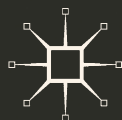
SURVEILLANCE, RACE, CULTURE

Edited by Susan Flynn and Antonia Mackay



Surveillance, Race, Culture

Susan Flynn · Antonia Mackay
Editors

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Contents

1 "Introduction" 1
Susan Flynn and Antonia Mackay

Part I Surveillant Technologies

2 "Articulating Race: Reading Skin Colour as Taxonomy and as Numerical Data" 21
Joel Beatty and Stefka Hristova

3 "Government Surveillance: Racism and Civic Virtue in the United States" 43
Mary K. Ryan

4 "Sampled Sirens in the City of Los Angeles: Sound Effects and Panopticism on the Contemporary Black Film Screen" 61
James Millea

5 "Medical Gazing and the Oprah Effect in *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks* (2017)" 77
Susan Flynn

Part II Screen

6 "Images of Black Identity: Spaces In-Between" 101
Jonathan Wright

7 "Knowing the Double Agent: Islam, Uncertainty and the Fragility of the Surveillant Gaze in *Homeland*" 125
Alex Adams

8 "Allegories of 9/11 and Apartheid: Abjection, Race, and Surveillance in Neill Blomkamp's *District 9*" 145
Frances Pheasant-Kelly

9 "Intersectional Digital Dynamics and Profiled Black Celebrities" 171
Francesca Sobande

Part III Literature, Art, Performance, Action

10 "Let Him Be Left to Feel His Way in the Dark;" Frederick Douglass: White Surveillance and Dark Sousveillance 191
Sarah Cullen

11 "Perceptions of Prisoners: Re/Constructing Meaning Inside the Frame of War" 207
Jaclyn Meloche

12 "*Cops* and Incarceration: Constructing Racial Narratives in Reality TV's Prisons" 227
Antonia Mackay

13 "Pan-African Pessimism: *The Man Who Cried I Am* and the Limits of Black Nationalism" 247
Richard Hancuff

14 "'Woke up with Death Every Morning.' Surveillance Experiences of Black Panther Party Activists." 267
Max Gedig

Epilogue 283

Index 291

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Mary K. Ryan is a doctoral candidate in Social, Political, Ethical, and Cultural Thought at Virginia Tech where she teaches in the Departments of Philosophy and Political Science. Her dissertation concerns structural racism in the United States federal government. Mary received her M.A. in Public Service from Marquette University. Mary has published book chapters in the volumes *Critical Insights: Civil Rights Literature Past and Present* (Salem Press), *Spaces of Surveillance: States and Selves* (Palgrave Macmillan), and forthcoming in *The Representation of Poverty in Popular Culture* (McFarland), as well as peer-reviewed journal articles in *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, the *Nomadic Sojourns Journal*, and the *Journal for the Study of Peace and Conflict*. Mary's interest in social justice extends into creative endeavors; she is a theatre director, produced playwright, and her poetry is featured in the *Clockhouse*, *Lehigh Valley Vanguard*, and *Draw Write Here* journals.

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Jonathan Wright is Course Leader and Senior Lecturer, in Media and Cultural Theory at the University of Arts, London. Over the past 20 years, Wright has been teaching media and cultural studies and film studies at various universities. He completed his Ph.D. thesis on Black British cinema at London Metropolitan University. He lectures across a range of topics including media theory, visual cultural theory, and issues of representation, cultural identity, film and cinema, audiences, and spectatorship. As a theory-based academic he is very interested in the methodological issues involved in the supervision of practice-led research. He has written on British cinema, race, and representation and for a period wrote regularly for the magazine "Red Pepper." He is working toward a monograph on a critical history of black filmmaking in Britain and has developed his research interests into the historical study of black film exhibition in the United States. Jonathan has recently completed a co-authored report for the Stephen Lawrence Charitable Trust on diversity in the UK film and TV industries.

CHAPTER 1

"Introduction"

Susan Flynn and Antonia Mackay

Notions of surveillance have long captivated the creative imagination and have been envisioned at multiple sites through narratives, images, and performances. Although such growth in the field of surveillance studies has been most prevalent in the social sciences, science, and technology fields, the encroachment on civil liberties and privacy as well as the national security aspects of surveillance have come to overshadow classical debates on the watching of others. Surveillance studies ostensibly concern the production of new theoretical and empirical understanding of human behaviour vis-à-vis the burgeoning field of technological development; however, the project of this collection is to lay claim to surveillance studies for a cultural understanding of their human and bodily manifestations. Operating within the paradigm of cultural studies, we seek to reclaim the terrain of surveillance studies so that we may explore

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the critical juncture at which our time has become one of watching, categorizing, and purporting to 'know' others.

