Surveillance & Society

Editorial │ Visibilities and New Models of Policing

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Digital capture has been a forceful assistant in upholding the law, aiding policing, and securing convictions, and now is the time to contemplate the repositioning of traditional police–public surveillance-based literature by considering the breadth and depth to the management and governmentality of policing (see Bigo 2006). The blurring of boundaries between those under the auspiciousness of policing and security and those enrolled from the private sector has been of notable interest to surveillance scholars (see Ball et al. 2015; Wright 2015; Walsh 2014). Such discussions link to the body of work that has focused on issues of countersurveillance and challenges to the political, social, and technological order (e.g., Monahan 2006; Reeves 2012; Wall and Linnemann 2014; Wilson and Serisier 2010). Indeed, the past decade has seen surveillance technologies increasingly enable individuals and groups to police their properties, their communities, and "others" without the direct input of the police in order to achieve their own forms of policing and justice. This special issue explores the new visibilities and modes of policing that have the potential to offer both beneficial advancements and greater accountability as well as pose new challenges for the police and the policed. All of this, we hope, is helpful to contextualise new and emerging forms of policing and what this means in terms of how actors (police and otherwise) have amended or embraced their tried and tested practices. What the following papers illustrate are new ways of thinking about the evolution of policing. Yet there may also be a more pressing issue, namely using the prism of surveillance to allow us to extrapolate the subtle and managed advancements in new relations, new transparencies of power, new hierarchies, or new controls that are susceptible to the interpretation of actors with roles that have been circumvented by new forms of responsibility. These responsibilities inevitably take the form of holding "others" to account or learning how to police "better." All of which shines a light on how these practices have become more visible in observing those who police or those who have taken on a policing role.

This special issue therefore seeks to add new enquiries and greater depth to discussions that have enabled and empowered citizens to carry out modes of surveillance in order to become more engaged with the task of policing. Concurrently, these developments impact upon the state and the police themselves: how law enforcement agencies are adapting to the opportunities afforded in the digitisation of policing and the visibilities this affords police actors. Key to these developments is the increased availability and affordability of mobile technologies coupled with the rapid expansion of social media in the last fifteen years. These changes, of course, have fundamental implications for the ways the police and the public work with one another. Historically, the police by necessity have often worked in partnership and collaboration within a diverse network of actors (see Jones and Newburn 2006) involving a range of public agencies and voluntary organisations. The public too have long been engaged in the task of policing within these networks, be it as sources of intelligence, witnesses to crimes, or in various forms of police–community engagement practices (Innes, Tucker, and Jukes 2015). But while considerable academic research has discussed the comparative merits of the police working with public, private, and voluntary sector partners (Berry et al. 2011; Fleming 2006; O'Neil and McCarthy 2014), what has only partially been explored in

existing literature is the extent to which members of the public form part of plural policing networks, what this involvement could and should entail, and, more specifically, how accessible surveillance technologies have changed these models of networked policing.

Law enforcement agencies, for example, have made greater use of social media as both a vehicle through which to communicate with an increasingly digitally competent public, but also as a tool for detection and apprehension of offenders. Indeed, police habitually use Twitter to convey reassurances after certain events, or it is now commonplace for the police to request footage captured by citizens in the wake of high-profile terrorism incidents. For example, in the aftermath of the Manchester Arena bombing in the UK, police appealed for dash-cam footage from the public (see Figure 1).
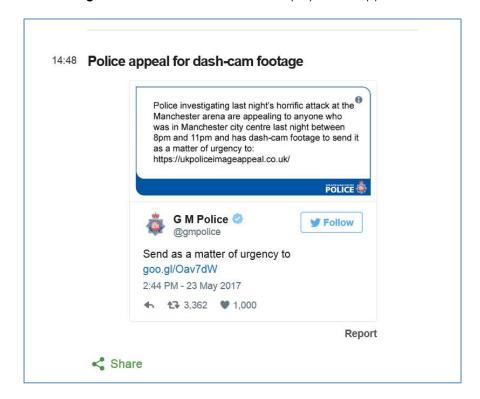
Figure 1. Greater Manchester Police (UK) Twitter Appeal

