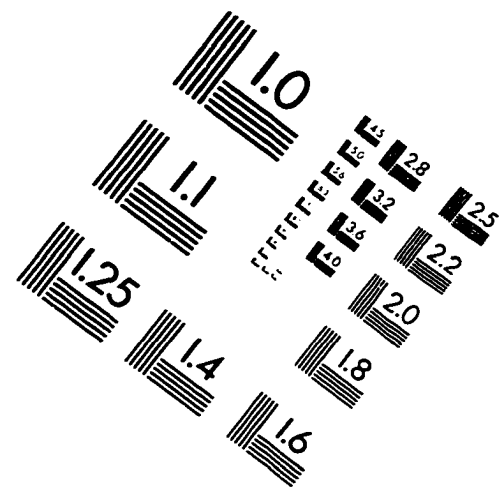
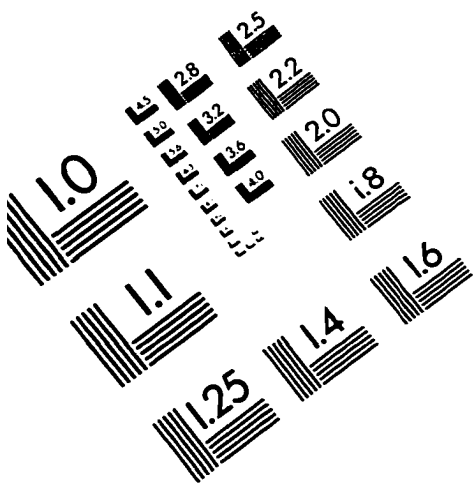
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