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As the field of surveillance studies has established, being watched extends beyond the physicality of the camera eye and into social and cultural paradigms that affect bodily and subjective narratives. Recent technological advances, such as a new device which can see through bodies without the need for X-rays (as reported on the BBC website in September 2017) and so-called futuristic schools where the students are 'always on camera' (*BBC World Magazine*, 4 July 2017), suggest that surveillant practices stretch far beyond Orwellian notions of malignant forces. Although these surveillant systems are praised for their potential, there remains a deep-rooted anxiety attached to the implicit 'being watched-ness.' The futuristic schools (known as 'Alt-Schools'), which employ tailored and personalised technology via a computerised teaching plan, also open up the possibility of personal data mining at the very earliest stages of child development. Data were once mined from internet surfing and purchasing, but the 'Alt-School' system suggests a child's development can be surveilled, manipulated, and reworked as the child develops. Furthermore, by building software that seeks to engage with primary school children on an individual level, algorithms take the place of the traditional bodily overseer (the teacher), leaving only the surveillance cameras to 'watch over' the children. These futuristic schools (currently being trialled in the US) not only remove the bodily presence of adults, but transpose a child's learning onto a computerised system. Both the schools and the medical device illustrate the necessity of technological development in our modern world for humanity to advance, but it is our investment and obsession with these systems that warrant caution. The inherent power play between all-seeing machine and man has long been a dystopian fantasy, from *Terminator* (1984) and *The Matrix* (1999) to television's *The Handmaid's Tale* (2016) and the recent *Blade Runner 2049* (2017), yet all these narratives share a common theme: the need to watch, and hence to identify 'us' from 'the other.'

This collection aims to articulate the manner in which cultural productions have been complicit in viewing, seeing, and purporting to 'know' race, and it examines some of the ways in which surveillant technologies have been complicit in the definition of racial categorisation. The pervasive accumulation and commercialisation of 'personal data' as well as the ubiquity of the camera's roving eye, incur categorisations,

labels, and distinctions which can problematize nationality, belonging, and racial identity. In our increasingly mediated world, our sense of community, of belonging, of 'who' we are, is increasingly virtual and informed by many artistic and cultural productions, some of which are analysed here. The essays each propose, in different ways, that surveillant technologies impact upon the psyche, having an effect on notions of race and of racial categories. As such, art, film, and literature provide a lens with which to view sociocultural concerns. This book, then, brings together literary, cultural, and artistic studies to provide a multidisciplinary approach to the fundamental question of how surveillant technologies have informed our notions of race, of identities, and of belonging, examining the manner in which race has been, and continues to be, constructed by surveillant technologies.

Extending the dialogues contained in our previous collection (*Spaces of Surveillance: States and Selves* 2017), this collection of essays engages with a wide range of disciplines including art, photography, performance, film, literature, and media technologies to examine the myriad effects of contemporary surveillance on our cultural psyche. The unique contribution of this edited collection is its approach to the culturally expressed manifestations of surveillance and the resultant effects on racial categories as they are portrayed, asserted, and felt. As well as examining popular cultural productions and how these contribute to our understanding of surveillant assemblages, this collection examines technologies such as drone surveillance, webcams, metadata, and the effect of these multiple 'gazes' on racial and cultural narratives. Seeking to excavate the effects of ubiquitous surveillance on identity formation and on the framing of racial identity, this book offers a critical insight into the varied interior experiences of being surveilled. The collection acknowledges that contemporary daily life inculcates various assemblages of interconnectivity and extends current work in the humanities to forge a new understanding of interior responses to such exposure. This work acknowledges that we are often complicit with modern forms of surveillance: we have bought into social networking, sousveillance, diagnostics, biometrics, and the promise of security. The often 'somatic' nuances of this trade-off are examined here, offering a new view of our relationship with surveillant technologies, seeking to expose the way in which cultural narratives of race are constructed via surveillance.

Surveillance, Race, Culture aims to bring together multidisciplinary readings of technological advancement into one cohesive and comprehensive new volume for scholars and academics in the humanities and

social sciences, seeking to merge cultural explorations of surveillance with the issue of race. We wish to examine how culture produces or reproduces power relations via the surveillant technologies that have captured the cultural imagination. Through a critical reading of contemporary and historic narratives of race and surveillance, we seek to illustrate the ongoing cultural fascination with technologies of control and surveillance.

Theoretical Framework

Stuart Hall wrote that the practices of representation always implicate the positions from which we speak or write—the positions of enunciation (Hall 2000). This collection seizes this critical juncture to consider how surveillance is implicated in such an enunciation. Hall, Williams, and others at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham raised the call for academic study to bridge the gulf between high culture and lived experience: between theory and practice, both past and contemporary. For many years, we have looked to cultural studies to provide a context for our interest in class stratification and power structures within cultures, to articulate the lived experience of social stratification.

