

CONSTRUCTION OF SECURITY CULTURES:
A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATIONS OF VIDEO-
SURVEILLANCE IN URBAN SPACE IN TURKISH
PRINT MEDIA

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ABSTRACT

CONSTRUCTION OF SECURITY CULTURES: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATIONS OF VIDEO- SURVEILLANCE IN URBAN SPACE IN TURKISH PRINT MEDIA

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This thesis provides an examination of the representations of MOBESE revealed in the print media. MOBESE portrayal is evaluated from an evaluative perspective seeking to know to what end do these representations given in the print media serve; furthermore; to amplify where MOBESE surveillance stand in the process of constructing security cultures. This research is conducted in terms of print media articles downsized to MOBESE-related items in four selected newspaper articles published between the years of 2008-2015. A content analysis was used in order to determine predominant themes in representations of MOBESE in the print media. Based on this analysis, this study offers major three themes; *panopticism and police, crime control and fear*, and, *infringements of privacy*. It is concluded that MOBESE installation and its expansion is advocated in the print media with these three themes in order to provide an increase in social control which constructs security cultures through video-surveillance.

Keywords: MOBESE, Video-Surveillance, Security Cultures, Print Media

ÖZ

GÜVENLİK KÜLTÜRLERİNİN İNŞAASI: KENTSEL MEKANDA KAMERALI GÖZETİMİN TÜRK YAZILI BASININDA TEMSİLİNE DAİR BİR İÇERİK ANALİZİ

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Bu tez, yazılı basında sunulan MOBESE temsillerine dair bir araştırma sunmaktadır. Bu MOBESE temsilleri iki anlamda değerlendirilmiştir; bu temsiller hangi amaçlara hizmet etmektedir ve MOBESE gözetimi, güvenlik kültürlerini daha iyi açıklamak noktasında nerede durmaktadır. Yazılı basın kapsamında yürütülen bu çalışmada, 2008-2015 yıllarında basılan MOBESE ile ilişkili haberler dört ayrı gazeteden elde edilmiştir. Yazılı basındaki MOBESE temsillerinde hakim temaların belirlenmesi için içerik analizi metodu kullanılmıştır. Bu analize göre üç ana tema ortaya çıkmıştır; *panoptisim ve polis, suçun kontrolü ve korku*, ve *özelin ihlalleri*. Bu tez, Türkiye kapsamında güvenlik kültürlerinin üretiminde MOBESE gözetiminin bu üç tema üzerinden edindiği yere dair dair çıkarımlar ile sonlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: MOBESE, Gözetim, Güvenlik Kültürleri, Yazılı Basın



To My Grandparents

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Security concerns constitute the dominant reason for increasing surveillance infrastructures which symbolize the security cultures. Recently there has been much interest in spiraling security infrastructures in cities and its relevance to surveillance technologies, with this many scholars engaging in research in surveillance practices and technologies, particularly. Security and surveillance intersect in their relation with power; as Monahan suggests, surveillance as a core function operates in producing certain social relations (2010: 2). Surveillance systems are utilized as technological instruments to monitor, track and to identify. Among others, video-surveillance has especially become prominent; from installation of surveillance cameras to its practices, and further to technological attributes like facial recognition. One of the foremost theoretical responses to video-surveillance has been the metaphoric use of the Panopticon, interpreted by Foucault as twofold: the explicit architectural design and the implicit diagram of exercise of power, “[T]he panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately” (Foucault, 1991: 200). In light of this, disciplinary power of panopticism is discussed in the evaluation of video-surveillance representations.

Additionally, the pervasiveness of video-surveillance in cities also provide recurrent ‘spectacles’ for the news media. Intervention of political representations by the police and other institutions has been prevalent and attracted the press attention. In studies on surveillance technologies, the growing interest in video-surveillance systems has stimulated; for example, research in CCTV portrayal of the media. Debates on how media representations of video-surveillance may influence perceptions of people about being monitored in their everyday lives have received

recognition in the literature on surveillance (Norris and Armstrong, 1999; McCahill, 2002; Hier, Greenberg and Walby, 2007; Hier and Greenberg, 2009; Finn and McCahill, 2010; Barnard-Wills, 2011; Belokova, 213; Kroener, 2013; Guasti and Meansfeldova, 2014). For example, Hier and Greenberg (2009) have developed an elaborate study in order to show the public discussions and policy-making in terms of CCTV by examining the print media agenda of selected Canadian cities. Their findings predicated on public space and private space dichotomy, indicating that video-surveillance is an instrument of crime control. Finn and McCahill (2011) have shown that media representations of surveillance depict various classifications of the 'us' and 'them' in terms of articulation of the 'surveilled'. In order to do that they designated three UK newspapers and examined a range of news items to find out the categories of the 'surveilled'. They have also surmised that video-surveillance is presented as a means for watching the bad - 'them' - presumably criminals, drug addicts, vagabonds, etc. Belakova (2013) conducted a qualitative textual analysis in order to amplify security issues and privacy dilemma. He focused on the Slovakian press and his analysis was limited to representations of surveillance infrastructures; one of them, CCTV, in which the coverage held quite a positive attitude in its installation.

On the other hand, Guasti and Mansfeldova, in their comparative print media study on security and privacy paradox built-in surveillance technologies, boiled down surveillance debates to three infrastructures; 3D body scanners, Stuxnet and CCTV (2014: 2). According to their findings on Turkey, CCTV – as it is known in Turkish context: MOBESE - constitutes the most salient issue in Turkish print media compared to other countries (Guasti et. al., 2014: 14). However, their study does not incorporate in-depth analysis of MOBESE portrayal in Turkish print media. Based on their study, one conclusion can be drawn about Turkey; MOBESE is the primary instrument to the extent that security is concerned. It is interesting to note that as far as it is investigated; in the literature, there is no in-depth analysis of print media portrayal of MOBESE. In this thesis, therefore, the inquiry of security and surveillance interrelationship in terms of print media representations of MOBESE will be influential for further studies on video-surveillance.

In fact, studies about video-surveillance in Turkey are rare. This aspect of representations of video-surveillance in print media has not been given much attention. Most of the data on surveillance in Turkey pertain principally to e-governmentalisation (Topal, 2008, 2011; Topak, 2013) and synoptic and panoptic surveillance (Yücener, 2011). Only one extensive research has been published based on MOBESE in Istanbul, which is a Master Thesis written in 2008 (Özden, 2008). This thesis, therefore, may respond to the gap in current video-surveillance research in Turkish context focusing primarily on inquiry of MOBESE representations in print media.

In an influential study investigating MOBESE portrayal in Turkey is addressed by Bozbeyoğlu (2012) entitled as *The Electronic Eye of the Police* focusing on the panopticonization of cities by the police force. Video-surveillance in Turkey does not have a long history compared to other European countries, since its operation has begun in 2005, in Istanbul (Bozbeyoğlu, 2012: 142). Open-street surveillance system - MOBESE - has expanded rapidly in Turkish cities since it has launched. Cities like Ankara, Diyarbakır, Denizli, Kars, Antalya etc. has their own systems of MOBESE, incorporating police and usually local governments. Police domination on management of camera systems emerged in cities, and, MOBESE in Turkey has expanded in a much faster trend than in other European countries (Bozbeyoğlu, 2012: 142). MOBESE monitoring system has started with 570 cameras in Istanbul and in 2014 there has been over five thousand cameras only in Istanbul (in Ankara 1331 cameras and in Izmir 221 cameras has been present in 2013). As stated before MOBESE is established in 2005, however after 2011, the name of the surveillance camera systems in the cities has been changed as KGYS (Urban Security Management System); however, because of its ubiquity the abbreviation as MOBESE will be used throughout this thesis.

The purpose of this study is to designate video-surveillance representations in print media, which is discussed in relation with implications for security cultures. Deriving from the theoretical review it is aimed to find answers to two questions: Where video-surveillance stands in the process of constructing security cultures? And to what end representations of MOBESE in print media serve? Panopticonization is

operationalized through sub-questions in understanding the construction of security cultures in terms of video-surveillance, which this thesis intends to reply; how do determined themes implicitly and explicitly represent video-surveillance? What are the certain forms of insecurities emphasized in print media? What are the proposed solutions and appropriate responses to them revealed in the media? What actors are on stage about security and video-surveillance related issues? What kind of an argumentation is used in the representation of these? What are the main video-surveillance-related frames in the print media by which security cultures are constructed? What do these representations imply in terms construction of security cultures?

Therefore; in the chapter three, to explore related themes, the methodology of the print media content analysis used in this study will be explained. The main MOBESE related themes explored, are obtained from four national newspapers published between the years of 2008-2015, describing the recurrent patterns and diversification in the depictions of MOBESE. The focus of this thesis is to pursue social meanings constructed through news reportage by tracking the words and themes associated with MOBESE. In the chapter three, the relationship of video-surveillance and the print media will be exemplified with former studies. Then background of Turkish surveillance camera systems – MOBESE – will be introduced briefly. Later on, methods of data collection and data analysis will be given along with initial findings of content analysis. According to those findings three main themes are elicited; *panopticism police, crime control and fear and infringements of privacy*.

In the fourth chapter, the main theme of panopticism of police is inferred from MOBESE portrayal in the print media construed as *the digital eye of police*. In this chapter, panopticism as part of security cultures will be discussed in terms of emphasis on police dominancy in MOBESE portrayals in print news. According to the in-depth analysis of the media texts three themes are identified and elaborated on; *public order and traffic control, peace and public order and dominance of police*.

In the fifth chapter, crime related themes are uncovered in the print media representations of MOBESE surveillance. Bozbeyoğlu (2012) outlined crime as a

frame essentially constructed by media, politicians and other institutional officers. MOBESE's effectiveness in crime prevention establishes the primary rhetoric (Bozbeyoğlu, 2012: 145). Although successful stories about MOBESE in reducing, deterring and preventing crime are presented, no scientific evidence of a concrete decline in crime rates has been proclaimed officially. Notably, MOBESE is eventually highlighted as a 'tool in the fight against crime' by the news agenda. An in-depth analysis of a variety of print media themes associated with MOBESE and crime will be presented. Hence, themes covering MOBESE as controlling, deterring and preventing crime will be reviewed in the first section comprising of a sub-section; *MOBESE as a crime control tool*.

Following purpose of this chapter is to question how 'fear' is constructed in the press via MOBESE and crime interrelationship, which will be presented in terms of; *construction of fear* and *fear of terrorism*. According to Altheide, terrorism becomes a primary theme in the construction of fear by denoting contemporary insecurity (Altheide, 2006: 431) which Monahan puts in the center of terrorism rhetoric (2010: 2). For that reason, terrorism related content of fear will be revealed in this sub-section since it is also a predominantly covered issue according to the examined Turkish news agenda.

In the sixth chapter, security versus privacy paradox will be pointed out in terms MOBESE reportage. As understood from previous studies, security and privacy dilemma holds a dominant place in the discussion of installation of expansion of video-surveillance. On the contrary, in the media it is strongly agreed with arguments on MOBESE being beneficiary in prevention of crime and responsive on account of infringements of privacy. The articulation of privacy is rather problematic altering due to the context, which will also be underlined in the first section. In addition, Derived from the in-depth reading of newspaper articles, it is designated that safety and security concerns for women are revealed in the press. Thus, in the second section, representations of fear and privacy are exemplified through 'gendered' construction of MOBESE. The fear context refers to vulnerability representations of women and being

possible victims of crime, whereas the privacy points out the association of MOBESE with domestic violence.

In the conclusion chapter, the emphasis on construction of security cultures will be presented along with the aims and the outcomes of the study.



CHAPTER II

FROM SECURITY CULTURES TO VIDEO-SURVEILLANCE

2.1. Security Cultures¹ and Video-Surveillance as a Strategy

Security has been conceptualized in the field of international relations and has been conceived on a national, trans-national or global scale (Coaffee and Wood, 2006: 502). Re-conceptualizations in scale of security has been developed by Coaffee and Wood (2006: 502); considering new security challenges such as asymmetric conflict, war on terror and ‘splintering urbanism’² which are articulated around reconsideration of risks. According to Coaffee and Wood, this reconsideration simultaneously triggers rescaling of security in terms of practice and concept. That is, following them, “[S]ecurity [is] more focused on the civic, urban, domestic and personal realms: in essence, security is coming home” (2006: 503). Eventually, surveillance is a result of these new downscaled security policies which purpose somewhat to classify, divide and control urban space (Coaffee and Wood, 2006: 505)³.

¹ The term premises on a very influential book *Surveillance in the Time of Insecurity* (2010) which is written by Torin Monahan. The book elaborates on the relationship of contemporary security cultures and surveillance infrastructures and the headline of this section is inspired by his term security cultures referring to “prevailing understandings of threats and appropriate responses to them” (2010: 1).

² Graham, S. and Marvin, S. (2001) *Splintering Urbanism*. London: Routledge/ Splintering urbanism as a term is proposed by Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin which calls for “reconceptualisation of the relations between infrastructure services and the contemporary development of cities” (Graham, 2001). The argument is basically that publicly developed urban infrastructure systems have been privatized which may have political and social consequences (Light, 2002: 614).

³ The arguments of Coaffee and Wood predicate explicitly on social and counter-terrorist policies based on formation of security cordons; so-called ‘rings of steel’, containing regulatory management and fortification associated also with surveillance technologies. They characterize ‘rings of steel’ as a security infrastructure seeking to give a feeling of safety and a representation of high level of security.

2.1.1. Surveillance and security cultures interrelationship

The concept of security cultures used in this study; is underlined by Monahan as a social phenomenon conveying, “prevailing understandings of threats and appropriate responses to them”, which emerge in political and media discourses (2010: 6). Monahan argues that security cultures and surveillance infrastructures are interrelated (2010: 8). The essential component of security cultures appears to be surveillance which operates in a multivariate way in order to regulate human interactions, in purpose of minimization of insecurities (Monahan, 2010: 6). In this context, according to Monahan, surveillance infrastructures consist not only of cameras for monitoring, but also tools for mitigating risks and policing public. These technologies, as he interprets, partially manipulate social practices by setting rules, or by approving certain forms of interaction while disapproving others. As a result, perceptions of a state of insecurity are prompted, comprising of risks and threats that should be responded to.

Monahan intends to peruse these modern insecurities in regards to their political, cultural and economic aspects. In fact, he points out popular discourse for privileging certain forms of insecurity (2010: 97). He suggests that fortification of security cultures induce people to perform according to insecurities. Accompanying the previous views any examination of the construction of insecurities - thereby security cultures - is inevitably an inquiry into power relations and representations, for Monahan (2010: 4).

While contextualizing Verhage and Ponsaers suggest that insecurities are no longer sole results of criminalities and but imply to public order. They necessarily address policing and social control of public space (Verhage and Ponsaers, 2012: 145) by focusing on prevailing video-surveillance systems. As they have adjusted, diversity in social control varieties such as criminalization and punishment, dispersion and exclusion and privatization; have caused formalization of policing and surveillance which may lead to formalization of social control. The issue of social order in public

Their article particularly focuses on the construction of ‘rings of steel’ around commercial areas in urban centers.

space as followed Verhage and Ponsaers appears to eliminate absolute competence of the police, however, police still are perceived ‘upholders of public order in society’ (2012: 159).

Surveillance and security intersect in their relation with power (Monahan, 2010: 8). Firstly, Monahan assumes that people in their everyday lives are being subjects of surveillance. Secondly, for him, the most important and core function of surveillance, whether its efficacy is disputable or not, is that it functions for producing social relations (2010: 11). Thereby, in Monahan’s view, forming social behaviors and normative actions is aimed via surveillance and surveillance systems are about controlling people through monitoring, tracking and identification (Monahan, 2006: 326; Monahan, 2010: 8).

In order to amplify the concept of security cultures, security issues and video-surveillance relationship will be elicited. Later on, power in relation with surveillance will be extended by interpretations and revisions of the metaphor Panopticon, grounded on Foucault’s elaborations. It will further be discussed, followed by studies on video-surveillance and panopticonization.

2.1.2. From Security to video-surveillance

Surveillance tends to be predominantly articulated with security, as Lyon conveys. (Bauman cited in Lyon, 2010: 326). For example, Guasti and Mansfeldova explored debates on security issues in the media through three major security infrastructures; 3D body scanners, Stuxnet and CCTV⁴ (2014: 2). Their study present a comparative analysis of security discourses for identifying security and threat related debates around these systems by conducting a media analysis. CCTV surveillance becomes prominent for security discussions among other technologies, which is relevant to the context of this thesis.

⁴ In Guasti and Meansfeldova’s study, 3D body scanners and CCTV cameras are mainly determined as technologies of crime prevention. These technologies are also used for identification of perpetrators of terroristic acts. According to their finding, security is also related with cyber-crime responded with the technology of Stuxnet, which is a computer worm used as a computer network attack exemplifying a cyber security threat transcending boundaries.

Their cross-national findings demonstrate that CCTV is the most salient issue in Turkey in terms of security. Turkish print media appears to be submitting exponentially increasing numbers of CCTV related reports among other countries which are rather increasing linearly. (Guasti et. al., 2014: 14). Representations of CCTV in many countries, derived from the findings of Guasti et al. (2004), shape around crime prevention; yet, detail about Turkish case is not incorporated. Ultimately, CCTV seems to be primary instrument in Turkey as far as security is concerned. To the extent it is investigated, in the literature, there is no in-depth analysis of print media portrayal of CCTV, therefore in this thesis, security and surveillance interrelationship will be boiled down to CCTV surveillance.

In this study, video-surveillance representations in print media will be discussed in relation with security cultures. In order not to cause any confusion throughout the introduction of existing literature, surveillance camera systems in Turkey; named dissimilarly from European (particularly British) CCTVs, will be generally identified as video-surveillance.

2.2. Video-Surveillance and Panopticonization

One of the most popular theoretical responses to video-surveillance has been the metaphoric use of Panopticon which is generally referred by scholars studying surveillance (Lyon cited in Hier, 2004: 543). There are also suggested revisions to the metaphor by others which will be discussed in the following sections. First, an explanation of the phenomenon is considered necessary in order to amplify forms of security cultures, which seeks an inquiry of power relations and representations. This inquiry contributes to the designation of theoretical boundaries of this thesis, which will be presented at the end of each section.

2.2.1. Panopticon and the disciplinary power

The Panopticon is an architectural design of a prison proposed by Bentham in eighteenth century. It was composed of a main building and a central control tower viewing the circular inner side of the building which was divided into cells with

windows enabling inner parts to be watched with a crossing light shedding from outside to inside. From the central tower, supervisors could observe the inmates by taking advantage of such lighting. Its fame is boosted with Foucault's interpretations; the Panopticon presents a utopia of the 'ideal' form of exercise of power as "a socio-material template for institutional orders" (Simon, 2005: 2) and abstracted as a 'diagram of a mechanism of power'. For Foucault, "[T]he panoptic mechanism arranges spatial unities that make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately" (Foucault, 1991: 200) and he further explains:

Hence the major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power [...] So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action, that the perfection 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 up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers (Foucault, 1991: 201).

In the light of this, Foucault reemphasizes Bentham's principle of power; formed with both visibility and unverifiability; constructed and bolstered by the spatial features of the Panopticon which operates like a machine producing consistent effects of power (Foucault, 1991: 202). In his words; this power is a disciplinary sort of power. Deflem emphasizes that discipline does not forbid, rather prescribes appropriate behaviors and disciplinary power is persistent all through society as Panopticon articulates in other institutions (2008: 4). In Deflem's view, disciplinary power relations are not just embedded in regulator and regulated relationships, but "discipline is a machine in which everyone is caught" (Deflem, 2008: 4).

2.2.2. An interpretation of the panoptic/disciplinary power

This enclosed, segmented space, observed at every point, in which the individuals are inserted in a fixed place, in which the slightest movements are supervised, in which all events are recorded, in which an uninterrupted

work of writing links the center and periphery, in which power is exercised without division, according to a continuous hierarchical figure, in which each individual is constantly located, examined and distributed among the living beings, the sick and the dead – all this constitutes a compact model of the disciplinary mechanism (Foucault, 1991: 196).

Inferred by Foucault, his disciplinary mechanism which operates via divisions and hierarchy; without the flows between segments and fixation in place, sustains and consolidates power. Hier pinpoints an alternative evaluation of panoptic disciplinary power and another part of *Discipline and Punish*, where the town-lock down and plague relation is discussed by Foucault (2004: 545). Plague is defined as a form of disorder, harm to the unity and safety of human beings, resulting on their death or living. Foucault pinpoints “plague as a form [...] of disorder had its medical and political correlative discipline” (1991: 197). This mechanism operates with its definitions of ‘disorder’ and ‘disordered’, validating through medicine or political rules and legitimizing the separation of the town into quarters and people in binary divisions (i.e. normal/abnormal etc.). Plague-suffering town is an illustration of ‘the ideal exercise of power’ that functions with hierarchies, surveillance and dichotomous brandings of individuals. The significant point is, as Hier posits, that this system of quarantine does not operate through self-discipline as it is identified in Panopticon, but rather denotes the triangle of sovereignty, discipline and government which targets society and its apparatuses of security (Hier, 2004: 545). He also notes that plague management brings organized, in-depth surveillance and control which encapsulates each individual, even the controllers. In addition and paramountly, Hier states that the designation of the ‘normal’ from the ‘abnormal’ or in other words, ‘appropriate’ from the ‘disordered’ in contemporary societies, echoes with the articulation of security apparatuses in accordance with its binary context (Hier, 2004: 546). The insecurity of plague, as he construes, gave rise to the disciplinary mechanisms which are the symbolic embodiment of social disorder (Hier, 2004: 546).

2.2.3. Panoptic/disciplinary power and space

Panopticon illustrates disciplinary power relations abstracted from a concrete spatial form. In this thesis, the scope of video-surveillance based on the Panopticon metaphor is narrowed down to video-surveillance (representations) in urban space, because of two reasons.

Firstly, Foucault suggests that ‘panoptic surveillance’ trains the soul, disciplining ‘the many’ into a form of self-control. In support of this, Koskela stresses that in panoptic surveillance, there exists neither kind of physical involvement, ‘just a gaze’ (Koskela, 2000: 253) putting internal mechanisms of control into operation, stemming from the knowledge of being monitored by invisible ‘watchers’. Panoptic power entails ‘internalization of control’ through self-disciplining, reduced in its ideal form (Elmer, 2012: 26); imposed over subjects by themselves through regulating their behavior (Koskela, 2000: 253) which can seemingly be intensified with surveillance. Similarly, it is stated that the panoptic prison does not control inmates; rather it constitutes a space in which inmates ‘discipline themselves’ (Hardt and Negri, 2000: 33). Thus, disciplinary power of the Panopticon can be evaluated in terms of video-surveillance in urban space.

Secondly, Dreyfus and Rabinow pinpoints that “[P]anopticism is the connection between bodies, space, power and knowledge [...] and control of everyday life”(1982: 192). The panoptic principle of surveillance - few watching the many- is enabled by the knowledge of the subjects of ‘appropriate’ behaviors (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 14). Coleman and McCahill, additionally, affirm that panoptic power not only operates inside the prison, however, becomes “a new instrument of social control” (2011: 17). Thus, the Panopticon can be evaluated as a technology for disciplinary power (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982) that its spatial dimension is also crucial. In cities, exercise of this kind of power becomes inherent via surveillance which links power, knowledge and space (Herbert, 1996: 49); a space of discipline (Koskela, 2000: 251). Koskela delivers that this internalization of control connotes “easy and effective exercise of power” (Foucault cited in Koskela, 2000: 253), which

appears to support the arguments on effectiveness of video-surveillance promoting the increase in numbers (Koskela, 2000: 253).

2.2.4. Revisions on the Panopticon

A number of scholars interpret the Panopticon by denoting to parallelism with surveillance; elaborating on as an analytical frame by suggesting revisions and/or extending its scope (Herbert, 1996, Soja, 1996, Poster, 1996, Mathiesen, 1997, Fyfe and Bannister, 1998, Norris and Armstrong, 1999, Coleman, 2004a, Gandy, 1993, Koskela, 2003; Simon 2005). In this section, contribution of Mathiesen is presented because his approach, from a different angle, prioritizes media in the analysis of the Panopticon. His analysis is evaluated to be contributive to the development of this thesis since security cultures embedded in video-surveillance representations of print media will be investigated. To begin with Mathiesen's elaborations on Synopticism will be presented, then following criticisms to Mathiesen and Foucault are briefly reviewed to enhance the discussion.

First, Mathiesen in his striking article *The Viewer Society*⁵ argues that the growth of mass media tools, particularly the television, changed the surveillance extent and provided to the many – the audience – the opportunity to have a vision on the few – celebrities, criminals etc.; which implicitly argues that no more the few – the guards - watch the many –the inmates – in the boundaries of the Panopticon. Yet, as Coleman and McCahill discusses, this implies unlikely that panoptic power is replaced by synoptic power (2011: 25). In fact, Mathiesen concludes that “whether panopticism or synopticism, surveillance and the media, [...] have the effect of control or discipline”; furthermore, he elaborates on the idea that “control is something more than surveillance”; and; for him, control refers to “the regulation of behavior or attitude which may follow [...] from surveillance” (1997: 228). According to him, whether to control or to discipline; the behavior is what to question at this point. On the one hand, deriving from Foucault he confirms that individuals control themselves through self-

⁵ Its publishing in Bauman's book assisted to reach a wide audience.

control (Mathiesen, 1997: 230). On the other hand, mass media functioning a synoptic machine, disciplines or controls consciousness of people; prompting self-control (1997: 230). Thereby, Mathiesen points out to the Panopticon and Synopticon duality; to put it in his words; they “reciprocally feed on each other” (1997: 231).

Second; adjustments in the concept are proposed in accordance with Mathiesen; as presented in the ‘post-Panopticon’ (Boyne, 2000). Boyne reinforces Mathiesen’s abovementioned argument by stating that “the Panoptical impulse is not fading away, and that developments in screening and surveillance require the retention of the Panopticon as an analytical ideal type” (Boyne, 2000: 285). He argues, as it is elucidated in post-panopticism, that the fusion of Panopticism and Synopticism imply that “the many are watching the few just as much as the few are watching the many” (Boyne, 2000: 301)⁶.

Third, Simon points out that synoptic purpose of media is to produce a knowledge applying to commonsense; and, proposes further a revision to Foucault’s argument. He claims that audiences are ‘enculturated’ by the media “by the synoptic management of perception, risk, morality, desire and truth” rather than their behavior to be disciplined (2005: 11). On the other hand, Doyle⁷ (2011) criticizes Mathiesen in briefly debating on the interaction between Panopticon and Synopticon and argues that the interplay between surveillance and mass media would be more multifaceted. Interestingly, Doyle also praises Mathiesen’s contributions “reaffirming a central space for the mass media” by drawing the attention to the interplay between media and surveillance on which development of social control is drafted (2011: 287).

Conclusively, all of the reviews of the Panopticon; the concept of the Synopticon fusion in particular, given above seems to offer some a convenient framework for developing understanding of print media representations of video-surveillance in relation with security cultures.

⁶ See also Finn and McCahill, 2010

⁷ See also Elmer, 2012.

2.2.5. Panopticonization

Throughout the second section of this chapter, the concept of Panopticon is discussed. Its contribution to the development of the theoretical background of this thesis, in abstract and in concrete forms, are offered. First, the Panopticon is ‘a whole of spatial unities’. It is abstracted as a diagram of power relations and exercise of power. It is suggested that it works like a machine that every individual is caught through articulations in other institutions. Second, plague-suffering town constitutes another optional illustration of ‘the ideal exercise of power’ consisting of surveillance and its aftermath dichotomous labeling which are interrelated with insecurity-security relationship. The Panopticon as a spatial unity clarifies this fundamentality in its fixed architectural characteristics that facilitate to control materially; with a central control tower and visible cells under its physical surveillance. Third, panoptic idea is bolstered with synopticism which does not necessitate the abandonment of panopticism, instead including the idea of ‘many might watch the few’ too, which acknowledges media representations a crucial role. On the one hand, an internalization of control appears to be at hand which may involve the self-regulation of acts without any physical involvement. On the other hand, organization of perceptions of video-surveillance in media seems likely to be fundamental for the exercise of such power which may partially imply constructions of security cultures.

Before going on with panopticonization; firstly, derived from Foucault’s panopticism as a diagram and an architectural design, Hier notes that the metaphor should be should be interpreted with caution. Fyfe states that panopticism and its impacts on video-surveillance in urban space do not reflect the same (Fyfe, 2004: 50). For him, urban streets do not equate with the corridors of prison, nor are the citizens fully aware of the monitoring of surveillance cameras throughout their everyday lives compared to the inmates of the panoptic prison. In open-streetscape camera surveillance, the detection of the incidents or the definition of a deviant act are rather contingent (Norris and Armstrong cited in Fyfe, 2004: 50). However, he demonstrated that this contingency, still, does not slow down the proliferation of surveillance

cameras in urban spaces and even does not speculate the acceptance and argument of the essential need for video-surveillance (Fyfe, 2004: 51).

As to the second point; it is assumed by Hier that the increase in 'panopticonization' of urban space is reasonably high and with video-surveillance its permanency is assured (Hier, 2004: 543). Patton takes into consideration that the panopticonization regulates the awareness of 'everyone could be under suspicion' as a 'potential deviant', which operates as a disciplinary mechanism, where people are aware of being surveilled whereby self-controlling of behavior is confirmed (2000: 186). To ensure social control and eliminate deviancy, Gray finds the main characteristics of panopticism - visibility and unverifiability - essential (2003: 320).

Panopticonization refers implicitly to video-surveillance of public spaces, especially, streets and squares where everyone has the right to have access to; and, where the elimination of social disorder and assurance of social control may become crucial from a panoptic point of view. Given that, a third point would be important in terms of the relationship of video-surveillance and crime. Crime prevention and crime control constitute the basis of most arguments advocating the proliferation of video-surveillance in urban areas. As Coleman and McCahill suggest crime control rhetoric connotes articulation of prevention of crime; and, as a result, video-surveillance comes to be seen as extremely necessary and effective in the fight against crime and social disorder (2011: 170). Even though supporters of the system hold up to the crime control rhetoric, critics provide evidence for the weakness of this argument (Fyfe and Bannister, 1998). Video-surveillance may reduce crime rates in certain places, however would not be able to make crime disappear but only would displace outer skirts of the reach of surveillance cameras (Coleman, 2004b). Another counter-argument to the crime control rhetoric would be the ambivalent messages that surveillance cameras convey to people. Some scholars⁸ pinpoint to the other side of the coin, interrogating the meanings that surveillance cameras may have; for example locating a surveillance camera is likely to intensify the sense of insecurity of the place

⁸ See also Koskela, 2000; pp. 246-47.

contrasting to what is rather expected as ‘control signals’ advocate (Innes, 2004: 350)⁹.

Finally, in this study it is aimed to find answers to two questions: Where video-surveillance stands in the process of constructing security cultures? And to what end representations of MOBESE in print media serve? Deriving from the theoretical review, it can be stated that panopticonization as depicted with the metaphor of Panopticon may illuminate construction of security cultures in terms of video-surveillance in answering the first question. The second question and its vitality for this study will be explained in the following chapter three.



⁹ In his article on signal crimes and signal disorders, Innes describes control signals as “acts of social control that communicate a message to the public” (Innes, 2004: 350). Furthermore, he notes that these signals may have either positive –as expected in CCTV case – or negative – as mentioned above – effects upon sense of security of the public.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

First and foremost, the methodology of media research used in previous studies drew attention to the acceptability and effectiveness of print media analysis applied in the inquiry of the content of video-surveillance representations. Secondly, Guasti and Meansfeldova argued that comparative analysis of media represents ‘explicitly and implicitly’ the current media discussions (Guasti and Meansfeldova, 2014: 7). Guasti and Meansfeldova (2014) in their study on security investigated the existing discourse with a comparative media analysis; in which video-surveillance was one dimension that they put into analysis. In this thesis, a qualitative content analysis method was adopted within the scope of print media.

This thesis do not attempt to overstate, but limited to video-surveillance related topics revealed in Turkish articles, published in four newspapers, between the years of 2008-2015. The purpose of this qualitative method is to analyze representations of video-surveillance revealed in the Turkish press; hence four mainstream Turkish newspapers with different editorial perspectives were examined. Within this framework, differentiation in standpoints is designated to advance the limits of this research by offering a variety of perspectives. In light of this, newspaper articles were gathered comprising of a diverse data set in order to clarify “the discursive that constitutes the object also constitutes the knowledge and practices through which that object is disciplined” (Foucault, 1972, cited in Graham, 2005: 10). It is aimed to contribute to the literature by questioning the productiveness of representations of video-surveillance in the construction of security cultures. Consequently, in this thesis, construction of security cultures is examined through print media representations of video-surveillance.

In this context, this thesis aimed to raise questions concerning representations of video-surveillance revealed in the print media contributing to the construction of security cultures. To put it in another way, this thesis intends to reply to the following questions;

1. How do determined themes implicitly and explicitly represent video-surveillance?
2. What are the certain forms of insecurities emphasized in print media?
3. What are the proposed solutions and appropriate responses to them revealed in the media?
4. What actors are on stage about security and video-surveillance related issues?
5. What kind of an argumentation is used in the representation of these?
6. What are the main video-surveillance-related frames in the print media by which security cultures are constructed?
7. What do these representations imply in terms construction of security cultures?

In order to answer these questions, it was decided firstly to identify the representations of video-surveillance by conducting a print media analysis.

In this context, in the following sections the relationship between video-surveillance and the media is discussed by giving examples from relevant literature. Later on, background of Turkish surveillance camera systems – MOBESE – is explained briefly. In the final section, methods of data collection and data analysis used in this thesis are given along with initial findings concerning the content.

3.1. Video-Surveillance and the Media

The ways in which surveillance mechanisms have been echoed by the media to the public, promoted more studies to elaborate on the media research of surveillance (Coleman and Sim, 2000; McCahill, 2002; Hier, Greenberg and Walby, 2007; Hier and Greenberg, 2009; Finn and McCahill, 2010; Barnard-Wills, 2011; Belakova, 2013; Kroener, 2013; Guasti, 2014). Hier and Greenberg suggested that examination of video-surveillance offers important insights into the prevailing viewpoints and peculiars of a common culture of the society (2009: 462). All media tools were

included in these academic studies; however, print media contained a significant amount of material for such kind of a research (Greenberg and Hier, 2009, Finn and McCahill, 2010, Barnard-Wills, 2011, Belakova, 2013). Additionally, particular studies developed the discussion of surveillance cameras in regards to discipline or control society theories (i.e. Boyne, 2000, Wise, 2002).

In this section; exemplary academic discussions on video-surveillance revealed in print media will be presented. Ultimately, their methodology and methods will be outlined in order to delineate the methodological approach of this thesis.

Video-surveillance as newsworthy subject

Barnard-Wills demonstrates that print media frequently highlight news, evaluations and advocacy of video-surveillance (2011: 550). Another important point in terms of panoptic-synoptic nature of video-surveillance and its relationship to media is illustrated by Finn and McCahill, who express that most of crime narratives in the news and also in the press today are usually presented with visual materials of occasions caught by surveillance cameras locating in public spaces (2011: 3). Both studies will be elaborately examined in the following section. Surveillance cameras represent the synoptic “gaze without eyes” named by Koskela (2003) as invisible sources of news, bringing the few in front of the many. As a result; video-surveillance as a technology has been newsworthy and secondly, it has been a valuable source offering materials for newsworthy subjects.

News has thus managed to capture attention of the public by their repertoires full of drama or action. Galtung and Ruge (1965) point out to twelve features of newsworthiness that news stories are built on; frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, compositional balance, elite nations, elite people, personification, and negativity (cited in Kroener, 2013: 124). Doyle, also, points out the media assistance supporting video-surveillance (2011: 288). According to McCahill, video-surveillance in the mass media in supply of crime stories increased in the last decade. McCahill, thus, confirms that the launch of CCTV surveillance inevitably became newsworthy (2003: 199).

A newsworthy topic related with video-surveillance in mass media consists of crime related stories. Definitions of crime and 'criminal class' are revealed as a 'reality' in media stories; however, not by representing the 'real' reality of them, but an exposed belief. Coleman and McCahill argue that through intensification of such beliefs people are entertained and comforted (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 44). As they additionally note; how crime and related words such as fear, threat, danger and deviance are described in the media, constitutes centrality for representations of surveillance of particular activities and groups (2011: 36). The implication of this may be that levels of safety and security are thereby bolstered in terms of video-surveillance which produces newsworthy subjects for the media.

A second point stressed out about newsworthiness of surveillance is posited by some scholars that media portrays video-surveillance in a positive manner. Only exceptions were made in the attitudes toward speed cameras which are mostly interpreted as unnecessary (Reiner, 2002). As a matter of fact, Finn and McCahill (2011) pointed out that in a study made by Norris and Armstrong, each of 60 stories they examined, reported efficacy of video-surveillance in the city, which was also verified by McCahill's findings that only two out of 272 articles he studied, were critical about video-surveillance. Coleman deduced that discourse on video-surveillance in the urban core, particularly in regard to its use, have been thus left quite unproblematic (cited in Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 35). McCahill's following assertion may clarify the reasons of this inclination of media. He put that the dominant media discourse about video-surveillance grew into a 'CCTV is a friendly eye in the sky' that will 'put criminals on the run' (2003: 197). It is not surprising that it would be so; in fact, Knight and Curtis made some points that the news media have given precedence to state and its agents as reliable sources (cited in Hier and Greenberg, 2009: 473). In addition, Hier and Greenberg's findings called attention to the centrality of police sources which were fundamental in forming public policies and the media. Besides, Reiner (2002) pointed out the support of media to the police. Coleman and McCahill also stated that media support official sources of information in their reliability, for instance, this can be inferred about crime and surveillance interrelationship

delivered by police which causes a spread in sense of disorder and fear (Altheide cited in Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 126).