The increased use of new and emerging technologies by law enforcement agencies such as body-worn cameras, drones, or facial recognition cameras offers opportunities for new modes of policing but also raises questions of visibility and legitimacy. While some have argued that the use of some of these technologies will help to ensure greater accountability and transparency of policing practices, others have problematised these assumptions as being reductionist and blind to the broader implications of the introduction of these new surveillance technologies (see Chan and Bennett Moses 2017; Smith, Bennett Moses, and Chan 2017). As a result, policing is at a juncture not only due to how law enforcement agencies themselves can use digital capture to aid their aims, but also, as we explain below, due to the opportunities created by these same and other technologies for members of the public to fulfil their own goals—some of which may involve challenging police performance.

This is an important juncture for the public too and their role in policing, most especially with the increase in pathways for participation in policing and the performance of surveillance functions by the public. Individuals and groups have been given the means to carry out policing, monitoring, and surveillance, often at the behest of the state, community, or personal sensitivity, and at other times in response to perceived failures of legitimate police actors. Devices such as camera phones, dashcams, or GoPro cameras are

capturing instances of abuse or law breaking with repercussions for how evidence is gathered and convictions secured. The ease and reach of sharing digital capture of wrongdoing via social media is one factor that accounts for the power and influence such footage generates. In recent years, camera phones have captured instances of police and non-police abuses (see Hermida and Hernández-Santaolalla 2017), and the results of such incidents have instigated justifiable claims for accountability, injustice, and inequality. So influential have some of these incidents been that they have driven social movements such as Black Lives Matter, the Brazilian Landless Workers Movement, and the Arab Spring. Moreover, perpetrators have been held to account by their own surveillance technologies, such as body-worn cameras, as demonstrated by examples of a police officer shooting an unarmed man and his child (Stole 2017) and a British soldier killing an unarmed Afghan combatant (Farmer 2017). But such instances of accountability are not limited to violent abuses perpetrated by actors in positions of power and authority; the opportunities created by mobile devices have enabled the public to surveil the public. Inclusive to this type of activity are examples such as cyclists using helmet cameras to capture dangerous drivers' behaviour (BBC 2017; Cooper 2014) and self-motivated inducements to vigilantism as demonstrated in the aftermath of the Boston marathon bombings in 2013 (Nhan, Huey, and Broll 2017; Starbird et al. 2014). In the UK, Theresa May (when Home Secretary) even urged citizens to become "DIY detectives" to mitigate cuts to police funding and resources (Travis 2010). Moreover, in the UK, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary found that police officers were instructing members of the public to investigate low-level crimes themselves including giving advice on how to collect fingerprints, interview potential witnesses, and gather CCTV footage (Greenwood 2014). Far from being an isolated issue, the growth of DIY policing can also be evidenced in the world's first DIY policing workshop held in Berlin in January 2017, during which attendants were advised on how everyday surveillance technologies could be used in the act of "participatory policing" (Denef et al. 2016).

Complicated in such examples of the public working with police or the public monitoring the public are hierarchies of surveillance that place the individual at the *front* rather than within the structural framework of policing organisations or institutions. Increasingly, "special" actors are expected to perform policing and security tasks, co-opting medical doctors, school teachers, municipal workers, or even university staff in the fight against offences and offenders as defined by the state. These processes of "responsibilisation" (Garland 2001) take place at organisational levels but are increasingly prevalent at individual levels and can be evidenced in numerous recent examples, such as crowd-sourced police intelligence obtained via social media campaigns to identify offenders (Olson 2011; Schneider and Trottier 2012).