Although some might say that cultural studies have no 'house-approved' methodology, the interdisciplinary nature of cultural studies highlights the need to think through the social and political contexts of cultural expression. Our previous collection, *Spaces of Surveillance: States and Selves* (2017), engaged with the surveillant regimes of our current moment in history. It opened a discussion with respect to the material conditions of people's lives in an age of watching and being watched, examining the 'felt dimensions' of surveillance as it is represented in film, art, and literature. *Spaces of Surveillance* attempted to critique the ideological underpinnings of contemporary surveillance through a range of cultural productions and a selection of methodological lenses. From these analyses, the consideration of race emerged as a pertinent issue. Through the various studies in the collection, we saw the narratives of film, art, and literature employ surveillant regimes for the delineation of race categories, as a tool for marginalisation and a weapon of injustice. This cultural study enabled us to see how surveillance (as a technology of power) is embedded in our cultural psyche and inculcated in many of the judgements we make in our everyday lives.

In determining this collection's focus on race, it is necessary to examine the postcolonial theories which lie at the heart of the following chapters. Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) is perhaps one of the most influential postcolonial critical texts, with Orientalism used by scholars throughout the humanities to elucidate the imitation of aspects of the Middle East, South Asian, North African, and East Asian cultures in art, literature, and cultural studies. At its core, Said suggests there exists a condescending attitude in the West directed toward 'other' Eastern societies, in direct contrast to the developed, rational, fixed, and superior West (Said 1978). As he writes, Orientalism "has less to do with the Orient than it does with 'our' [Western] world" (p. 12) and, therefore, in creating a different 'other,' the West accumulates power over the East: "to have… knowledge of such a thing is to dominate it, to have authority over it" (p. 32). By creating a body of knowledge and a Western discourse of the East (other), Said suggests Western narratives limit any genuine understanding of other cultures beyond their own. Said also claims that much of this othering occurs at an aesthetic level, or "the exteriority of representation" (p. 21), resulting in the othering of bodies that do not fit the white Western ideal. Orientalism has more recently branched into the field of Black Orientalism, examining the representation of African Americans and American Islam, and the casting of the Arab Muslim world as a precursor and imitator of the West. Sherman Jackson's chapter "Black Orientalism" in his seminal work *Islam and the Blackamerican* (2005) considers the West's history of anti-blackness as one that is tied to the West's anti-Arab feeling. Jackson extends Said's reading of the West's power over the East into one that directly links African Americans with Arab Muslims and the contemporary Western reaction to black radicalism and religious othering. Originating as a response to Henry Louis Gates' *Wonders of the African World* (1999), Sherman Jackson and Ali Mazrui criticised the documentary for removing religious histories from African narratives and 'white-washing' African religious history with Christianity in place of the Muslim faith. The 'orientalism' at work in both Said's and Jackson's criticism shares a critical tenet—the spectatorship of racially othered bodies from within Western discourses.

This collection engages with all aspects of Orientalism, containing chapters that seek to investigate the manner in which 'othered' bodies are categorised, recognised, watched, and identified. The chapters included here examine not only African American identity, but also slave narratives; the representations of Muslim identities; the aesthetics of skin

colour; the role of government drones in the Middle East; radical racial movements; and race inequality in both the public and private domain.

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Our return to the study of surveillance in culture and through cultural studies enables us to see how dominant epistemologies about race are constituted and reconstituted through popular culture. As cultural studies scholars, we see the world as a series of texts. Each text is laden with meaning and each text speaks to others. In reading social practices, we must not simply read them anecdotally, but systematically, as is necessary to understand what values and messages have been transmitted through these social practices and forms of consumption, and how these impact ideology and our everyday living conditions. In cultural studies, the counter-hegemonic voice—the narratives of oppressed people and their identities as sites of resistance—were critical means by which social transformation was imagined. Many other important academic movements argue against normative standards and ideologies that serve to marginalise and oppress peoples of colour, in particular the Critical Race Theory (Perry 2005). This collection is envisaged as an addendum to much of this great work, not by engaging directly with Critical Race Theory, but in providing specific examples of how cultural productions engage with surveillant technologies in the categorisation of race, and in the marginalisation, both real and metaphoric, of groups of people. Our aim, to heed the challenge of Perry (2005), is "to map the patterns and structures of unconscious racism by, amongst other things, reading cultural texts of various sorts alongside each other." The collection, therefore, aims to draw together instances of the contemporary cultural moment that recognise surveillance as both an imprint and signifier of racial categories.