The language used in news reporting necessitates scrutiny of the stories with a content analysis. Gamson noted that news reporting designates prevailing changes in forms of speech and political awareness (cited in Hier and Greenberg, 2009: 463). For example, Monahan stated that influences of the media and political discourse have a massive impact in the construction of everyday insecurities. These insecurities operate within the built environment controlling everyday life practices causing public anxieties about levels of safety and security (Monahan, 2010: 2). Thereby, Monahan deduced that “[J]ust as insecurity is constructed, so it constructs us” (2010: 2), which may presumably function with everyday insecurities and language about what should be done against. Indeed, Kroener highlighted that to stimulate a general state of insecurity, public anxieties seems to be overemphasized by the media with constructed insecurities such as criminal incidents and terrorist attacks (Kroener, 2013). Therefore, a content analysis for inquiry of themes embodied in media texts is sought in this study.

Studies on video-surveillance and its representations in the print media

This thesis attempts to investigate to what extent print representations of video-surveillance construct security cultures. In order to do this, print media was chosen as a platform to depict predominant themes related with video-surveillance in Turkish context. In light of this, several studies focusing on contextual framing of media representations of video-surveillance are examined. For example; Hier and Greenberg’s (2009) study delineated the context of Canadian press in terms of CCTV. Their article examined newspaper coverage about CCTV surveillance in the public areas of Canadian cities and considered its implications for public opinion and policy-making. 11 Canadian newspapers published between 1999 and 2005 were examined, which predicated on the cities where surveillance cameras were publicly discussed. Total sample of 595 newspaper articles were read in-depth. Their focus on the discussion of public-private space was prominent in their findings which constituted a

rationale for security related public-private space dichotomy¹⁰. For them, news consolidated the issue of public area safety in two ways; at first by creating a detailed description of social disorder situation in urban areas with intensified images of ‘risky places’ open to violent crimes and drug use, and at second by revealing CCTV primarily as ‘a tool for deterrence and crime prevention’ (Hier and Greenberg, 2009: 468-469). However, Hier and Greenberg eliminated the second argument because of the evidence which indicated that video-surveillance presumably does not decrease any kind of violent crime (except its partial efficiency in crime detection in parking lots; e.g., accidents, stealing et cetera). Instead, video-surveillance was perceived as an instrument to assuage fears of crime (Hier and Greenberg, 2009: 472). On the other hand, due to their cogent argument newspaper articles in regards to surveillance cameras in public space focus primarily on violent crimes, adjusting the presence of video-surveillance at streets or other urban amenities by firstly deterring and thus preventing criminal incidents¹¹ (Hier and Greenberg, 2009: 478-479).

Another influential exemplification of a discourse analysis belongs to Rachel Finn and David McCahill. Their argument predicated on the media representations of surveillance evaluated in terms of fusion of panoptic and synoptic processes (2010: 1). They designated different classifications of ‘us-them’ in regard to portrayal of the ‘surveilled’. They selected three UK newspapers and examined 2,547 articles in total which were accumulated according to following keywords; CCTV, DNA Testing, speed cameras, biometrics, electronic monitoring and ISSP (Intensive Supervision and Surveillance Programme), drug testing, PNC (Police National Computer) database and ANPR (Automatic Number Plate Recognition). In their study, they depicted various ‘us’ and multiple ‘them’ definitions in realms of media and surveillance relationship. Later on, they identified seven major themes such as; generalized ‘others’, dangerous ‘others’, ‘caught on camera’: synoptic displays, resisting motorists, privileged mobilities, ‘innocents’ on databases, citizens and others. In conclusion, they claimed that all of the categories of ‘us’ and ‘them’ had a central message; that surveillance

¹⁰ This discussion will be latterly elaborated on in the chapter six.

¹¹ i. e. Welsh & Farrington, 2004.

appears to have ‘two sides like a coin’; on the one side the good one, surveilling good ‘us’; while on the other side the bad surveillance illustrated watching bad ‘them’ (Finn and McCahill, 2010).

In addition to the previous studies given above, Barnard-Wills (2011) framed British news about video-surveillance mechanisms. British scholars contributed to the explanation of the news-reporting and video-surveillance relationship for the reason that UK has welcomed surveillance cameras since early 1990’s and has more cameras in its cities than any other country competing with China (Fussey and Coaffe, 2011: 202). Barnard-Wills made clear that request for surveillance cameras aggregated after 9/11 attacks in 2001 in the U.S., mainly discussed around terrorism and international security. Therefore, Barnard-Wills examined three UK newspapers to identify surveillance practices with discourse analysis methodology. For doing this, two distinct discursive patterns were demonstrated in his study. First discourse tended to appropriate surveillance which resides in crime prevention, counterterrorism and national security whereas the second discourse criticized surveillance as unacceptable due to the themes of privacy, Big Brother and personal liberties. he assessed that media in a way produces dominant portrayals of surveillance; nevertheless, the reproduction and reinterpretation of other sources by the media in terms of surveillance needs more attention (2011: 551). Conclusively, he includes that it would be misleading to take absolute impact of these representations on the audience for granted. As a matter of fact, media representations may not have direct effects upon their audience. This may be due to the capability of active interpretation of the audience and skills of reinterpretation of the political and social world embodied in media (Neuman, cited in Barnard-Wills, 2011: 551)¹². Therefore, instead of characterizing media as an apparatus to manipulate perceptions of people; treating this statement as an assumption would be more accurate.

The last example is related to the repercussions of subway bombings in London happened in 2005, where security issues were boiled down to everyday life in the cities

¹² Also Kroener quotes that in her article on media discourse analysis after the period of London bombings in 2005 (2013: 128).

(Kroener, 2013). Kroener (2013) demonstrated that security of cities as an issue became popular and engaged the discourse used for video-surveillance systems in this direction. Kroener, scrutinized newspaper stories published in the aftermath of the London bombings to find out frames of video-surveillance by using content and discourse analysis methods. To outline the main themes; she collected articles of a month period. Keywords such as 'CCTV' and 'bombers' were used to gather main sample and newspaper articles were coded with the keywords of safety, security, victims, evidence, heroes, evil, privacy, freedom, and terrorists. A quantitative method of content analysis was implemented in order to reveal general themes. Then, an adequate amount of sample was chosen for qualitative analysis. Two main themes were unfolded in her paper due to the data analysis; 'us'-'them' binary representation and synoptic effects of media. Firstly, us-them binary refers to the a priori categories that stories revealed; *terrorist are 'them' against 'us'*. A priori categories emerged from same scenarios for every crime story implying criminals – them- against the innocent people which happened to be the – us. An interesting finding of Kroener was especially about injurious activities targeting 'innocent others' which appears to capture attention of the media (2013: 123). As to the second theme; the Synopticon was enabled by video-surveillance and the 'many watches the few' argument was accepted as the reverse of the Panopticon. The media reflected that particular groups were targeted by CCTV, as Kroener stressed out, due to their potential of awakening interest of the audience. In addition, Kroener underlined that with the 9/11 case, the right of the many watching the few, like citizens watching the terrorists, was validated to minimize the unexpectancy of any major crime. Ultimately, final interpretations of Kroener (2013) were very influential for this thesis. Based on her findings media discourse seems to boost video-surveillance as an instrument for protection of the public (as long as there is enough of it) (2013: 129). In conclusion, her points on video-surveillance being incapable of preventing crime are notable. She moreover demonstrates that they were products of camera, police and media collaboration (Kroener, 2013).

3.2. Video-Surveillance in Turkish Cities: ‘MOBESE’

Surveillance camera systems have been widespread since 1990’s, however, compared to many countries Turkey has been a newcomer. Cameras have been operated in 2005 and begun in one city, Istanbul as such (Bozbeyoğlu, 2012: 139). This camera system is abbreviated as *MOBESE* and translated as *Mobile Electronic System Integration*¹³. Since 2011 another name for this system has been used and called as *Urban Security Management System* (KGYS). For example, the website for the city of Ankara defines KGYS as modular systems that enable illuminating incidents, (eliminating threats to homeland security - given on the websites of other Turkish cities but not on the website of Ankara), tackling crime and criminals more efficiently and; gathering of images, sounds and data of location proper to regulations for using of technology to put traffic in order. Furthermore, how its objectives are presented have crucial insights for the sub-categories of security which are;

- *Increasing the efficiency of security services,
- *Observing security threats hard to observe,
- *Producing legal evidences needed in oyer and terminer,
- *Assuring public order and peace without surpassing personal rights,
- *Controlling and ordering traffic electronically.

Even if the ephemeral word for video-surveillance mechanisms is KGYS, throughout the thesis, MOBESE will be used in regards to its ubiquity and in its equivalency to CCTV¹⁴.

On the other hand, Bozbeyoğlu states that in Turkey like in many countries, open-streetscape surveillance initiated in the field of commerce in privately owned places such as banks, retail stores and shopping malls (2012: 142, see also, Norris and

¹³ Even if MOBESE publicly used since 2005, a new word was invented and has been used since 2011, KGYS. KGYS is opened up as *Urban Security Management System*. Every city in Turkey that retains surveillance camera systems has its own website on KGYS.

¹⁴ Kroener (2013) reckons that on the contrary to its use for security or terroristic operations, in the UK, cameras are often utilized to monitor and order traffic and to track pedestrian flows. It should also be questioned if it is valid for Turkey, even if four out of five objects are about security issues.

McCahill and Wood, 2004). Cameras in these spaces are not titled as MOBESE usually, but security cameras. MOBESE is mainly launched at provincial level, a central system as open-street camera monitoring, began with 570 cameras suitable for 24 hour monitoring in Istanbul (2012: 142). Monitoring of process of streets is led by a central monitoring center. After spread of MOBESE, these centers located not only in Istanbul, but also in other cities of Turkey (Bozbeyoğlu, 2012: 144). Theoretical approach of Norris et al. needs to be elaborated on which presents CCTV diffusion trend (2004: 119) because of Turkish MOBESE systems proliferation in higher trends. At first stage, ‘private diffusion’ transpires through banks, small shops, and private areas against theft-like petty crimes. At the second stage, ‘institutional diffusion in the public realm’ enables cameras in transportation facilities, schools and government buildings. At the third stage, publicly funded surveillance cameras are operated in the responsibility of police in urban public spaces like streets and urban centers justifying reductions in crime. In the fourth stage, conclusively, surveillance cameras become ubiquitous consisting of complex data collection and integration systems monitoring with hundreds of cameras (Norris et. al. 2004: 119). Bozbeyoğlu evaluates that, as a result, despite its late establishment, MOBESE expanded in a higher trend than in the other countries (2012: 145) and has already reached the fourth stage of ‘CCTV diffusion trend’ (Norris et. al. 2004: 119).

3.3. Video-surveillance in Turkish Print Media

Based on the newsworthiness of video-surveillance, methodology and methods of precedent studies introduced briefly, a print media analysis on Turkish video-surveillance systems in urban space was conducted. Within this framework, four mainstream Turkish newspapers were primarily selected based on the number of circulation in order to select the newspapers appealing to more people. It is assumed that higher numbers in circulation would mean to reach more people. For a newspaper to be selected and to be included into analysis, it had to fulfill the following criteria such as to be a national newspaper published in Turkish language (which would enable to acquire and keep up contextually with the MOBESE portrayal), be a mainstream

broadsheet; i.e. cover all news in the whole country, be among the top ten newspapers by circulation¹⁵.

The selection of newspapers offering different ideological orientations to explore diverse approaches in terms of ‘discursive object’ was essential. Thereby, the top ten newspapers in the circulation list were randomly downsized to four mainstream newspapers ranging ideologically to inquire if any distinction in the articulation of the object of analysis exists. A continuum is designated among newspapers ranging from presentation of the news given respectively; *Sabah*, *Haberturk*, *Milliyet* and *Hurriyet*.

Additionally, in order to pursue ‘discontinuities’ in discourse, the data set that consisted of newspaper articles published between 1 January 2008 and 1 June 2015. From the years of 2008 and 2009 in sum 17 stories were also included to the research because of the significance of numerous articles covering news about the launch of MOBESE. There are efficient and reliable databases to search keywords for the media content analysis (i.e. LEXIS/NEXIS); incorporating newspapers in English, however for the news agenda published in Turkish such database cannot be found. For this reason, the database given in the newspapers’ official sites were used to collect the related news items. For tracking the content over time and across different topics in news media, as Altheide illustrated (2006: 422), collection of the news reports consisted of three levels of search.¹⁶ At the first level of search, Turkish words and expressions that link to CCTV were used as keywords; ‘MOBESE’ and ‘surveillance cameras’¹⁷. For the *Milliyet* newspaper, in sum of 1,704; for *Hurriyet* 1,745; for *Haberturk* 1,241 and for *Sabah* 1,299 news items yielded. This amount of coverage for every newspaper was manually perused to eliminate stories that duplicate, articles of columnists, stories irrelevant with surveillance of urban areas and stories that were shorter than 100 words. After the elimination, each result was put into coding with

¹⁵ i. e. Belakova, 2013.

¹⁶ See Figure. 3.1. Levels of Data Collection

¹⁷ MOBESE is the abbreviation of *Mobile Electronic Systems Integration* which is used for open-streetscape surveillance cameras for connoting with CCTV in UK.

more specific keywords ‘KYGS’¹⁸, ‘control’ and ‘camera’. This search returned 35 story results from *Milliyet*; 73; from *Hurriyet*, 49; from *Haberturk* and 23 from *Sabah* newspaper.

In the data collection, third level was parallel to second level. After the initial search containing the keywords of ‘MOBESE’ and ‘security camera’ total search was reduced to the articles related with crime. All articles for every newspaper were separately pored over and for every year three significant stories – approximately 15 to 20 stories for each newspaper - were selected. Main criminal acts in the reports contained theft, mugging, homicide, terrorism, traffic accidents or traffic tickets.

In sum 180 articles were selected for coding from the overall sample, which returned results from second and third level data collection. The main selection criterion of final items for in-depth analysis was relevance to the objectives of the study and to the term ‘MOBESE’. Thus most relevant articles were determined as the ones the keyword MOBESE was placed in the headlines. As to the second relevance, priority was given to articles characterized by the words and rhetorical devices like metaphors in substitution of ‘MOBESE’ or video-surveillance e.g. ‘Big Brother house’ or ‘the eye of the city’ et cetera. Lastly, articles which using ‘MOBESE’ keyword for reporting related issues were added into the analysis.

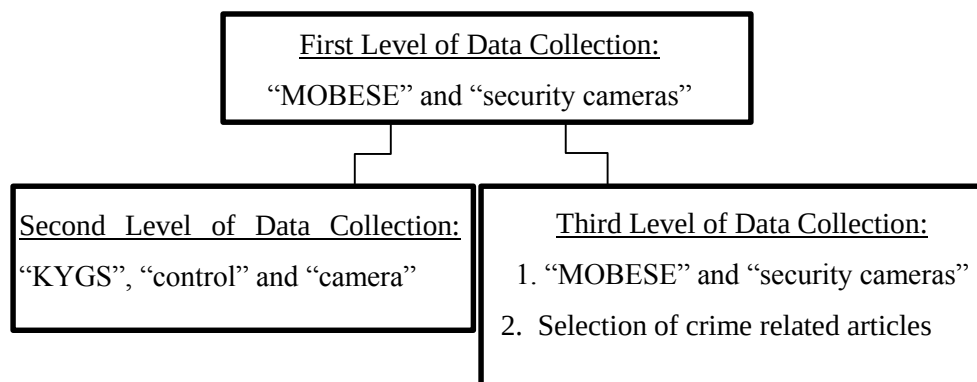


Figure.3.1. Levels of Data Collection

¹⁸ KYGS is the abbreviation of *Urban Security Management Systems*.

3.4. Media Frames of Surveillance Cameras in Four Turkish Newspapers

In the selection of the data set, it was sought to divide proportionally for coding, due to the relevance, however, the number of items per newspaper varied. Priority was given to the degree of relevance with MOBESE. For the data analysis 180 articles in sum – for *Milliyet* 20, for *Hurriyet* 66, for *Haberturk* 33 and for *Sabah* 61 items – were transferred to the qualitative analysis program MAXQDA.10. The program was used in the coding of the data set. Since the aim of this analysis was to emphasize the corpus of statements revealed in the press, the statements within the articles were taken as units of analysis.

At this point coding process was conducted in two separate parts. Initially, a textual analysis –content analysis - was implied for the identification of the language of the texts (Belakova, 2013). Each article was firstly divided into *headlines*, *leads*, *discursive object* and *actor(s)* codes to acquire the language of print media representations of MOBESE. Secondly, discursive object – a sentence, sentences or a paragraph - was coded according to the tone of argumentation – advocate, evaluative or definitive- and direction of argument– negative, positive and neutral (Belakova, 2013). Argumentation referred to the statements about ‘discursive object’ and in what context it was presented in the text. For example, if the article gave detailed descriptions about MOBESE, the sub-code *definitive* was applied. If the text commented on the efficacy of MOBESE, it was coded as *evaluative*. Lastly, if the text comprised inferences it was matched with *advocative*. The language used in presentation of MOBESE designated if it was in favor of– *positive*, or against it – *negative*. In case of indifference, for instance, in definitive texts *neutral* code was applied. Consistent with aforementioned studies (Finn and McCahill, 2000; McCahill, 2002), only 9 out of 180 articles of four newspapers were critical about MOBESE. Whatever their political orientation may be, there existed insignificance among newspapers in their approach to video-surveillance. Therefore Reiner’s (2002) argument can be evaluated as satisfactory for this study in which demonstrated that MOBESE portrayal as a newsworthy subject was mainly positive.

Division of the ‘discursive object’ into categories constituted the latter part of the coding. Parts of the text that were coded previously as ‘discursive object’ were allocated into themes derived from the word frequencies as seen in the figures (see Figure 3.2. to Figure. 3.9.).

Findings mainly rely on the word frequencies. MOBESE is related mostly with *camera, system*¹⁹. These words that surround MOBESE are explained in contexts that it appears in the examined Turkish media texts. First, MOBESE is mostly connoted security cameras and camera systems as it is surmised, but also to its technological characteristic and its comprehension. Second frequent words are *security, police, safety/security, crime*. Therefore, MOBESE and security connection seems to be noteworthy. Additionally, the word of *image* refers to MOBESE as a video-surveillance tool that captures the pictures of the scenes whether it is a crime scene or a traffic accident. Third, following frequent words consist of *center, government official/police, privacy, streets, management, speed, detection, traffic, and monitoring*. Eight words are used to support that MOBESE is utilized in traffic control at roads, streets and crossings. MOBESE is mostly presented and advocated in the texts as a speed control tool and an instrument for the prevention of traffic accidents²⁰. Detection and monitoring denote MOBESE as mostly associated with public space; whereas surveillance systems in other than public space are called as ‘security cameras’²¹.

Headlines, Leads and Actor(s)²²

In the headlines of all four newspapers, firstly, the words *camera* and *MOBESE* have the highest frequency. It may stem from the criteria of the selection of the articles for in-depth analysis. ‘Crime’ is the third frequent word and by inclusion of the

¹⁹ See Table.3.3.Word frequencies for discursive object in the Appendix B.

²⁰ Kroener (2013) deduced that traffic control is the reason cameras are usually used for contrasting to arguments for its use in counter-terrorism operations in UK. Her implication may also be applicable for Turkey if the frequency of traffic related words (frequency= 200) are considered in comparison to frequency of terrorism related words (frequency =76).

²¹ Surveillance systems as MOBESE are used to “monitor the streets” (Koskela, 2000: 245).

²² See Table.3.1.Word frequencies for headlines and Table.3.2.Word frequencies for leads in the Appendix B.

categories of crime (mugging, homicide, theft, harassment and terrorism); it exceeds 'camera' word frequency, which may corroborate assumption made on the literature that crime related issues are mostly related ones when video-surveillance is concerned. The headlines for every newspaper have approximately the same keywords related with similar topics parallel to the examined agenda, so it can be suggested that differentiations due to newspapers' political orientation are not observed.

Leads constitute the essential parts of the newspapers, because they delineate the agenda of the articles. Thus, frequency of the categories *security*, *safety/security* and *government official/police* link issues in relevance with the state. *Safety/security* category as in its Turkish meaning implies to a safety state that is assured by the police. The following word may consolidate its connection with the state – and its officials. The common actors that express or asked about their opinions consist of government officials; Mayor, Chief of Police, Head of an Official District or Governor of the city. This may indicate that surveillance activity is the concern of 'watchers' - the state in this case- instead of who is watched- as alleged for ensuring the safety of the citizens. In similar to the themes in headlines, the leads of every newspaper comprises of words such as 'camera', 'MOBESE' and 'security'. However, difference can be observed in the meaning of the *safety/security* category. As explained above, the category has connotations to the officially provided safety; yet, it may apply in terms of either being secured or controlling crime. In *Milliyet* and *Hurriyet* newspapers the emphasis is more on the controlling crime, which means video-surveillance ensures that criminal acts are reduced or prevented, while *Haberturk* and *Sabah* suggest that 'everyone is secured with surveillance cameras that they can be confident about it', whereby two different themes are formed but both incorporate the same message as MOBESE being a tool for *safety/security*. However, political orientation of the newspaper does not have a visible impact on neither headlines nor leads in terms of the extent of video-surveillance discussion.

Discursive Object²³

Discursive object necessitates a particular corpus of statements; in this manner, main themes represented in four newspapers' coverage surrounding MOBESE are analyzed in terms of qualitative content analysis to find out interrelationship between themes which are shaped around MOBESE representations. In order to track MOBESE related content word frequency table for discursive object is used. The context of the words (in the frequency table) that are used in the text are analyzed and linked with each other according to their relevancy; *monitoring, detection, speed, control* and *traffic and public order* words were relevant in their contexts therefore they are compounded in one code; *traffic control and public order*. Word frequencies address the determined themes which are explicitly representing video-surveillance. Implicit themes are inquired through in-depth reading of the discursive object, which will be presented in the following chapters. Main themes and tracked words derived from the frequencies of discursive object used in shaping the main structure of the chapters are presented in the figures presented below.

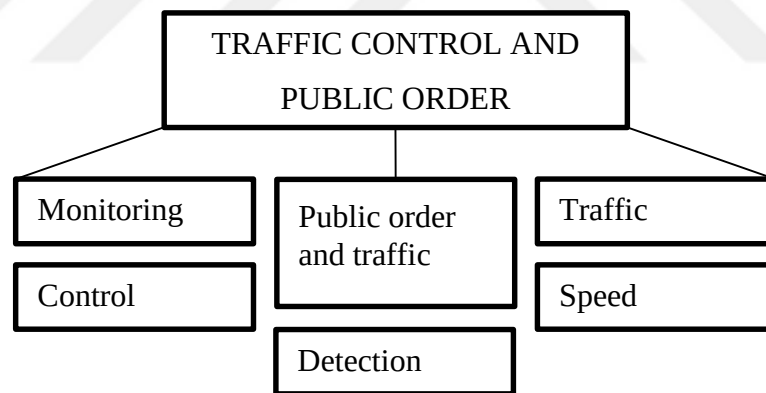


Figure 3.2 Codes associated with “Traffic control and public order” theme

²³ i.e. Table.3.1.Word frequencies for discursive object in the Appendix A.

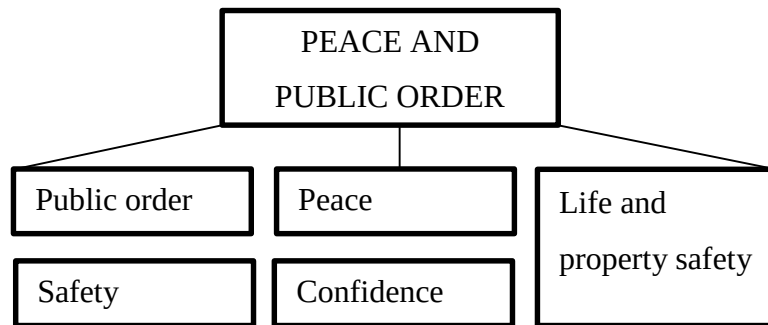


Figure 3.3 Codes associated with “Peace and Public Order” theme

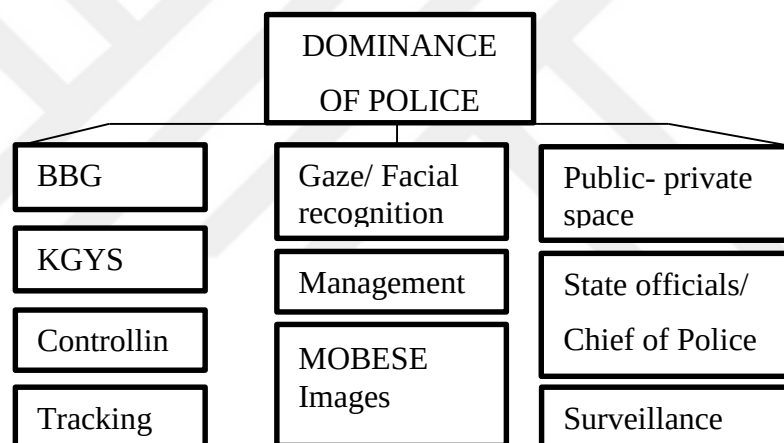


Figure 3.4 Codes associated with “Dominance of Police” theme

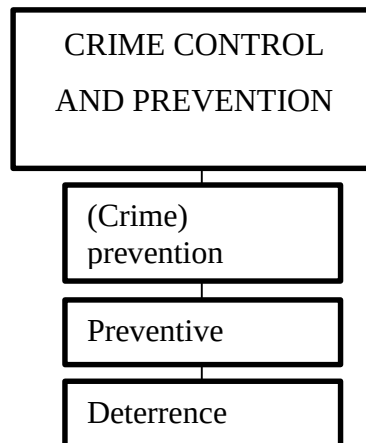


Figure 3.5 Codes associated with “Crime Control and Prevention” theme



Figure 3.6 Codes associated with “Construction of Fear” theme

CHAPTER IV

REPRESENTATIONS OF PANOPTICISM AND ‘THE DIGITAL EYE OF THE POLICE’²⁴ – MOBESE

Security articulation with video-surveillance has been ubiquitous over the past decade particularly video-surveillance of public spaces which apply mostly to monitoring of urban streets and urban centers as it has been shown in the second chapter (Hier and Greenberg, 2009; see also Coleman and Sim, 2000, Coleman, 2004a, 2004b, Hier, 2004, Hier, Greenberg, Walby and Lett, 2007). Monahan might agree with the idea in his statement that “[T]he quest for security organizes modern life” (2006: 169) and Norris and Armstrong might support that video-surveillance is to be perceived “as a form of power with a number of dimensions” (1997: 8). Therefore, in this thesis, the interrelationship of security cultures and video-surveillance is examined in terms of media representations of MOBESE cameras.

Firstly, various interesting examples about media research in terms of video-surveillance are provided in the previous chapter for developing an effective methodology for this qualitative study. And then introductory information about expansion of video-surveillance in Turkey is given in the latter section constituting an important basis for understanding the main categories which will be presented in the following chapters. Later on, based on the initial findings of content analysis three main themes are designated where the first; *police*, will be discussed in terms of its sub-categorical representations. Although the latest study of Bozbeyoğlu designated the panopticonization of cities by the police force in regards to the open-streetscape surveillance, an in-depth analysis was not included. In addition, in her work some references to the news were made; however, a comprehensive and comparative study

²⁴ *Sabah*, 18 October 2010

lacked. Thus, this thesis seeks to fill this gap by bolstering her arguments about the close and intertwined relationship between police and video-surveillance.

In this chapter it is aimed to investigate this relationship between police and video-surveillance due to the construction of security cultures. There seems to be, in regards to the ‘new security objectives’ or to put it in another way, control and policing for safer urban environments are in request (Raco, 2003: 1870). Yet, it can be argued that these security objectives are parallel with insecurities that beget control and policing. Thus, the essential component of security cultures might be constructed with exercise of panopticism underlining the role of police in relation to video-surveillance infrastructures. In aim of this, from the articles construed the discourse on police is designated as predominant discussion around video-surveillance. It is important to note that police not only refers to the police force or officers but also is related with the state and its other institutions. Therefore, first discourse will focus on the “digital eye of the police”¹. This chapter seeks to uncover prevailing media representations of MOBESE surveillance in relation with police and state.

In this chapter three themes will be identified and elaborated on. Firstly, traffic control as a tool for establishing public order is argued in terms of implicit police connotations. Secondly, peace and public order as the second theme will be construed linking to ‘peace’ and ‘safety’ of the good citizens and for the ‘public order’, whereby police and MOBESE interrelationship seems to become more apparent. And lastly, explicit police and MOBESE representations in the print media are evaluated in accordance with panopticonization which is delineated through MOBESE by the news items in print media as; *the police keeps an eye on us*.

In conclusion, the aim is to find answers to the questions of what end to representations of MOBESE in print media serves and what to amplify in terms of construction of security cultures.

4.1. MOBESE for “Public Order²⁵ and Traffic Control”

A number of news items about MOBESE can be observed to depict theme of traffic control. The articles explored in this section consist of those representing MOBESE along with concerns of traffic control related to safety and security of public order generally. The theme of *public order and traffic control* is examined throughout the vocabulary used in news coverage, describing the main ends of expansion in numbers of MOBESE.

References to MOBESE portrayal as assuring public order and traffic security has been noteworthy in the introduction of MOBESE. Firstly, MOBESE is introduced as a ‘technological revolution’ as an asset for the traffic. The spiraling numbers in MOBESE cameras are depicted as crucial for traffic by the media as a sub-theme. Another sub-theme prevalent in the narratives about surveillance of the traffic is crime control and detection via Automatic Number Plate Recognition system as a disorder in the traffic. The second theme is about MOBESE cameras and the use in traffic control is evaluated in terms of ‘legitimization’ of MOBESE. ‘Legitimization’ is discussed in accordance with legality, approval of other institutions, social acceptance and ethical justification.

4.1.1. Introduction of MOBESE: Traffic Control

The introductory representation of MOBESE as a vital instrument in traffic control is portrayed by the print media with a certain level of frequency. Mostly, the word of ‘traffic’ connote ‘detection’, ‘speed’, ‘control’ and ‘monitoring’. Thereby, in this thesis themes of MOBESE articulated around traffic control are examined and found that MOBESE portrayal in four newspapers consist of; its inauguration as a high technological device, its massive expansion for traffic and simultaneously controlling of crime. In three sections, emphasis on police is rather depicted implicitly which will be intensified in terms of legitimacy discussions.

²⁵ For the English translation of the [*asayış*] the word *public order* is used. *Public order* is considered as a concept which is constructed in terms of findings of this analysis.

MOBESE in traffic: a ‘technological revolution’

The narrative of MOBESE as a ‘technological revolution’ is dominant for public order and traffic control theme. This narrative outlines the trends of MOBESE portrayal as a traffic control instrument in an advocative tone. For example, in 2012, the *Milliyet* referred to MOBESE in an emphasis of “... will have almost the effect of a revolution in urban traffic” (*Milliyet*, 07 May 2012). The lead of this news item compared to the rest is rather significant as seen in the following quote:

MOBESE for which preparation time have taken over five years, has been quietly put into use in Izmir, in the metropolis, the preparation of a revolutionary tracking system has been completed. (*Milliyet*, 07 May 2012)

As the example above points out, MOBESE is articulated with traffic tracking system that has been operated for a time in the city of Izmir. The system is called “Full Adaptive Traffic Management, Control and Information System” according to the statement of the Chief of Police of Izmir. In fact, the source of this article predicates on his briefing. In the following sections, details about the system are presented and incorporated in terms of ‘urban security with cameras’. So, public order is attached to MOBESE via discussion on its ‘revolutionary’ use in the urban traffic. The emphasis on MOBESE as privileged technology is illustrated in other instance; for example, following one published in the *Sabah* as exemplified below:

Violations can be monitored instantly with approximately one thousand four hundred cameras, 513 of which are high definition, in Ankara, with the implementation of Urban Security Management System, developed for having the highest technology of surveillance and policing in the city...It will enable the administration of the police force in Ankara digitally from a single center and will allow the storage of all the activities carried out in a single database and security planning based on this data...(Sabah, 05 December 2010)

MOBESE is depicted as a ‘high technology’ in surveillance of public order and traffic of Ankara. The police responsibility and its cooperation with MOBESE system is also demonstrated in another example:

Technology has entered every aspect of our lives. Eccentric scenes of science fiction movies are among the usual events for today’s world. A development which

we do not feel directly but has a major effect on our daily lives is hidden behind the closed doors of Police Department...Urban Security System which is known by the public as MOBESE (*Sabah*, 11 April 2013)

Urban Security Management System, so-called MOBESE system is defined as a ‘technology that we have seen in the eccentric scenes of films’ which henceforth can be found in the routines of ordinary everyday life. The word ‘revolutionary’ or ‘revolution’ may not be used; however, pointed out its advantaged technologies in traffic control. After this striking lead, in the body of the text, technological attributes for traffic control are given in detail:

Traffic flow and density are monitored; the resulting images are then evaluated in order to develop additional, fast and effective measures against future problems [...]. Furthermore, vehicles violating red lights are identified and fined. With License Plate Recognition System feature, stolen or wanted vehicles are identified upon entering or exiting our city and nationwide. (*Sabah*, 11 April 2013)

Traffic control includes, according to the details of the article, recording of images, reactions to plausible negative situations, detecting red light violations etc. Automatic Plate Recognition system is another ubiquitous articulation of the MOBESE, and will be elaborated on in the next section. Another important point derived from this news items is the direct reference to the Police Department which has been prevalent throughout the text, in fact, it is entitled: “The police’s gaze is upon us” (*Sabah*, 11 April 2013). Summarily, it is stated that all behind these cameras and traffic control systems police is stationed. Similarly to the former example given above, police’s responsibility in the control of urban traffic is highlighted. At the end of the text, numbers of incidents detected through the MOBESE cameras are provided. Accordingly, since 2012, 3, 716 incidents have occurred consisting of 1,834 public order and 1,882 traffic incidents (*Sabah*, 11 April 2013).

MOBESE in numbers of ...

The numbers of violations or traffic accidents are occasionally cited to show MOBESE’s efficiency. What rather prevalent is portrayal of numbers and types of

cameras included in MOBESE system. Remarks such as the following exhibit this type of expressions clearly:

Önal [The Governor] indicated that 362 moving and 981 fixed cameras will be monitoring Ankara, and said “86 cameras will detect red light violations on 23 intersections. 31 cameras will detect speed violations on 17 locations. We are planning on establishing a command and control center inside Ankara security directorate. We will get aid from the metropolitan municipality.” (*Hurriyet*, 06 September 2008)

Particularly, in the public introduction of MOBESE, its augmentation is presented predominantly through traffic control and public order issues. As a matter of fact, disorder in the traffic is visualized in terms of red light and speed violations which should be taken care of. Thereby, MOBESE is depicted as a ‘technological solution’ for all. Of course, its authorization is attributed to the police positioned either at field or in a central control room. The following piece of news item submits details about MOBESE as a traffic control tool:

Urban Security Management System, known as MOBESE is comprised of ; 298 moving Urban Monitoring System cameras, 71 License Plate Recognition System cameras on 68 locations, 15 Mobile License Plate Recognition System cameras mounted on police vehicles, Red Light Violation System on 21 intersections from 78 angles, Speed Violation System on 10 locations from 19 angles and 300 Vehicle Tracking Systems mounted on police vehicles, a total of 825 cameras. (*Hurriyet*, 17 August 2010)

According to the text, MOBESE comprises of Mobile cameras, Plate Recognition Systems and the likes in police vehicles, red light violation systems, speed violation systems and tracking systems in police vehicles, which point out enormous numbers of cameras. Derived from the title “For the speed limits new cameras have been located” (*Hurriyet*, 17 August 2010), it is implied that cameras are only put for the traffic control. For example, in an article published one month later, it is informed that aforementioned cameras are activated:

Cameras has different features, some of them will instantly detect red light and speed violations and some of them will detect lost, stolen or wanted vehicles with “License Plate Detection” ability and warn police authorities. Meanwhile a fine will be issued to the owner of the speeding or red light violating vehicles. Pictures

and 12 second video recordings will be presented as “evidence” on appeals. (*Hurriyet*, 14 September 2010)

Numbers identical to the former article are presented, which characterizes this article as a sequent news item. Accordingly, in the City of Ankara, at 513 points, 1400 cameras will be located at the main arteries and streets; and at the ‘protocol routes’. As given above, these systems will also include facial recognition systems a part of Plate Recognition System aimed to contribute to investigations of car thefts and red light or speed violations.