Therefore, in this special issue, we question how these shifts are taking place within the digital era, how state-sanctioned police actors are reacting to these shifts, and how they are affecting police–public relations. The papers that follow cover a diverse range of agendas and the special issue is split into two sections. The first section of papers explores the ways in which new surveillance technologies have led to the emergence of new relations or models of police–public partnership. The papers examine the impact of technological and digital tools in enhancing the public's abilities to perform policing tasks but also in re-imagining relations between the police and the public. The second section of papers focuses on the profound impact of new visibilities emerging in the past few years, which have shaped the behaviours of police actors as well as that of other individuals and groups performing tasks of surveillance and monitoring. This latter section of papers tackles this theme in creative and innovative ways, drawing upon artistic work and new theoretical concepts to explore these debates.

Mols and Pridmore open the special issue and highlight how some of these new partnerships are taking effect in a Dutch context. For them, it is the tool of Whatsapp that has facilitated "citizen-initiated participation" in the policing of suburban neighbourhoods and heightened a sense of responsibility and suspicion. Spiller and L'Hoiry's paper continues the theme of new forms of partnerships, by concentrating on the self-responsibilisation of groups with vested interests in two UK locales. Though motivated by different sensibilities, both groups make use of digital technology to create "watch groups" that perform "do-it-yourself" styles of policing, leading to new partnership relations with the police. St. Louis, Saulnier, and Walby contend with the proposition of body-worn cameras as a new tool to facilitate partnership building. As they attest, these cameras on their own may hinder or stunt the development of public–police

relations, but if used in conjunction with supplementary initiatives, the results can be promising. Next, Nguyen's paper considers partnership-building as part of her in-depth review of measures to counter domestic terrorism. Here, Nguyen offers intriguing insight into how these partnerships are managed by disparate actors and in turn extend the control of national security. The final paper of this section is Hills', which focuses on the rejection or re-alignment of public–police relations mediated through the non-acceptance of new technologies and modes of policing in Mogadishu, Somalia. In this instance, despite the advent of CCTV, social media, and mobile technologies, Hills notes that word-of-mouth remains one of the more productive forms of policing.

The special issue then moves on to consider many of the same themes from different perspectives, including artistic and fictional representations of surveillance and policing. Cahill's paper explores artwork and the racialised politics of security. In particular, she offers a dramatic overture of the corporeal intent inherent in security enforcement and how representations serve to reinforce particular surveillance structures. Aushana's paper then considers the use of contemporary cinema in her detailed ethnographic work on police in San Diego. For Aushana, it is the influence of the movie *Training Day* that guides not only how the police internalise their self-image, but also the rituals and practices embodied in their policing roles. Both Cahill's and Aushana's papers shine a light on how the notion of visibility may be examined in innovative ways, drawing on artistic work to consider the effect of these visibilities on policing actors and those under the surveillant gaze. Topak offers the penultimate paper and reviews the challenges of monitoring and controlling borders. Positioned in a European context, he constructs an argument that presents an interesting challenge to border enforcement when humanitarian and human rights override security. He suggests that in ensuring the protection of human rights, the NGOs who task themselves with this role are often employing the same surveillance technologies as those used by border security forces.

The special issue concludes with Ullrich's paper on conducting research with the police. We include this paper in the special issue partly as a deliberate attempt to expand the reach of *Surveillance & Society* and its potential readership. To some degree, we have taken editorial privilege and included a paper that is not surveillance focused per se but does offer parallel considerations for our readership. The paper is undoubtedly positioned in police research methodology but is more than attuned to the focus of the special issue. In particular, discussions of gaining access to hard-to-reach research participants and conducting research with policing actors is highly relevant to surveillance scholars, and this is where the paper excels. Ullrich considers how police react to being placed under research scrutiny and offers insight into the defensive responses of being judged. He suggests that within this defensiveness is a rich vein of perceptiveness that fundamentally presents how new visibilities are altering forms of policing.

Finally, we owe a huge debt of gratitude to those who gave their time to review the papers in this special issue, and we wholeheartedly extend our appreciation. This is an aspect of academic labour that often goes unacknowledged and is presumed, and here we once again want to take our editorial privilege to make clear our gratitude for the supportive and collegial contributions of reviewers. Many, many thanks to those who offered very insightful comment and encouraging words to all the authors in this special issue.

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