Scope of This Collection

Steeped as it is in racial and colonial history and narrative, the United States (US) is the focus of the essays in this collection. The various scholars in this collection map how racism has echoed back and forth between law and popular culture since race and racism were codified in US antebellum slave law. The history of America is one that actively engages with the types of surveillance this collection discusses, from technological advancement and surveillant systems, to the framing of othered bodies

by racial codes. America's history has long been one of tension, namely a tension created by the US' historic investment in slavery and its attempt to distance itself from such ancestry. During the eighteenth and nineteenth century, slaves were imported en masse following expeditions into the interior of West Africa. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, 12 million Africans arrived in the Americas and were entered into contracts as servants working in both domestic and industrial environments. The postcolonial theorist Frantz Fanon's work on racial othering engages with many of the issues at the heart of America's slave industry, such as themes of escape, Harlem's power (encountered most notably in the early twentieth century with the Harlem Renaissance), anti-Black racism, and the rigidity of the colour divide in modern America. In *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), Fanon considers slavery's implicit surveillance system, wherein factory workers are subjected to time sheets and categories of workers are overseen with supervision to reduce labour to automation. In his later writings, as Simone Browne discusses in *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness* (2015), Fanon turned his attention to the ongoing surveillance of blackness in modern America where "[CCTV] cameras are trained not only on the potential thief, but also on the employee working on the shop floor who is put on notice that the video surveillance is perpetual" (Browne, p. 6). Indeed, racial control is at the heart of many of America's most violent events: the American Indian Wars from 1540 to 1924 that sought to occupy territory belonging to Native Americans in Canada and North America; the American Revolution (1783) that ended the Atlantic slave trade, but not the Southern states' investment in cotton farming and slave workers; the Civil War in 1861, a direct result of the long-standing controversy over slavery in the South; the Cherokee–American wars (1776–1795) fought between Euro-Americans and the Cherokee, wherein white Americans sought to occupy Native American land in the Southwest; the Arikara War of 1823, the first war fought between the US Army and Native Americans, which took place in Dakota; and the Mexican-American War (1846–1848) following the annexation of Texas from Mexico, which sought to claim Texas as American and remove Mexico's claim to territory. These wars were clearly influenced, if not motivated, by the need to control (and eliminate) the racial other. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, much of America's military power has similarly been directed toward the control of 'others' in Vietnam, Afghanistan, Cuba, Iraq, and Korea. The pervasive type of surveillance that exists in America appears

to be racially driven rather than determined. As Simone Browne's book exemplifies, to speak of surveillance we must see it as a "factor in how racism and antiblackness undergird and sustain the intersecting surveillances of our present order" (Browne, p. 9).

Browne's suggestion that surveillance is specifically 'anti-black' in its manifestations in the US certainly seems to carry weight. Claudia Rankine's *Citizen: An American Lyric* (2014) exposes the micro-aggressions exerted on African Americans in contemporary society, discussing childhood experiences, encounters with white colleagues, and the media's treatment of black celebrities such as Venus Williams. In "You are in the dark, in the car" she speaks of the black child knocked over on the subway:

> A man knocked over her son in the subway. You feel your own body wince. He's okay, but the son of a bitch kept walking. She says she grabbed the stranger's arm and told him to apologise; I told him to look at the boy and apologise. And yes, you want it to stop, you want the black child pushed to the ground to be seen, to be helped to his feet and be brushed off, not brushed off by the person that did not see him, has never seen him, has perhaps never seen anyone who is not a reflection of himself. (Rankine, p. 39)

Rankine's echoing of both the visibility of the black child on the subway and his invisibility strike a chord with many of the thematic concerns of African American writers of the twentieth century, where sight and the visibility of the racial body are paradoxical. Much like Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952), it is both the othering or difference of the body which marks it as identifiable, whilst also rendering it as unknown (or invisible). As many of the contributors in this collection suggest, the racial body is one that is easily surveilled thanks to its othered nature, whilst also historically overlooked, and whose experiences are rendered invisible. More recent examples of surveillance's ability to render bodies invisible extends to the SkyWatch towers in New York City's East Village, where elevated NYPD booths overlook the streets to observe the residents' actions. In an article in the *New York Post*, Frank Rosario and Bruce Golding report the booths as "Big Brother spying from a surveillance tower" while residents complain of the "ridiculous and unnecessary guard tower" (*New York Post*, 28 July 2015). In response to the public's discomfort, the NYPD claimed "the tower is not harmful to