Both texts are consistent with the introductory news reporting of MOBESE; mostly informative in numbers and drawing the limits to traffic control and public order. Efforts are given to analyze critically by the examined news coverage neither the expanding numbers of MOBESE nor sole authority given up to the police and the local government. Numbers of cameras and numbers of police personnel and devices are typically publicized as official and irrefutable solution to the problems of traffic and order.

Traffic and Crime control at the same time

So far, MOBESE portrayal has shown its technological contributions to the traffic and its expansion via traffic control narrative has been introduced in numbers. Another point emphasized throughout traffic control is the police authority. As Coleman and McCahill notes; ANPR (Automatic Number Plate Recognition) especially, operates as an ordinary policing tool for the public police in UK (Kelly cited in Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 80). Police is recognized as “a program of government rationality [...] to create a system of regulation of the general conduct of individuals whereby everything would be controlled to the point of self-sustenance, without the need for intervention” (Foucault cited in Deflem, 2008: 5). Traffic regulation and order thus connotes police and police authority which is amplified with MOBESE, Plate Recognition System (PRS) and other qualities. This may be because of the mass media, in Coleman and McCahill’s view, full with state-directed classifications of *order* and *disorder* (2011: 125). In this case, traffic is pinpointed as

the reason of disorder that should be taken care of by the examined news coverage. The example below is selected to demonstrate the recurring coverage:

Video surveillance is more effective than a lot of people witnessing an incident. We can instantly direct the nearest police unit to the location of a developing incident. This gives us the ability to intervene on situations and criminal on short notice. In Diyarbakır people's trust to the police boosted lately. This system has a big role on this trust. (*Hurriyet*, 20 January 2010)

This article exemplifies two distinct narratives: police and MOBESE alliance and expansion of MOBESE cameras in terms of traffic control. However, both overlap on the same articulation; crime control. Cameras are praised by the news coverage because of their efficacy in criminal incidents. Criminals can be caught and criminal incidents can be responded to via and 'thanks to' MOBESE. According to the text, one of the reasons that confidence in police has raised severely has been the system of MOBESE. The second narrative is opened up in the following part of the text. Expansion of the cameras reiterated reasons of traffic control as illustrated in the example:

We will add 99 cameras to the system shortly. Further we will make additions to the system for traffic and improve it. This will provide major contribution stopping driver errors and act as a deterrent on locations where accident numbers are high. We are constantly monitoring for the security of the citizens. MOBESE contributed greatly to the prevention of crime and illuminating cases. System provided us with evidence on solving 450 cases over 8 months. (*Hurriyet*, 20 January 2010)

Crime is thus related with traffic and traffic violations in which the safety of the people must be secured. Monitoring is built upon the narrative of safety of citizens presumably in the traffic. It is construed that prevention and illumination of crime is boiled down to traffic violations; and this argument is bolstered by the article with the presentation of quantitative data of illuminated incidents in which MOBESE images were used as evidence. Disorders that police should intervene to take care of are revealed by the examined news agenda in terms of traffic violations which can be perceived as problems of public order. The following quote exemplifies this clearly:

The camera systems which will serve especially on crime and prevention of crime are being installed on main drags and important intersections in Ankara. The new system, expected to reduce traffic rule violations significantly, aims not to interfere with the traffic flow by quitting the practice of stopping vehicles. (*Hurriyet*, 17 August 2010)

Many words designating that the crime and commitment of crime in this sample refer to traffic rules and violations. Because of the portrayal of crime, MOBESE cameras are provided as important instrument to prevent those crimes. Coleman and McCahill point out a distinction between CCTV and speed cameras. According to them, CCTV is portrayed as ‘friendly eye in the sky’ which detects ‘them’ like criminals whereas speed cameras are represented as a problem which targets good citizens’ (2011: 129). However, such a representation is not spotted in the sample of this study; on the contrary, MOBESE is depicted as ‘friendly eye at the traffic’ that would detect ‘criminals’ with speed cameras for safety of the citizens. Breaking traffic rules is represented as a crime which ends up with ticketing and thereby so-called ‘criminals’ are found (*Sabah*, 19 September 2013). In addition, it is stated in a “MOBESE decreased traffic violations” entitled article that MOBESE along with ANPR decreased traffic infringements “from 600 thousand to 200 thousand in only six months” (*Hurriyet*, 13 August 2011). The result is an image of MOBESE that serves to gain but public support in evoked sense of public order. The Chief of Police of Ankara announces MOBESE system as a security system in the quotation below:

“Paramount feature of this sytem is that it is a security system. It is comprised of 8 different components such as security, red light violation, speed violation, license plate recognition and vehicle tracking. MOBESE is not only about traffic, main goal is security. With this system streets will be surveilled 24 hours....” (*Hurriyet*, 10 September 2010)

In the text, according to the information given by the Chief of Police, MOBESE is advocated as a traffic control tool consisting of detection of red light and traffic rule violations, ANPR and car-tracking systems. On the other hand, he adds that traffic is only one attribute of the system; futhermore, the intend is *not about the traffic but about security*. 24 hour monitoring and *surveillance of the streets* is thereby was made

acceptable and normalized in the text, and, MOBESE is endorsed as a tool for assurance of security.

In the next section, the portrayal of MOBESE and depictions of police is considered in terms of legitimization. The themes of traffic, detection, speed control and monitoring are examined whether legitimization of police dominance in terms of surveillance technologies and security infrastructures bolstered via MOBESE and traffic control coverage.

4.1.2. MOBESE and Legitimization

As Oijen and Bockhorst would agree, MOBESE system among other surveillance infrastructures is particularly significant for its legitimacy. The police morally needs to secure its practices of using force and integrated technological facilities (Oijen and Bockhorst, 2012: 123-125). Oijen and Bockhorst, in their attempt to define legitimacy²⁶ try to bring out a more understandable concept with pinpointing different dimensions. At first, they note that the term ‘legality’ does not fully cover legitimization; though it only delineates the essential legal dimension. Legality having its roots in the Roman law means “what touches all must be approved by all” (Merquior cited in Oijen and Bockhorst, 2012: 127) and Oijen and Bockhorst render this to ‘recognition by all’ which sets the political dimension and designates the intrinsic distinction between the term legality. Legality, therefore, should not be treated as a synonym of legitimacy, but one of the dimensions.

Derived from Beetham, they briefly outline dimensions of legitimization in which power is legal, politically approved by all and accepted socially and justified ethically (Ooijen and Bockhorst, 2012: 128). This multidimensionality is the term’s unique characteristic, for Oijen and Bockhorst. So, legitimacy should be discussed in terms of all these four dimensions; and as far as the term responds to both formal and informal dimensions, legitimacy maximizes (Oijen and Bockhorst, 2012: 128).

²⁶ In another part of their chapter they also note the hardship of defining the term with respect to its abstractness.

Overall, they use the terms legitimization to analyze Dutch Police context and nodal orientation policies via ANPR. Even if Dutch interpretation was presented by them, in this part legitimacy in terms of Turkish policing case will be discussed²⁷. This discussion encompasses how much media representation of MOBESE constitutes ways of ‘securing the legitimacy’ of police scoring in which dimensions of legitimization.

In an attempt to analyze legitimization of MOBESE through traffic control narrative, the sample evaluated above is discussed in terms of peculiarities of the term. Analysis of legitimacy is in terms of MOBESE and ANPR twofold. With respect to considerations of Ooijen and Bockhorst (2012), two distinct forms have emerged; ‘recognition by all’ and social acceptance of MOBESE via ANPR. The first is related to the ‘legality’ justified because of other institutions’ approval. The second puts forward the informal dimensions such as social acceptance and ethical justification.

‘Recognition by all’: Discussing the legality and political approval of MOBESE

A quite long quote below by the Chief of Police of Ankara exemplifies how police can use MOBESE and Plate Recognition System:

Antalya Police Commissioner Mustafa Sağlam stated that, Urban Security System was contributing to the public safety and security of Antalya and summarized the advantages of the system in the fight against crime: “Traffic flow and density are monitored; the resulting images are then evaluated in order to develop additional, fast and effective measures against future problems. The provisions of legal evidence, for solving cases are provided. Furthermore, vehicles violating red lights are identified and fined. With License Plate Recognition System feature, stolen or wanted vehicles are identified upon entering or exiting our city and nationwide. Problems identified by the cameras are passed on to responsible state institutions and organizations and common action is taken to resolve them.”(Hurriyet, 11 April 2013)

²⁷ At this point it might be useful to inform about the resemblances of the Dutch and Turkish system. They both use mobile and fixed camera and detection systems; and, both form an index correlating license plate numbers to criminal history and similar other data juxtapositions. However, at this point it is important to note that facial recognition systems are still limited in Turkey compared to the Dutch system (For more details see Ooijen and Bockhorst, 2012).

The main narrative public order and traffic control characterizes the main statement of the police commissioner. Accordingly, police can use MOBESE and ANPR for traffic monitoring, uses of MOBESE images as ‘legal’ evidences, detecting red light violations and taking punitive measures, monitoring entrances and exits of city for detecting getaway cars. These are suggested but not fully confirmed, because they are stated in a newspaper item, however there are also hints about legality and political approval of police’ actions to be partially legitimate. To begin with for the ‘legality’ dimension, firstly, it is conveyed that police can intervene any disorder detected in the traffic. Secondly, these cases of disorder can be recorded and used as evidence which seems to be ‘legal’. Thirdly, police’s sanction power is also highlighted through the power of taking punitive measures. Fourthly, ANPR has become in Turkish context an instrument of criminal investigation and criminal justice through the illustration of detection of stolen cars via PRS. Fifthly, in last sentence, though, indicates another dimension of legitimacy, which is political approval of the power of police. Identified issues by MOBESE concerning other public institutions and organizations will be forwarded by the police. Police sources are perceived as ‘legitimate’ approved from other institutions which constitutes the requisite of political approval.

Another dominant narrative in terms of public order and traffic control is the utilization of MOBESE images as evidence. It is clearly illustrated in one of the newspaper articles published in the *Sabah*, entitled as MOBESE images will be ‘evidence’ (*Sabah*, 16 November 2013).

Recordings of the Mobile Electronic System Integration (MOBESE) are qualified as “evidence”. 221 cameras installed on important boulevards and intersections in Gaziantep are monitoring the city 24 hours. Images in MOBESE center, which are initially playing an important role detecting traffic violations and fighting criminals, are analysed carefully by officials. Camera recordings are presented to judicial authorities by law enforcement officials as evidence. (*Sabah*, 16 November 2013)

According to the text, MOBESE images can be handled as evidences. 24 hour monitoring and fight against crime (not only traffic violations) are articulated in terms

of camera images employed for traffic control. In the following sentence, it is given that these images as evidence are sent by police to the judicial authorities. Overall, MOBESE was introduced as a traffic control utility “... to produce legal evidence committed in criminal investigations ...” as suggested formerly (*Hurriyet*, 06 September 2008) and PRS “...will contribute significantly to the system in terms of license plate recognition and gathering evidence ...” (*Hurriyet*, 01 December 2010). The ‘evidence’ narrative is prevalent and appears to indicate ‘legality’ and ‘recognition by other institutions’ dimensions of legitimization as discussed in the abovementioned second and fifth points. The representation of MOBESE as a tool for criminal investigations by print media is bolstered with the exemplification given below, suggesting that not only traffic violations but other criminal activities are also included:

Governor Yüksel indicated that the purpose of the system was not only monitoring traffic violations and violators. He added “This system is also used for vehicle tracking, license plate detection and catching criminals. Of course nobody has the right to violate traffic rules in Ankara. This system will make the violators suffer the consequences”. (*Hurriyet*, 28 October 2010)

It is inferred that PRS assist the police in tracking vehicles and caught of criminals. Definitions of crime are portrayed in another example published after a month:

Atalay [Deputy Prime Minister] notified that MOBESE was a good technology in the security arena, with it they could control intersections, main drafts, entrance and exit of the cities. Atalay emphasizing the deterrent feature of the system said, “ If there is an incident, whether it be a traffic violation, an unwanted crime or anything else, it is one of the most important tools for illuminating the situation. Today we are able to solve crime more rapidly. Because MOBESE recordings are inarguably evidence and used as evidence in the judiciary system ” (*Hurriyet*, 07 December 2010)

MOBESE is downsized to the field of traffic control, however in terms of criminal justice and illumination of crime problems MOBESE images can be used as ‘legal’ evidence in regard to the speech of Minister of the Interior. MOBESE cameras’ efficiency and priority in illumination of cases, presumably elimination of disorder is

emphasized severely. The last sentence is striking in discussion of ‘legality’ and political ‘recognition by all’; MOBESE images are irrefutable evidences which are recognized jurisdictionally.

Social acceptance and ethical justification via MOBESE

For legitimacy, as Ooijen and Bockhorst consider, indirect and informal dimensions such as social acceptance and ethical justifications are crucial (2012: 129). Even if the direct effect cannot be easily seen in the policy, it would affect political and legal dimensions of legitimacy, thereby the terms itself. Therefore, MOBESE’s acceptance by the public primarily focuses on traffic control as seen in the quotes from one of the articles titled as “Citizens of Ankara liked MOBESE System”:

“Accidents decreased with cameras’ arrival.” (*Hurriyet*, 28 October 2010)

“Police will tire less. Traffic violations will be precluded. Everyone will have to obey the rules. This is something very good. Government did something very good.” (*Hurriyet*, 28 October 2010)

“Even though it is a belated decision, this is a very good system. We feel safer , it is a good practice forestalling crimes such as theft and extortion. This means Ankara is under control.” (*Hurriyet*, 28 October 2010)

“This is a very rewarding practice regarding traffic.” (*Hurriyet*, 28 October 2010)

“People’s privacy is ignored. I don’t think this is right. Another system instead of MOBESE could have been considered. But I think it is the right decision for traffic.” (*Hurriyet*, 28 October 2010)

There are eight respondents representing citizens of Ankara, which is a quite small sample, impossible to represent all citizens of Ankara. In evaluation of all of these positive approaches to MOBESE in terms of traffic control may not denote social acceptance of this kind of surveillance or police power; however, constitutes an example of how media supports state-led definitions of video-surveillance. Maybe, a striking point is that majority of positive point of views about MOBESE concentrate on its contributions in traffic control.

Ethics are mainstream discussion topics in terms of privacy and security dichotomy of video-surveillance. For example, in an article published in the *Sabah* and the *Hurriyet* main idea is the effort of convincing audience about the respect of police in private life and. An instance is demonstrated in the piece of texts given below.

It is stated that with the proliferation of MOBESE cameras which are used for public order and traffic surveillance, concerns over privacy violations are irrelevant. (*Sabah*, 15 April 2013)

Automated concealing system is used against privacy violations on locations where the MOBESE -used for public order and traffic surveillance- is installed (*Hurriyet*, 17 April 2013)

The media texts represent that every precaution has been taken by the police in respect of privacy of citizens. It is rather mitigating message about cameras or police invasions in private lives. The privacy issues are formed by different themes in relation with security; however, it will be discussed in the chapter six. Instead of discussion sub-categories, it is more interesting to elicit ethical justification that is needed for legitimization of power which is trusted by people. Although it is very challenging to measure ethical justification or social acceptance dimensions of legitimacy, as Oijen and Bockhorst accepted, that it is still possible to interpret media representations. Therefore, in the text above, implication of police seeking to soothe people can be made about ethical problems that may occur because of MOBESE camera angles or locations, even about the process of monitoring. In the following parts in both of examples, police's care and sensitivity in terms of privacy is emphasized. Through such statements ethical justification of police power over public order and traffic control narrative may be targeted by the print media.

In this section, the ways in which newspapers portrayed MOBESE in terms of public order and traffic control were demonstrated. The focus on traffic control in terms of introduction and support of MOBESE; furthermore, legitimacy of police power was shown in this part of the thesis from a qualitative perspective. Problems in public order were defined in terms of traffic and solutions were sought; and legitimacy of police power built upon MOBESE and PRS systems.

Derived from portrayal of public order via MOBESE, in the next section, descriptions of public order with other themes will be examined. The news coverage denote that public order incorporates both peace and safety themes in representations of MOBESE, particularly, with respect to neighborhood safety and security.

4.2. Safe and Secure Places: “Peace and Public Order”

The traffic control theme is consistent with the suggestion that public order is prevalent within the coverage. The law enforcement agency is the police; responsible for maintenance public order (Tiesdell and Oc, 1998: 644). Aside from the scope of the thematic above, some articles portrayed public order along with words “peace” and “safety”.

CCTV is ‘what the public wants’, as something that reflects some commonly held community desire for ‘good public order’ and security; as a necessary form of social control that protects the law abiding and ‘vulnerable’ [most notably women and children] from ‘the criminal’ and those who are just a plain ‘nuisance’. (Coleman, 2004a: 1999)

As Coleman suggests, ‘good public order’ and security are requirements of social control. Coleman and McCahill stress that “[S]urveillance shapes social order and is shaped by it” (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 141). And, if surveillance is boiled down to surveillance cameras, then, cameras can be considered as certain parts of a ‘social ordering’²⁸ strategy which designates proper groups and subjects inhabiting public space (Coleman and Sim, 2000: 635).

Furthermore, police and the ‘good public order’ are interrelated for all intents and purposes. According to Barker police and their partners through policy debates can actually influence the extent of order and security in urban public space perceived

²⁸ Coleman and Sim, in their article, focus on the establishment of CCTV and its uses in the city center of Liverpool. They evaluate that CCTV and other forms security infrastructures are perceived as contemporary technical modes of ‘social ordering’ strategies (Coleman and Sim, 2000: 623). However, they do not provide full description of social ordering strategies, but settled to point out its scope in terms of CCTV.

by people (2013: 3046). Thus, police and other social control agencies may augment public insecurities by generating ‘control signals’ defined as “acts of social control that communicate a message to the public” or put it in another way ‘symbolic messages’, which may be interpreted by the public whether undermining or enhancing their perceptions of security (Innes, 2004: 350-51). In addition, Barker points out that reassurance²⁹ in social order strategies become citizen-focused by countering to concerns about insecurities in neighborhoods (Barker, 2013: 3047). At this point, he underscores visibility of social control as the principle strategy. Moreover, this reassurance is not performed by the police, but, rather embodied by legitimacy of the “force to protect social order [...] an enhanced sense of security is [thereby] communicated” (Innes et al. cited in Barker, 2013: 3049). Innes et al. place the police at the center of so-called ‘control hub’; a pivotal responsibility for coordinating and directing the management of neighborhood security, which is acknowledged to police force (cited in Barker, 2013: 3049).

Lastly, the ways in which media reportage forms construction of certain threatening events as signal crimes is crucial. Media reporting determine signals in wider concerns about levels of security and public order in society (Innes, 2004: 351). In consequence, synoptically mediated perceptions of security and public order levels reinforce “panoptical aspirations of order and social control” (Hier, 2004: 410). Accordingly, this section seeks to investigate the ways in which public perceptions of public order and security are manipulated by the video-surveillance representations in the media. Furthermore, the questions; what kind of control signals are generated and how the position of police is implied in terms of perceptions of security and public order constitute the basis of the investigation presented in this part of the chapter four.

Introductory themes can be found in the initial readings of the examined pres. MOBESE cameras appears to be used for enhancing security and safety (Kroener,

²⁹ As he delivers from Bahn, reassurance can be defined as ‘the feeling of security and safety that a citizen experiences when he sees a police officer or patrol’ (cited in Barker, 2013: 3040).

2013: 131; Barnard-Wills, 2011: 556), thereby augmenting of the themes; *peace and safety*³⁰, and *public order and peace* will be elaborated on in the latter segments.

4.2.1. Peace and Safety

A recurrent theme in the Turkish press depicts MOBESE as enabling *peace and safety* and ‘normalizing’ everyday lives of citizens. According to Coleman, the stimulation for public order of the urban public spaces has positioned surveillance camera system as a new ‘orthodoxy’ addressing issues like crime (Coleman, 2004b: 201). With surveillance cameras, criminal threats to the public order are by this means eliminated; and places that “all good citizens” (Altheide, 2003: 18) live are secured – made safer. This may imply that ‘all good citizens’ should have ‘good public order’ and security which is shaped by their kind of surveillance. Stories published in the examined Turkish print media, particularly those focusing on effectiveness of MOBESE cameras depict that “with MOBESE cameras, we will obtain a more comfortable and safer life” (*Hurriyet*, 30 July 2009).

Police for the peace and safety of the vulnerable

Safety as presented in the articles has a certain physical dimension, pointing out cameras and police patrols entrusted with a task of peace and safety (*Sabah*, 12 October 2010). For example, in the quoted article MOBESE and police collaboration is represented and details are given about how ‘safety team’ of police force will efficiently work around school buildings and at the same time monitor 24/7 with MOBESE.

According to information, Ankara Police Office maximized security to highest levels in schools which are monitored 24 –hours a day with “Urban Management Security System” known as MOBESE and assigned special teams for protecting students against all kinds of threats and attacks. Teams appear as *simit seller*, hawkers, shoeshine boy or as cleaning worker keeping a sharp lookout around the school, and give no chance to kiosks to sell cigarettes to students. Ankara Governor said that thanks to the “Absolute Security in Schools” project they implemented, a

³⁰ Peace and safety is translated from Turkish which originally [huzur ve güven] applies to neighborhoods’ amenities.

special team was deployed for the peace and security of students. (*Sabah*, 12 October 2010)

In the text above, signals about concerns of the safety and security of schools and its periphery are revealed. Reassurance as Barker suggested is bolstered by the following presentation of police - MOBESE collaboration in the establishment and maintenance of security in schools and nearby areas and depicted as agents “who are deployed to protect students against all kinds of threats and attacks” (*Sabah*, 12 October 2010). Innes et al. argued that the police in a certain sense are the legitimate force in the protection of public order and enhancement of a sense of security. Similarly, in the above-mentioned piece of text, the police is depicted as responsible “for protecting students against all kinds of threats and attacks” (*Sabah*, 12 October 2010). Derived from the in-depth reading of the text at hand, police and MOBESE seems to be portrayed as legal ‘guards’ of public order and their clear collaboration with media may encourage signals of enhanced security perceptions as Innes (2004) implied. It is perceived that police is centered by the examined Turkish media in Innes’ control hub as identified in the text. They are deployed as special teams “for the peace and safety of students” (*Sabah*, 12 October 2010). Another point incorporated in the text is the under-cover service of the police. It is also illustrated in the text which infers that police may be positioned anywhere in disguise; moreover, the control signal depicted by the media becomes more crucial at this point, which aims to stimulate and intensify the perceptions of security.

A similar article is published in *Hurriyet* in 2013 focusing on the security of schools and children (*Hurriyet*, 27 September 2013). According to the description of the police - MOBESE cooperation, spots for MOBESE are determined in regard to school security. The main end of this system is defined as “protection of schools and children from crime” (*Hurriyet*, 27 September 2013). Likewise, school principals are involved in this collaboration, to direct the coordination between the police and families. What is more interesting is that parents of the students are included in the system and they will be able to get in contact with the police about security and “the problems at traffic” around the school. Based on the statement of Coleman

(2004a:199); this analysis imply that public request of MOBESE; and, evaluate MOBESE as necessary for 'good public order' and security for being protected from criminals.

Children and aged people are of course the first group depicted as vulnerable, however, women are surely represented as open to any crime because of their lack of strength. Due to many scholars the 'gendered' nature of surveillance reproduces the urban experience for women differently (Koskela, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2007, Mehta and Bondi, 1999, Koskela and Pain, 2000, Weesley and Gaadener, 2004, Yavuz and Welsh, 2010, Abraham, 2010, Paul, 2011). Surveillance practices are gendered because of multiple power-relationships, promoting as the purpose of surveillance would be to increase urban safety for women, because women represent vulnerable subjects in need of protection (Koskela, 2007). This, hence, brings strikingly "engendered constructions of space" (Paul, 2001: 417). On the other hand, in their 600 hours of observation in a CCTV control room Norris and Armstrong designated that only one women was surveilled in purpose of protection (1999b: 172). Relationships between gender and space, and among gender, space and fear of crime is about forms of power and surveillance (Paul, 2011: 417, Koskela, 2000: 254). According to Koskela it is fear that exclude women spatially³¹ (1999: 112). An adequate exemplification can be found in the piece of text given below.

After the activation of the system, the victim of violence presses the button as soon as she feels something life-threatening. This call is followed the identification of her location via a 24 hour serving Mobile Electronic System Integration (MOBESE). Then the victim is reached by voice and asked 'Did you pressed accidentally, or do you have life-threatening?'. In case of life-threatening the victim's location is identified and the nearest police reach as soon as possible. The device also has buttons for messages for women who are not in a position to speak." (Sabah, 02 September 2013)

The article is about a newly presented system called SONIM to prevent domestic violence against women. This system is developed in cooperation with

³¹ This problem of crime and fear will be elaborated on in the chapter five.

MOBESE and police to protect women in any possible case of violence occurring in the private sphere. Furthermore, MOBESE is used for locating the woman who is possibly victim of domestic violence. Police at this point possess the responsibility of communicating with the woman and verify if her life is in danger. This aims inherently to prevent crime of homicide. However, it may not be able to deter domestic violence. The article affirmed that the police will arrive at soonest time after a call; still, it seems not completely convincing. This may indicate a precaution to prevent crime; yet, it does not illustrate a convincing argument and the reasons why will be illustrated in the chapter five. Koskela's claim seems to be agreed with; surveillance practices are gendered because of power-relationships purposing to increase not only safety and security of urban public space but also private sphere.

Police for the peace and safety of the 'good citizens' of the neighborhood

In another article published in *Sabah* surveillance cameras are designated as the provider of peace and safety or to put it in another way it is promoted that "cameras will be very helpful in ensuring the peace and safety for community of the district" (*Sabah*, 12 February 2014). This implication of video-surveillance as protecting safety and public order is bolstered within the following quote from a *Haberturk* article. The safety condition is represented as enabled by MOBESE cameras. The news article portrayed MOBESE operation, "in purpose of preventing criminal conduct, and protecting public safety and public order" (*Haberturk*, 18 June 2012). However, the evaluation may not elicit any direct strong effects on criminality, public order or feelings of safety likewise the Oslo Police force hoped for CCTV at the beginning (Winge and Knutsson, cited in Norris et.al. 2004: 125).

Innes elaborates on the safety of the neighborhood by positing that "the perception of risk is not an individualized, atomized phenomenon, it is socially grounded and shaped" (2004: 353). In support of this, the quote given below explicates the police as the main actor who eases citizens of neighborhood about the increased levels of safety and security achieved by the *urban security management system* KGYS.

The Chief of Police said that the police works citizen-oriented. In consequence of successful efforts that City Security Management System (KGYS) made in a very short time period, The Chief of Police stated that they have identified striking decreases in crime rates in places where cameras are monitoring, and he said that “Our staff having ears with 155 Police Emergency Call and eyes with KGYS uninterruptedly maintains their work 24 hours to ensure public peace, life and property safety of our citizens with the support of our citizens”. (*Sabah*, 14 April 2014)

The Chief of Police state that in a short amount of time, crime rates decreased strikingly in regards to the cameras. KGYS is depicted as the ‘gaze’ that establish peace for 24 hours in the neighborhood and its citizens. The theme of the ‘gaze’ will be opened up in the latter section, thus it is elaborated on another theme. The theme illustrated the community-oriented policing. The growth in community policing adapt informal neighborhood watch to the policing act (Fyfe, 2004:44). Community-oriented policing as seen in the prior section as demonstrated in the ‘safety and security of schools’ themed example and in the quote above, combines informal support of the community so-called “eyes on the streets” (Jacobs, 1961: 35)³² which can be interpreted as vital for the effective work of the police depicted by the examined print media.

In response to this, community-oriented policing adheres partially to anxieties about safety and security of the neighborhood. For example, like in the quote below in many parts of the articles, introduction of MOBESE goes along with prospects for peace and safety of the neighborhood and, either speed control or property crimes³³.

Dursunbey Municipality installed MOBESE cameras on 16 separate locations , spending 92 thousand Turkish Liras in order to prevent theft and maintain a secure and sound environment for the citizens in the district. The cameras –one of them fixed, others are moving with night vision capability- will be monitored by the police force and constabulary from municipal control center. Mayor Mehmet Ruhi Yılmaz, indicated that even though the district is a secure, calm and a quiet place they aim to further reduce forensic incidents. (*Hurriyet*, 22 February 2011)

³² See also, Fyfe and Bannister, 1998 and Oc and Tiesdell, 1998.

³³ On the other hand, problem of property crimes in terms of crime prevention and control will be thoroughly discussed in the chapter five.

At the beginning of the text, statements of the Chief of Police are included in the text. In addition, the information given above is quoted from the Mayor of Dursunbey Municipality in Balıkesir. Greenberg and Hier pointed out; that citizens generally presume that police officers and other law enforcement agencies would monitor them under fair conditions and make use of the findings to protect them from harm (2009: 472). In fact, in the piece of text above, MOBESE is outlined as an expensive system installed for the good of the residents in the neighborhood; and, it is stated that the police and municipal police monitor behind the cameras at the central control room located in the municipality. As referenced before, media prioritizes state officers and the police as a reliable source of information, similarly, it appears to be that police sources and Municipality are highlighted as the ‘providers of MOBESE technology’ caring for the safety and security of the citizens. Connotations to crime, may involve such a message as Greenberg and Hier suggested. As a matter of fact, the primary aim is depicted as ‘prevention of thefts’ for living of the community of the neighborhood in peace and safety. Derived from the text; it is implied that the state of peace and safety is assured by the ‘good’ intentions of the police and other actors, indeed to protect them from criminal harms. Coleman interpreted surveillance camera system as a ‘new orthodoxy’ dealing with prevalent problems like crime (2004b: 201). As suggested in the text, with highly equipped (for example with night vision systems) MOBESE cameras, criminal threats to the public order are thereby eliminated; and places that “all good citizens” (Altheide, 2003: 18) live are intended to be made safer.

This may imply that ‘all good citizens’ should have ‘good public order’ and security levels maximized while the problems of crime is diminished to zero. In this respect, this resembles partially with the controls that are operated in theme parks. Oc and Tiesdell argue that, Disneyland provides an appropriate example, in which large crowds of people are deal with and potential trouble is predicted and prevented with environmental design and management of people which possess the power equivalent to local governments (1998: 652). This implication will be discussed in the following section.

4.2.2. Public order and peace

The second theme in accordance with safety that proposed by the examined print media has been maintenance of *public order*³⁴ and *peace*. In Oc and Tiesdell's view, public order may be primarily maintained explicitly by the police and implicitly by the public (1998: 651). They assert that it is favored by "greater regulation of the public realm in the interests of the greater good of public safety and order" (1998: 651). According to them, this shows "evidence of an emergent panoptic city" (Oc and Tiesdell, 1998: 651).³⁵ In this respect, indications for the preservation of public order can be found in the related print media. Furthermore, under the statements of public order consisting of *public safety* and *life and property safety*, MOBESE and police collaboration is depicted as an essential utility for enabling public order and peace; hence, assurance of security. Overall, three themes are delineated primarily; *MOBESE as eyes and ears of public order*, *reducing crime and maintaining peace and safety for public order* and *mitigation of concerns about disorder*.

MOBESE as eyes and ears of public order

The first prominent theme deals with the maintenance of public order. Police is depicted as the legal manager and controller of public order. For example, the emphasis on the police as the provider of the safety and security of citizens is exemplified in the subsequent quote as having *eyes and ears* by surveillance cameras:

For our people, our officers [police] maintain their studies with ears on 155 Police Help telephone, eyes on KGYS [surveillance camera system] to secure peace, life and property safety of citizens 24 hours with the support of people. (*Sabah*, 17 April 2014)

³⁴ The word used in Turkish is [asayiş] which can be translated as public order, public security, safety, law and order. The word connotes to responsibility of the police closely related both with security and order.

³⁵ On the other hand, noticing that Oc and Tiesdell pinpoint that an plethora of police may also cause generating fear rather than reassuring" is another dimension of the issue at hand (Oc and Tiesdell, 1998: 651).

If to consider the implications of the theme of *public order and peace*, it can be stated that media gives the messages of MOBESE is strongly related with police as presented in the former section. Secondly, as Deflem expresses the panoptic power of MOBESE is omnipresent in all other institutions of the society articulated with the panoptic idea (2008: 4). In this context, Deflem expresses that discipline is a machine in which everyone is caught (2008: 4). In that case, it may be applied to the representation of the examined print media suggesting that; for the security and safety of citizens *everyone must be caught in the MOBESE machine* to be protected from the harms of the ones who does not commit to self-policing. Self-policing and the phrase of “with the support of people” (*Sabah*, 17 April 2014) may connote Disney sort of control of public order as Oc and Tiesdell suggested (1998: 652) which requires commitment for the good of the public. Ultimately, they inferred that public order is maintained by police and public collaboration as the text above also involves such an argument. Thereby, it may be interpreted that video-surveillance becomes “a new instrument of social control” (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 17), where mass media in synoptic machine “controls or disciplines our consciousness”- “inducing self-control and making us fit into requirements of modernity“(Mathiesen, 1997: 230).

For example, in an article published in *Sabah*, it is stated that “ascending trends housing sector on the locations where MOBESE cameras are located” is highlighted “because this places are secured” (*Sabah*, 18 October 2010). This argument belongs to a police commissioner in Istanbul Police Department. He adds that these places are secured and people who have houses here are thus at peace. This also highlights a point deriving from Rose’s argument ‘securitization of habitat’ which functions as a marketing strategy. Rose stress out the fortification by investments in security means against risks of crime where each individual is held responsible at the end. Thus, securitization of habitat is endorsed via techniques of security assurance which decrease levels of insecurity in regards to life and property safety (Rose, 1999: 247). In another article, similarly, MOBESE is portrayed in purpose of ‘securing citizens’ life and property safety.

The Chief of Police [...] said by mentioning the importance integrated security cameras so-called MOBESE in providing security: “The purpose here is providing the life and property security of our people. For the life and property safety of our citizens in a manner of speaking we [police] watch Ceyhan step by step. MOBESE [cameras] are our eyes and ears for both public order and traffic.” (*Sabah*, 26 December 2014)

The text informs about the statements of the Chief of Police of Ceyhan. He introduces the new MOBESE system used in the city and emphasizes its importance in terms of ‘providing security’. MOBESE is thereby depicted as an active instrument of security maintenance. In the following quote, security as a notion is boiled down to life and property security of the citizens. Intense monitoring of the police *by eyes and ears* via MOBESE is in terms of assurance in life and property safety. In fact, MOBESE is portrayed as an effective tool in ‘securitization of habitat’. Good intentions of the police are again intensified by the securitization of habitat; thereby to protect citizens from threats to their lives and properties. On the other hand, MOBESE may persist to be a tool of social control via its synoptic portrayal as a necessity of the modern world of security³⁶. This can be supported by an example about MOBESE system called as SGRS planned to be used at the seashores, harbors and gulfs.

Atalay [Deputy Prime Minister] said “In addition SGRS project will enter service shortly and all the coastline of Turkey, the harbors and bays, the territorial waters will have their own MOBESE system.” [...] Some of the locations which will be surveilled with cameras 24 hours a day include; human trafficking routes, ports where trade take place and touristic coasts of the Mediterranean. With SGRS’s

³⁶ For example, one of the articles describes the ‘third eye project’ system in Turkey which is broader than MOBESE system involving all kinds of urban amenities. This text also sheds light on the camera systems operating in other countries such as; Chicago (USA), Denmark, Germany, Sweden and Netherlands (*Milliyet*, 18 April 2011). In Denmark and Sweden, the scope of cameras is relatively limited in terms of the law. In Denmark, for instance, gas stations and in other places cameras are restricted. In Sweden it is usually used in case of crime suspects due to official permissions. In Germany, three models are used. In the second and third type, police is responsible of camera locating and recording activities. In Holland, the police and the Mayor are responsible of monitoring of publicly accessible places. In the Chicago-US (which is given more in detail), on the other hand, surveillance cameras can be placed in city centers, public buses, public schools and metro stations. State officials can monitor and manage those systems. According to the text, there are approximately 15 thousand surveillance cameras in the city (*Milliyet*, 18 April 2011). The system in the US is explained twice in the examined articles. In the other story published priorly; it was stated that “MOBESE system similar to one in the U.S. will be installed in Ankara” (*Sabah*, 08 February 2010), which is a more comprehensive camera system compared to the other countries.

initiation safety and protection of the tourists will be achieved, besides people who strip off their bikinis on restricted locations will be detected with cameras. (*Sabah*, 07 October 2010)

The system SGRS is called as “MOBESE of our seas” consisting of 24 hour monitoring cameras and at shores and harbors. This information is given by the Deputy Prime Minister. He points out this camera system as being effective in human trafficking. In addition, life and property safety will be assured by cameras without causing discomforting situations for the tourists. However, hint of social control via MOBESE is presented by delivering that “those taking off their bikinis at the banned areas can be seen at the camera” (*Sabah*, 07 October 2010).

Reducing crime for peace and safety of public order

Video surveillance is revealed by the examined Turkish press as “an easy solution for politicians and decision-makers” as for panoptic ‘order’, particularly for safety and security, because surveillance cameras constitute “a solution that supports rather than criticizes the existing order” (Koskela, 2007: 273). Deriving from this argument, there are only 11 articles containing negative argumentation and none of them underlines power relations embedded in the articulation of public order, peace or public safety. For Hier, the extension of such conduct to public spaces, like city centers and further cities, is accompanied by the “big brother forms of oppressive social control” targeting the maintenance of public order. As far as it is elaborated on in this analysis public order appears to be related with social control.