anybody… [it is] in a public space, observing public activity for public safety." Notably, the SkyWatch booths were originally erected to observe (and control) the large numbers of homeless people sleeping rough in Tompkins Square Park (referred to as 'bums' by the reporter), marking this surveillance system as one of control over the marginalised other. Recent movies have also engaged with the othering of bodies through surveillance, such as 2017's *Get Out*. Jordan Peele's directorial debut about a young interracial couple and their visit to her parent's estate is unequivocally a racially motivated critique of modern America; but perhaps more deftly, it also alludes to the power of surveillance. Sight and visibility of the black body is key to the film's conceit, as depicted through cameras and a repeated focus on eyes (and with that, ways of seeing). Sight is used throughout the film to amplify the imbalance of power and control along racial lines, as seen with the house servants Walter and Georgina. Using camera angles that emphasise closeness and distance, the bodies of Walter and Georgina suggest both the passive observation of the protagonist and Walter's and Georgina's own underlying desire for escape. It is also the protagonist's camera that provides him with a way of seeing, releasing Walter and Logan from their hypnotic state and revealing the horror of their entrapment, but also directly attributing to his own entrapment as the vessel for the blind art dealer, Jim Hudson. Seeing and surveilling blackness, and indeed, in the case of *Get Out*, a desire to see things as a black man, suggest a racial element at work in surveillance culture at large, wherein the visibility of racial bodies renders them as object for surveillant eyes. As Foucault taught us, every regime of representation is a regime of power. In extrapolating Fanon's argument about the colonizing experience in *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952), we can see surveillant regimes as having the power to imprint negatively on the psyche, so that relationships of power are internalized. Many of the narratives emanating from the antebellum era have both material and symbolic value, as well as effect; the past, in some sense, continues to speak to us.

We look toward the US in these essays because its history, laws, and narratives have increasingly populated and fuelled contemporary Western notions of race and its categorisation. America's history of structural surveillance emerges from a long and hotly contested history of racism and white supremacy which links the use of force by the law against racially marginalised men and women. The reach of surveillance, as well as its near invisibility to those privileged enough to escape its gaze, make it

especially difficult to address in its entirety; hence, this collection examines the cultural effects in a piecemeal fashion across four sections. It is hoped that, by examining how cultural productions depict surveillant regimes and their engagement with race, this collection will open new routes for discussion.

Our current moment in history, seen by many as a time of social and political crisis, makes conversations such as these important. The crises in the Middle East, the issue of migration, immigration, Brexit, and Trump's wall and travel ban, all make this volume's discussion of surveillance and the 'other' a timely one. This complex system of overlapping surveillance regimes emerged stealthily, and as a reaction to moments of crisis, eventually becoming a permanent aspect of government and society. From early films such as *Birth of a Nation* (Griffith 1915) to literature such as Frederick Douglass' *The Narrative of the Life of a Slave* (1845) and Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), racially focused narratives have had an important role in articulating perceived 'crisis' moments. Lorraine Hansbury's *A Raisin in the Sun* (1959) engaged in the suburban experiences of African Americans in the postwar period; Amiri Baraka's *Dutchman* (1964), with the civil rights clashes of the mid-1960s; Tony Kushner's *Angels in America* (1991), with the impact of the AIDS epidemic on marginalised bodies in the 1980s; and Paul Beatty's *The Sellout* (2015) with the seemingly increased divide between white and black identity politics in the current political climate. Today, we continue to see the instantiation of surveillance mechanisms in response to perceived public crises in the justification and clarification of acts of government and law.

Through a range of formats, the various authors in this collection seek to explore how surveillance has affected racial identity. By engaging with the varied aspects of surveillance culture in the modern world, with issues of technological development, activism, literary, artistic, film, and music analysis, the collection succeeds in illustrating the manner in which surveillant assemblages construct categories which translate through the lived experience of social groups. The collection speaks to various interdisciplinary concerns such as linguistics, American literature, African American studies, art, photography, cultural studies, and film studies. Its textual scope ranges from canonical and non-canonical texts to popular literature and mainstream cinema, which enter into dialogue with each other and with other cultural and media forms. Divided into three thematic sections grouping the various essays under the rubrics of

surveillant technologies, screen, literature, art, and action, the first section, Surveillant Technologies, features four essays that attend in differing ways to instances in which surveillance is experienced as an act of racial control. These examples all allude to different technologies of control: biodata, drones, sound technologies, and biomedicine. In the first chapter, Joel S. Beatty and Stefka Hristova provide a fascinating history of racial biodata, giving an excellent starting point for discussions of racial categorisation. In their chapter, "Articulating Race: Reading Skin Colour as Taxonomy and as Biodata," the authors discuss Felix von Luschan, a prominent German anthropologist (1854–1924) who introduced a colour tile system in which each skin shade was given a numeric value from 1 to 36. von Luschan's skin colour tiles reduced colour to a number and became part of a standard anthropometric toolkit. This system influenced the field of forensics in the early twentieth century, as practitioners and theorists debated their use to augment the chromatic data gathered by the dominant Bertillon system. More recent debates suggest that skin colour is a result of environmental adaptation in the context of a human evolution, which appears to challenge certain long-standing cultural assumptions about race. Beaty and Hristova's chapter traces the impact of von Luschan's anthropometric work as well as his biometric skin colour measurement technology to the contemporary dialogues about race in the contexts of global forensics and security. The chapter opens new avenues to investigate the possibility of resisting dominant discourses on race via the articulation of skin colour as biodata.

This articulation of skin colour as categorisation lends an interesting aspect to current governmental tactics. Mary K. Ryan's chapter, "Government Surveillance, Racism, and Civic Virtue in the United States," concerns itself with the rise in exclusionary practices sanctioned or commissioned by the US government as part of an evolving regime of white supremacy within a structurally racist government apparatus via the usage of drone surveillance within US boundaries as local law enforcement entities use the surveillant technology on US soil to detect and monitor citizen-led protests. Ryan pays particular attention to complicity and moral virtue in governance to better examine civic responsibility and America's racial heritage. These excavations of contemporary US policy help to shed light on the cultural entrenchment of the surveillance of racial identity, which is mirrored in the politics of micro-aggression and structural inequity. Ryan extrapolates why these issues matter for all citizens as governance reshapes itself in the new century.

The racial identity and micro-aggression which Ryan discusses are relevant when we consider contemporary depictions of race in film and television. When we consider representations of Black citizens, we initially consider the 'look,' without the other senses. James Millea's chapter, "Sampled Sirens in the City of Los Angeles: Sounding Surveillance on the Black Contemporary Film Screen," provides a fascinating exploration of diegetic sound: sounds such as sirens, police radios, gunshots, and whirring helicopter blades, which are seen to provide little else than a greater sense of realism for the film image. In the New Black Realist cinema of the 1990s these 'sound effects' have enabled these Black commercial independent films to disrupt the normative traditions of mainstream cinema to create soundtracks in which the contemporary experience of the hip hop community can be heard. In that, these films highlight not just the surveillant forces that these 'sound effects' represent but echo the frames of panopticism, the attempt by dominant and state institutions to control the Black youth community both on and off screen. Focusing on John Singleton's *Boyz 'N' The Hood* (1991) and Allen and Albert Hughes's *Menace II Society* (1993) as prominent case studies in New Black Realist cinema, this research reads the sound and music of these films through the aesthetics of hip hop. In these instances of diegetic sound, these films provide a pertinent expression of surveillance in the mediation of contemporary Black culture. So, while sirens, police radios, gunshots, and whirring helicopter blades are tangential elements of mainstream narrative soundtracks, in New Black Realism these sounds are the sounds of sonic supervision and scrutiny: these are the sounds of surveillance.

As Millea discusses for the sounds of supervision, Susan Flynn examines the medical supervision of Black America through a consideration of the recent film *The Immortal Life of Henrietta Lacks* (2017) and questions the sort of race activism that the film ostensibly champions. The involvement of Oprah Winfrey as co-producer and star of the film is of interest; did her involvement ensure that the film was a race-aware and politically mobilising text? The chapter reflects on the surveillant uses of film and on the surveillant assemblage that is visible in this film text and which inculcates the medical gaze in the era of biomedicine. An egalitarian stance is taken: the chapter addresses the need for 'mobilising' texts that could help to frame the political agenda of race inequality. The symbolic representation and surveillance of black identity within popular narratives has the potential to create new meanings and understandings, but

as the chapter points out, this film emanates from a defined hegemonic ideological position.

From the time of the first feature-length films, race and racial tensions have been narrative fodder, providing scope for exposition of inequality, crises of citizenship, and ruptures of hegemonic regimes. The second thematic section of this collection examines screen depictions of race surveillance, beginning with an exploration by Jonathan Wright of the seminal documentary *Looking for Langston* (1989), directed by Isaac Julian. Wright situates his reading of the film within the complex theoretical terrain of identity formation, providing a solid critique of the manner in which we 'read' identity, as is particularly relevant as surveillance operates to read race. Containing archival newsreel footage of 1920s Harlem, and interspersed with scripted scenes, *Looking for Langston* celebrates black gay identity. The film is a memorial to Langston Hughes and the Harlem Renaissance and ostensibly surveills the black gay experience. Wright excavates the text to expose the ways in which space, place, and time construct cultural identity in visual culture. By examining the construction of representational spaces, it explores the construction of racialized identities. The chapter utilises theories of subjectivity through a postcolonial theoretical lens to analyse the ways in which 'race,' gender, and sexuality are performed in different diegetic (textual) locations and the way in which watching or 'looking for' race is in itself a form of surveillance.