The articulation of peace, public order and safety are intensified with links to crime and crime control. In an article published in *Hurriyet*, for example, it is focused on the conservation of public order and peace as the main themes.

Mayor emphasized that they aspire to reduce crime even if the district is quiet, peaceful and safe in terms of public order. (*Hurriyet*, 22 February 2011)

As shown in this case; making a place safer or perceiving to be safer is accentuated as a precondition for peace and public order. Deriving from Foucault’s ideas, fear of plague is demonstrated via crime, and, reducing crime is promised to be

managed with MOBESE as stated in the following part of the text. Hier notes that the plague management eventually transfers ‘apparatuses of security’ via surveillance and control. Like the insecurity of plague, social disorder is embodied in the crime³⁷ context which gives rise to the disciplinary mechanisms. In order to support this argument, following quote of news is presented. The intention of putting more and more cameras is revealed for amplifying security technologies to obtain evidences as digital images, thus reducing crime and providing public order and peace.

[With surveillance cameras] it will be possible to sense security threats rigid in sensing, to produce constitutional evidences that will be needed in investigations, provide public order and peace abstaining from infringements in civil rights and liberties. (*Hurriyet*, 6 September 2008)

The quote above is a part of the speech of the Governor of Ankara. The article begins with a quote of his words: “What makes the State is maintaining of order and safety of our citizens” (*Hurriyet*, 6 September 2008). Given in the text, he notes that the main end of the MOBESE system is to increase effectiveness of security infrastructures. His further acknowledgements to MOBESE in terms of providing public order and peace are given as presented in the piece of text above. As Foucault pinpoints “plague as a form [...] of disorder had its medical and political correlative discipline” (1991: 197). And similar to plague-suffering town, crime is defined as a disorder which develops its own discipline over MOBESE surveillance. In fact, plague is defined as having an ultimate harm to the society in its peace and public order, which is rather overlaps crime in its contemporary forms of disorder. It is a matter of life and death, therefore it should be vanished like it was achieved or projected to achieve in the Disney forms of control.

Concerns for disorder

An imaginary prediction of another social disorder issue predicates on “urban decay and the riskiness of public space” (Hier, 2004: 550) and begets “fear of darkened

³⁷ Issues of crime control and prevention and representation of crime via MOBESE in examined print media will be elicited in the chapter five.

spaces” which are defined as “zones of disorder” (Foucault cited in Koskela, 2000: 260) that can not to be tolerated. Raco pinpoints to concerns parallel to the “broken-window syndrome” and underscores the close relationships “between power, space and contexts of action, [...] dead spaces of ‘no man’s land’ to prevent vandalism and public disorder” (Raco, 2009: 1881).

Governor Önal emphasized that when compared with previous years number of burglaries and car thefts has dwindled. He said “I instructed the Ankara police force and provincial gendarmerie command in the previous years. We detected how many of the streetlights were not working. Illumination of the streets is of utmost importance to us. We are in contact with Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and other government institutions regarding this issue. We expect citizens to inform the governor’s office and the municipality if they encounter non lit streetlights” (*Hurriyet*, 24 April 2010)

In one of news items, MOBESE cameras and lightning of streets are superseded as a solution for illuminating the ‘darkened spaces’ of cities as demonstrated below.

Unsecure districts in historical peninsula are on the agenda of Fatih Police Department. Due to Department’s data 120 risky places and 50 ‘darkened spaces’ are designated last year. Ten out of 50 spots need emergent intervention [...] in the most touristic site do carousing and mugging incidents occur [...] There are none of MOBESE in Hocacakir Avenue located in the district parallel to historical city walls. (*Sabah*, 10 February 2013)

Welsh and Farrington interrogate the assumption of efficiency of street lightening and surveillance cameras in deterrence of crime (2004: 501). More than concerning safety of citizens in these spaces, the interest is built on the security of tourism more on a possibility of being negatively affected as illustrated in the text above. This tendency in media may be invigorated by the homicide of an American tourist Serra Sierra in the year of 2013 nearby historical city walls in Istanbul. The insecurity image of cities may affect tourism rates; therefore MOBESE system is accentuated as a solution to the perception of absence of security which is also mentioned in various news reportage (*Hurriyet*, 22 July 2009, 07 December 2010). In the first one a historic site is issued in the news which revealed as already the most

peaceful county in the area, yet simultaneously it is also stated that MOBESE will reduce crime rates.

In the places absent of security, it is hard to be held touristic activities. That will be troublesome. Even our sons cannot amble in the streets; it is troublesome to engage in tourism. (*Hurriyet*, 7 December 2010) treated

To promote MOBESE both statements are presented however incoherent with each other. The importance of MOBESE for this site is depicted as because of high numbers of local and international tourists. In the latter report; on the other hand, the absence of security was underlined as an obstacle for touristic activities which in a sense may reinforce the argument of the prior article in spite its lack of coherency.

4.1.3. Care and Control

Beyond the ‘gaze’, furthermore, another point is about *care* standing for protection of the society (Lyon, 2002). Guasti paraphrases Lyon adding that surveillance as one method of making security certain, which scales between *care* and *control*; where the former applies for “keeping an eye on” (*Sabah*, 11 April 2013) society in order to protect them and the latter for ‘gazing’ their behavior to impose order and discipline. Haggerty and Samatas summarize Lyon’s approach as for understanding power relations in surveillance in terms of a continuum of care to control in which “watchers having varying degrees of, or motives for, an interest in the good of the watched” (2010). They exemplify care similar to a concern of monitoring of a patient for the medical care, yet it can also arise from security concerns such in airports after 9/11. Therefore, surveillance is at this point ambiguous in terms of care or control-based power to be exercised. Lyon agrees on that in surveillance processes power relations are intrinsic. Even if Lyon says that the watching part of CCTV is not enough, at this point it is asked how this theme of care and control is revealed in Turkish media context.

In Turkish media limited to four newspapers represent the care in terms of care of the police for the citizens. Even though the panopticonization implies a certain internalization of control, it would not be incorrect to suggest that the care of the guards

of the panoptic prison is inherently about control. However, Monahan suggests deriving from Lyon that the critiques of surveillance in accordance with care and control should have to be made rather case-by-case (2011: 497). As he further acknowledges surveillance may operate simultaneously in both care and control (Monahan, 2011: 497). In this sense, the strong emphasis on security forces is profoundly made by firstly for their efforts for the security of the citizens; and secondly, emphasizing “outstanding efforts of the police” (*Milliyet*, 28 July 2012) which both support the idea of the resemblance with the panoptic approach on surveillance aiming to form “most secure and livable city in the world” (*Haberturk*, 2009). As a result, the care represents only a way of control and it may be in a certain sense for rationalizing control via security issues.

Efforts for the security of citizens

Efforts to provide safety and security constitute the positive platform for the construction of the activities related with video-surveillance (Barnard-Wills, 2011: 556). In the following text, quotation from the speech of the Chief of Police of Ankara presents the MOBESE as a system for the good of the citizens revealing some security concerns:

MOBESE is a system established to ensure peace and security of our citizens in Ankara and to deter those who want to commit a crime [...] it will help the police to provide a healthy service based on technology. The system is one of the *sine qua non* in modern city” (*Hurriyet*, 10 September 2010)

Particularly, crime is depicted as a prior reason for police therefore; according to the text, MOBESE is portrayed as an indispensable instrument *to ensure peace and security* of the citizens. When care of the police is concerned, the text highlights MOBESE inevitable. There is a second reason why MOBESE is headlined as *sine qua non* in modern cities. In fact, it is inferred that police works for the safety of the citizens, which implies its care for the society; and, MOBESE provides assistance for police’s effective work, which makes MOBESE a tool that police uses again for the good of the society. In another example, the Chief of Police of Gölbaşı district emphasizes police’s care for the citizens in terms of MOBESE:

“MOBESE Monitoring Centre will be installed to the County Police Department ... We [the police] are shouldering the responsibility so that citizens will be safe on the streets and the traffic flow will be in control.” [Chief of Police] said. (*Hurriyet*, 27 April 2015)

In another piece of text presented police is revealed as responsible for the security of the citizens. According to Barnard-Wills in terms of risk management and security states and institutions retain care and protection duties (2011: 561). The statement of, *police are shouldering the responsibility* weighs in reference to the care theme. However, in the end of the same sentence the word of ‘control’ is added and it is rationalized through the theme of safety of the citizens. As represented below and supported by the text above, it is asserted that the care theme is underlined in order to justify control via safety and security concerns.

Media reportage forms the “construction of certain critical incidents” and provides “a coherent framework for thinking about the symbolic construction of public understandings of deviance” (Innes, 2004: 350-51). These spaces may be represented as “where social life is active and where crime and the criminal are making rounds” (*Sabah*, 15 April 2013) and the aim of the police and its³⁸ MOBESE system “to deter those who want to commit a crime” (*Hurriyet*, 22 August 2010). Barnard-Wills draws attention to the positive articulation of surveillance in accordance with crime and terrorism which comprises the appeal for more cameras and increase in public support for their use (2011: 567). Despite this articulation of positive perspectives, Kroener underlines the incapability of surveillance cameras in preventing crime, practically. According to her CCTV is not capable of averting crime; notwithstanding, it is a product of camera, police and media collaboration, eventually (2013: 122).

Outstanding efforts of the police

Furthermore, due to Barnard-Wills safety and security comprise a certain sense of protection of ‘us’ from the external and the threat produced by an antagonistic ‘them’ (2011: 556). In this affirmative appraisal, surveillance is strongly linked with

³⁸ The adjective is used on purpose to underline the representation of the police and MOBESE surveillance systems connectedness.

security which in this case is associated with the police (Barnard-Wills, 2011: 557). Furthermore, he delineates surveillance basically as “the watching of deviant suspects by police agents” (Barnard-Wills, 2011: 557). This strong connotation of police to surveillance is demonstrated prior, moreover, Reiner (2002) states that media portrays police and its efforts in a positive light.

The following quote demonstrates the representation of benevolent police force by the media.

“In the [Güvenlik Özgürlüktür] Security is Freedom Magazine [...] selfless and overtime efforts of the police, during day and night, hot or cold, in winter under snow for a safe city is mentioned.” (Haberturk, 28 October 2011)

Firstly, the name of the magazine is striking which means *Security is Freedom* which may contain a variety of issues to discuss. However, the following expression revealed for the peculiars of police for the safety is remarkable. At first, media supersedes very positively as Reiner alluded which can be pursued through the sentence. The care theme is fostered through “selfless and overtime efforts of police” persisting to elucidate the circumstances that this care goes through with rhetoric exaggerations. Secondly, as Barnard-Wills stressed safety and security constitute an important rationale for the articulation of surveillance and policing. Furthermore, in the text below the attributes of the MOBESE system is given and it is stated that the most important thing about MOBESE is crime prevention. In the following section, the emphasis on the “outstanding efforts of the police force” is revealed as predominant for the safety and security of the city.

110 cameras and a system room were activated, which has transformed into a security system with 160 cameras today. The most important aspect of the MOBESE System is deterrence [...] With the outstanding efforts of the police force Balçova is a safer place. (Milliyet, 28 July 2012)

Details of the MOBESE system in Balçova (Izmir) are given in the news item cited above. In the introduction of MOBESE, Mayor of Balçova refers to MOBESE and police, and underlines that safety of Balçova is made secure by the *outstanding*

efforts of the police. The Governor acknowledges similar praises for the Ankara gendarmerie, demonstrated in the text:

Governor Yüksel said that gendarmerie is superior in the services of ensuring the public safety of the Ankara: “The security system we have established in the city center; Urban Security Management System as it is in contemporary cities in Europe; has important contribution for deterring crimes and we want to spread it across the province”. (*Hurriyet*, 31 January 2011)

The reason for *gendarmerie’s outstanding efforts* is revealed in the media text as *ensuring the security of the public*. Due to the text, the primary purpose of gendarmerie and MOBESE contributes to the deterrence of crime.

Derived from Barnard-Wills (2011) and Lyon (2002), it is inferred that; since care and control are two sides of the same coin both can be found in the Turkish print media discourse on police. Moreover, strong relation to security is essential in terms of expansion and support for MOBESE. Care theme at this point in accordance with safety and security is over-emphasized by the media with articulation of outstanding efforts of police for securing citizens the ‘us’ against harmful ‘them’, whereas for the control side of MOBESE which is a more subtitle-like formulation, it has to be examined in the discourse.

4.3. Panopticonization: “The Police Keeps an Eye on Us”³⁹

For some, surveillance is largely a policing activity and still prevailing in media reportage on surveillance (Barnard-Wills and Wells, 2011: 230). The emphasis made on the panoptic power implemented by police and hence state authority can be seen in the results of media analysis made in this study which was reiterated 1,165 (out of 2,304) times. Most of these articles were definitive, informing about the amenities of MOBESE cameras and monitoring processes. Major point was made on public security forces, in that case police forces’ capabilities and technological facilities in open streetscape monitoring. Bozbeyoğlu points out that police control ensured by

³⁹ The word used in Turkish is [emniyet] connoting to police for example the police department as well as security and safety in its root.

surveillance cameras revealed in the media for MOBESE surmise a sign of panoptic disciplinary power (2012: 145). Hence, major themes in relation of panopticism will be discussed in this section which consists of police in *central tower*, and *omnipresence* of police.

4.1.1. Central Tower

This section aims to conceptualize central tower theme. The theme central tower is operationalized the findings are interweaved with theoretical implications in three titles; as control rooms as central tower of the panoptic prison, panoptic principles of monitoring and lastly as panoptic principles of visibility and unverifiability. Finally it is important to note that central tower will be elaborated on due to the Panopticon as a spatial unity which illuminates fixed architectural characteristics that facilitate to control materially; with a central control tower and visible cells under its physical surveillance.

Architectural attributes of central tower of the panoptic prison

Police as ‘watching from a central tower’ might be related to panopticonization of cities. As clarified in the former chapter two, panopticonization is related to the metaphor of the Panopticon which also involves its architectural attributes. Koskela (2003: 299) points out to the resemblance between control rooms of surveillance cameras and central control tower of the Panopticon. This may be found in the most of the articles (in approximately 64 of the articles) in this analysis. In the articles control rooms are used as an attribute of the MOBESE system which is described in numbers and qualities. It is closely associated with the introduction of MOBESE by Turkish print media which provides knowledge about control rooms in a positive manner. Even though control rooms may not be positioned in a tower; may be even in the basement of the police station; still, the panoptic diagram may operate according to Koskela, similar to the central tower of the panoptic prison (see also Koskela, 2007). Therefore, central tower of the Panopticon constitutes an ad hoc term for understanding the implications of the emphasis made on control rooms.

Another peculiar of the Panopticon is that supervisors can observe the inmates from a central tower by taking advantage of the lightning of the prison building (Foucault, 1977: 201). The angles of the positioning of the rooms and windows enable this to be possible. The positioning of surveillance cameras in different parts of the city and gathering all of the images in a centralized control room may be put as an example of the connection to the central tower of the Panopticon. Take, for example, this part of an article published in *Hurriyet* comprehensively describing the MOBESE system and providing information about its expansion:

Within the scope of the project command and control of the *security forces* will be carried out digitally from one center [...] Within the scope of the project 18 points in central Izmir will be monitored by 85 cameras... faster and improved analysis and intervention to the incidents which are against public order is targeted... monitoring points are expected to rise above 800 in the near future. (*Hurriyet*, 18 December 2014)

In the quotation given above it is stated that control is carried out from one center that all the images are collected. The reason is highlighted in terms of *control of security forces will be carried out digitally from one center*. This overlaps with the claims of intense scrutiny led by the guards in central tower where this intense scrutiny as emphasized in the quote is run by security forces – *police* (even it is stated implicitly) in the control center. According to the in-depth reading of the text, it may be linked to the panoptic principle of power. For Foucault the Panopticon exhibits the ideal diagram for the exercise of power. Therefore, it can be implied that in media it is suggested that power is concentrated in one unity via centralized control rooms managed by the police as exemplified and underlined in the text that central control rooms are essential in *intervention to the incidents which are against public order is targeted*. To develop the argument, it is also important for Foucault that the intense scrutiny is for self-disciplining of inmates enabled with disciplinary surveillance (Haggerty and Ericson, 2000: 657). As a result, it can be argued that control rooms may represent centers for intensified power of police which operates through disciplinary surveillance.

Control rooms are portrayed as ‘containers’ of the data collected from different parts of Turkey as suggested in the quotation given below. Even if this argument causes to rethink the panoptic metaphor according to Haggerty and Ericson (2000), Coleman and McCahill point at these control rooms as “intelligence base for traditional policing” due to capacities of 24/7 recording and data storage over months (2011: 81). In this quotation from a related media text, the clarification of how MOBESE would contribute to the lives of people is offered:

The district governor said that MOBESE system would contribute to the security and peaceful lives of the citizens [...] placed on different points of Edremit 10 moving cameras are recording 24 hours. These images are monitored incessantly in MOBESE center and immediate action is taken responding to public order incidents. Edremit was already a safe place. Now it is going to be more peaceful. (*Hurriyet*, 22 February 2011)

Due to the news item, 24 hour monitoring of the city operates for *the security and peaceful lives of the citizens*. Moving cameras are able to monitor 360 degree as argued in the previous paragraph refers to the central tower. Central tower of the Panopticon is positioned at the core of the architectural design to have a sight inclosing all the cells. If to consider the Panopticon metaphorically, as demonstrated in the aforementioned example, 360 degree monitoring may imply intense scrutiny over space. On the other hand, the emphasis on the public order persists via peace and security themes. Another repetitious theme is the *immediate action* or *intervention* as named in the previous quote. This may be also connected with central tower phenomenon, because of the connotation to the guards and in this case to the police. That is because, before the quote from the speech of the District Governor, announcements of the Chief of Police of Edremit are presented; informing about MOBESE in decreasing crime rates and ordering the traffic. A second crucial theme is about public order. The scope of the theme public order was discussed in detail in the former section of this chapter; however, it is important to denote that public order is represented as the critic reason for the 24/7 monitoring for data recording and storage matters. The following quote may bolster camera surveillance and police interrelationship:

Important locations of the city are monitored 24 hours a day with KGYS system which started to operate five years ago in Antalya. Urban Security Management System (KGYS) operated by Electronic Communications Branch, a subsidiary of Antalya Security Directorate, clamps down on criminals. (*Sabah*, 24 December 2012)

Surveillance camera system KGYS, or put it this way so-called MOBESE control center is operated under police's watch. *24 hour surveillance of critical spots of the city* may be related to central control tower of the Panopticon due to its implications of intense scrutiny. The following word somewhat explains intense power by the phrase "KGYS gives no respite to criminals" (*Sabah*, 24 December 2012). The deterrent effect of MOBESE is thereby emphasized by the news item similar to *immediate actions is taken and interventions to the incidents* highlighted in the prior quotes.

Overall, considering the narrative of control rooms and 24 hour comprehensive surveillance revealed by the news agenda examined in four newspapers, signs of panopticism can be explored through articulations of central tower through which the main panoptic principle of surveillance can be contemplated – few watching the many. This dominant principle is implied via characteristics of control rooms and 24 hour monitoring, where the few is represented as police (implicitly or explicitly). Panoptic power, aims not only to operated inside the prison, but becomes the instrument of social control, and, deriving from the analysis made above, through narratives of control rooms and 24 hour monitoring, omnipresence of power is revealed as having a deterrent effect of disorder. Internalization of control constitutes the main object of panopticonization; to behave accordingly without any physical intervention. To accomplish internalization of control, another panoptic principle is imperative; *visibility* and *unverifiability*.

Panoptic principles of central tower: visibility and unverifiability

Second attribute of central tower can be elicited from the examined Turkish print agenda in revealing MOBESE; visibility and unverifiability. Foucault posits that "the inmate must never know whether he is being looked at any moment; but he must be sure that he may always be so" (1991: 201). Yet, all the cameras are not visible;

even if they are, no one can be sure of whether somebody is watching or not (Koskela, 2007: 270). For example, Koskela argues that the security cameras may be hidden or unnoticed by the public, still locations of control rooms are unknown and “[T]he watchers themselves remain hidden” (2007: 266). Derived from the literature, even if the large numbers of the MOBESE cameras are emphasized and the importance of control rooms as centers are expressed, no detail about their location is given except representational security cameras as objects that capture any individual’s attention now and then, or even not. For example, the quotation of a news text demonstrates the visibility and unverifiability principles from a different point of view:

Deputy Police Commissioner of Istanbul Kemal Erbil stated that crime rates dropped on locations where MOBESE is installed and said, "Police forces may sleep but this system does not. When the police force closes their eyes biologically, MOBESE does not sleep as the digital eye of the police force." (*Sabah*, 18 October 2010)

In the text, MOBESE cameras are represented as ‘digital eye’ of the police, which are technologically able to watch instantaneously. Based on this, two things can be implied. First, police is joined with MOBESE to control over space; because in the beginning sentence it is stated that the crime rates have diminished since MOBESE installed. Even if the watchers remain ‘hidden’, the police in this case, the inmate, those who commit crime, must be sure that they always be watched, as the secondly implied. This argument can be sustained with another example, published in the *Milliyet*:

With the MOBESE camera system set up in Turgutlu three months ago, the county is under surveillance 24 hours a day... Entrances and the exits of the county are being monitored from 155 Information Center surveillance system, located inside newly established Turgutlu County Police Department. It is stated that the system will be extended throughout the district in the upcoming months and crime and criminals will be identified without difficulty. (*Milliyet*, 21 November 2011)

The police and the MOBESE cameras are conjoined together, by denoting that the monitoring center is built in the Turgutlu Police Department. 24 hour surveillance seems to be directed by the police; and the control held by the system is emphasized

in the article. Expansion of the cameras appears to be articulated in terms of ensuring social control and elimination of crime and criminal. According to Gray the predominant characteristics of panopticism - visibility and unverifiability – can be perpetuated through rhetoric of social control versus deviancy.

As Foucault suggests, in the Panopticon, the inmate should be uninformed whether he is being looked or not at a particular moment, but at the same time should be regarding his instant visibility. In another article, published in the *Milliyet*, the unverifiability of the gaze of police is discussed (04 February 2012).

There are checkpoints of police in the city in order to monitor what is happening throughout the night. In addition, there is an internal surveillance structure; MOBESE cameras connect thousands of patrol cars and there is always an eye over the most crowded areas [...] (*Milliyet*, 04 February 2012)

The vocabulary used in the representation of police control rooms is evocative. Foucault's proposition "the inmate must never know" can be amplified through the in-depth reading of the quote above. It is given that; there are several checkpoints (presumably control rooms of cameras) and police is located behind those monitors. It is revealed that police is watches throughout the night, so the inmate cannot know whenever or wherever he is being watched. As Foucault continues "...but he must be sure that he may always be so", which is highlighted by the text that thousands of patrol cars of police and a 'persistent eye' centers upon the populated areas. Even if the watchers remain hidden, as Koskela remarked, unverifiability of being watched at a certain time and place can be inferred from the related news item.

About the 'hidden' watchers in the control rooms of MOBESE can be demonstrated in the following quotation.

"...we [*Türk Telekom and Police Department in İzmir*] are providing all the support we can; to the safety of government organizations on issues such as the setup of the city security system infrastructure, it's maintenance and renovation and offer services 7/24" [*The Chief of Police*] said ... Within the scope of the project, management and administration of the security forces will be carried out from a single center in a digital. (*Hürriyet*, 18 December 2014)

The strong connotation between video-surveillance and security forces is built up by the media by a clear argument upon the statement that security forces are behind the cameras and located in the invisible monitoring centers, which can be also seen in the quote presented below:

The establishment of external systems to video surveillance systems will be subject to the permission. External systems can be installed with the proposal of the chief of police and by the approval of the Governor. The camera system will be positioned visibly and warning signs for video-recording will be put. [...] Video recordings will not be transferred and cannot be saved to another storage medium without the approval of the police. Police will have access to video recordings relating to the external video surveillance system. (*Haberturk*, 08 February 2012)

Even if the visibility of cameras is certain in this quotation, challenging the unverifiability of location of cameras; still, the invisibility of the police persists. The police remain 'hidden' as the power retaining to behold. As an architectural attribute of the Panopticon central tower is crucial since it disposes spatial unities and "make it possible to see constantly and to recognize immediately" (Foucault, 1991: 200). Furthermore visibility in urban space is legitimated with the argument and the guarantee of security in the end (Weibel cited in Koskela, 2003: 297). Via security arguments, visibility of the inmate and unverifiability of watching is bolstered and spatial unities organized in terms of ensuring social control – intense scrutiny- by expansion of MOBESE cameras and central control rooms.

In this section, from a different perspective, it can be claimed that aforementioned support of the media to police remains significant in Turkish print media context (Reiner, 2002: 385). It can be suggested that through security rhetoric 'visible and unverifiable control' of police is revealed by the Turkish print media, which professedly have hints of panopticonization in urban space. The control of police in terms of print media depictions of MOBESE will be discussed as omnipresence of police in the next chapter.

4.1.2. Omnipresence

In the final section of the chapter four, the narrative of omnipresence will be examined over the representations of MOBESE related with monitoring of police. To amplify these representations, panoptic ‘gaze’ will constitute a frame. To begin with, an explanation of the ‘gaze’ will be provided and then, synoptic ‘gaze’ and other beyond camera forms of the ‘gaze’ will be discussed. Later on, the scope of the ‘gaze’ will be widened to the forms of urban spaces.

The ‘gaze’

Being under surveillance can be interpreted as being an emotional experience which is allegedly hesitant or changing (Koskela, 2000: 259). The very feeling of being ‘surveilled’ may evoke feelings of security or insecurity (Koskela, 2003: 300) constructed often by the media causing public anxieties (Monahan, 2010: 2). The experience of panoptic exercise of power operates through surveillance cameras controlling these anxieties through securing space⁴⁰ (Koskela, 2003: 294). Norris and Gary Armstrong point out three power categories produced by surveillance. The first one is an authoritative dimension that can be seen directly, which can be illustrated as police or private security guard monitoring through surveillance cameras detects some acting ‘inappropriately’ and warns him about his behavior. The second form is discouragement, illustrated as a person avoiding any act of ‘inappropriate’ behavior because of the fear of cameras might detect. The third form aims to “abolish the potential for deviance” by an internalization of the panoptic power – as suggested by Foucault – that video-surveillance transforms “those under its gaze” (1998: 320). The third form of power has been targeted by the ‘gaze’.

⁴⁰ Of course, at this point, the question should be posed that if space is actually secured or crime statistically reduced. Norris and Armstrong (1999) argue that surveillance cameras has not been effective in reducing crime instead induces a displacement to the areas where cameras do not exist or established evidences for police to scrutinize before any respond (Norris and Armstrong, 1999:205-206).

Wright et al. summarize the ‘gaze’ in terms of the power arising from the relationship of the acts of watching and being watched (2014: 97).⁴¹ Foucault puts it forth the so-called ‘relationships of power’ as Wright describes; however, “[T]here is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints. [J]ust a gaze” (1977: 30). He notes that leads to the internalization of control, namely ‘internalization of the gaze’ as Simon names (2005: 1), which means “easy and effective exercise of power” (1980: 148). As Simon points out, this can be implemented through the warning tower representing the presence of the supervisor but it can also be done by the deceptive signs of surveillance cameras (2005: 6). Anyhow, Norris stresses that the substitution by cameras that create a sign of illusory presence of the supervisor would achieve the same effects of power because the actual presence is not what principally matters (cited in Simon, 2005: 6). For example, in the lead of an article published in the *Sabah*, in 2014, the Chief of Police alludes to the ‘gaze’ of the police:

Antalya Police Commissioner Cemil Tonbul said that police forces are on the watch 24 hours a day for the peace and safety of the city. Tonbul stated that Antalya police force is ready for duty with mounted officers alongside all units in the air, land and sea. (*Sabah*, 17 April 2014)

According to his speech demonstrated in the news article, police is *24 hours on duty* and ever-ready. Police patrols are *in the air, on land and at sea*. It appears to be police is practically everywhere – *omnipresent* as revealed in the article. The reason is highlighted as *the peace and safety of the city*. In the following part of the article assigned duties of the police are presented containing also MOBESE surveillance. The piece of text given below illustrates the following statements:

Our personnel, becoming the ears of our citizens with the ‘155 Police Emergency’ dispatch center and eyes with the KGYS, will continue the efforts for preserving the safety of life and properties of our citizens with the support of our citizens "(*Sabah*, 17 April 2014)

⁴¹ According to Wright et al., power exists in the relationship of watching and being watched. He notes that the watchers perspective is the source of information about aforementioned relationship. The watcher as the owner of the mechanized gaze is discussed in respect to its targets (2014: 97).

MOBESE is depicted as *the eye* or rather the ‘gaze’ of the police. The reason underlying the ‘gaze’ again emphasized as the safety of the society. In her article, Koskela discussed the multiplicity of implications the ‘gaze’ of video-surveillance; and, she noted that this - *the panoptic condition* - is precisely the political discourse for the installation and expansion of video-surveillance (2000: 254). She further stresses that, even if a surveillance camera has no eyes indeed; still, it retains the ‘gaze’. People may be aware of the being looked by someone at some time through the camera; notwithstanding, the ‘gaze’ does not represent the act of looking: “[T]he gaze is always where the camera is” (Koskela, 2000: 254). Similarly, omnipresence of the police may be bolstered by the ‘gaze’ since it suggest in a way that police may invade anywhere caught a glimpse of by a camera and the reason is eventually represented as the safety of the society.

Synoptic ‘gaze’

Big Brother theme as portrayed in the four newspaper agenda constitutes an example for the ‘gaze’ of the police. Due to its distinction from the Big Brother conceptualizations revealed in the prior studies, the theme requires an explanation of its representation in terms of MOBESE. The connotation to the reality show Big Brother⁴² is made denoting the panoptic also the synoptic mechanism of video-surveillance:

“Now everybody is watched: before Big Brother and other reality shows, media was almost always focused on the stars. It was considered that these people paid the price of their reputation by being constantly recognized everywhere. But today no one can be sure of their privacy. Even the finest details of people’s lives are revealed via Twitter.” (*Hurriyet*, 14 January 2010)

According to the media representations of surveillance cameras due to their location and numbers enable the panoptic police mechanism to “make it possible to

⁴² In its use in Turkish language reference to the television program named Big Brother is made. In Turkey Big Brother was broadcasted in early 2000’s and its name was translated as ‘Somebody is Watching Us’ abbreviated as BBG (house). The TV show was based on twenty people living in a house full of cameras in which every action of them was on-air. The concept very much recalls Synopticon (Mathiesen, 1997) where ‘the many’ – TV audience - watch ‘the few’- contestants in *BBG*.

see constantly and to recognize immediately” (Foucault, 1991: 200), ensuring visibility of people being incessant and behavior to be socially controlled, because of the synoptic effect.⁴³ In the Turkish media Big Brother is used metaphorically, however, not in a complete Orwellian sense, but synoptically denoting to the reality show where everyone is being watched. According to Barnard-Wills, the uses of the metaphor of Big Brother and its other variations have been ubiquitous in media discourse of surveillance which is widely prevalent in news media representations (2011: 559). He stresses that use of the metaphor is twofold; the first connotes to a negative discourse in terms of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* which equates contemporary society with Orwell’s socialism reading and the second derives from cultural shorthand using words as signifiers of control and oppression (2011: 559). However, this negativity cannot be acknowledged from the print media in Turkey which denotes more of synoptic and panoptic repercussions of the surveillance cameras.

Accordingly, cities and neighborhoods and spaces such as parks and hospitals are revealed as Big Brother house due to the high number of the cameras and the spots they are put. For example, in an article it is highlighted that in a neighborhood of Ankara, there has been 105 cameras located at over 48 spots surveilling for 24 hours (*Hurriyet*, 15 February 2012). In addition, it is presented that some of these cameras are fixed and some mobile and certain number of them is part of ANPR. Most importantly these articles include that two control rooms exist; one of them for police and the other for the gendarmerie. As a result, Big Brother theme is used by the media to delineate the visibility strategy of panopticism by emphasizing two things; the panoptic-synoptic effect and the intensity of video-surveillance system by positioning security forces at the center the ‘gaze’.

The emphasis made on the high numbers of the cameras and the spots in the print media may give a message of the omnipresence of the security forces, primarily the police prevalence in accordance with the prevalence of cameras in public space.

⁴³ On the other hand, visibility may give ambivalent signals about security; for example absence of physical patrol or cameras may suggest wellbeing and safety (Barker, 2013: 3054). “The paradox of visibility” is related with crime, therefore, will be discussed in the next chapter (Glasbeek and van der Meuden, 2014).

The representation of the ‘gaze’ is developed through detailed information about MOBESE with its attributes and accentuating the technology which enhances the range of cameras. For example, in the quotation presented below constitutes a part of a media text about the city of Istanbul which depicts MOBESE system with high numbers of cameras.

First implemented in 2005, with MOBESE (Mobile Electronic Systems Integration) application Istanbul is monitored with 4011 cameras in 1179 points. The police in the MOBESE Correspondence Center, across the screen at any moment, benefit from every convenience of digital systems. *Sabah*, by entering the MOBESE Correspondence Center, watched the megacity of Istanbul where about 13 million people live once more with police officers from the cameras. The police keeping track with cameras rotating from one of Istanbul 's busiest places; Istiklal Avenue, to all other avenues as if they were on that street immediately detects a possible event. (*Sabah*, 18 October 2010)

In this context, information about the control centers and police behind the cameras and monitoring processes are illustrated by referring to police watching 13 million people residing in Istanbul. Firstly, the emphasis on the police having the precedence of the act of looking is made. Secondly, the act of being looked by the police is stressed. Hence, this may denote to certain relationships of power as Wright et al. suggested in terms of the ‘gaze’ which may also lead to self-policing. Moreover, deriving from Koskela’s statement that the ‘gaze’ is everywhere camera is (Koskela, 2000: 254), it can be suggested that the media may be referring to the omnipresence of the police as the hidden actor behind the camera due to quantitative and qualitative data presented even if it is assumed that the ‘gaze’ does not represent the act of looking. Hereby, according to Simon’s (2005:6) claims it can also be discussed if these implications of police in the media in terms of MOBESE signify illusory presence of the supervisor to create same effects of power. The connotation with the ‘gaze’ and surveillance cameras can be seen in a variety of examples of the media texts. Along these lines, another example would be the news about the city of Izmir with the catchiest headline meaning that Izmir is under the ‘gaze’⁴⁴ (*Milliyet*, 26 May 2012).

⁴⁴ There were some difficulties due to the linguistics of Turkish language. The exact translation of the headline is “Izmir is under surveillance” however the Turkish word which is translated as surveillance

In the framework of Urban Security Management System known as MOBESE, cameras were placed at 100 landmarks in Izmir which record videos 360 degrees at a resolution of HD. Throughout the province, it was reported that at 50 points license plate tracking system were installed for public order. Within the system; 191 fixed in total 221 cameras are located, and announced that in October 2012 the number will rise to 280 cameras. (*Milliyet*, 26 May .2012)

This story shows the peculiars of the MOBESE surveillance cameras that are built in Izmir. The numbers and the capabilities of the cameras along with the locational number are reiterated. Koskela pointed out to the multiplicities of the ‘gaze’ in which *the panoptic condition* is bolstered by discourse of the installation and expansion of video-surveillance in public space (2000: 254). Dobson and Fisher stress that Bentham's system was designed “to exercise power through the gaze” and formed as “a way of defining power relations in terms of the everyday life of men” which means extensively that the power of the Panopticon outspreads wherever police may go (1996: 314). In addition, Herbert builds the connection of police and Foucauldian “panoptic machine” (Foucault, 1991: 217) and puts an emphasis on order and police, focusing on “interlinking of the police with other security mechanisms to achieve wider and deeper control” (1996: 48). Furthermore, he draws attention to Foucault’s emphasis on the evaluation of Foucault on police in terms of disciplinary power.

Omnipresence as a concept should be considered comprehensively. It will be thus depicted on different views. First, it is revealed that beyond camera forms of surveillance may contribute to omnipresence. Another point to draw attention to would be the emphasis on the public space. In both articles and other more, public space constitutes the major platform for the ‘gaze’. However, public space does not signify the sole arena for MOBESE surveillance; it also emerges in other forms of space.