This form of 'looking for' race is explored by Frances Pheasant Kelly in her investigation of *District 9* (2009), which draws semblances between the segregationary tactics employed in the film and the events at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay, as well as historicised links with apartheid and Nazi concentration camps. Reading the film as an allegory of racial discrimination, Pheasant-Kelly notes the pejorative presentation of the racial 'other' and the xenophobia enacted on the body, coupled with constant surveillance. The torture scenes and the commercialisation of body parts in the film attest to a hyper-close observation whereby the abject body is converted into commodified objects. An analysis of the various types of shots illustrates how the film operates to convey an ideological and sometimes psychological racism.

This psychological racism is examined further in Alex Adams' nuanced reading of *Homeland* in his chapter "Knowing the Double Agent: Islam, Uncertainty, and the Fragility of the Surveillant Gaze in *Homeland*." The TV show examines themes such as heroism and patriotism within

the complex dynamic of the war on terror. *Homeland* emphasises the fragility and potential for failure, which is present both in its characters and in the surveillance technologies that they employ; the show's sophisticated security superstructure is shown as simultaneously panoptic and precarious, at once omnipresent and prone to puncture. *Homeland*'s major events take place in the interstices unavailable to surveillance, in the psychic and emotional lives of the characters; identity, allegiance, and betrayal are explored through the figure of the elusive, yet intimately present, double agent. Such explorations are often subtly racialized: the double agent is the ultimate unstable and ambiguous figure, and the risk that they represent is amplified through their frequent association with Islam. This chapter extends critiques of *Homeland*'s controversial and overly determined Orientalist gaze, and its role in the informal dissemination of securitisation ideology, by unpicking the ways in which Islam is shown as suspicious and threatening and by showing how *Homeland* constitutes Muslims as members of a suspect community, a surveillable population.

This notion of a group as surveillable is pertinent to Francesca Sobande's chapter examining instances of surveillance of Black celebrities. "Intersectional Digital Dynamics and Racially Profiled Black Celebrities" provides an analysis of the public scrutiny of famous Black people and explores some of the race- and class-related nuances of surveillance for both marginalised and privileged social positions. Black celebrities' experiences of profiling are (re)produced and (re)mediated in digital spaces which, Sobande suggests, is a form of sousveillance: the self-management of their surveillance. The chapter explores the intersectional systemic oppression, such as the effects of racism and sexism, which affects Black celebrities. Looking at celebrities such as Jamelia, Laura Mvula, Solange Knowles, and Jay Z, Sobande examines the media documentation inherent in celebrity life and the nuances of that documentation for Black celebrities, particularly when they invite the audience into their lived experiences.

The third thematic section of this collection examines literature, art, and action, and spans the long history of race representation. Sarah Cullen's chapter "Let Him Be Left to Feel His Way in the Dark. Frederick Douglass: White Surveillance and Dark Sousveillance" reflects on the seminal work of Douglass and illustrates the manner in which surveillant practices in the 1800s are relevant to today's discussions of surveillance. Cullen offers a unique view of the surveillance

and sousveillance strategies employed throughout Frederick Douglass's (1818–1895) slavery narratives, illustrating how Douglass's narratives are "dark sousveillant" texts which bring about an ironic reversal of control on the part of the slave. This examination is predicated on Simone Browne's argument that masters utilised panoptical white surveillance, based on the use of biometric measurements, day-like light and self-policing, to establish and maintain control over their slaves. This argument is followed by a demonstration of these actions as seen in Douglass' work, in which it is shown that the acts of whipping, branding, and raping are all part of a larger system of surveillance. This chapter shows that white surveillance depends upon both the threat and the realisation of violence to function. It then argues that Douglass and his fellow slaves use counter-strategies known as dark sousveillance to undermine the control of the slaveholder. Cullen then considers how the excessive and opportunistic nature of white surveillance, which used slavery to exercise power and control, may have sowed the seeds for later acts of domestic and international surveillance throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Following this, it demonstrates how Douglass's dark sousveillance methods exposed Southern white violent surveillance to wider audiences, in an effort to instil upon his ex-masters the kind of fears he himself felt as a slave. The chapter concludes by examining white surveillance and dark sousveillance in a modern context, examining recent events such as those in Charlottesville, Virginia, which demonstrate continued conflict.

Jaclyn Meloche contributes to the discussion in her chapter titled "Perceptions of Prisoners: Re/Constructing Meaning Inside the Frame of War." Examining an exhibition by Fernando Botero at Malborough Gallery in New York City, Meloche finds the multi-layered interpretations of the ways in which American media shared racial identity politics during times of war. Botero, a Columbian artist living and working in Paris and known for his largely voluptuous and exaggerated bodies, produced a series of 80 highly critical and political depictions that both dehumanise the American military and embody grief for the racial body as well as enact the performativity of the frame. On canvas and on paper, the artist responded to the disturbing broadcasted photographs of abuse, torture, and murder in the Abu Ghraib prison, located in Iraqi city, 32 km west of Baghdad, that were circulated around the globe in 2004. In this way, Botero, through a non-American lens, critiqued the actions of the US Army and CIA to produce new forms of aesthetic affect in

post-911 visual culture while proposing new ways by which to consider and materialise racial surveillance in contemporary art.

Antonia Mackay's chapter, entitled "*Cops* and Incarceration: Constructing Racial Narratives in Reality TV's Prisons," examines the role of hyper-consumerism and the commercialisation of bodies in reality television programming, specifically that set in American prisons. Mackay argues for the framing and objectification of African American bodies under the surveillant eye of television cameras, and in so doing, contests the notion of 'reality' media. Using shows such as *Cops*, *Lockup*, and *Louis Theroux's Miami Mega Jail*, she investigates the manner in which racial identity is manipulated via surveillant practices and further considers the role of the viewer in constructing varying identities for prison inmates. Pointing to the passivity of the supposed subject in the camera shot, Mackay highlights the malignancy of racial stereotypes at work in modern America, and also the potential for identity formation, modulating historically silent narratives through mainstream media platforms.

Richard Hancuff's chapter, "Pan-African Pessimism: *The Man Who Cried I Am* and the Limits of Black Nationalism," provides a fascinating overview of the agitation and political unrest that formed the backdrop to John A. Williams's 1967 novel *The Man Who Cried I Am*. Embedded in a cultural milieu saturated in violence, suspicion, and racial tension, activists within African American communities felt besieged by monitor and control regimes in the form of hostile police presence, infiltration of Black organizations, and the continued neglect of neighbourhood infrastructure by municipal authorities. Black Nationalism in the form of the Black Arts Movement, the Nation of Islam, and the Black Panthers, as well as other smaller groups, formed a major cultural and political response to the failure of the US to live up to its promise of inclusion. The artists of the Black Arts Movement believed their art was inextricably linked to the Black Power movement, whose radical political agenda was most visibly represented by the gun-toting Black Panthers. Hancuff's chapter successfully excavates the volatility of the era which saw art as a weapon: the US funding of artists and artistic organizations they believed would serve to promote, even abstractly, ideals of bourgeois democracy and capitalism. From this cultural backdrop, John A. Williams grafted a detective fiction plot onto an imaginative account of the Cold War era Black American expatriates in his novel *The Man Who Cried I Am*. Loosely based on Richard Wright's life in France, Williams' novel connects government surveillance of African Americans

both domestic and abroad to a white supremacist genocidal plot dubbed the King Alfred Plan. The novel takes as given an intense web of agents even among protagonist Max Reddick's closest friends. While the novel ultimately portrays a failure of racial solidarity, it demonstrates that the surveillance state confronts the possibility of Black solidarity—national or international—as a threat to the state, conflating struggles for racial equality with communist ideology and infiltration. As such, the Black intellectual remains under suspicion, constructed not as a full citizen under the supposed equal protection of law, but rather in opposition to the security of the nation-state, retaining the qualities of an alien outsider who must constantly undergo surveillance, analysis, and control.

From the discussion of nation-state security and insider/outsider relationships, Max Gedig's chapter '"We Lived with Death Right at our Backs:" Surveillance Experiences of Black Panther Party Activists" develops the argument with a specific look at the FBI surveillance of the Black Panther Party. The FBI infiltration of the group with informants is examined to provide perspectives on how Panthers experienced the threat of informers and how they tried to protect themselves. Analysing the emotional impact of infiltration and adding how the FBI used these emotions for their own end offers an explanation on the Panthers' fast demise after 1971. The chapter examines the impact of personal surveillance and the emotions of the objects of surveillance. Gedig's contention is that personal surveillance as a form of social interaction, creates specific and reoccurring emotions within the targeted political communities, but it also creates reoccurring emotions for the informants themselves. Gedig examines affective ties and feelings of trust and correlates these with human well-being and mental health. Using both primary and secondary research on activists, Gedig extrapolates that the surveillance tactics employed by the FBI created an emotional shift; displacing the group cohesiveness with feelings of mistrust and paranoia.

The epilogue, written by the collection's editors, provides commentary on the usefulness of these essays within the broader cultural studies field and the pertinence of these discussions in today's complex surveillant terrain.

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As this introduction has demonstrated, the relationship between surveillance, race, and culture is one that is intertwined and interdeterminate. Race is both framed and read by systems of surveillance, which in

turn is directed by our cultural climate: it becomes visible at the point of being observed, but also becomes Othered. All three terms that form the title of this second collection testify the manner in which our contemporary moment is shaped by political, governmental, societal, and environmental movements from within and beyond our control, shifting the parameters of what determines 'them' and 'us.'

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