Recognition by the ‘gaze’

By beyond camera forms of the ‘gaze’, other forms of power that are indirectly implemented by different surveillance mechanisms are meant which contribute to the representation of omnipresence of the police. For example, facial recognition systems

is *gözaltı* which is presented as ‘*göz’altı*, thereby the meaning would be not surveillance but similar to the gaze.

are a fragment of reducing insecurity through monitoring developed with knowledge and vision (Gray, 2003: 314). Due to Gray facial recognition constitutes the capacity of conveying the disciplinary power of panoptic surveillance into the contemporary urban environment (2003: 314). Facial recognition as a versatile technology embraces “under its gaze by analyzing the flickers of involuntary micro-expressions that cross their faces and betray their emotions” (Gray, 2003: 314). Gray suggests that facial recognition with “its ability to digitally archive a limitless gaze over urban space; represents a leap in this disciplinary influence” (2003: 315). Thereby, the ‘gaze’ may exceed beyond the representation of the camera as a concrete being. The quoted part of a news text below constitutes a clear example:

The Governor informed that automatic warning systems which are not just the camera apparatuses placed at specific points, will involve multiple functions such as facial recognition, zooming or photo shooting, speed control, and rule violation and the data collected in a single center will be evaluated and transferred immediately to the relevant departments. The Governor pointed out that there are cameras which are “visible” and “invisible”, and said the introduction of MOBESE would contribute to Ankara in every way. (*Hurriyet*, 30 July 2009)

It is stated that not just cameras are included in the system; however, some of the attributes of the extensions of the cameras comprise of facial recognition systems, zooming and photographing et cetera. It is widely represented that police is deployed behind these systems and the public statement is made by the Governor; so, it can be stressed that the other forms of the ‘gaze’ and its relationship with state is depicted by the media. Moreover, according to the statement of the Governor there are visible and invisible cameras. At this point the statement of Gray becomes more of an issue. He states that the panoptic power stems from “the visible yet unverifiable operation of power within” (2003: 320). Koskela subsidizes him by pinpointing to the fundamentality of unverifiability, as well as visibility, to sustain power as a major characteristic of video-surveillance in urban space (Koskela, 2003: 298). As a result, it can be argued that it points out the emphasis on unverifiability of the gaze, thereby the panoptic power which may assist in a certain sense ‘internalization of the gaze’ (Simon, 2005: 1). The argument of facial recognition is bolstered by adding other

attributions such zooming and photographing and unverifiability of the gaze revealing the ability of a limitless gaze as Gray (2003) stressed. This may be inferring that there exists no escape from it. Intense scrutiny and centralized power is additionally underscored in the text in relation with panoptic attributes of central tower and its relationship with the ‘gaze’ in terms of data accumulation in a center and visibility and unverifiability attributes of the tower. As depicted formerly the police are the dominant actors behind the cameras, thereby it can be said the omnipresence of police in terms of representations of extensions of the ‘gaze’ is ultimately reinforced.

Mobile forms of the gaze

Beyond the ‘gaze’ exceeding its limits of material representations by the camera is elaborated with a second theme focusing on the ‘gaze’ as being mobile. Not only the visibility or invisibility of the camera are discussed or its technological contributions consolidated by the media; nonetheless other forms of surveillance technologies are introduced. Going beyond advocating MOBESE, the idea is supported with mobile trucks and centers that monitor urban streets. Referring back to the architectural peculiarities of central tower is widened with “mobile operation management centers” announced in an article published in *Haberturk* (*Haberturk*, 02 February 2008). In this mentioned article police states that ‘they’ will monitor with these mobile centers from trailer trucks that drive through the urban areas. This text can be evaluated as a descriptive in nature. Hence, in another similar article published *Sabah* this time conveys that patrol vehicles equipped with cameras on four sides are designed to intensify the role of the MOBESE. The piece of text presented below defines this system as *walking version of MOBESE*:

Patrol vehicles equipped with cameras on four sides will do facial and license plate recognition. Within the scope of the new project developed by Turkish National Police Office of Public Security patrol vehicles equipped with cameras on four sides have been designed. With so-called walking version of the operating system MOBESE vehicles that operate at the main artery and the busiest streets, police will chase after criminals through streets. (*Sabah*, 08 February 2015)

Again the emphasis on facial recognition is made in the text. Furthermore, the acknowledgment of the assignment is also granted to the Turkish police who designed and developed the project. Thereby, MOBESE is not evaluated autonomous from the police, besides police and MOBESE is represented as a unity. Furthermore, the purpose of this unity is revealed as chasing after criminals which is assessed as a catchy point.

More to the point, in one of the articles given below a statement has been made that cities will be monitored with drones denoting that ‘the gaze’ of the police will be mobile, cameras to be invisible and abstracted from any physical place compared to facial recognition or walking form of MOBESE.

The Ministry of Interior started a project intending observation of major cities 7 days and 24 hours. The police force and gendarmerie forces are being equipped with helicopters, unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV) and reconnaissance planes. In 81 cities and 208 counties the installation of the MOBESE system is completed, while work continues on the installation of surveillance system in 140 counties [...] it is expressed that UAV’s are purchased and actively used in missions (Haberturk, 18 November 2014).

It is exemplified in detail that the intention of 24 hour monitoring of major cities persists. Moreover, in 81 cities (which is the total number of Turkish cities) and 208 counties the installation of MOBES is complete and other are perpetuated. For intense scrutiny it is suggested in the text to use UAVs which are drones. This statement maintains and bolsters unverifiable invisible diagram of panopticism where the ‘gaze’ discourse may become essential in the representation of police control as omnipresent.

Gaze is ‘everywhere’ not just in public space

Omnipresence and its spatial connotations are breached in the final part of the previous section; nevertheless, questions of security and public safety influence profoundly the ways cities are designed and experienced. As Koskela says, “[T]he obsession with security has been claimed to be the master narrative of contemporary urban design” (2002:259). This obsession was reinforced recently, when the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the United States prompted a tilt toward the

public safety end of the privacy/security spectrum and a centralization of power in many Western societies (Gray 2003: 319). Although the privacy and security dilemma due to space will be examined in the chapter six, a spatial dimension in terms of omnipresence of police is elaborated on this section. Even if the city as suggested in the previous section may be under multi-dimensional scrutiny of the MOBESE and implicitly and explicitly of the police, the importance of space physically is not abandoned as far as the presence of the MOBESE is portrayed in terms of streets and boulevards – public space. MOBESE has breached the limits of public space in material sense and reached other forms of space.

For Foucault “space is fundamental in any exercise of power” (Rabinow, 1984: 252). In support of this, statement of Koskela at the beginning of her article⁴⁵ is essential where she states that “space is understood to be crucial in explaining social power relations” (2003: 292); and, according to her power is spread over the space through video-surveillance. Deriving from the in-depth reading of Foucault, Koskela argues that the main aim of video-surveillance is the exercise of power or to put it in another way surveillance cameras transform the ways of how power is exercised (Koskela, 2000 and 2003). Another noteworthy aspect is developed by Norris and Armstrong (1998). They point out three power categories produced by surveillance, yet the first one retains significance which is an authoritative dimension that can be seen directly, which can be illustrated as police or private security guard monitoring through surveillance cameras detects some acting ‘inappropriately’ and warns him about his behavior. For the spread of power in authoritative dimension it can be asserted that police stays not in frontier of public space, but its power via video-surveillance diffuses in other spaces. The following text published in *Haberturk* which outlines a series of insecurities which beget MOBESE surveillance as a consequence.

After doctor homicides MOBESE is being installed to hospitals... With the monitoring system the attitude of the personnel towards the patient will be seen.

⁴⁵ Koskela, H., (2003). 'Cam Era' – the Contemporary Urban Panopticon. *Surveillance and Society* 1(3): 291-213.

With this system thievery will also be under control. (*Haberturk*, 04 February 2010)

It is stated that there happened murders of doctors attacked from the relatives of patients. Furthermore, there is an emphasis on the visibility of any incident is made. It is also counted in that thievery is another problem. However, two arguments are disputable because the immediate effect in any attack. No description on the operation of the cameras in relation with halting any harmful attacks is made in the text or what kind of action in case of thievery will be taken is not elaborated on. Thus, it can be said that the kind of power Koskela stresses may be legitimized through a crime related discourse however, it is not convincingly presented. For example, in another media text the state of criminality is attributed to schools in which suggest that with the activation of surveillance camera system in and around schools the security will be held and that “parents of the students will feel comfortable” (*Hurriyet*, 19 August 2010). Again in this text a criminal situation is outlined and MOBESE is depicted as a solution to it.

Entrances and exits of the school in the Capital will be monitored incessantly with the activation of the MOBESE system. Governor said, “With the cameras we are going to install on entrances, exits and school routes parents of the students will feel comfortable. (*Hurriyet*, 19 August 2010)

In both cases Norris and Armstrong’s power category as authoritative dimension can be indirectly be seen, because the actor behind these MOBESE systems is not fully described. However, it can be understood from the texts that legitimate interventions will be made in case of any so-called criminal act. Although what kind of crime it would be not presented in the second text, it can be claimed that as Norris and Armstrong suggest police monitoring through surveillance cameras in any detection of someone acting ‘inappropriately’ will warn him about his behavior. Thereby as Koskela describes power spreads over the space through MOBESE and police’s omnipresence other than public space may be at hand.

We will monitor exam scores that our teachers gave us just like the streets are monitored with MOBESE. As soon as kids have their first exam, a unit that we

will establish is going to analyze the scores of the first exams throughout Ankara and will inform the student and the school but not the parents... Specifying that the system is a first in Turkey, Aydoğan said, “A quasi MOBESE of education will be based in Ankara. We are already watching our schools with similar systems. We are monitoring their activities and accomplishments. With this system there won’t be a spot left that we aren’t evaluating, watching or analyzing.” (*Sabah*, 27 April 2014)

In addition, as emphasized prior as a striking peculiar of the ‘gaze’, in urban space visibility is indispensable feature of surveillance in the exercise of power which “ensures normalization and control” (Koskela, 2000: 260). It is about the gaze, it is about the experience of being seen which is “based on the premise of knowing (and caring) that we are being watched and the threat of violence accompanying that gaze” (Wise, 2002: 30). The last example from press exemplifies the omnipresence of video-surveillance all over the spaces.

Governor’s Office [...] implemented that, all offices in cities and counties, commercial building, apartments, condos, cafés, tea houses, hospitals, schools, shopping malls, gas stations, banks, jewelers, exchange offices, hotels, holiday camps, public entertainment and resting sites, neighborhood bazaars, car dealers and almost all residential areas must have a surveillance camera recording and alarm system, with the capability of running 7 days 24 hours and keeping 15 days of recording. Establishments which do not set up the camera system will be fined and if they insist on not taking action will be banned until ‘making up the deficiency.’ (*Hurriyet*, 11 February 2011)

All places in urban areas such as urban amenities, public buildings, other urban function areas, and neighborhoods and so on are enforced to have camera systems and monitored 24/7 like streets. For example, in the following news item, MOBESE in taxis is discussed:

A navigation and GPRS device which is connected with MOBESE system is installed on 1800 taxis. In case of danger, with the push of a button, video and sound recordings inside the taxi will be broadcasted to a police station. Thus taxis installed with the device are under police surveillance 24 hours a day. This system is planned to be installed on 18 thousand taxis in Istanbul. (*Haberturk*, 12 March 2009)

In the quotation above, it is stated that taxis will be monitored and tracked with MOBESE system. The important suggestion of the text is that taxis are involved in the ‘gaze’ of the police; and its 24 hour perpetual is also emphasized. So, police is not just the ‘surveillant’ of public space but seems to be also present in transportation vehicles. This article is reiterated in 2015, with the title of “Taxis will have security cameras and panic button as part of ‘Secured Taxi’ project” (*Haberturk*, 07 April 2015). The ‘surveillant’ is inferred as the police according to the statement of the Chief of Police of Istanbul, and the ‘surveilled’ includes both the driver and the passenger being the possible victim. While surveillance cameras on taxis are discussed in terms of security of ‘surveilled’, the reasons of cameras on ferries are revealed as *because of increasing security problems*:

IDO, has put cameras to its 32 ferries. The system will be included to MOBESE which is established by İstanbul Police Department. (*Milliyet*, 07 January 2008)

Shopping malls, in particular, with high level of surveillance are mostly privately owned, and surveillance camera systems are controlled by private security guards (Koskela, 200: 245-46). Shopping malls are illusionary in its openness but with security guards and its parking lots illuminated, patrolled under security cameras and guards, hence, control is designed-in, “embedded in the very structuring of time, space and the environment” (Rose, 1999: 251). Hier and Greenberg; in their study on the media reporting of CCTV surveillance in Canadian cities pinpoint an conspicuous finding that the media reporting on streetscape CCTV surveillance conflates with the streetscape monitoring with CCTV surveillance in other spaces with eliminating the conceptual differences between public and private space. However, they note that there exists an essential normative dissimilarity in the perception of streetscape surveillance cameras versus for example, shopping malls (2009: 471). Similarly, one of the articles with negative argumentation on the surveillance cameras is about the cameras in shopping malls:

There is a loop hole regarding shopping malls. There are already security cameras in shopping centers, perhaps reducing the crime rate but their placement is unregulated. Shopping mall managements decide on the location of the cameras.

There is no standard set. There are no rules like, ‘There will be amount of cameras’ or ‘A shopping mall with amount of visitors must have cameras on such and such locations’. There is also a discussion over whether people should know the exact places of the cameras or not. For example when applying for a license or during construction ‘There will be cameras on such floors or cameras will be installed on such streets’. Should the customers know this information or not? There should be a legal infrastructure for camera placement or it should be regulated. (Hurriyet, 27 April 2013)

This negative attitude may arise from the private security issues. Shops and the management of the shopping mall have their own cameras and the management is left in their responsibility.

4.4. Conclusion

This chapter intends to find answers to the questions of what end to representations of MOBESE in print media serves and what do these imply in the construction of security cultures. Main reasons of installation and expansion of MOBESE surveillance are revealed in the print media, as presented in this chapter. Maintenance of public order is designated as the predominant rhetoric in MOBESE portrayal in examined news media in relation with implicit and explicit connotations to police power. MOBESE surveillance is depicted as being for public order which is legitimized through traffic control at the beginning and the expansion of MOBESE is portrayed as being for the good of peace and safety of the ‘good’ citizens. Then, police dominance behind the MOBESE cameras is given implicitly, which has become more explicit with the connotations of police and public order in terms of ‘care’ and ‘control’ continuum. Later on, through strong bonds between police and MOBESE surveillance offered an inquiry of panopticonization as shown in the Figure 3.7.

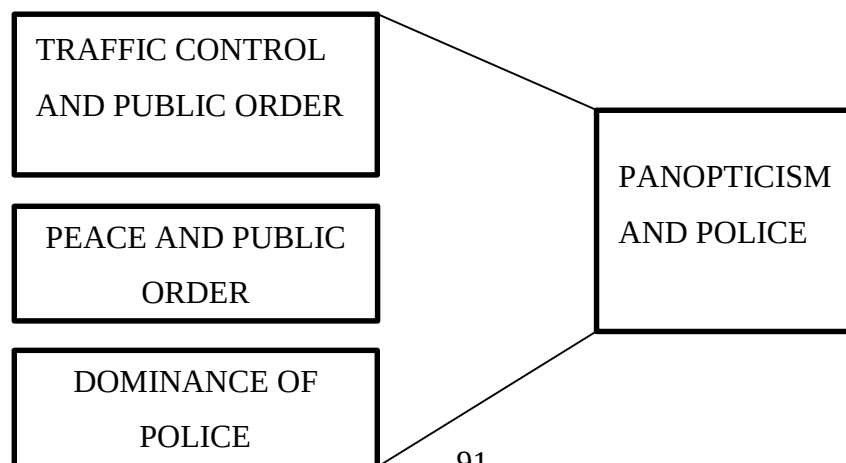


Figure 3.7 Representational themes related to Panopticism and Police.

At first, MOBESE is depicted as an instrument to establish and maintain public order used at the traffic control. Its installation and expansion in higher trends are discussed in terms of its advanced technological attributes and efficacy in monitoring and detecting of crime. As shown in the print media, MOBESE is legally (for example, as a legal evidence in traffic violations) accepted and not only by the police but also approved by other institutions, which bolstered its legitimacy. Social acceptance by the public is also visualized by presenting opinions of the citizens about its efficiency in traffic control. Through MOBESE surveillance in traffic control, discussion of maintenance of public order is open up in the print media.

At second, MOBESE is visualized as providing safety and security at places that it is installed for the 'peace' and 'safety' of the good citizens and for the 'public order'. Police and MOBESE interrelationship seems to become more apparent in terms of this theme. The problem of public order in public space is demarcated as the competence of police having 'eyes and ears' with MOBESE for securing the safety of 'the good' citizens. Police and MOBESE collaboration is for maintenance of public order. Verhage and Ponsaers suggested that police are still perceived as 'upholders of public order in society' (2012: 159). In this case, through MOBESE portrayal in the print media, police are characterized as the upholders of public order which may range from 'care' to 'control', predominantly based on control.

At third, police surveillance through MOBESE is delineated by the news items in print media; *the police keeps an eye on us*. This phrase implies police control over public space. Therefore, police and MOBESE representations in the print media are evaluated in accordance with panopticonization. MOBESE control rooms; as outlined, seems to be similar to central control tower in the Panopticon intending to concentrate power into one center. These control rooms may not be positioned in towers, however,

may operate as a panoptic diagram of power, gathering all the images of MOBESE cameras located in different parts of the city. MOBESE is described as ‘the digital eye’ of the police pointing out unverifiability of its ‘gaze’. Even if the cameras are still visible, the ‘gaze’ of the watcher - the police - is uncertain.

The power of police is underlined as to be omnipresent in the print media wherever MOBESE cameras are placed leading to internalization of panoptic power. The concern and the safety, the ambivalent feelings caused by the panoptic gaze intends to a form of self-policing, thereby maintenance of public order. The police is represented as “... keeping track with cameras” where have “... been 105 cameras located at over 48 spots surveilling for 24 hours” with the abilities of tracking, facial recognition and identification. Police’s gaze is not only fixed according to the print media, but also mobile with vehicles equipped with cameras in the air with drones, at the seashores and seas and on other lands. MOBESE is present, moreover, in other places such as schools, parks, hospitals, cafés, commercial building, apartments, shopping malls, gas stations, banks, hotels, public entertainment and resting sites etc. where police’s panoptic power diffused all over the city, even at the evaluations of exam papers of teachers. Finally, MOBESE surveillance constitutes the essential component of security cultures. Security cultures are bolstered through the promotion of expansion of MOBESE in the representations in the print media through implicit and explicit connotations to dominance of the police. All these representations refer to the maintenance of public order illustrating how MOBESE and police operate for public order in terms of panopticonization of public space.

CHAPTER V

REPRESENTATIONS OF CRIME CONTROL AND FEAR: “THEY ARE MOBESEED”

Crime related stories in press presumptively contribute to the newsworthiness of video-surveillance. In fact, McCahill stated that video-surveillance related crime reportage has multiplied since the last decade (2003: 199). Demonstrated in the chapter three, examination of print media representations of video-surveillance in response to crime has been prominent in several studies (Hier and Greenberg, 2009; Finn and McCahill, 2010; Coleman and McCahill, 2011; Barnard-Wills, 2011; Kroener, 2013). According to their findings video-surveillance represented as ‘a tool’ for crime control and crime prevention. Similarly in this chapter, the representation of MOBESE surveillance in terms of crime control will be unfolded according to the in-depth readings of news articles collected from four newspapers.

While the actual impact of surveillance cameras on crime prevention is at question, Innes indicates that it is reported otherwise by the media (2004: 351). Since the interrelationship of security cultures and video-surveillance is investigated in this thesis, as observed, crime seems to be constructed in terms of sub-categories of insecurities related with MOBESE.

To begin with, definitions of crime found in the newspaper agenda in respect to MOBESE are ascertained. Barnard-Wills stressed the role of the media in the articulation of surveillance related content (2011: 551). In her research on 2005 terrorist attacks in London, Kroener also deduced that video-surveillance was substantiated by the media as a tool for the protection of the society (2013: 129). She underlined the inefficiency of video-surveillance in prevention of crime but it originated from articulations of police and the media (Kroener, 2013). This articulation was also illustrated in findings of this thesis presented in the chapter four.

Following purpose of this chapter is to uncover crime related themes in the print media representations of MOBESE surveillance. Bozbeyoğlu outlined crime as a frame essentially constructed by media, politicians and other institutional officers. The rhetoric of MOBESE appears to be built upon this system's efficacy in crime prevention (Bozbeyoğlu, 2012: 145). As a matter of fact, scientific evidence of a decline in crime rates has not been announced by these agents. Bozbeyoğlu criticizes the production of data in Turkey since not any accurate and complete source of crime statistics exists (2012: 145). On the other hand, in her view (2012), like in many countries MOBESE is portrayed as a 'tool in the fight against crime'. Notably, in this study, considerable data obtained from four newspapers to inquire this discussion. (Nevertheless, this research will be unable to fill out the gap Bozbeyoğlu pinpointed about measuring actual effects of MOBESE on crime prevention). An in-depth analysis of a variety of print media themes associated with MOBESE and crime will be presented. Hence, themes covering MOBESE as controlling, deterring and preventing crime will be reviewed in the first section comprising of one sub-section.

In the second section, how 'fear' is constructed in the press via MOBESE and crime interrelationship will be discussed in two subsections; *construction of fear* and *fear of terrorism*. In addition, putting danger and risk at the core of everyday life, terrorism becomes the primary theme in the construction of fear discourse (Altheide, 2006: 431). Monahan relates this to terrorism's unpredictability and shocking side-effects. He puts terrorism in the center of modern insecurities (Monahan, 2010: 2). For that reason, terrorism related content of fear will be revealed in this sub-section since it is also a predominantly covered issue according to the examined Turkish news agenda.

5.1. Controls, deterrents and prevents: "MOBESE Reduced Crime" ⁴⁶

One of the debates around surveillance and crime relationship has been about efficacy of video-surveillance in reduction of deviance, crime and terrorism. Thereby,

⁴⁶ "MOBESE Reduced Crime" *Hurriyet*, 15 July 2011.

surveillance is delineated as vital and advantageous in the ‘fight against crime’ (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 170). However, according to some, efficiency of surveillance in each country as well as in Turkish context in preventing crime or reducing public anxiety is predominantly disputable (i.e. Fyfe and Bannister, 1998; McCahill, 2002; Norris et al. 2004; Barnard-Wills, 2011; Coleman and McCahill, 2011; Bozbeyoğlu, 2012; Kroener, 2013). On the other hand, this study does not measure real impacts of MOBESE on crime rates, rather it is developed on the argument that how MOBESE is revealed in news coverages, in terms of crime control and crime prevention.

5.1.1. MOBESE as a crime control tool

As Coleman and McCahill suggested, video-surveillance of urban spaces is based mainly on the idea that surveillance as part of a police force responds to crime and disorder (2011: 3). Crime is defined both synoptically and panoptically as a result of surveillance in order to control labels of ‘crime’ and ‘criminal’ (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 172). Prevailing definitions of crime via MOBESE are rendered in four newspapers. It is primarily suggested that surveillance practices, as is the case in MOBESE monitoring, portray crime in terms of petty crimes, drug use, theft, mugging, terrorism and offences of interpersonal violence taking place in public spaces. Deriving from Coleman and McCahill’s arguments, it is implied that the content of four newspapers describe crime in terms of MOBESE images showing harmful events such as theft, traffic accidents or killings, broadcasted in TV news or published in newspapers. Visualization of such ‘spectacles’ seems to have synoptic effects. Discussions and articulations on what should be done against these events constitute its panoptic effects (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 125).

As Altheide suggests tracking discourse over time and across different topics are crucial as a method for analysis (1997, 2003, and 2006). This technique contains tracks of words, themes and frames, thus in this section it is initially adhered to the word of ‘crime’ in four newspapers. The scope of ‘crime’ as a theme via MOBESE is respectively revealed in the news agenda in terms of robbery, harassment, mugging,

homicide, theft and terrorism. Crime is synoptically represented limited to the sum of ‘visible’ and ‘dangerous’ events; yet other invisible forms of crime, for instance tax evasion, is not included (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 6). Besides, as a number of scholars have elucidated, media coverage on CCTV cameras has been unanimously supportive more than critical in the introduction as well as evaluation of this technology in crime reduction (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 128, see also Norris and Armstrong, 1999b; McCahill, 2002; Finn and McCahill, 2011). The case for MOBESE is quite similar due to the crime content of newspapers; MOBESE is shown mostly in an advocative manner.

Derived from the exemplifications of crime stories in four newspapers, most popular themes of crime control via MOBESE predicates firstly on reductions in crime and caught-ups of affiliates of crimes. In four newspapers in total 79 articles denote to the specific relationship between surveillance cameras and crime control, which reveal certain themes. Secondly, MOBESE is revealed as an agent ‘catching criminals’. Lastly, MOBESE is considered as a required precaution and prevention of crime and deterrence. In four Turkish newspapers, therefore, news coverage focuses primarily on MOBESE cameras’ effectiveness in crime control and crime prevention.

MOBESE reduces crime

Coleman and McCahill pinpoint that synoptic surveillance operates through representations of mass media; and, media relies on official sources of information shaped by state-led definitions of surveillance, which calls for more cameras, more police and for more data collection (2011: 125-26). Notably, in the four Turkish newspaper representations of MOBESE; crime is portrayed in terms of visible criminal acts as detailed above. Firstly, an interesting example can be found in an article presenting information about Istanbul’s MOBESE center. The capturing point is that cameras are initially launched at criminal places (*Sabah*, 18 October 2010). According to information obtained from Director General of Public Security of Istanbul, “crime rates have declined [only] at places where cameras were installed” (*Sabah*, 18 October 2010) (emphasis added by the author).

The quotation given below demonstrates MOBESE's efficiency representation explicitly:

Governor Yüksel received information about the security situation of the Yenimahalle district with 65 neighborhoods and 650 thousand inhabitants. Police officials said in Yenimahalle compared to last year, reductions in 32 percent in burglary and 17 percent in crimes against property have happened. State officials said to Governor Yüksel who was asking the situation of MOBESE cameras that 17 percent of crimes especially against property reduced thanks to MOBESE cameras. (*Hurriyet*, 15 July 2011)

During the Governor's visit to the Police Department of Yenimahalle (Ankara), information about the levels of public order is presented. MOBESE's contributions to crime reduction are illustrated with decrease in crime rates. According to the statistics of Police Department, a decrease of 32 percent in burglary and 17 percent in property crimes is observed 'owing to MOBESE' (*Hurriyet*, 15 July 2011).

It can also be shown in another noteworthy article titled as "Antalya police is ever-ready"⁴⁷ (*Sabah*, 17 April 2014). This article is based on the public speech of Director General of Public Security of Ankara. His clarifications of MOBESE are in an advocative manner arguing that "KGYS (MOBESE) gives no respite to criminals" (*Sabah*, 17 April 2014). Furthermore, by explaining efficacy of police force and its readiness for any occasion, he also states that in a short amount of time MOBESE accomplished 'many things' which appears to refer to reduction in crimes; and, they designated that "at the places where cameras are monitoring crime rates have tremendously diminished" (*Sabah*, 17 April 2014). In all of these articles, first it is suggested that MOBESE would have an effect declining crime rates, nonetheless, this approach may be problematic since Bozbeyoğlu stressed lack of accurate and scientific data justifying such an argument (2012: 145). Second argument would be that Coleman interprets crime prevention in local context seems not to mean that crime would disappear, but moves from one place to another (2004b: x). Therefore, the main

⁴⁷ The word of 'omnipresent' can also be used as a translation of the phrase [*her zaman hazır*], however, it may cause confusion because of the discussion referring to 'omnipresence of police' in the chapter four. Thus, it is rather translated into English as 'ever-ready'.

means and ends of video-surveillance may not presumably be as demonstrated by the media and government. As he points out, the media use of CCTV may focus on street level crimes to encourage ‘spatial ordering’ and regeneration via CCTV rhetoric, which appears to be predominant (2004a: 204).

In the examined reportage, streets are particularly represented as the major ‘stages’ of criminal incidents because of range of MOBESE; however, security cameras’ images of insecurities in banks, retail shops, shopping malls, entrances and corridors of apartments etc. are also included. A specific example can be found in an article arguing that thefts and mugging cases increased in Ornek (Ankara) neighborhood (*Sabah*, 13 September 2014); thus, they demand MOBESE cameras to be installed at their streets. In order to amplify this argument, worries of the residents are rendered at the beginning of the text. The seriousness of the situation is underlined by giving the information that three policemen were shot by these thieves earlier. Therefore, it is given that “residents are concerned day in and day out” (*Sabah*, 13 September 2014). However, interesting point is unfolded in the second part of the text which is presented below:

Due to the urban renewal projects carried out in the surrounding, Çiftçi [Mukhtar] argued that thieves pursued their neighborhood and said: ” As a result of urban regeneration projects carried out many ‘gecekondü’ were in Atif Bey, Hıdırlıktepe, Gültepe and Plevne neighborhoods were demolished. Thieves and robbers in these areas have haunted our neighborhood for last six months because they couldn’t find any home to break in back there”. (*Sabah*, 13 September 2014)

The intensification of criminal incidents is explained through urban regeneration projects in nearby neighborhoods. The assertion is made in the text that, crime moved to Ornek because of regeneration projects in these neighborhoods. In the following paragraph the MOBESE demand of the residents in Ornek hoping prevention of crime is brought forth. From the examined newspapers, crime is visualized as a problem and a cause of disorder, moreover; revealed as a newsworthy subject in the promotion of MOBESE. However, main aims and ends may be otherwise than sole prevention or dissolution of crime, as Coleman suggested, it may call for

‘spatial and political role’ of surveillance; which plausibly contemplates social and spatial control and ordering (2004a: 204).

Lastly, a good example is demonstrated in the article published in *Hurriyet* entitled as “Ankara residents liked MOBESE system” (28 October 2010).

MOBESE that is expected to reduce crime rates by 30 percent due to Ankara Governor Alaaddin Yuksel 's expectations, was also accepted by the public. Citizens of Ankara especially expressed their expectations of a decrease in theft. MOBESE that is expected to reduce crime rates 30 percent which is expected by Ankara Governorship, also relieved citizens. The expectations of the citizens is the minimization of the outstanding levels of thefts. (*Hurriyet*, 28 October 2010)

In this text, it is revealed that the Governor of Ankara expects MOBESE system to decrease crime rates 30 percent. Approaches of residents, additionally, are included whereby they also anticipate that crime rates, especially rates of theft, would decline. In the second part of the article, views of the audiences are involved. The point of views of the interviewee about reducing crime are summed up by the quote presented; “...fear of cameras exits now. I guess crime rates have been affected significantly” (*Hurriyet*, 28 October 2010). In addition, government and police have been praised for securing the safety of the citizens in four out of eight comments of interviewees. Coleman and McCahill assert that police forces persist to be one of the main surveillance institutions in the negotiation of crime and deviance and retain the power to shape public discourse on surveillance in the media (2011: 135). In a similar way, in the examined newspapers main actors in the representation of MOBESE have been Director General of Public Security, Chief of Police, police officers, and the Governor.

As a result of aforementioned representations of the examined media reports, installation of more cameras may be manipulated and police domination bolstered by strong connotation with MOBESE; similar to omnipresence of police as clarified in the chapter four. In four newspapers MOBESE is depicted as having positive effects in crime reduction. Even if ideological tendencies differ between news reportage, as Coleman and McCahill argue newspapers approach rather optimistic to the issues about CCTV (Coleman and McCahill, 2011: 129) as it is also the case for Turkey.

Even though ranging ideologically, when compared, no differentiation is observed in the language of articulation concerning MOBESE among four newspapers.

MOBESE caught criminals

McCahill suggests that surveillance cameras are represented as ‘friendly eye in the sky’ that will ‘put criminals on the run’ (2003: 197). Due to in-depth analysis of articles collected from four newspapers, such a statement is also acknowledged for MOBESE. In articles containing themes of petty crimes, mugging, robbery and homicide, MOBESE is portrayed as an agent; as part of the police force that ‘catches criminals’. Such an ascription is made in headlines as well as in body of the texts. Indeed, it refers to MOBESE records and the use of these records for further investigation, which contribute to the efforts of police who ‘put criminals on the run’. For example, one article published in *Hurriyet* is titled as “They couldn’t run away from MOBESE” (22 February 2011). The details of a mugging case in Kizilay (Ankara) is presented and frankly stated that suspects were caught by MOBESE. In the following paragraph details of the incident and how police got involved in via MOBESE are given. Again the emphasis on MOBESE is made in efforts of catching the criminals. MOBESE is depicted as the main actor of this case, operating in coordination with police. The second article is titled as “Ran away from the crime scene, caught by the eye of the city” (*Sabah*, 21 February 2010). The phrase of ‘the eye of the city’ refers to MOBESE cameras. Details of a traffic accident occurred in Istanbul in the midnight are offered where the driver of a truck ‘ran away’ after hitting another car and left behind the car driver wounded. Acknowledgements to the MOBESE cameras at the crime scene are made in the text stating that by scrutiny of MOBESE images driver of the truck has been found in two days.

The third article titled as “Thieves on the Camera!” (*Haberturk*, 21 November 2012) which is demonstrated below:

MOBESE and security cameras of workplaces have been a nightmare for thieves. Two people were caught very tightly who were recorded by cameras while their thefts. [...] The first image is from Fatih district of Istanbul. Morning hours. Previously convicted automobile-thief is firstly checking if anyone is at the windows of the apartments around. [...] However, in those moments, workplace

camera just behind him was recording. [...] One of the two suspects entered a liquor store in Küçükçekmece as customers is stalling the shop owner, the other is stealing cigarette boxes. Suspects who were escaped from the eyes of the shop owner and other customers could not escape from security cameras. (Haberturk, 21 November 2012).

In this article, security cameras are granted in capturing of thieves in two exemplary incidents. In both cases, the emphasis is made on the instant ‘gaze’ of the cameras in any case of crime. For example, in the first case, the information is given that ‘the criminal’ is checking if anyone stands at window, “[B]ut the camera just behind him was recording in those moments” (Haberturk, 21 November 2012). In the second example, it is stated that “[W]hat escaped from the notice of shop owners and other customers, could not escape from security cameras” (Haberturk, 21 November 2012). And, in the next sentence it is presented that police reacts immediately.

The evaluation of MOBESE as a subject can be illustrated by two more articles. Both of them endorsed MOBESE cameras as the reason for ‘criminals’ to be captured. First one is entitled as “MOBESE induced Alsancak pervert to be caught” (*Milliyet* 07 February 2015) noting that suspect of sexual harassment of an American woman tourist is caught ‘owing to MOBESE’. In the further article titled as “MOBESE badgered harassers” (*Sabah*, 02 January 2015) similar arguments are proposed. According to the text, police in coordination with MOBESE ‘controlled’ streets and squares of Kizilay, Ankara in the New Year’s Eve. These illustrations overlap with the argument of McCahill that ‘criminals were put on the run’ ‘owing to MOBESE’ and police.

Coleman and McCahill discuss that surveillance constitutes the main aspect of fighting against crime in preventing, detecting, categorizing and controlling crime and criminals (2011: 2). As a result of in-depth reading of articles in four newspapers, MOBESE is represented as a central instrument in preventing, detecting and controlling of crime and criminals. However, at categorization of ‘criminals’ the research done in this thesis does not provide adequate data. In the literature, research on ‘them’- ‘us’ representations of video-surveillance have been particularly prevailing. For example, McCahill and Finn (2010) demonstrated in their study, that discourse on

the division of ‘us’ versus ‘them’ is predominant in term of crime stories. They determined multiple definitions of ‘us’ and ‘them’ in their study in terms of in-depth reading of three newspapers in UK. Kroener (2013), for instance, also investigated how ‘them’ and ‘us’ rhetoric is shaped around ethnicity in presenting images of terrorists and citizens. In this analysis, a portrayal of ‘them’ is limited to general definitions of thieves, robbers, muggers, harassers, terrorists, alcoholics, thinner addict and drug addict. Physical or social peculiarities are not highlighted as Coleman, Tombs and Whyte inferred. For Coleman et al., representations of crime in media reportage underpin prevailing stereotypes of criminals and particular sorts of crimes (2005: 2513). In this study, unlikely, a certain stereotyping of criminals lacked due to the examined news reportage compared to the literature.

MOBESE as security precaution and prevention of crime

By the track of the words; ‘precaution’ [önlem] and ‘preventive’ [önleyici], and by in-depth reading of the related media texts in four newspapers; it is found that MOBESE is figured as a ‘security precaution’ in 29 of the examined articles; and it is suggested that MOBESE serves as a tool for ‘preventing crime’ in 10 of the articles. MOBESE’s effective use and explicit advantages are visualized in various forms by these media reports. For example, an article promoting the MOBESE system launched in Ağrı summarizes its prevalent presentation:

Mobile Electronic System Integration (MOBESE) in Ağrı has been launched a while ago. Chief of Police Kuru said: “MOBESE strengthened our hand in dealing with offenders. This system will significantly contribute to prevent the crime before it is actualized”. (*Hurriyet*, 15 December 2009)

By the Chief of Police, it is suggested that MOBESE is effective for the police in the fight against criminals; moreover, before even any crime would take place, it can be prevented. He notes that MOBESE would contribute to the ‘active fight against crime’ and prevention of it, which seems to be evaluated as a security precaution.

In one of the articles; it is stated that ‘security precautions’ has come into prominence after an attempted assassination of deputy prime minister. In the further sentence, the information of “MOBESE system similar to one in the U.S. will be

installed in Ankara” is shared (*Sabah*, 08 February 2010). This language is also used in a formerly published report in which Ankara’s introduction to MOBESE system is discussed (*Hurriyet*, 06 September 2008). In this article, MOBESE is depicted again operating as a ‘security precaution’. So, MOBESE is introduced to the public as a ‘security precaution’ without specifying any issue on crime. However, crime is always not explicitly described, rather given in the definitions of occasion. For example, the third example contextualizes ‘security precautions’ in University of Akdeniz and these statements belonged to the President of the University of Akdeniz. (“MOBESE to the University” *Hurriyet*, 06 August 2009).

Unfortunately, during previous management period before us, the university campus was known as a place where a constitutional right of life safety cannot be achieved. Those events deeply saddened us all. We began our active duty and initiated projects in order to improve the security measures in campus as soon as possible. The number of security guards has been increased and funding for the establishment of a security system MOBESE has been set. In the forth-coming months the campus will be equipped with full-tech security infrastructures. But still, on the grounds of a breach of security, we have separated the Medical Faculty from other university campus buildings. All entrances to the campus were equipped with security. (*Hurriyet*, 06 August 2009).

Fortification of security in the university is substantiated due to social protests that have taken place since the previous year, which were allegedly threatening life safety. According to his announcement, numbers of security personnel have been increased and MOBESE is to be installed. It is planned to equip the campus with technological ‘security precautions’ dividing medical school from the rest of the campus. It can be inferred from the text that these *technological ‘security precautions’* connotes MOBESE camera surveillance which is rather represented as a solution for social protests, which are depicted as life-threatening insecurities to be prevented. As obtained from the readings of such media texts, it can be implied that MOBESE surveillance is secondly introduced as a ‘security precaution’ after it is claimed that it would reduce crime.

MOBESE is further announced as a ‘preventive system in crime and perpetration’. This can be exemplified through a news article reporting that new

cameras have been placed for speed control (*Hurriyet*, 17 August 2010). In the further paragraphs of the text it is stated that 825 cameras will be located at the main arteries of Ankara's central area. The significant part for this section comes in the following sentence. It is stated that cameras will be *particularly* serving as 'preventive camera systems in crime and perpetration' (*Hurriyet*, 17 August 2010).

In a formerly published article, the security level of Ankara is promoted by offering statements of the Minister of the Interior (*Hurriyet*, 01 March 2010). His statement suggests that "reduction in crime is significant due to these 'preventive' measures" (*Hurriyet*, 01 March 2010). The scope of preventive measures are not immediately offered in the text, however, given in the ending paragraph by advocating MOBESE system as a preventive system in crime and successive system in illumination of criminal incidents. Moreover, MOBESE is depicted as 'preventive security service' when expansion of the cameras throughout urban space is concerned. For example, in Diyarbakir, to put cameras in coffeehouses is claimed to be essential by the Governor in terms of preventing public order, crime and terror issues (*Haberturk*, 18 June 2012). He evaluates MOBESE in terms of 'preventive security services'; and, states that the aim is to prevent and illuminate crime in publicly accessible spaces. Another example is illustrated by an article about school security, titled as "For school security, it will be benefited from MOBESE" (*Hurriyet*, 27 September 2013). 'Preventive' attribute of MOBESE is emphasized by Director General of Public Security and a 'protective' attribute is added. As clarified by him and presented in the text, the project is rather comprehensive applying to borders of the schools to flows of students in the nearby environment such as internet cafes, kiosks, coffeehouses and parks. So, MOBESE is depicted not just a reductive but also as a 'preventive' instrument and as a precaution against insecurities, ranging from generalizations of crime to specified definitions like social protests or terrorism arising in urban spaces.

Deterrence of crime with MOBESE

In five articles published between the years of 2008-2014, the theme of 'deterrence' [caydiricilik] is revealed in two newspapers *Sabah* and *Hurriyet*. In all of

the articles ‘deterrence’ is highlighted resulting in decline of crime rates and further, noted as an attribute of MOBESE as illustrated in the article published in *Sabah* (08 February 2010).

This article is in fact about MOBESE system that is planned to launch in Ankara which is expected to turn Ankara into a BBG house. The article shares information about specific attributes of this system and planned locations such as boulevards and streets. The information predicates on the speech of the Governor of Ankara. In the following sentence after giving these details, it is stated that “All critical points will be monitored. No areas will be left uncontrolled.” (*Sabah*, 08 February 2010). At the end of the article, a definition of MOBESE is provided; and it is noted that MOBESE with its ‘deterrence’ attribute will beget reductions in crime rates. Ultimately, because of control and monitoring of ‘critical points’, which presumably points out criminally specified places, it is argued that MOBESE would prevent crime before even it takes place.

In the other article, MOBESE is underlined as ‘nightmare’ of criminals (24 December 2012). Again technical attributes of KGYS (the other name of MOBESE) in Antalya are presented; moreover, it is represented as necessity for citizens’ security. It is further inferred in the text that with its deterrence attribute, MOBESE becomes very advantageous in crime prevention.

In another report published in *Hurriyet* it is already underlined that ‘the fundamental objective’ of MOBESE is ‘deterrence’ (28 May 2012). The last representation of ‘deterrence’ focuses on the urban and rural area coordination in prevention of crime and for increasing levels of security. The system is called JEMUS (Gendarmerie Integrated Communication and Information System) launched in Kilis used by gendarmerie forces. It is argued that with MOBESE and JEMUS collaboration, security cordons in the area are constituted which ‘protects’ with its ‘deterrence’ attribute. Security cordons, or ‘rings of steel’ as Coaffee and Wood call it, is fundamental for the construction of security infrastructures.

Conclusively, ‘deterrence’ as a theme is acknowledged to MOBESE to prevent crime primarily. It is argued that video-surveillance deters any criminal activity which

is henceforth controlled by security forces. 'Deterrence' seems to be one of the essential attributes of MOBESE for the maintenance of safety and security as presented in the examined print media. However, surveillance cameras' effects in reductions in crime are far from dependable as also noted by Hier and Greenberg (2009); yet, concerns remain, cameras simply cause crime to be displaced between the urban areas according to the range of the cameras (Fyfe, 2004: 49). Reduction of crime may not signal full elimination of danger and disorder from public space; still anxieties may persist and constructed, for example by outlining of 'fear' on different topics.

5.2. The construction of 'fear' in terms of MOBESE

Fear, according to Altheide, is socially constructed on an underpinning of social communication and interaction (1997: 660). Fear has been a fundamental component of news reports intensifying certain topics; for instance crime and terrorism, generating a state of insecurity where the safety and security should be reestablished, which goes so far as provoking individuals concerning about security via surveillance (Altheide, 2003: 24). Public discourse is rigorously connected with certain issues associated with fear apparent in news reporting (for example crime and violence) (Altheide, 1997: 661). At this point, Altheide's (1997, 2003 and 2006) findings and arguments about discourse of fear and media representations are particularly exclusive for further elaboration of these themes in terms of video-surveillance. As Norris claims with discourse on CCTV, the reassurance of security to the public is provided by the policy-makers; make them feel safer and less fearful when CCTV is installed (2012: 255).

For Altheide construction of fear is achieved by building up fear into a topic, for example, cancer which is a control topic (signifier) referring to fear (signified). According to his findings he suggests that fear and cancer are joined henceforth (Altheide, 1997: 661). Like Altheide asserts, Paul notes that fear can be perceived in terms of responses to crime and disorder by individuals and societies (2011: 418). This fear rather stems from uncertainty, vulnerability and may vary depending upon gender, age, class, race relations (Paul, 2011: 418). Moreover, crime reportage subsidizes

discourse of fear by intensifying perceptions of danger (Altheide, 2003: 16). In response to this, surveillance has been posited as a relief for evoked emotions for example, produced cultures of fear and anxiety (Minton, cited in Ellis et. al. 2012: 724).

Especially, news media generates reports about fear as problems (Altheide, 1997: 653). A story about fear formulates these problems which produce the discourse of fear and establishes a supply for the audience for commenting on the future articles (Altheide, 1997: 655). ‘Danger’ and ‘risk’ do constitute the core features of these articles (Altheide, 1995: 648). At this point, derived from literature review above, from Altheide in particular, in this part of research it is aimed to designate frames associated with ‘fear’ in terms of media representations of MOBESE surveillance.

A good way to inquire those media messages related with fear is also to “track discourse” (Altheide, 1997: x) which enables to pursue to the content of fear over time. Altheide additionally argues that crime is the most popular linkage of fear because of its newsworthiness (2003: 10). Consequently, how media messages of fear and insecurities are associated with events and problems of MOBESE will be clarified in this section. For doing that, the word ‘fear’ is crucial in tracking the content in relation with MOBESE. In all articles collected from four newspapers, there are 10 articles associated with the word ‘fear’ are rendered. There exists a main theme obtained in relation with tracking the word fear which is *living in fear*.

5.2.1. Tracking ‘fear’ of crime

Living in fear

There are two articles reporting about some neighborhoods living ‘in fear’ because of lack of safety and security of its inhabitants. The first example is published in *Sabah*, reporting of a request for MOBESE installation to a neighborhood due to increasing assaults (“Inhabitants of Samatya: We want MOBESE in our neighborhood” *Sabah*, 26 January 2013).

Residents of the neighborhood are demanding MOBESE cameras because of alleged attacks that target elderly Armenian women which have been experienced

for two months. Residents feel sorry for their neighbors who were attacked and demand that the attackers can be found as immediately as possible. (*Sabah*, 26 January 2013)

According to the details presented in the news article, Samatya is a neighborhood where Armenian people primarily inhabit and it is asserted that assaults have been amplifying around the neighborhood since December in 2012. Four Armenian women have been attacked since December which caused citizens to *feel worried*. Comments on the assaults of several inhabitants were also included in the article where all of them described low levels of safety and security and why they were living in fear. One of them said that “older women are being followed and after it is understood that they are living alone, these incidents occur” (*Sabah*, 26 January 2013). Additionally, she stressed that this is why a MOBESE camera should be located in their neighborhood. Moreover, an Armenian young woman according to the article stated that “my cousin got a pepper spray for his mother ... There is nothing worse than going around with pepper spray in one’s own neighborhood” (*Sabah*, 26 January 2013). Two other remarks are made on that people are violated, broken in their homes and murdered while even oldest residents are ‘feared’ of such an environment.

A part of another article which is also published in *Sabah*, featuring ‘fear’ is presented below.

According to Police Department’s data 120 risk areas and 50 ‘dark spots’ were identified. 10 out of these 50 points require urgent intervention. In the most touristic areas between Edirnekapi - Ayvansaray is widely caroused and, many robbery incidents are experienced. Fatih Police Department officials who providing information about dark spots that require urgent intervention say that it is beyond their budget and powers of intervention. Police officials say that MOBESE must be installed in many places, and say that citizens of these neighborhoods are living in constant fear, and beating a path to their door for the rehabilitation of the band of historical walls. (*Sabah*, 10 February 2013)

50 ‘blind’ spots have been detected around the historical walls of Istanbul that is asserted to need to be illuminated. In this case not only MOBESE is argued as a necessity but also lighting is depicted as a requisite. The rationale behind it may be related with crime control, in fact, drinking and mugging are shown as exemplary

incidents causing insecurity; thus people of this neighborhood, as claimed, are ‘living in fear’ and insisting for ‘rehabilitations’ (*Sabah*, 10 February 2013). The following part of the article bolsters the argument of ‘living in fear’ by describing the insecurity of the neighborhood more in detail; by locally pinpointing what kind of ‘disorders’ and criminal acts takes place. Mugging, drinking and drug dealing are stated to be widespread around where also thinner addicts loiter. In the immediate sentence it is noted that women would ‘never’ use this route. In addition, the place is named as ‘the pit’ by the residents which denotes a ‘very dangerous’ place.

What Mukhtar Altintoprak told us is both eerie and thought-provoking: “Any lad saying the he is a young man cannot walk to the cemetery through this door. Because there is a place known as ‘the pit’ in the immediate left of the door. In these wells, there are drug addicts day in and day out. Complete bandit bed. I have witnessed so many tourists attacked until now. If you are willing to try, wear a body armor and walks through by slow steps, and let’s see what’s gonna happen?” (*Sabah*, 10 February 2013).

As represented by the media in both cases ‘fear’ is associated with three themes; crime and criminals, women and aged people as vulnerable and thirdly fear of crime. These themes associated with fear content are evaluated in terms of MOBESE. Therefore, fear appears to be constructed with firstly crime and criminals to control and including the intention of preventing crime. In both cases increasing criminal incidents and violent crimes in particular, such as violence, mugging or murder, are involved in terms of cause of fear. Additionally, MOBESE is presented as a solution whereas in the second lighting was another issue. Maybe Jacobs’ (1961) suggestions about the span of ‘gaze’ intensifying visibility of the streets would be explanatory at this point. Moreover, Ramsey, in his survey study investigating the effects of street lightning on fear and crime, found that good street lighting is perceived by people as a reassurance of safety (1994: 16). On the other hand, in his view, its impact on criminal incidents is questionable, and the effects on fear of crime have also been rather insignificant (1994: 20). As to the second point, Ramsey notes that perceptions of security and vulnerability to crime in relation with street lightning differentiates according to age and gender (1994: 19), in fact in feeling of safety, the percentage of

women increased parallel in re-lit areas (1993: 19). Lastly, his findings overlaps mainly with the point demonstrated in the media articles that women are more vulnerable against violence whereas younger women are more worried about being raped (1994: 19). This point will be exemplified by vulnerability representations of female bodies in the latter section 5.4. Finally, his findings are explicatory in the theme of crime and fear of crime interrelation. Crime reduction and prevention arguments are used in terms of street lightning and MOBESE as Welsh and Harrington might affirm (2004) ⁴⁸. However as Ramsay also suggests; a benefit from illumination is not achieved, but rather reduction in fear of crime is intended. Bauman's findings on decrease in crime rates in the Western world challenge the argument that production of fear and crime in the urban space are correlated (Tulumello, 2015: 258). Fear of crime is of course a phenomenon which is not discussed in scope of this thesis, however, it is important to note that fear is thereby strongly bounded with crime as a theme and fear of crime in this context refers to fear of being victim of crime instead of already been a crime victim. The possibility is decreased with MOBESE and street lighting bolstered 'fear' construction. Finally, living in fear as a frame may be constructed in terms of constituting a publicly acceptable ground for MOBESE by informing about present insecurities and low levels of safety and security⁴⁹.

5.2.2. 'Fear' of Terrorism

Terrorism as a threat is embodied in modern insecurities as Monahan suggests, and; terrorist threats constitute useful tactics because of its unpredictability (2010: 6). Its aftermath effects are intensive whereby diffuses fear on subjective level. In fact,

⁴⁸ Street lightning and CCTV cameras has been effective tool for crime prevention presentation in public space. Even though, the result of the study shows that improved lightning reduces property crimes, it is inefficient in violent crimes (2004: 497) (see also, Coleman, 2004; Oc and Tiesdell, 1998)

⁴⁹ Coleman states that 20 percent reduction in crime statistics was emphasized with the used of street lights (2004: 200). However, what rather significant is that CCTV could not achieve such a significance in crime reduction, while publicly supported and its fame fictionally boosted, still questions remain about expansion of surveillance cameras (Coleman, 2004: 2000).

terrorism instantaneously prompts circulation of variety of stories which he remarks as ‘contagious’ (Monahan, 2010: 6).

Additionally, Altheide stresses that terrorism is one of the predominant themes comprised in the fear discourse (2006: 431). According to him, this is because of media reliance on state officials as sources of information in terms of homeland security, and production of rational explanations for expansion in video-surveillance and all other international or domestic issues which are covered by ‘politics of fear’ (Altheide, 2006: 432). Surveillance cameras are revealed as protectors from terrorism and a solution that is used by police to eliminate threats. As demonstrated in the former section fear is constructed in terms of highlighting crime news which is interpreted by Altheide as putting risk and danger as a central aspect of everyday life (2006: 417). Thereby, via news reportage the content of fear is shaped and these reports containing crime and terrorism contribute to the construction of fear as a phenomenon (Altheide, 2006: 417-18).

According to Altheide fear is promoted via three aspects; at first stimulating a ‘sense of insecurity’; at second relying on formal sources of information, and lastly, providing surveillance and protection of ‘us’ (2006: 418). In consideration of these, terrorism may appear as a newsworthy theme for particularly in examined Turkish print media. 23 out of 180 article are about detection of terroristic acts and terrorists and its frequency is 76 which constitutes %13,45 of all crime related issues. Terrorism related reports have been elicited and subsequently classified into the code ‘terror’. As a result, three themes have been designated in the representation of MOBESE and terrorism interrelationship; *describing the monitoring of terrorist attacks, detections of bombs, MOBESE installation because of terrorism.*

Describing the monitoring of terrorist attacks: “They were MOBESEd”

Ten of the articles are informing about importance of MOBESE both in terroristic attacks and how suspects of these attacks are detected. For example, in one of the articles titled as “They were MOBESEd” [MOBESE’lendiler], details are promoted about how MOBESE cameras have contributed to the detection of certain terrorist attacks happened since 2005 (*Sabah*, 18 October 2010). It is stated that

objective for 2010 has been to spread MOBESE all over the country because “thousands of incidents were thereby [MOBESE] illuminated.” (*Sabah*, 18 October 2010). Hence, five examples are included in the same report ranging throughout the years where two of them are related with terrorism and the rest about petty crimes. Deriving from Altheide’s implications it can be suggested that terrorism amalgamating with crime as demonstrated in this case may contribute to the construction of fear in terms of MOBESE; otherwise it may result in possible loss in sense of security. It is further stated that this information relies on police sources. And finally, all incidents were punished because of ‘disorder’. Relying on these arguments it may be suggested that ‘fear’ is promoted by the four Turkish newspapers via MOBESE surveillance.

Other exemplary cases are about descriptions of pre-events of terrorist incidents happened between 2010-2015. Based on this information only, it would not be entirely wrong to make the assumption that terrorism seems a prevailing frame in terms of construction of the content of fear. All eight of the articles are stressing fear of terrorism. A good example is illustrated by a very long article about a terrorist attack took place in Kayseri (*Haberturk*, 27 May 2012). The details of the pre-events and aftereffects of the attack and developments about the identification process of preparers are reported in the text. MOBESE is praised for the images it provided during the investigation led by the police. According to the report, all MOBESE images on the route of suspects from Sanliurfa to Kayseri were scrutinized and it was included that how the incident afterwards occurred ((*Haberturk*, 27 May 2012).

So, terrorism and fear are joined through MOBESE over representation of insecure urban spaces even public transportation vehicles. The argument of the media is that terrorists mingled with the crowds of ‘good citizens’. It may be further implied that MOBESE is presented as an effective solution in the detection of threats and danger to increase safety and security levels in everyday life. The reason behind this may be as Altheide explains the importance of mass media in forming public agendas by the presentation of issues (2006: 420). And, terrorism is a reiterated public agenda in relation with MOBESE in examined Turkish print media as demonstrated in this section.

Detections of bombs

Insecurity of urban spaces is emphasized by the media through terrorism frame which may reiterate discourse of 'fear'. Three articles reported detection of bomb packages nearby of shopping malls. In one of the articles, in particular, a bomb was identified in a bus stop outside of a very 'luxurious' mall which put police on alarm (*Sabah*, 14 October 2010). Of course essential part is that these discoveries are enabled by MOBESE located in these spaces. In the latter paragraph another bomb incident is defined found in the shopping area of Beyoglu in Istanbul (*Sabah*, 14 October 2010). In both cases police detected the bombs and took care of it in proper way. These articulations of bombings in Turkey are widespread, particularly with packages left on the bus stops, at the streets or transportation vehicles as demonstrated in other articles (*Hurriyet*, 10 January 2015). Threats to the public order; thereby, all good citizens, are part of the focus of fear, but the topics change throughout time like terrorism (Altheide, 2006: 419). Content of fear is built upon terrorism and being a potential victim is portrayed as almost unpreventable without MOBESE. Therefore, not only fear of crime in public spaces but also in cafés, shopping malls, hospitals, schools etc. associated with fear of terrorism, being an actual or potential victim of terrorist acts.

Herrewegen explains this sort of disposition of the media causing an obsession of security in society which leads to expansion in the investments in surveillance techniques and eliminate crime (2012: 70). As in his view, there is always the possibility for stimulating suspicions and anxieties in societies, and derived from his argument it would not be daring to suggest that terrorism may be an effective way to legitimize omnipresence of surveillance in urban space via constructions of fear.

MOBESE installation because of terrorism

Necessarily, Altheide stresses that the primary effect of the discourse of fear is to unfold 'a sense of disorder' (Altheide, 2006: 421). Delivering from Ferraro, he asserts that everyday life would be felt more 'out of control' when 'fear' is articulated in everyday rhetoric (Ferraro cited in Altheide, 2006: 421). Accordingly, through news reporting the necessity of MOBESE surveillance is represented in terms of terrorism. In cities of Diyarbakir (*Haberturk*, 18 June 2012), Bingol (*Sabah*, 02 January 2010;

Hurriyet, 05 January 2015), Yuksekova (Hakkari) (*Sabah*, 30 September 2010), Sanliurfa (*Haberturk*, 27 May 2012) it is discussed that owing to MOBESE cameras and images recorded terror incidents could be investigated by police.

In one of the articles it is accentuated that MOBESE locations are meticulously selected and set for alarming in any case of disorder (*Sabah*, 02 January 2010). It is argued that “now on with MOBESE [police] get the opportunity of contemplating every incident and intervening in” (insertion made by the author) (*Sabah*, 02 January 2010). Similar to this, it is revealed that in Yuksekova, Hakkari MOBESE system will be initiated within the context of “fight against terrorism” due to demand of officials (*Sabah*, 30 September 2010).

Another point delivers from the examined news reportage that MOBESE would facilitate “the hardships in providing evidence in public order and terror incidents” (*Haberturk*, 18 June 2012). In fact, in the related text, it is stated that Diyarbakir Governorship had difficulties in finding evidence in terroristic incidents, thus, ‘publicly accessible spaces’ such as coffeehouses, internet cafés, hotels, casinos, cinemas and amusement parks et cetera should be equipped with surveillance cameras in terms of preventing crime (*Haberturk*, 18 June 2012). In the next paragraph of the news report, the technical attributes of these MOBESE cameras are shared and elucidated as a requisite for “crime prevention, and protection of public security and public order” (*Haberturk*, 18 June 2012).

As demonstrated by the examples above - in last exemplification in particular; and as Altheide (2006: 421) suggests; despite its local context in Turkish case, terrorism is interpreted as an everyday insecurity diffused in everyday spaces of the urban life as Monahan asserted to be ‘contagious’ throughout the sociality which constitutes the major effect of discourse of fear. Formal resources such as Governorship, Police Department or municipalities provided the information media conveyed. Lastly, MOBESE is depicted as a necessity for the protection of ‘good citizens’ by the police and state (e.g. Altheide, 2006: 418).

Conclusively, as it is ascertained in this study, terrorism is a prevailing insecurity which can be easily spread across society and its rhetoric (Monahan, 2010:

6). Based on the exemplifications of terrorism given in news reportage of four Turkish newspapers it can be suggested that security is portrayed as a domestic, urban issue. Derived from the Turkish reportage about terrorism and in scope of MOBESE surveillance, it can be evaluated that terrorism as a frame grows into a domestic threat which seems to generate content of fear along with crime prevention. Similar arguments were suggested by Monahan (2010) and Altheide (2003, 2006). Indeed, it is inferred that MOBESE surveillance has been predominant beneficiary from the shift stimulated by terrorism, crime and disorder revealed in the examined Turkish press. Norris, McCahill and Wood also stressed that articulation of worldwide terrorism together with local crime stirred the CCTV industry (2004: 123). Barnard-Wills in his study investigating major media discourses of CCTV educed that discourses of terrorism, crime and security is evaluated in terms of 'appropriate surveillance' in UK press (2011: 554, 561) which may provide justification of expansion in MOBESE installation and an eventual public support provoked by content of fear; constituted immoral representations of crime and terrorism. From the idea developed from their findings and this in-depth analysis of four newspapers; it can also be suggested that the promotion of MOBESE, in this case, seems to be adjusted by the construction of insecurities represented by primarily crime and terrorism in order to regulate public provision.

In conclusion, studies on surveillance briefly suggests that, as Coleman and McCahill argue, surveillance within crime rhetoric has been unfolded as necessary and effective instrument in fight against disorder (2011: 170). Derived from the examined media representations of MOBESE, it is inferred that MOBESE is depicted as indispensable for controlling, deterring and preventing crime and terrorism. Untrustworthiness of crime and terrorism appears to be bolstered by the contextual formations of 'fear'.

On the other hand, for Monahan, surveillance is not always efficient in crime prevention or obviation of terrorism; in fact, these systems may cause an imprecise understanding of levels of security since they only detect the suspects and their preparations after the incident (Monahan, 2010: 11). Also in this analysis, MOBESE

is mainly highlighted by the examined press as ‘a prevention tool’ in most of the cities. Detection of the bombs at urban places is actually revealed by the media. However in terms of terrorism; indeed MOBESE mostly provided visuals of the incidents that have occurred. This may imply to both synoptic and panoptic effects that Coleman and McCahill suggested (2011: 125). The MOBESE images of terrorists, descriptions of how bombs have detected and how incidents have occurred given in the press may stimulate its synoptic effects, whereas media representations of demand in expansion in MOBESE because of such insecurities reasons may constitute its panoptic effects, which aims to intensify control by increasing levels of safety and security.

5.3. Conclusion

This chapter has offered an evaluative perspective for the crime control and fear themes in the portrayal of MOBESE in print media. The efficiency of video-surveillance in actual crime control and crime prevention is raising questions, as stressed by many scholars. On the other hand, video-surveillance is advocated as to be controlling and prevention crime, thus proliferation of cameras is seen as indispensable in the fight against crime. The construction of fear in relation with crime happens in specific themes that arise from contemporary threats and dangers which signify public disorder, assertively responded with MOBESE surveillance. Overall, in this chapter these representations of crime and fear related news items of four newspapers were analyzed and rendered. Three main themes come out at the end of this in-depth analysis of the texts as shown in the Figure 3.8; *MOBESE as a crime control tool*, *tracking ‘fear’ of crime* and *fear of terrorism*, which all promote MOBESE as a tool for elimination of disorder to assure safety and security of the public, furthermore, to assure public order.

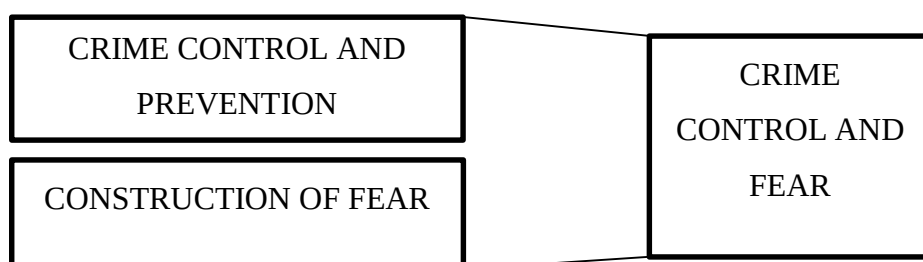


Figure 3.8 Representational themes related to Crime Control and Fear .

First, MOBESE is depicted by the print media as a ‘crime control tool’ revealing that it reduced crime, caught criminals, operated as a security precaution and prevention tool, because it has a ‘deterrent’ effect on crime. As Monahan puts, security cultures consist of “prevailing understanding of threats and appropriate responses to them” that emerge in especially media discourse (2010: 6). Accordingly, MOBESE is offered as a solution to the danger stemming from crime and criminals; a proper response as a ‘security precaution’. Crime context in terms of MOBESE is emphasized as a definite form of insecurity that should be minimized and prevented. Even though, it is portrayed that MOBESE controls, deters and prevents crime, neither is completely achieved as its effects overstated by the media. Derived from the in-depth readings news items only denote that MOBESE may reduce crime at locations of streets it is installed. However, by promoting its overemphasized effects in crime rates seems to manipulate expansion of MOBESE cameras along with increase of police dominance over space as demonstrated in the chapter four. This leads discussions to panopticonization and the plague-town of Foucault with articulations of fear.

Second, the context of ‘fear’ is shaped around MOBESE interrelated with crime control and prevention discussions. The main aim was to track the ‘fear’ content that is constructed in regard with MOBESE portrayal in the print news media. The rhetoric of fear is built up in terms of being a victim of crime, in fact, *living fear* due to the absent MOBESE surveillance. Another fear driven theme was fear of terrorism. According to Monahan, terrorism is a threat emerged with modern insecurities (2010: 6). Eventually, terrorism as a insecurity should be eliminated; and by the Turkish print media, MOBESE is presented as the right instrument. This state of insecurity, danger and threat of a plausible terrorist incident is placed at the center of everyday life driven by news over stories of monitored terroristic attacks which were ‘MOBESEd’ with its preparers, detection of bombs and the necessity of MOBESE launch in specific terrorism related spaces. At this point Foucault’s plague-suffering town as a diagram

of exercise of power may be explanatory. By plague and the quarantine in the city seems to illustrate constructed threats and dangers and the surveillance that comes up with this situation. Panopticonization refers implicitly to video-surveillance of public space and elimination of disorder and assurance of social control. If panopticonization is considered superficially as forms of exercise of power by internalization of control, then it can be suggested that crime and fear themes portray the 'deviancy' or the 'plague' and consequently, the demand of MOBESE may be represented in the print media as the 'self-discipline', appropriate behavior, and the obedience to the 'quarantine'. Finally, the aim of surveillance in elimination of insecurities which causes disorder and regulation of public order (and thereby social control) constitutes the essential component of security cultures.

CHAPTER VI

INFRINGEMENTS OF PRIVACY AND GENDERED REPRESENTATIONS: MOBESE “DO NOT WATCH PRIVATE LIFE BUT CRIME”

In the first section, security versus privacy discussions will be brought up in terms of MOBESE reportage. MOBESE is strongly defended as beneficial in preventing crime and responsive on account of any invasion of privacy. Moreover, descriptions of privacy also vary due to the context it is discussed, which will also be underlined in the third section.

In the second section, derived from the in-depth reading of newspaper articles, it is designated that safety and security concerns for women are revealed in the press. Thus, in the latter section, representations of fear and privacy issues are exemplified through ‘gendered’ construction of MOBESE. This section consists of gendered representations of firstly fear and secondly privacy. The former refers to vulnerability representations of women and being possible victims of crime, whereas the latter points out the association of MOBESE with domestic violence.

6.1. Infringements of Privacy: MOBESE “Do Not Watch Private Life But Crime”⁵⁰

Another discussion of CCTV camera issues took shape around security versus privacy paradox (Guasti and Meansfeldova, 2014: 5, Solove, 2007; Koskela, 2007; Greenberg and Hier, 2009; Hier and Walby, 2011; Belakova, 2013; Kroener, 2013). As showed in the prior sections, portrayal of MOBESE covered crime control and

⁵⁰ “Do Not Watch Private Life But Crime” *Hurriyet*, 15 April 2013.

crime prevention and the actors primarily consisted of police and local or regional governmental representatives designating the coverage; hence, seems to advocate attributes of MOBESE. According to Guasti and Meansfeldova this leads to an imbalance between personal privacy issues and discussions on how far surveillance can be accepted in order to acquire safety and security (2014: 5)⁵¹. According to media representations of surveillance, what is understood from privacy and what issues may be brought out are fundamental questions to reply because this clarification may decide on the significance of levels of safety and security.

To begin with, Kroener found out in her media content analysis study that articles assess civil liberties and privacy against security which denotes a direct negative causal relationship between them; loss in privacy means gain of security (2013: 130). In another study Barnard-Wills placed privacy in a discourse which evaluates surveillance as ‘inappropriate’ (2011: 548). He approached surveillance as being antagonistic to privacy and explained why surveillance may be invasive of privacy (2011: 561-62). Ultimately, he noted that privacy may be considered spatially; like infringements in the realms of the home (2011: 562).

Those two studies provide implications for the Turkish case of privacy-security dilemma in terms of MOBESE representations in the examined press, where two ways of understandings are framed by the press; at first MOBESE respecting rights of privacy and at second privacy referring to the home which will be discussed further.

6.1.1. MOBESE versus right of privacy

Cities like Big Brother Houses

As stated prior, the tendency to prioritize either security or privacy is predominant. One of the arguments is developed by Solove (2007) as ‘I’ve got nothing to hide’ discourse as popular in UK and US government campaigns. On the contrary, another familiar discourse is developed in regard to the metaphor ‘Big Brother’,

⁵¹ See also, Norris, McCahill and Wood, 2002, Greensberg and Hier, 2009; Barnard-Wills, 2011; Kroener, 2013.

categorizing surveillance rather inappropriate as invading privacy (Ellis et.al. 2013: 721). In the examined Turkish print media; thus, ‘Nothing to hide’ frame is unpopular as much as ‘Big Brother’ frame is prevalent.

The media frame refers to the construction of surveillance camera systems in public and cities, which may allegedly turn into a Big Brother contest. For example, in an article headlined as “Ankara will be like BBG house” published in *Sabah* (08 February 2010), new features of MOBESE system were described, which is a more introductory article. In another article about Istanbul which again given the headline of “Istanbul will be like BBG house” was published three years later (*Sabah*, 27 March 2013). This article constructed more on advocating MOBESE, which gives details about decreased crime rates and prevented or solved criminal incidents. The Governor is the main actor of both of the texts articulating that; with MOBESE one of both cities is “in its current form [...] one of the safest brand cities in the world” (*Sabah*, 27 March 2013). All over in all articles the metaphor of BBG is used for the representation of increasing levels of MOBESE, which may refer to the expansion in intense scrutiny and control, including privacy. No concerns about privacy issues are at present in these articles and MOBESE is considered a necessity of security. In BBG houses every moment of people living there is monitored, privacy is highly invaded. It is may be inferred that, examined article imply that for gaining security, privacy should be given up. This may be so, except one articles which resembles hospitals to BBG houses (*Haberturk*, 02 July 2014).

By taking patience privacy in consideration, publicly used areas are monitored and recorded by camera recording system and camera visuals are kept for two months. (*Haberturk*, 02 July 2014)

The reasons for the camera system are underlined due to several murders of doctors and petty crimes. So, crime prevention is again represented as the reason why for MOBESE and its legitimization portrayed as unquestionable because of invigorated sense of insecurity. The initiation of MOBESE monitoring in the hospitals is normalized through an argument that only publicly used spaces of the hospitals will be watched; moreover, “patience privacy” will be taken into consideration which is

rather nebulously described. The dimensions of “patience privacy” and its realm should be discussed more in detail and the borders should be drawn in order to clearly evaluate MOBESE in hospitals. Secondly, definition of “publicly used spaces” is also problematic because according to the news article it is seek to put cameras to “publicly used spaces” which are included as corridors and elevators and nothing more in detail is presented. What is remarkable is that the article itself is in a critical point of view by illustrating the BBG metaphor for “publicly used spaces”. It criticizes that such an implementation in hospitals is not convincingly justified by the government and it is certain that patients will be seen at the monitors; in addition, even putting cameras in restrooms is in question and not fully clarified. As a result of this, a public discussion of ‘appropriateness of place’ may be stimulated deriving from Koskela’s argument that surveillance can be more proper in some places than it would be in others (2007: 272).

Civil liberties and/or right of privacy may be at question but...

This is in line with the perception of video-surveillance as a way of infringing privacy in most places, as Koskela notes, which exceeds one’s rights of free mobility and anonymity (2007: 269). Patton also depicts on the complex framing of surveillance as a privacy issue (2000: 186); and in the light of his evaluations⁵² in this section it is aimed to explore the ways in which the framework in press develops themes of right of privacy in accordance with MOBESE. As a result of coding; privacy as a concept subsumes not only “locked doors and closed curtains” as Reiman elucidates, “but also from the way our publicly observable activities are dispersed over space and time” (1995: 29)⁵³. As Patton adds, people may be aware of being monitored and may self-regulate their conducts (Patton, 2000: 186); but in Turkish media reportage privacy [*mahremiyet*] is framed as one of the “emotional repertoires” (Hier, 2004: 547)⁵⁴. A

⁵² Patton suggests that right of privacy of people should defend personal information of scrutiny with such technological advancements (Patton, 2000).

⁵³ He further states that focusing on the privacy limited to “our doors and curtains” may cause to overlook modern ways of data collection which may anyway endanger our privacy at public space. Thus he evaluates a panoptic understanding of privacy more adaptable (Reiman, 1995: 29).

⁵⁴ Emotional repertoires represent “a constellation of shared meanings [...] conceptualized within particular social-cultural milieus [...] tending towards order, security and social control” (Hier, 2004:

good example of this can be found in an article published in *Hurriyet* titled as “All cameras should be removed” (*Hurriyet*, 21 February 2013). The article can be divided into two parts; first where privacy is discussed in terms of [*mahremiyet*] and second where security side of the coin is brought up. At the first part, it is mainly discussed that everyone should have privacy in a shopping mall, at corridors of buildings and at streets; and, every action should not be recorded because in the end “[O]ne has privacy even from his/her spouse” (*Hurriyet*, 21 February 2013). The second part is given below:

“90 percent of the criminals are caught by these methods. The removal of these [MOBESE cameras] because of security dimension would be probably out of the question. There is a fine line between liberties and security. Neither security nor civil liberties should be abandoned. Maybe the commission's report we will try to demonstrated to determine this fine line between them. If we say ‘civil liberties of individuals’ then MOBESEs should be removed. On the other hand, the safety of individuals is concerned.” (*Hurriyet*, 21 February 2013)

However, at the second half of the text the attitude changes causing an inconsistency between arguments where it is stated that there is; nevertheless, a fine line between privacy and security and the latter cannot be given up. Despite the strong defense of right of privacy, it is further incoherently acknowledged that for the state of security removal of MOBESE cameras would be out of question. In the immediate sentence the emphasis on the fine line between privacy and security is remade and suggested that it should not be the decision of either privacy or security. Lastly, the article proposes that MOBESE cameras should be eliminated if civil liberties are concerned; however also notes that personal safety and security are still issues to pay attention. Eventually, it can be stated that in this article priority of privacy as right to privacy and civil liberties are pointed out, yet privacy-security dilemma could not be solved, on the contrary this dichotomous approach is rather explicitly rendered.

In addition to this; five of the articles contains the term of ‘civil liberties’ and 16 codes comprised on the word ‘right of privacy’ in connection with infringements

547). He further delivers from Watson that an emotional concentration aspire to fulfill mass requests for substantial security.

of open streetscape monitoring. In terms of representations encompassing right of privacy and surveillance cameras revealed in four newspapers, there are very few opposing voices in terms of negative argumentation and they are not coherent in their articulations. A particular example among various others can be found in one titled as “MOBESound’s era”⁵⁵ (*Hurriyet*, 6 December 2014). The topic of the article is about the expected voice recording features of MOBESE cameras. The details about the new system are presented and the information that the fuzz will be added into the institutions that monitor Istanbul and Ankara is involved. It is reported that 90 of the new cameras will have voice recording features which is perceived as problematic. This issue is considered as challenging because voice recording is a crime, even if police or gendarmerie uses them, the records cannot be used as juridical evidence. Two important points are presented in this article. Firstly, the cameras have the attribute of darkening predetermined spaces and preventing them to be caught by the camera’s frame. Secondly, according to the article video recording is already used in urban public buses deriving from the statements of the Mayor. Aforementioned security/privacy dichotomy also exists in this article which represents new voice application of MOBESE in a critical manner despite the fact that at the same time it provides details about sensitivities while providing security.

A third example is about a court decision which aims to halt “camera obligation” (*Hurriyet*, 11 February 2011). According to the news text, by the Governorship of Balıkesir, it was obliged to put cameras in all of workplaces, office blocks, apartment buildings, gated communities, traditional coffeehouses, tea gardens, hospitals, schools, shopping malls, gas stations et cetera; summarily all publicly accessible places should be monitored with 24/7 recording at least for 15 days. In the immediate sentence after this information, it is stated that one gated community manager sued this decision because of the invasion of civil liberties; and, it is decided the court decision to be adjudged.

⁵⁵ The title in its original language is “MobeSESLI donem” which refers to MOBESE cameras which not only visually monitors but also has the attribute of vocal recording.

The last example denotes a new project named “third eye” planning to put surveillance cameras in all shopping malls, cafés and other businesses of the city of Mugla (*Milliyet*, 18 April 2011). Again in this article the dichotomy of security and privacy is introduced in terms of approaches of different actors containing interviewed citizens and government officers. Four perspectives are included in the text whereas the first two ones severely criticize the comprehensive camera system in all over the city in terms of civil liberties where the third approach draws attention back to the fine line between privacy and security and thereby public order which in a certain sense weakens the prior arguments. The last argument is about efficiency of MOBESE in crime control. What another striking point in the article is that, even though it begins with critical views it ends with examples of video-surveillance implementations around the world which totally changes its attitude.

According to Gray “the obsession with security”, especially after 9/11 attacks provoked privacy/security paradox concerning public safety (2003: 319) as also discussed in the former section. Ultimately, supported by all four example, it can be argued that right to privacy and civil liberties are represented by four newspapers supporting more on security side of the paradox. On the other hand, emphasis on the privacy/security dilemma is instantly made which depicts video-surveillance as crucial because of safety and security concerns.

6.1.2. MOBESE versus privacy as private space

To ease concerns about privacy, additional discussion is outlined by the examined Turkish press. Another predominantly discussed premise is significantly about the ‘locked doors and closed curtains’ – homes. Bozbeyoğlu pinpoints that in Turkey the term privacy connotes to private space evaluated within family relations (2012: 145). Karakehya also designates that there are holes in legal framework in Turkey since MOBESE cameras do not in fact threaten privacy because of an understanding that there is no intention of looking into our homes or workplaces (2009: 345). He questions how far people may feel free or their right of privacy protected by the government if their lives at public space are monitored second-by-second

(Karakehya, 2009: 346). Taking both arguments into account, it can be stated that as far as MOBESE cameras do not intrude to private spheres of homes, the expansion of MOBESE can be tolerated by the Turkish society. Therefore, at first media concentrates on the message of “MOBESE does not monitor the homes of the citizens”. At second, this message is bolstered with crime control arguments; “MOBESE does not monitor private lives but prevent crime”.

MOBESE does not monitor the homes of the citizens

The argument about the balance of privacy and security is discussed in terms of MOBESE’s technological attributes which is firstly represented by an article about MOBESE center in Istanbul. This exemplary piece contains arguments to categorize privacy in regard to private space.

In zooming process in publicly accessible spaces in case of any invasion of homes namely private areas, the screen can be blacken. (*Sabah*, 18 October 2010)

Despite of possible intrusions of MOBESE cameras, the article rather describes privacy as a simplistic notion. The limits of privacy are drawn overlapping with private space as the borders of the home. It is portrayed like the only concern that society may have would be the potential of monitoring one’s window through MOBESE cameras’ lenses. On the other hand, no legal information about rights of citizens in terms of MOBESE is provided by the text; only technological attributes are introduced which questionably ‘enable’ the monitor to darken in any case of invasion. Furthermore, details about how this technology operates are not shared indeed.

A reasonable clarification for justification of such arguments may be provided through ‘care and control’ implications of police as represented in the former chapter four. It is deduced that care represents a way of rationalization of control via security issues. MOBESE installation is obviously represented as for the safety and security of citizens, therefore, the care of the police; like Haggerty and Samatas (2010) described hospital care for its patients, is for citizens’ good (i.e. Lyon, 2002). Consequently, it may be inferred that a similar representation is implicated in terms of monitoring of homes which means police care about the good of society, hence aspire to avert

MOBESE to monitor their private lives and private spaces. As a notable example, the piece of news article reports how police take care of privacy of people.

[Chief of Police of Ankara] emphasized that MOBESE monitoring are set in order to conceal private life and private lives of individuals are kept out of content, and that MOBESEs are only monitored for the safety of city and citizens and asked for nobody to be uncomfortable. (*Hurriyet*, 15 July 2011)

It is stated that MOBESE settings are adjusted by police in respect to private life and private spaces of citizens. A second statement is that MOBESE only operates for the safety and security of city inhabitants. In the last sentence it is assured that people can relieve themselves about their privacy counting on police. As represented by the this article, police is not only responsible for the safety and security at public space but also for the protection of private lives. The care and control phenomenon can be applied to better understand this representation. In this sense, the argument that police care about the good of society may include their safety of privacy as well as depicted by the text. Further examples of news reportage like “Privacy instructions to MOBESE cameras” (*Sabah*, 15 April 2013) and “Does MOBESE look into homes” (*Hurriyet*, 16 April 2013) may exemplify care and control of police via privacy representations. In both of the articles, it is announced by General Directorate of Security Affairs that “... there should not be concerns about MOBESE invasions of privacy” (*Sabah*, 15 April 2013). It is stated that the system is “sensitive” in terms of private life and it is used for “... general security establishment and effective fight against crime and criminals” (*Sabah*, 15 April 2013). In line with this, crime prevention assertions are involved for better portrayal of care of the state and police for the society’s security and privacy at the same time.

MOBESE does not monitor private life but to prevent crime

Even if in the literature it is discussed that there is a paradox of privacy and security, Bozbeyoğlu asserts that in Turkey privacy is abandoned in favor of security with MOBESE cameras (2012: 144). Unlike remarks of Kroener (2013) and Barnard-Wills (2011), examined media texts seek to show that both can be achieved at the same time, as put forward priorly in this section. Mitchell states that both public and private

spheres – private sphere as the home - are constrained and identified by gender, race and class relations (Mitchell, 2003: 132). This situation is constructed mostly upon gender, because the private space as the home has traditionally been correlated with women and femininity (Wright et.al. 2014: 96). Paul supports this idea by denoting strong patriarchal repercussions embedded in private space (Paul, 2011: 416). In this context, in examined Turkish press the content of “we don’t look into your homes but prevent crime” (*Hurriyet*, 22 August 2010) is advanced as shown in the instance below.

Our government understanding in Ankara is not that we have no interest in nobody’s private life. We just watch publicly accessible places based on the authority given by law and we work for preventing crime. The private lives of citizens are not in the interest of Ankara police. (*Hurriyet*, 22 August 2010)

To support the idea of crime prevention, it is stated that police watches public space since every precaution is taken in respect to privacy. The article contains positive evaluative language giving the message: the cameras are very effective in detecting possibilities of criminal acts in public space, while monitoring for crime prevention police care not to intrude into homes. This represents an easing attitude for concerns about privacy which may be attributed above-mentioned femininity in its roots. It may be suggested that homes embedded with patriarchic practices where women and femininity as Wright et al. argued is found, therefore to invade into such spaces may have serious connotations for the Turkish case. Furthermore, it is frankly exemplified in the next example of comprising statements of the Chief of Police of Ankara (*Hurriyet*, 15 April 2013).

[The Chief of Police] emphasized that every precaution has been taken to prevent the use of cameras out of purpose, especially right of privacy is put forefront and said: “Our system’s most important characteristic is its sensibility to right of privacy”. “Our cameras, from the installation on, if to their viewpoint homes of our citizens coincides, automatic shielding system will be activated. Our operators cannot deactivate it in any case. In this sense our citizens can feel at ease”. (*Hurriyet*, 15 April 2013)

It is stated that right of privacy has been given priority and precautions have been taken to activate the automatic system that ‘enables’ the monitors to be blacken. This story has been revealed for three days with different titles in the same newspaper as presented subsequently; “Does MOBESE look into homes” *Hurriyet* 16 April 2013 and “Private life settings for MOBESE cameras” *Hurriyet*, 17 April 2013 where these stories have contained details about high numbers of MOBESE cameras to control and prevent crime and criminals in order to increase acceptability of MOBESE in providing security at the same time respecting privacy in terms of not looking into ‘our’ homes where the private may be kept.

6.2. Gendered representations of MOBESE: “Significant for preventing violence”

In this section, two media frames are identified in terms of women and fear of crime. Due to the in-depth reading of MOBESE related news articles; construction of both themes of ‘fear’ content and privacy-security dilemma are exemplified in the ‘gendered representations’ concerning MOBESE. Fear of sexual violence and public-private space division are rendered as main discussions about women which will be demonstrated in this section. First discussion is related with ‘fear’ theme, whereas the second applies to security-privacy dilemma. Therefore, firstly, women and imposed fears by the media will be discussed and latterly, security-privacy dilemma is argued in terms of private space.

According to news coverage in print media, women are portrayed as vulnerable and in privation of a manly protection of mainly masculinized force such as police. As demonstrated in the previous chapter MOBESE system is inherently associated with police; open streetscape surveillance, in particular. Thus, it can be interrogated how such a connotation may affect women and their presence in public space. In order to find answers to this question media representation of women in accordance with themes shaped around fear and vulnerability aimed to be uncovered. A second point would be what spaces are portrayed as for women’s safety and security which leads to the second question of this section. It is asked how security-privacy may distress

women's representation in public space. Because the question at hand begets a very comprehensive answer, the scope is boiled down to public physical space and privacy as a social concept defined in the media included in the discussion.

6.2.1. Fear representations: Vulnerability of women as plausible victims of crime

Many of the scholars evoked the idea that the 'gendered' nature of surveillance reproduces the urban experience for women in different ways (Koskela, 1997, 1999, 2000, 2003, 2007, Mehta and Bondi, 1999, Koskela and Pain, 2000, Weesley and Gaadener, 2004, Yavuz and Welsh, 2010, Abraham, 2010, Paul, 2011). According to some, surveillance practices are gendered because of multiple power-relationships, promoting the purpose of surveillance as to increase urban safety for women, because women are perceived as vulnerable and demanding in protection (Koskela, 2007). According to Paul and Koskela, the underlying reason of these relationships between gender and vulnerability are about forms of power and surveillance (Paul, 2011: 417, Koskela, 2000: 254). Because of a fear construction (or maybe the representation of fear) women are spatially excluded (Koskela, 1999: 112).

Vulnerability and video-surveillance of urban space interrelation occurs in the examined Turkish media in terms of crime control and prevention. Particularly, sexual harassment and homicide constitute themes of women related news reportage frequently. 'Fear' is thereby is portrayed by the media over the female gender attributes. Fear is aimed to be created as a result of sense of lack of safety and security in specific urban spaces for specific bodies. Thereby, as Paul and Koskela inferred above urban space may become gendered. Women are represented as open to be a plausible victim of any criminal act; predominantly of victim of rape. Since several studies interrogate efficiency of surveillance cameras in preventing any crime (Fyfe and Bannister, 1998, Coleman and Sim, 2000); Norris and Armstrong's study as an example designated that in their 600 hours of observation in CCTV control room only one women was surveilled in purpose of safety (1999b: 172). Norris and Armstrong concluded in their study conducted in several CCTV control rooms that women are targeted as neither suspects nor potential victims, but as sexually attention getting

subjects (Norris and Armstrong, 1999: 127). However, as Weesley and Gaardener expresses, media contributes to the construction of gendered perceptions of and exacerbates fear and crime in urban spaces (2004: 648). Despite academic findings, the examined print media persists with representing MOBESE as an active precaution against crimes targeting women.

MOBESE as protecting from harassment: Fear of sexual harassment and fear of rape

First, women's fears are revealed by the media in terms of fear of sexual violence. As Warr (1984) notes, for most women fear of crime consists of fear of rape (cited in May et al. 2010: 160). In the examined Turkish media context the discussion is shaped mainly around potential harassment in the public transit such as metrobuses and minibuses. Yavuz and Welch state that women compared to men prefer to use car or taxi instead of public transit or walking; because of being concerned about their safety (2010: 2494). According to Koskela these feelings of unsafety stem not from the actual risk itself, but the experiences, memories and relations to space (1997: 304). This fear of violence in public transit pursues to the same reasons as fear of crime in public space engaging with vulnerability (Yavuz and Welch, 2010: 2492).

Public spaces produce gender identities according to power relations and because of their masculinization fear of crime is presupposed as a major factor (Paul, 2011: 412). For Koskela fear is not only associated with crime rates but also to the range that women "feel they have control over their lives" (Koskela, 1997: 304). However, sense of vulnerability of women in terms of fear of sexual harassment bolsters this masculinized control over space (Koskela, 1999: 121). In this context, 24 segments were coded as fear of crime of women derived from the in-depth reading of the articles. Acquired from the readings of literature and scrutiny of the articles, it has been concluded that women and video-surveillance relationship can be evaluated and included with a special focus on the fear of crime. For exemplifying this argument, the quotation giving below contains very influential inferences about social construction of gendered perceptions of public space use, in this case public transportation.

Minibus passenger Damla Yıldırım said that the system in public transportation would be beneficial, in particular for women. She told as a woman, she does not prefer minibuses and said: “As a woman when getting on to minibuses I felt uncomfortable. I was concerned about something might happen to me and my personal belongings. [Surveillance] camera system will be perfect especially for us [women]. All women would like it I presume. Thanks to this system sexual harassment that women face in public transportation will not be lived. If something happens, police will easily detect the criminal from the images. (*Hurriyet*, 19 June 2015; *Haberturk*, 18 June 2015; *Sabah*, 18 June 2015)

The piece of media text informs about the ideas of a female minibus user on putting cameras in public transportation, especially in minibuses. The first theme is given as ‘woman’ where in every sentence it was distinguished. The passenger specifies firstly public transportation and secondly women, in particular, benefitting from MOBESE. Another implication may be stated that she as a woman does not prefer minibuses which retain higher levels of insecurity for women, thus women should not prefer minibuses if their safety and security is concerned. The text reinforces this implication by giving details why the passenger feels uncomfortable. In the latter sentence she states that she ‘fears of being a victim of crime’. After the definition of the current state of fear in the minibuses, the text involves advocative suggestions about surveillance cameras for women. It is assumed that the presence of cameras would prevent or control crime. The crime mentioned through the text is actually sexual harassment. Although it is guaranteed that police is omnipresent in the text; still, it can be clearly seen that MOBESE does not and maybe cannot target immediate action rather afterwards the incident. Thereby; at first it can be suggested that as Warr noted fear of crime refers to fear of rape and sexual harassment as seen in the example. Secondly, deriving from Yavuz and Welch’s and Koskela’s arguments, social construction of public space may be masculinized due to the fear of crime attributed to public transit and women’s vulnerability. Thirdly, masculinization over space may be buttressed over women’s sense of vulnerability as Koskela (2007) would affirm and this masculine domination appears in the case of minibuses in Turkey as vehicles of public transportation.

Minibuses in urban areas of Turkey can be evaluated as masculinized spaces, containing possible threats for women. Video-surveillance is put into the discussion as

a prevention strategy of such threats, in particular, the threat of sexual harassment. Therefore, minibuses seems to be represented by the examined print media as spaces of fear of sexual harassment that require control and tracking via surveillance. The formulation of Koskela can be put into this analysis where she stresses that masculine spaces perceive women in minimum numbers and safer areas in 'feminine' majority (Koskela, 1999: 112). Therefore, minibuses with limited capacity of passengers (10 or less sitting passengers on average) establish spaces of fear for women where the threat of being the sole passenger would make them a potential victim. For this, two incidents given in *Haberturk* are specifically catchy examples (*Haberturk*, 04 May, 2015, 05 March 2015). The article is published in 04 May 2015, which is about an alleged case occurred at the metrobus station. A woman is sexually harassed and then mugged from a stranger man according to the text. However, after the details of the attack, it is stated that according to the investigation led by IETT, the alleged incident is falsified. Due to their investigations such an occasion has not occurred in the borders of the metrobus station. A long falsification is offered in the text, but ironically in the end of the text "get well soon wishes" are sent to the harassed woman. No details about what could have happened or where it could have happened are suggested. The latter example represents a far more dramatic incident about women as victims of rape. The text is about the discussion on minibuses to be equipped with surveillance cameras; however how it is rationalized is dramatic.

After university student Özgecan Aslan was murdered by a minibus driver in Mersin told that they plan to put cameras in the vehicles. (Milliyet, 13 May 2015)

In February 2015, a female college student in Mersin, Turkey was brutally murdered after an attempt of rape of the minibus driver. It captured attention of the media for a long time and called the vicious incident after her name 'Özgecan Homicide'. Every progress about the case was on TV and in the newspapers almost every day. Reportages with the family members and her MOBESE images before the incident broadcasted several times and discussions about vulnerability of women against crimes in public transportation vehicles opened up. It also constituted an

anchor case for violence against women and murders, but it was neither the first nor the last of them. Therefore, in the first article it has been advocately suggested that ‘tracking system with cameras’ for minibuses will be efficient and safe for women. In addition, this understanding is depicted in other numerous reports such as; “Tracks with cameras for minibuses” (*Sabah*, 29 November 2013), “Route with cameras for minibuses” (*Hurriyet*, 11 July 2014), “GPS tracking for minibuses” (*Milliyet*, 18 February 2015). It is stated in general that sexual harassments ‘do occur’; however it can be seen (and presumably prevented) with the cameras now on (Haberturk, 05 March 2015). Furthermore, in another article it is stated that “...security systems are necessitated not to experience this kind of incidents (Ozgecan Homicide) again and that it is “[...] consider[ed] that cameras will be deterrent” (*Hurriyet*, 19 June 2015). However, Fyfe and Bannister challenge the idea that surveillance cameras do reduce crime but property crime or car damage. There may exist the possibility of every detection of cameras cannot be responded to; any action cannot be held or even if it may be afterwards, in particular in sexual harassments.

In response to this; not only public transportation has been the space that media substituted ‘fear’ with; but open public space for women is also constructed in fear by the examined news reportage. Firstly, the streets are depicted as places of anonymity, which may mean that anyone or any incident may be unrecognized or insignificant. MOBESE’s representation is shaped around this frame and asserted such cases of harassment of violence can thereby be ceased. A news report published after the New Year’s Eve in 2015 exemplifies the argument adequately, which is headlined as “MOBESE bothered harassers” (*Sabah*, 02 January 2015). In the article, it is stated that MOBESE and police teams in cover were present at the celebration places of Ankara’s center Kizilay and prevented sexual harassment cases and established the public order. It is included that those behind the cameras directed the police at the field to the location of incidents. In this article by considering the rest of it, it can be argued that for women the message of anonymity of crowded public space is given and for their safety and security the vitality of police presence along with MOBESE is emphasized; and it can be also asserted that a certain increase in control over public

space is still intended over public order discourse. Additionally, deriving from Koskela's arguments, it would not be altogether wrong to state that the control is a masculinized power implementation over public space.

Secondly, another significant argument is that in open public spaces such as parks; 'fear' can be inherently constructed because of the specific natural elements of space. Jorgensen, Ellis and Ruddell list a number of reasons why parks retain the possibility of causing fear of crime; but the most contributing one for this section is 'social cues' (2012: 806-807). Social cues can be found in social incivilities by which fear is stimulated. According to Jorgensen et al., and deriving from numerous scholars; social incivilities caused fear by infamous seeming individuals or groups who linger or sleep in such environments. Besides, they note Whyte's finding of "mutual acceptable use", pointing out the acceptable uses of space in case of 'appropriate' people using such spaces which would attract others as well (Whyte cited in Jorgensen et al., 2012: 806). The following article illustrates thus a noteworthy example for such assumptions presented by Jorgensen et al.

[Mayor said:] We made the project so that everybody can go to parks. We are installing surveillance cameras to our parks so that our children and women can enjoy their experience and families can be comfortable. Two security personnel monitor the images and maintain control in the parks where the project is active. With the help of the cameras we obviated negativities [social incivilities]. (*Hurriyet*, 01 February 2014)

In the news report it is stated that three parks in a district has initiated camera surveillance and others will be equipped with cameras soon. According to the statement, it can be understood that parks were perceived as unsecure and unsafe areas for particular groups such as children and women which are represented again the most vulnerable groups of the society. Negativities as expressed in the text, in a certain sense may connote to social incivilities and by denoting that these incivilities are hindered. It can be suggested that by these arguments, Whyte and Jorgensen et al. suggestions are supported by the examined print media. Additionally, it can be commented that women cannot 'enjoy their experience', in lack of cameras or security personnel protection. It is assumed that these personnel represent mostly male power; however

no connotation to police force is given. Private security is another point that this article brings out. Although in Europe private security in video-surveillance of many spaces to public spaces is responsible ranging from city centers to shopping malls, even in parks or streets; in Turkey it is very limited. In private spaces such as offices or shops, or in privatized spaces private security personnel is at present. However, municipalities started to employ private security personnel or established their own companies for publicly accessible spaces such as hospitals, schools, and in that case parks. For example, the exemplification of this is given below in a piece of news article headlined as “Contracts over 'security' gone”⁵⁶ (*Hurriyet*, 07 July 2014).

Security personnel being absent in the parks as the symbols of the town such as Kugulupark; Ahlatlibel and Cansera caused the reaction of people of the capital city. Some citizens expressed that they feel unsafe in the parks and said: “It has become quite dangerous to go to the park with our children and our grandchildren. The possibility of parks filled with snatchers and thinner addicts scares us quite”. (*Hurriyet*, 07 July 2014)

In the major part of the news article, security and safety concerns about the parks in the district of Cankaya are revealed. Moreover, without private security personnel already the decrease in levels of safety and security is portrayed by the article. Additionally, first argument is also supported by this example because low levels of safety and security is rendered with a visualization of dangerous or ‘inappropriate’ groups as approving explanations of Whyte and further Jorgensen et al. (2012) by depicting parks without security personnel as environments of social incivilities and thereby inducing ‘fear’. Finally, these implications reinforces not Mitchell-like (1995) representations of places of democracy; but what Weesley and Gaarder note deriving from Gordon and Riger’s assertions referring to fear of rape or fear of any sexual harassment is prevailing for women and these feelings are also reinforced in urban parks depicted as dangerous youth loitering in that areas (cited in Weesley and Gaarder, 2004: 657).

⁵⁶ The word ‘security’ is used for private security guards, but also meaning that with them the state of security is also lost because no municipal mechanism exists to secure the safety of the spaces in the responsibility of private security company.

MOBESE as evidence of homicide of women

Another point that MOBESE is associated with women by the press reportage is homicide of women. There exists numerous articles about cases of violence and homicide of women that occurred at public space, on the other hand, MOBESE is usually not portrayed as a prevention tool, rather as a system that provides evidences for the identifying the suspects. For example in one of the articles describes how the suspect of a murder of a university student woman is found (*Haberturk*, 19 February 2011). It is stated that MOBESE images are scrutinized by police and found that boyfriend of the women equivocated the police. Furthermore, in another report it is informed that 400 cameras were observed to find the murderer of the woman (*Haberturk*, 20 October 2012; i.e. *Sabah*, 02 July 2014).

All over; conclusively, Koskela points out to the less evidence that cameras reduce sexual violence (2000: 246). Furthermore, according to her surveillance may induce unequal gender relations to be propagated instead of opposed (2000: 256). As experienced in Ozgecan case, imbalanced gender relations may never be made so apparent. Indeed, disproportioned relations of gender may be fortified with the propositions of intensified camera surveillance and police scrutiny because of two reasons.

First, proposals of camera surveillance may be in the aim of protecting the vulnerable, in this case women, however, at the same time may bolster the gendered perceptions of vulnerability and suppose that public transportation and further public space is masculinized. Giving details about the women who were attacked or raped in public areas represents rather their vulnerability in public space against masculinized power. Mehta and Bondi's (1999) study provides a detailed example of why men do not consider themselves as vulnerable to sexual harassment or violence in public space and are even reluctant to elaborate on. Whereas most of women were agitated about being a victim of sexual crime; and been already violated or had friend whom sexually violated (Mehta and Bondi, 1999: 78).

Second point is more about signal crimes, which may lead to confusion in perceptions of levels of safety and security at surveilled spaces. Cameras may signal

whether assurance of safety for a women who may think that she is protected by someone behind the camera or the contrary. Stationed cameras higher in number may signify higher levels of crime around, which induced to video-surveillance to be intensified. Again, cameras in for example minibuses cause women to feel insecure about being the only passenger or in parks cameras may aim to show security however absence may cause other problems. As a result, video-surveillance may not always mitigate perceptions of insecurity or violence or homicide as intended to; on the contrary perpetuate unequal gendered power relationships in urban public space.

6.2.2. Privacy representations: Domestic violence and MOBESE

Women's fear of violence induces spatial exclusions as Koskela notes as a consequence of gendered inequalities stemming from gendered power relations (1999: 111). Approach of surveillance cameras as promoting women's safety in public space is problematic according to Coleman and Sim since the arguments of feminist research assert that violence is still a threat remaining in private sphere (2000: 633). In support of this, Altheide pinpoints to the complexity of persuading people that domestic violence is actually a 'crime' because it is revealed seldom by the news reports (Altheide, 2000: 15). In scope of the second frame it is suggested that security and privacy dichotomy is contributive in understanding privacy and private space relationship in considering video-surveillance and women.

Private space is where violence begins: Violence in private space in relation with MOBESE surveillance

Public space, private spaces and vehicles of transportation are mostly surveilled spaces. Due to Paul's argument; gendered experiences of public space differentiates (Paul, 2001: 417), thus, women are revealed as being vulnerable against violent criminal acts, particularly in public space. However, violence is rather a domestic issue that may mostly take place in private space since private space represents due to Paul a traditional relegation of women throughout the society (2001: 415). Furthermore, for him hegemonic patriarchal implications are stronger and embedded in private space (Paul, 2011: 416). In this context, it is also important to

note that whether women would be in public or private space they are restrained to power structures (Rose cited in Paul, 2001: 414). According to feminist approach the risk of violence towards women and its actuality persist in the private sphere (Mooney cited in Coleman and Sim, 2000: 633). As a result, deriving from his arguments it is deduced that surveillance may perpetuate such masculine power in private space until women reach the space of public where police is responsible; but still cannot put in a claim for her life. According to Koskela surveillance intensifies and reproduces masculinized power (Koskela, 2007: 264); thereby the emphasis on the role of the police being at the ‘watching’ side of the cameras implies the gendered look of the surveillance cameras. In 2013 only %5.5 of police force consist of women in Turkey⁵⁷, which means most likely male power persists to dominance at the other side of the gaze of the camera.

In response to this, two articles were articulated within ten months informing about ‘violence button’ (Sabah, 18 October 2012; 02 September 2013). In these news articles it has been suggested that a violence button will be given to the women who are victims of violence, on the other hand, it has not been bluntly stated that it is domestic violence what the violence button targets. The argument forms around the “husband will not be able to ring the doorbell or cross her path, who knows that *our* (emphasis added by the author) woman has a button,” because “MOBESE cameras will start to follow her up until she pressed the button” (Sabah, 18 October 2012). At this point, it is crucial to add that MOBESE cameras are not located in private realms of homes of these women; their capability of tracking is though limited to public space. Therefore, any violence occurring indoors may stay in the realm of the private and no possibility of interference may be applied. In the following narrative, which is more definitive than advocative, gives more details about the system.

Violence victim can benefit from the system [security button] with the injunction of Ministry of Family and Social Policies. Violence victims whom security button was given with the court decision are given education in Violence Avoidance and Monitoring Centers (ŞÖNİM). For the system to be activated violence victim pushes the button when she feels her life in danger. After this call, with Mobile

⁵⁷ <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=16056> (Accessed on 07/31/2015).

Electronic Systems Integration (MOBESE) serving 24 hours a day her location is detected. Victim is reached vocally and asked: “Did you push the button by mistake or is your life in danger?” If her life is in danger, the nearest police team arrives there in the shortest time. The device has a message button for the women who cannot talk. (*Sabah*, 02 September 2013)

Although the report above has described the system of the “violence button” in detail, no details about the responsibility areas are given as also introduced in prior article (*Sabah*, 18 October 2012). Some questions arise for example; what if the woman whose life is under threat cannot go outside? What if she cannot say anything or even text? What if she was unexpectedly exposed to violence and pushed the button, will police break in? Or more dramatically what if the police cannot get inside the house to prevent violence (if they would be allowed to do such an intrusion) which may end up with death?

“As soon as the button is activated, Security General Directorate’s MOBESE surveillance cameras will commence following her. There will be vocal communication and messaging ability of the button.” (*Sabah*, 18 October 2012)

Moreover, in the piece of text above, the division of public and private space is not made or any assurance of securing the life of women in private space is given. As described in the text, MOBESE will follow women who press the button outdoors. Ultimately, it can be stated that this system mainly targets public space and as Paul (2001) suggested due to hegemonic patriarchal power of private space may cause the domestic violence to stay ‘domestic’. Finally, as Koskela admits the help directed by the camera may arrive too late for the victim of violence whether in public or private space (2007: 271).

6.3. Conclusion

In studies of video-surveillance, security versus privacy paradox has particularly been preliminary. Video-surveillance is demonstrated eventually as an effective security infrastructure according to Guasti and Meansfeldova (2014). In this chapter, at first, MOBESE surveillance is advocated as an efficacious tool in crime

prevention. Even though cities are revealed as Big Brother Houses, the reference does not apply in panoptic but rather in synoptic sense. Major definitions of privacy in terms of MOBESE representations are revealed initially as civil liberties and right of privacy (as shown in the Figure 3.9), however, the existence of a fine line between security and privacy is also underlined, and accordingly, when the safety of individuals is concerned MOBESE cameras should be launched. The further portrayal of privacy in relation with MOBESE refers to private evaluated in patriarchal family relations. The implication is that, as far as MOBESE cameras do not intrude to private spheres of ‘the home’, the expansion of surveillance cameras can be tolerated. Ultimately, “MOBESE (and implicitly the police behind the monitor, maybe the state) do not monitor the homes of the citizens”, or to put it in another way, “MOBESE does not monitor private lives but prevent crime”.

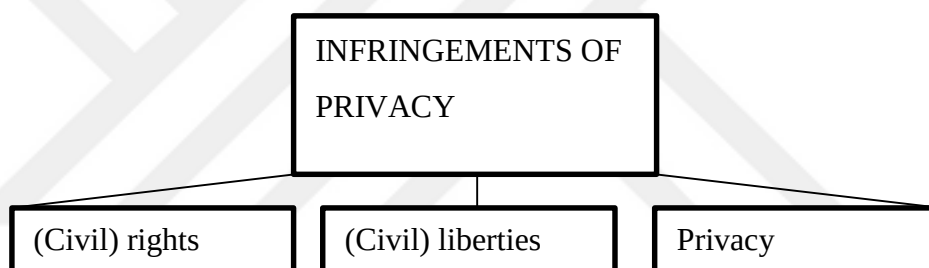


Figure 3.9 Representational themes related to Infringements of Privacy.

At second, gendered representations also serve for the expansion of MOBESE cameras due to the MOBESE portrayal in the print media, which emphasizes its importance in prevention of crime and violence against women. Over MOBESE representations, vulnerability of women to crime is emphasized and fear of crime is boiled down to fear of sexual harassment, fear of rape and fear of being murdered. This denotes that the public space (especially the emphasis on public transport vehicles have been significant) is masculinized and not safe for women whereas the private space is feminine, which accordingly also preserves the danger of being subject to violence. Even though MOBESE is an open streetscape camera system, its representations in the print media have promises of preventing domestic violence.

However, MOBESE's range is still limited to public space, and the possible victim of domestic violence cannot be protected until she reaches the realm of the public, escaping from the masculine pressure of the home and maybe press the 'security button' which would allegedly protect her. So, even if privacy as a phenomenon connotes to femininity of private sphere, which should not be invaded, masculine relations of control invade in both public and the private space by the MOBESE portrayal in the print media.

Conclusively, it can be implied that in the fine line between security and privacy; privacy is defined as feminine and concerns about 'the private' are enervated with MOBESE because the public order is about the 'public' as represented in the print media. It is rather revealed as security is established through MOBESE as an efficacious tool, therefore should be expanded in respects to 'the private'.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This study is conducted to examine the representations of MOBESE revealed in the print media. This research is conducted in terms of print media articles downsized to MOBESE-related items in four selected newspaper articles published between the years of 2008-2015. Security cultures embedded in surveillance infrastructures are investigated through implications of safety and security themes applied with video-surveillance system - so-called MOBESE -portrayal. As Monahan argues, security and surveillance intersect in their relation with power; surveillance is primary in producing certain social relations (2010: 2). Monahan suggests that surveillance begets social control by controlling people through monitoring, tracking and identification (Monahan, 2006: 326; Monahan, 2010: 8). Video-surveillance producing certain social relations is responded with the metaphor of Panopticon and the term panopticonization derived from its abstraction. Panopticonization refers to internalization of social control, which seeks an inquiry of power relations and representations. For that reason, the objective of this study is to analyze MOBESE portrayal from an evaluative perspective seeking to know to what end do these representations given in the print media serve; furthermore; to inquire where MOBESE surveillance stand in the process of constructing security cultures. This section will synthesize the findings to answer the study's research questions.

First, an overall answer to all sub-questions should be given. It is found that determined themes of MOBESE portrayal in print media are explicitly related with codes. Codes are results of a synthesis of word frequencies as illustrated in the chapter three. This leads to the main categories of representations which are threefold: *panopticism and police, crime control and fear and infringements of privacy*. All three chapters are attached to each other based on the emphasis of forms of insecurities

ranging from traffic to domestic space. In reply to those insecurities, approval of high numbers of MOBESE cameras is advocated by the print media. Common actors in all three chapters consist of the police and the state officials (the Chief of Police, Mayor, Governor, Manager of the District). Police and state officials' point of views are used as the source of information in the examined print media, therefore, as also suggested by other scholars, the argumentation of the MOBESE surveillance have been rather in positive attitude.

In light of above-mentioned responses, in the chapter four, maintenance of public order is highlighted as the predominant frame in MOBESE portrayal in examined news media in relation with implicit and explicit connotations to social control of the police. MOBESE surveillance is depicted as being for public order which is legitimized through traffic control whereby traffic is depicted as insecurity at the beginning and the expansion of MOBESE is portrayed as a solution for the good of peace and safety of the 'good' citizens. Police dominance behind the MOBESE cameras is given implicitly emphasizing its role; then, it has become more explicit with the connotations of police and presentation of its approach in terms of 'care' and 'control' continuum. The positive argumentation of expansion of MOBESE surveillance became rather explicit. Later on, through portrayal of strong bonds between police and MOBESE surveillance in the print media offered an inquiry of panopticonization. Through the frame of maintenance of public order, the expansion of MOBESE cameras appears to be revealed by the print media. MOBESE surveillance constitutes the essential component of security cultures. Security cultures are bolstered through the promotion of expansion of MOBESE in the representations in the print media through implicit and explicit connotations to dominance of the police. All these representations refer to the maintenance of public order illustrating how MOBESE and police operate for public order in terms of panopticonization of public space.

In the chapter five, the importance of public order is bolstered through the explicit representations of insecurities like crime and terrorism and the implicit fear driven by them. The appropriate answer to these determined insecurities is pinpointed

in the expansion of MOBESE by the media reportage. MOBESE is depicted by the print media as a 'crime control tool' revealing that it reduced crime, caught criminals, operated as a security precaution and prevention tool, because it has a 'deterrent' effect on crime. The positive argumentation of MOBESE and state officials' approaches are the source of information. As Monahan put, security cultures consist of "prevailing understanding of threats and appropriate responses to them" that emerge in especially media discourse (2010: 6). Accordingly, MOBESE is offered as a solution to the danger stemming from crime and criminals; a proper response as a 'security precaution'. Crime context in terms of MOBESE is articulated as a definite form of insecurity that should be minimized and prevented. Even though, it is portrayed that MOBESE controls, deters and prevents crime, neither is completely achieved as its effects overstated by the media. Derived from the in-depth readings news items only denote that MOBESE may reduce crime at locations of streets it is installed. However, by promoting its overemphasized effects in crime rates seems to manipulate expansion of MOBESE cameras along with increase of police dominance over space as demonstrated in the chapter four. This leads discussions to panopticonization and the plague-town of Foucault with articulations of fear.

Then, the context of 'fear' is shaped around MOBESE interrelated with crime control and prevention discussions. The main aim was to track the implicit 'fear' content that is constructed in regard with MOBESE portrayal in the print news media. The frame of fear is built up in terms of being a victim of crime, in fact, *living fear* due to the absent MOBESE surveillance. Another fear driven theme was fear of terrorism. According to Monahan, terrorism is a threat emerged with modern insecurities (2010: 6). Eventually, terrorism as insecurity should be eliminated; and by the Turkish print media, MOBESE is presented as the right instrument. This state of insecurity, danger and threat of a plausible terrorist incident is placed at the center of everyday life driven by news over stories of monitored terroristic attacks which were 'MOBESEd' with its preparers, detection of bombs and the necessity of MOBESE launch in specific terrorism related spaces. At this point Foucault's plague-suffering town as a diagram of exercise of power may be explanatory. By plague and the quarantine in the city

seems to illustrate constructed threats and dangers and the surveillance that comes up with this situation. Panopticonization refers implicitly to video-surveillance of public space and elimination of disorder and assurance of social control. If panopticonization is considered superficially as forms of exercise of power by internalization of control, then it can be suggested that crime and fear themes portray the 'deviancy' or the 'plague' and consequently, the demand of MOBESE may be represented in the print media as the 'self-discipline', appropriate behavior, and the obedience to the 'quarantine'. Finally, the aim of surveillance in elimination of insecurities which causes disorder and regulation of public order (and thereby social control) constitutes the essential component of security cultures.

The prevalent definitions of privacy in terms of MOBESE representations are revealed initially as civil liberties and right of privacy, however, there exists a fine line between security and privacy, and when the safety of individuals is concerned MOBESE cameras prioritized and expanded by respecting the privacy, for example by blacken the monitors when a house gets into the camera's angle. The further portrayal of privacy in relation with MOBESE refers to private space which is rather evaluated in patriarchal family relations. The implication is that as far as MOBESE cameras do not intrude to private spheres of 'the home', the expansion of surveillance cameras can be tolerated. Ultimately, "MOBESE (and implicitly the police behind the monitor, maybe the state) do not monitor the homes of the citizens", or to put it in another way, "MOBESE does not monitor private lives but prevent crime".

Gendered representations also serve for the expansion of MOBESE cameras due to the MOBESE portrayal in the print media, which underlines its importance in prevention of crime and violence. Over MOBESE representations, vulnerability of women to crime is emphasized and fear of crime is boiled down to fear of sexual harassment, fear of rape and fear of being murdered. This denotes that the public space (especially the emphasis on public transport vehicles have been significant) is masculinized and not safe for women whereas the private space is feminine, which accordingly also preserves the danger of being subject to violence. Even though MOBESE is an open streetscape camera system, its representations in the print media

have promises of preventing domestic violence. However, MOBESE's range is still limited to public space, and the possible victim of domestic violence cannot be protected until she reaches the realm of the public escaping from the masculine pressure of the home and maybe press the 'security button' which would presumably protect her. So, even if privacy as a phenomenon connotes to femininity of private sphere, which should not be invaded, masculine relations of control invade in both public and the private space by the MOBESE portrayal in the print media. Certain forms of insecurity for women are prioritized in terms of gendered representations of MOBESE in print media. As Monahan suggests, fortification of security cultures induce people to perform according to insecurities, in this case women are required through these insecurities that MOBESE is portrayed as the solution to act accordingly. He argues that any examination of the construction of insecurities - thereby security cultures - is inevitably an inquiry into power relations and representations, in this case these gendered power relations and representations of MOBESE.

For the last words, this study only highlights representations of MOBESE revealed in print media in answering the questions of the main aims and ends these representations possibly leads and their contribution the process of constructing security cultures. In addition, this research has encountered a number of limitations, which need to be considered. First, it is limited to print media analysis. Further studies may consist of research conducted in other media tools for example, TV news, social media or other digital media tools. Second, the print media used in this study is downsized to four specific newspapers. In another context comprising of different newspapers may whether support or contribute the findings of this study, on the other hand, a contradiction would make also a significance in order to find the reasons of distinction between perspectives. Video-surveillance, moreover, surveillance infrastructures in Turkey are more diverse and complex to comprehend, which needs to be extended practically and revisited theoretically with more studies focused on the Turkey specific-context in which the literature is very scarce regarding field studies.

That is to say, security concerns constitute the dominant reason for increasing surveillance infrastructures which symbolize the security cultures. Spiraling security

infrastructures cause proliferation in video-surveillance. Similar to what is reported in the literature, MOBESE surveillance stand as part of construction of security cultures by increase in social control illustrated by accentuating installation and expansion of MOBESE. Maybe this thesis can illuminate the potential contribution of print media in the construction of security cultures with the themes evoked in portrayal of MOBESE.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Table A.1 Word frequencies for headlines.

Word Frequency		
Words	Frequency	%
Mugging	1	0,73
Evidence	1	0,73
Traffic	1	0,73
Detection	1	0,73
Speed	1	0,73
Surveillance	1	0,73
Comfort/Peace	1	0,73
Safety (Police)	1	0,73
Harassment(Sexual)	2	1,45
Control/Surveillance	2	1,45
Management	2	1,45
Governor	2	1,45
Theft/Burglary	2	1,46
Streets	2	1,46
Homicide/Murder	3	2,17
Center	3	2,17
Image/Display	4	2,9
Terrorism	5	3,62
System	5	3,62
Privacy	5	3,62
Security	7	5,07
Crime	8	5,8
Camera	22	15,94
CCTV (MOBESE)	50	36,23

APPENDIX B

Table A.2 Word frequencies for leads.

Word Frequency		
Words	Frequency	%
Evidence	1	0,21
Harassment(Sexual)	2	0,43
Seizure(by violence)	3	0,64
Homicide/Murder	3	0,64
Tracking	3	0,64
Comfort/Peace	3	0,64
Monitoring	4	0,85
Theft/Burglary	5	1,07
Speed	5	1,07
Surveillance	5	1,07
Terrorism	6	1,28
Public Order/Security	6	1,28
Image/Display	7	1,49
Control/Surveillance	9	1,92
Traffic	9	1,92
Detection	9	1,92
Center	11	2,35
Management	13	2,77
Privacy	13	2,78
Streets	14	2,98
Crime	19	4,05
Governor	21	4,48
Safety/Security (Police)	33	7,04
Security	42	8,96
Camera	62	13,22
System	67	14,29
CCTV (MOBESE)	77	16,42

APPENDIX C

Table A.3 Word frequencies for discursive object.

Word frequency		
Word	Frequency	%
Monitoring/Surveillance	6	0,12
Visible	2	0,04
deterrence	5	0,09
Public order and traffic	7	0,13
Touristic	7	0,13
BBG	8	0,15
Preventive	10	0,19
Fear	10	0,19
Face recognition	11	0,2
life and property safety	11	0,2
(Civil) rights	16	0,3
(Civil) liberties	16	0,3
Harassment(Sexual)	17	0,33
Mugging	26	0,5
Evidence	26	0,5
Shopping Mall	30	0,57
Peace	32	0,61
Privacy	34	0,64
Homicide	35	0,64
Folk	36	0,65
KGYS	37	0,71
Custody	39	0,75
Controlling	41	0,79
(Crime) prevention	46	0,88
Surveillance/Tracking	61	1,17
Theft/Burglary	63	1,2
Public Order	55	1,1
Terrorism	76	1,45
Gaze	80	1,48
Control	92	1,76

Word frequency		
Word	Frequency	%
Traffic	103	1,97
Speed	109	2,08
Gated Community	109	2,08
Detection	119	2,27
Management	121	2,31
Citizens	122	2,31
Image/Display	168	3,21
Confidence/Safety	178	3,4
Street	175	3,34
Government Official/Police	204	3,9
Center	219	4,18
Crime	238	4,55
Safety/Security (Police)	263	5,02
Police	306	5,84
Security	350	6,68
MOBESE	404	7,72
Camera	625	11,94
System	643	12,28

APPENDIX D

TURKISH SUMMARY

Giriş

Güvenlik konusu, gözetim altyapısının artırılması ve geliştirilmesi konusunda temel nedenlerden biri olmuştur. Bu, güvenlik kültürleri ile açıklanmaktadır. Kentlerdeki güvenlik altyapılarına artan ilgi ve gözetim teknolojileri ile ilişkisi birçok araştırmacının ilgisini çekmiş ve özellikle gözetim pratikleri ve teknolojileri üzerine sosyolojik araştırmalarını artırmıştır. Monahan'ın belirttiğine göre güvenlik ve gözetim konuları güç ile ilişkileri temelinde örtüşmektedir; gözetim, belirli toplumsal ilişkileri üreten ana fonksiyonlardan biridir (2010:2). Gözetim sistemleri, gözetlemeyi, takip etmeyi ve belirlemeyi içermektedir. Özellikle gözetim kameralarının kurulumundan yüz tanıma gibi teknolojik özellikler dahil kameralı gözetim sistemleri son dönemlerde popüler hale gelmiştir. Kameralı gözetim konusunda literatürde en yaygın metforik kullanım Panoptikon kavramıdır. Bu kavram iki şekilde anlaşılabilir; açık bir şekilde; bir mimari tasarımıdır ve üstü kapalı olarak gücün uygulanışına dair bir diyagrama işaret etmektedir. Bunun doğrultusunda, panoptismin disipline eden gücü kameralı gözetimin temsili çerçevesinde tartışılacaktır.

Buna ek olarak, kentlerde kameralı gözetimin yaygınlığı, basın için de “büyük gösteriler” sağlamaktadır. Bu politik temsile, polis ve başka kurumlar tarafından yapılan müdahaleler de basının ilgisini çekmektedir. Gözetim teknolojilerinde yapılan çalışmalar özellikle kameralı gözetim sistemleri üzerine ilgiyi artırmıştır. Buna örnek olarak CCTV medya temsiliinin araştırılması gösterilebilir. Kameralı gözetimin medya temsilleri üzerine tartışmalar insanların günlük yaşantılarında görüntülenmeleri konusunda algılarını etkileyebilir. Literatürde bu konu da gözetim kapsamında incelenmiştir (Norris and Armstrong, 1999; McCahill, 2002; Hier, Greenberg and Walby, 2007; Hier and Greenberg, 2009; Finn and McCahill, 2010; Barnard-Wills,

2011; Belokova, 213; Kroener, 2013; Guasti and Meansfeldova, 2014). Örneğin, Hier ve Greenberg (2009) CCTV üzerine toplumsal tartışmalar ve politika üretme konularını Kanada kent gazeteleri üzerinden analiz etmiştir. Çalışmanın bulguları içerisinde kamusal alan-özel alan ikililiği ve kameralı gözetimin bir suç kontrolü aracı olarak kullanımına dikkat çekmişlerdir. Finn ve McCahill (2011) ise gözetimin medya temsillerinin toplumda farklı sınıflandırmalara işaret ettiğini ve ‘biz’ ve ‘onlar’ ayrımını beraberinde getirdiğini savunmuşlardır. Çalışmaları kapsamında üç İngiliz gazetesini ‘gözetlenen’ kategorisi kapsamında incelemişlerdir. Başka bir çalışmada Belakova (2013) Slovak gazetelerini gözetim sistemleri kapsamında incelemiş ve nitel içerik analizi metodunu kullanmıştır. CCTV kameralı sisteminin gazetelerde olumlu bir şekilde yansıtıldığının altını çizmiştir.

Son olarak Guasti ve Mansfeldova yaptıkları ülkeler arası yazılı basın araştırmasında gözetim teknolojileri temelli güvenlik ve özel yaşam paradoksunu üç teknoloji; 3D vücut görüntüleme, Stuxnet ve CCTV kapsamında ele almıştır. Bulgularına göre Türkiye’de CCTV- ya da Türkiye’de bilinen adıyla MOBESE’nin - Türk yazılı basınında en yaygın terim olduğu sonucuna varmışlardır. Bu çalışmaya göre Türkiye ile ilgili çıkarılacak sonuçlardan biri, MOBESE gözetiminin Türkiye bağlamında yazılı basında diğer ülkelere göre ağırlıklı yer bulduğu olmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, güvenlik söz konusu olduğunda MOBESE’nin birincil araç olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. MOBESE’nin hangi başlıklar altında güvenlik ile ilişkilendirildiğine dair derinlemesine bir araştırma literatürde bulunmamaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu tez kapsamında yapılmış olan güvenlik ve kameralı gözetim ilişkisinin yazılı basında bulunan MOBESE temsilleri üzerinden incelenmesi konulu araştırma, Türkiye kapsamında yapılacak olan diğer çalışmalara da ışık tutabilir.

Türkiye’de bu konu kapsamında yapılan akademik çalışmalar kısıtlıdır. Kameralı gözetim yazılı basındaki temsillerine dair derinlemesine bir akademik çalışma ise bulunamamıştır. Türkiye’de yapılan sayılı çalışmalardan bazıları e-devletleşme (Topal, 2008, 2011; Topak, 2013) ya da sinoptik ve panoptik gözetim (Yücener, 2011) üzerinedir. Bu tezde de yararlanılan önemli bir akademik çalışma Bozbeyoğlu tarafından yapılmıştır. *The Electronic Eye of the Police* uluslararası

derleme bir kitapta bölüm olarak hazırlanmış, Türkiye’de gözetim konusunu kentlerin polis gücü tarafından panoptikleşmesini (panopticonization) irdelemektedir. Türkiye’de kameralı gözetim sistemleri ilk olarak İstanbul kentinde 2005 yılında kurulmuş, Mobil Elektronik Bilişim Sistemleri Entegrasyonu yani bilinen adıyla MOBESE olarak adlandırılmıştır. Bu sistem 2005 yılı itibariyle hızla artarak Türkiye’nin tüm şehirlerine yayılmıştır. Her ne kadar geç başlamış da olsa Türkiye diğer Avrupa ülkelerine göre daha hızlı bir trend içinde ilerlemiştir (Bozbeyoğlu, 2012: 142). Başlangıçta 570 kamera ile faaliyet gösteren sistem içerisinde 2014 yılı itibariyle İstanbul’da beş binin üzerinde kamera bulunduğu belirtilmektedir.

Tüm bunlar doğrultusunda, bu çalışmanın amacı yazılı basındaki kameralı gözetim temsillerinin incelenerek güvenlik kültürleri çerçevesinde tartışmak olmaktadır. İlgili literatür ve kuramdan yararlanılarak bu çalışma iki soruya cevap aramaktadır: Güvenlik kültürlerinin inşası sürecinde kameralı gözetim hangi noktada bulunmaktadır? Yazılı basındaki MOBESE temsilleri hangi amaca hizmet etmektedir? Panoptikleşme kavramı güvenlik kültürlerinin kameralı gözetim kapsamında inşasını anlamaya yönelik olarak bu tezde cevap aranan alt sorular ile işletimselleştirilmiştir; belirlenmiş temalar doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak kameralı gözetimi nasıl temsil etmektedir? Yazılı basında vurgulanan belirli türde emniyetsizlikler nelerdir? Medyada verilen ve teklif edilen uygun çözümler nelerdir? Güvenlik ve kameralı gözetim ile ilgili meselelerde hangi aktörler ön planda bulunmaktadır? Bunların temsilinde nasıl bir artikülasyon kullanılmaktadır? Kameralı gözetim ile ilgili yazılı basında bulunan ve bununla beraber güvenlik kültürlerinin inşa edildiği ana temalar nelerdir? Bu temsiller güvenlik kültürlerinin inşası kapsamında ne göstermektedir? Dolayısıyla bu tezde güvenlik kültürlerinin inşası kentsel mekandaki kameralı gözetimin Türk yazılı basınında temsili kapsamında incelenmektedir.

Güvenlik Kültürlerinden Kameralı Gözetime

Güvenlik, uluslararası ilişkiler alanı kapsamında tanımlanmış ve ulusal, ulus-ötesi ve küresel düzeyde açıklanmıştır (Coaffee ve Wood, 2006: 502). Güvenlik kavramını yeniden tanımlayan ve kapsamını daraltan Coaffee ve Wood, güvenlik alanında yeni zorluk ve tehditlerin ortaya çıktığını, bunların asimetrik çatışma, teröre karşı savaş ve ‘parçalara ayrılan kentleşme (splintering urbanism)’ kapsamında gerçekleştiğini belirtmektedir (Coaffee ve Wood, 2006: 502). Onlara göre güvenlik, kentsel, sivil ve yerel olana odaklı bir kavrama dönüşmüştür; kısacası “güvenlik eve gelmiştir” (2006: 503). Bu noktada, gözetim de bu daraltılmış güvenlik kavramının yeni bir alanı olmuştur. Bu yeni anlayış kenti sınıflamayı, ayırmayı ve kontrol etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Dolayısıyla gözetim ağırlıklı olarak güvenlik kavramı ile ilişkilendirilmektedir. Bu kapsamda Monahan tarafından belirtildiği gibi güvenlik kültürleri, artan tehditler ve bunlara karşıt faaliyetler anlayışını kapsamaktadır (2010:6). Monahan güvenlik kültürlerinin ve gözetim altyapılarının arasında çok sıkı bir ilişki olduğuna dikkat çekmektedir (2010: 8). Gözetim, güvenlik kültürlerinin ana parçasını oluşturmakta ve insan ilişkilerini emniyetsizlikleri minimize etmek adına düzenlemektedir (Monahan, 2010: 6). Bu bağlamda, Monahan’a göre gözetim altyapıları sadece görüntüleyen değil, aynı zamanda riskleri azaltan ve toplumu denetleyen sistemlerdir. Ona göre, bu teknolojiler toplumsal eylemleri kurallar veya onanan iletişim şekillerini yeniden şekillendirerek manipüle etmektedir. Bunun bir sonucu olarak, risk ve tehditlerden oluşan ve karşılık verilmesi gereken emniyetsizliklere dair algılar güç kazanmaktadır.

Gözetim ve güvenlik, güç ile ilişkileri temelinde birleşmektedir (Monahan, 2010: 8). Birincisi, Monahan her insanın günlük yaşantılarında gözetime maruz kaldığını ifade etmektedir. İkincisi, ona göre, gözetimin en önemli temel işlevinin toplumsal ilişkileri yeniden üretmektir. Dolayısıyla toplumsal ilişkilerin yeniden üretimi ve normsal eylemlerin şekillendirilmesi, görüntüleme, izleme ve tanıma sistemleri olan gözetim sistemleri üzerinden amaçlanmaktadır (Monahan, 2006: 326; Monahan, 2010: 8). Güvenlik kültürleri kavramını, kameralı gözetim kapsamında daha iyi açıklamak için Foucault tarafından farklı bir şekilde geliştirilen Panoptikon

metaforu incelenecek ve ‘panoptikleşme’ ve kameralı gözetim kapsamında tartışılacaktır.

Panoptikon, 18. yüzyılda Bentham tarafından tasarlanan bir hapishane mimarisidir. Bu yapı, dairesel bir ana bina ve içeriği gözetlemeyi mümkün kılan merkezi bir kontrol kulesinden oluşmaktadır. Ana bina pencereden geçen ışıktan faydalanılarak içerisini dolaylı olarak gözetlemeyi sağlayan birçok küçük hücreden oluşmaktadır. Merkezi kontrol kulesinden mahkûmlar gözetlenebilmektedir. Foucault ise Panoptikon’un bir güç temsili olarak ideal bir ütopya sunduğunu ifade etmektedir (Simon, 2005: 2). Foucault bir güç diyagramı olarak Panoptikonu görmekte ve görünürlük ve doğrunabilmezlik kriterleri Panoptikonun mekânsal özellikleri ile desteklenmektedir.

Metodoloji

İlk olarak, daha önceki medya araştırmalarında kullanılmış olan metodoloji, yazılı basının kameralı gözetimin temsiline dair içerik analizi için kabul edilebilir ve uygun bir platform olduğunu göstermektedir. İkinci olarak, Guasti ve Meansfeldova, karşılaştırmalı medya analizinin ‘doğrudan ve dolaylı olarak’ mevcut medya tartışmalarını yansıttığını savunmaktadır (2014:7). Bir boyutu kameralı gözetim olan güvenlik üzerine bir araştırmada mevcut söylemi araştırmış ve karşılaştırmalı bir medya analizi yapmışlardır (Guasti ve Meansfeldova, 2014). Bu tezde ise yazılı basın kapsamında nitel bir içerik analizi uyarlanmıştır.

Bu tez tüm yazılı basını kapsamamaktadır. Nitel derinlemesine bir çalışma olması sebebiyle dört gazete seçilmiş ve içerik 2008-2015 yılları arasında daraltılarak incelenmiştir. Nitel metodolojinin uygulanmasındaki amaç, Türk basınında yer alan kameralı gözetim temsillerinin yaygın olan dört gazetenin farklı bakış açılarını da gözeterek analiz edilmesi olmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, farklı bakış açılarının dahil edilmesinin bu çalışmanın kapsamına katkıda bulunacağı öngörülmektedir. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışmada kullanılan haberler çeşitli bir data seti oluşturacak şekilde seçilmiştir.

Bir gazetenin seçilmesi için öncelikle Türkçe yayımlanan ve Türkiye menşeli bir gazete olması gerekmektedir. Daha sonra tirajlar temel alınmış ve ‘ilk on’daki gazeteler ayıklanmıştır. Bir gazetenin tirajının sayısal olarak yüksek olması ile daha çok insans ulaştığı varsayılmaktadır. Ancak tirajların yüksek olmasının yanı sıra, yaygın bir gazete olması, ülkedeki tüm haberleri veriyor olması ve ilk onda olması şartı koyulmuştur. Buna göre, ilk on gazete devlete yakın ve devlete uzak çizelgesi bağlamında birbiri ile aynı düzlemde bulunan dört gazete sırasıyla; *Sabah*, *Habertürk*, *Milliyet* ve *Hürriyet* seçilmiştir. Böylesi bir çeşitlilik sonucunda, MOBESE’nin yazılı basın temsilleri hakkında daha farklı perspektiflerden bilgi edinebileceği değerlendirilmiştir.

Seçilen gazetelerdeki MOBESE içerikli haberler 2008-2015 yılları kapsamında elde edilmiştir. 2008 yılı özellikle MOBESE içerikli haberlerin MOBESE sisteminin devreye girdiği 2005 yılından sonra ağırlıklı olarak verildiği bir yıl olması nedeniyle başlangıç tarihi olarak seçilmiş ve günümüze kadar ki içerik çalışma kapsamına alınmıştır. Yazılı haberlere ulaşmak için her gazetenin resmi siteleri kullanılmıştır. Her ne kadar İngilizce gazetelere LEXİS/NEXİS gibi medya içeriğinin bulunduğu veri tabanlarından ulaşılabiliriyorsa da, Türk gazeteleri için benzer bir platform bulunmamaktadır. Altheide’nin önerdiği üzere, içeriği zaman ve farklı başlıklar altında takip etmek için gazete haberlerinin toplanması üç aşamada gerçekleşmiştir. İlk aşamada ‘MOBESE’ ve ‘güvenlik kameraları’ anahtar kelimeleri kullanılmıştır. Bu tarama sonucunda elde edilen kitlenin büyüklüğü nedeniyle ikinci aşamada ‘KGYS’, ‘kontrol’ ve ‘kamera’ anahtar kelimeleri kullanılmıştır. Üçüncü aşamada ise ilk aşamada elde edilen haberler, suç ile ilişkili içeriğine göre üç aylık periyodlar dahilinde 20 habere indirgenmiştir. Sonuç olarak, *Sabah* gazetesinden 61 haber, *Habertürk* gazetesinden 33 haber, *Milliyet* gazetesinden 20 haber, ve *Hurriyet* gazetesinden 66 haber olmak üzere 180 haber derinlemesine okuma için seçilmiş ve MAXQDA.10 programına aktarılmıştır.

Bu kapsamda, bu tez kameralı gözetimin yazılı basındaki temsilleri temelinde belirli sorular yöneltmektedir. Amaç, güvenlik kültürlerinin inşasına katkıyı

anlamaktır. Başka bir deyişle, bu tez kapsamında aşağıdaki sorulara cevap aranmaktadır:

1. Güvenlik kültürlerinin inşası sürecinde kameralı gözetim hangi noktada bulunmaktadır?
2. Yazılı basındaki MOBESE temsilleri hangi amaca hizmet etmektedir?
3. Panoptikleşme kavramı güvenlik kültürlerinin kameralı gözetim kapsamında inşasını anlamaya yönelik olarak bu tezde cevap aranan alt sorular ile işletimselleştirilmiş; nasıl belirlenmiş temalar doğrudan ya da dolaylı olarak kameralı gözetimi temsil etmektedir?
4. Yazılı basında vurgulanan belirli türde emniyetsizlikler nelerdir?
5. Medyada verilen ve teklif edilen uygun çözümler nelerdir?
6. Güvenlik ve kameralı gözetim ile ilgili meselelerde hangi aktörler ön planda bulunmaktadır?
7. Bunların temsilinde nasıl bir artikülasyon kullanılmaktadır?
8. Kameralı gözetim ile ilgili yazılı basında bulunan ve bununla beraber güvenlik kültürlerinin inşa edildiği ana temalar nelerdir?
9. Bu temsiller güvenlik kültürlerinin inşası kapsamında ne göstermektedir?

Derinlemesine incelenen veriler öncelikle başlıklar, girişler ve aktörler kapsamında kelime sıklıklarına göre ve kelimelerin kullanıldıkları içeriklere göre kodlanmıştır. Daha sonra ‘söylemsel nesne’ kodu altında kelimeler sıklıklarına göre sınıflanmıştır. Bu kelimeler kullanıldıkları içerik ve MOBESE - söylemsel nesne’ - ile ilişkilerine göre sırasıyla kodlanmıştır. Sonuç olarak, ana temalar şu şekildedir; trafik kontrol ve asayiş, huzur ve asayiş, polisin baskınlığı, suç kontrolü ve suçu önleme, korkunun inşası ve özelin ihlali. Bu ana temalar üç ana başlık altında toplanmıştır; *panoptisism* ve *‘polisin dijital gözü’-MOBESE*, *suç kontrolü ve korku*, ve *özelin ihlali*. Söz konusu başlıklara dair bulgular sırasıyla verilmektedir.

Panoptisism ve ‘Polisin Dijital Gözünün’ Temsili - MOBESE

Bu bölüm, panoptisism ve polisin MOBESE ile ilişkisini gösteren üç ana tema üzerinedir. İlk olarak trafik kontrolü ve asayiş teması üzerinden polisin MOBESE ile

ilişkinin dolaylı yoldan inşası tartışılmıştır. İkinci olarak, huzur ve asayiş temaları üzerinden iyi vatandaşların ‘toplumsal düzene’ kavuşmaları için ‘huzur’ ve ‘güven’ üzerinden polis ve MOBESE ilişkisinin nasıl daha açık bir şekilde vurgulandığı açıklanmıştır. Son olarak, doğrudan polisin baskın olarak kameralı gözetim kapsamındaki görevlerinin yazılı basındaki MOBESE temsilleri üzerinden verilmesi panoptikonleşme üzerinden tartışılmıştır. Bu bölümün sonunda ise, yazılı basındaki MOBESE temsillerinin hangi amaca yönelik olduğu ve güvenlik kültürlerinin inşasına nasıl katkıda bulunduğu sorularına cevap aranmıştır.

Asayiş ve Trafik Kontrolü

MOBESE ile ilgili çoğu haberde ‘trafik kontrolü’ alt temasına rastlanmaktadır. İncelenen haberler MOBESE kameralarını trafik kontrolü üzerinden güvenlik ve toplumsal düzen bağlamında ele almıştır. Bu nedenle *asayiş ve trafik kontrolü* teması, MOBESE kameralarının artışı, haberlerde kullanılan dil ve ilişkili kelimeler üzerinden incelemiştir. Özellikle asayişin sağlanması ve trafik güvenliği üzerine MOBESE temsilleri MOBESE’nin ilk kurulum aşamasında dikkat çekici olmuştur. Bu noktada üç alt tema kapsamında MOBESE ele alınmalıdır; *trafikte MOBESE: ‘teknolojik bir devrim’*, *sayılarla MOBESE* ve *aynı anda trafik ve suç kontrolü*. İlk olarak MOBESE bir ‘teknolojik devrim’ olarak trafik için büyük bir avantaj olarak tanıtılmıştır. MOBESE kameralarındaki sayısal artış, basın tarafından trafik için bir gereklilik olarak yansıtılmıştır. Sadece trafik ihlalleri ve trafik suçu değil, aynı zamanda da kriminal olarak suçu önleme ve suçun kontrolünü sağladığı yazılı basın vasıtasıyla resmedilmiştir. Polis ile ilişki, kameraların arkasında olması veya tespit edilen ihlal ve suça müdahalede öne çıkan bir aktör olması üzerine kurulmaktadır.

İkinci olarak, MOBESE ve trafik ilişkisi üzerinden MOBESE ‘meşrulaştırılmıştır’. ‘Meşrulaştırma’ hukuki olması, başkaları tarafından kabul görmesi, toplumsal onay ve etik olarak doğrulama üzerinden incelenmiştir.

Güvende ve güvenli yerler: “Huzur ve Toplumsal Düzen”

Trafik kontrolü teması kapsamında da tartışılan toplumsal düzen özellikle huzur ve güven ve MOBESE ilişkisi üzerinden işlenmiştir. Bu bölümde polisin ağırlığı artmaktadır ve daha yakından bir ilişki kurulmaktadır. Ana sav, toplumun huzur ve güveni için polisin MOBESE ile toplumsal düzeni sağladığı olmaktadır. Bunun için polisin savunmasız olanların, ve ‘iyi’ vatandaşların huzur ve güvenini MOBESE ile sağladığı, daha sonra toplumsal düzen ve huzuru korumaya dair MOBESE ile gözü ile kulağı olduğu, suçun oluşumunu engellediği ve düzensizlik adına endişeleri giderdiği yazılı basında vurgulanmıştır. Son olarak, ‘özen’ ve ‘kontrol’ ayrımı üzerinden polisin vatandaşların huzur ve güvenini sağlamak için ‘inanılmaz çabaları’ MOBESE temsilleri üzerinden verilmiştir.

Panoptikleşme: “Polisin gözü üstümüzde”

Gözetim konusu çoğunlukla polis ile ilişkilendirilen bir konu olmaktadır. Polis ve diğer devlet kurumları tarafından uygulanan panoptik güç, MOBESE kameraları ve gözetim üzerinden açıklanmaktadır. Özellikle vurgulanan husus polis güçlerinin gözetleme yetenekleri ve teknolojileri olmaktadır. Panopticism ile bu tema ilişkilendirilmiştir. İlk olarak Panoptikon’un mimari özellikleri üzerinden gözetim kameraları ve gözetim sistemleri anlamlandırılmıştır. Panoptikon’un merkezi gözetleme kulesi bilhassa MOBESE kameralarının kontrol odaları temsilleri ile benzeşebilir. Her ne kadar bir kulede konumlandırılmamış da olsalar, gücün bir noktada toplanması ve görünebilirlik vurgusunun yapılmış olması kontrol odalarının merkezi kontrol kulesine benzerliğini desteklemektedir. Sonraki önemli husus ise ‘her yerde olma’ meselesidir. Bu, yazılı basında MOBESE’den bir ‘bakış’ (*the gaze*) üzerinden temsil edilmiştir. Bu bakış polise ait olmaktadır, çünkü kameraların arkasındaki polis gücü yazılı basın tarafından vurgulanmaktadır. Bu bakış medyatik olabilir, örneğin MOBESE görüntülerini hırsızlık, trafik ihlali, yoldan geçen vatandaşlar, suça maruz kalmış bir kadın görüntüsü gibi TV ve haberlerden verilmesi buna örnek gösterilebilir. Dahası, MOBESE kameralarının yüz tanıma gibi özelliklerinin vurgulanması, herkesin görülebileceğinin altını çizmektedir. Ayrıca,

‘bakışın’ sabit değil hareketli olması, tüm kurum ve kentsel mekanlara yayılımı ve karadan bağımsız olduğunun temsili polisin panoptik gücünü artırıcı etki yaratabilir.

Suç Kontrolü ve Korkunun Temsili: ‘MOBESElendiler’

Bu bölümün amacı, yazılı basında verilen suç ile ilişkili MOBESE temsillerini anlamlandırmaktır. Özellikle, retorik MOBESE’nin suç önlemedeki etkinliği ve verimliliği üzerine şekillenmektedir. Bu kapsamda iki başlık ortaya çıkmaktadır; *kontrol eder, caydırır ve önler: ‘MOBESE suçu azalttı’* ve *MOBESE kapsamında ‘korku’nun inşası*.

Kontrol eder, caydırır ve önler: ‘MOBESE suçu azalttı’

MOBESE, yazılı basın tarafından ‘suçun kontrolü için bir araç’ olarak tasvir edilmektedir. Sadece suç azaltmak ile kalmamakta, aynı zamanda suçluları yakalamak ve suç önlemek adına bir güvenlik önlemi olarak da kullanıldığının altı yazılı basın tarafından çizilmektedir. MOBESE kameralarının suç caydırıcı etkisi olduğu vurgulanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, MOBESE’nin suçun engellenmesi ve suçluların yakalanması adına bir çözüm ve oluşan emniyetsizlik durumlarına bir güvenlik önlemi olarak sunulmaktadır. Suç, MOBESE ile azaltılabilecek ve çözümlenebilecek bir emniyet sorunu olarak resmedilmektedir. Basın tarafından MOBESE; kontrol eden, caydırıcı ve önleyen bir araç olarak resmedilse de ne kadar etki yarattığı tartışmalı olmaktadır. İlgili haberlerin derinlemesine incelenmesinden de anlaşılmaktadır ki, MOBESE sadece kurulduğu sokaklarda veya mahallelerde suç önleyebilir veya kontrol edebilir, ancak bu suçun tamamen ortadan kalkması anlamında yorumlanmamalıdır.

MOBESE kapsamında ‘korku’nun inşası

Suçun kontrolü ve önlenmesi ile ilgili olarak ‘korku’ bağlamı da MOBESE üzerinden yazılı basında resmedilmiştir. Bu konuda ana amaç ‘korku’ ile ilgili içeriği takip etmek ve MOBESE temsilleri üzerinden nasıl anlamlandırıldığını anlamak olmuştur. Korku retoriği birinci olarak, suç mağduru olmak üzerinden MOBESE’nin

olmaması nedeniyle *korku içinde yaşamak* alt teması ile kurulmuştur. Bir başka korku ile ilişkili tema ise *terörizm korkusu* olmaktadır. Monahan’a göre terörizm modern emniyetsizliklerden doğan bir tehdit olmaktadır (2010: 6). Dolayısıyla, terörizm bir emniyetsizlik olarak engellenebilir ve Türk yazılı basınına göre MOBESE doğru bir araç olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Herhangi bir muhtemel terörist olay, böylesi bir emniyetsizlik durumu veya tehdit, günlük yaşamın merkezine yerleştirilmekte ve görüntülenen terörist saldırılar vasıtasıyla basın tarafından ‘MOBESElenenler’, bomba tespiti ve terörle ilişkilendirilen yerlerde MOBESE’nin kurulması gerektiği gibi alt temalar işlenmektedir.

Bu noktada, panoptikleşme dolaylı olarak gerçekleşmektedir. Kamusal alanların gözetlenmesi, emniyetsizlik ve düzensizliklerin ortadan kaldırılması ve toplumsal kontrolün sağlanması için bir öneri olarak MOBESE gözetimi desteklenmektedir.

Özelin İhlali ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Bağlamında Temsiller: ‘Özel Yaşamı Değil Suçu İzliyoruz’

Bu bölümde ilk olarak güvenlik-özel yaşam tartışmaları üzerinden MOBESE yazılı basın gündemi incelenmiştir. MOBESE’nin suçu önleme amaçlı olduğu ve özel yaşamı ihlal etmediği özellikle basında vurgulanmaktadır. Dahası, ‘özel’in hangi bağlamda tanımlandığı önem arz etmektedir. İkinci kısımda ise, korku ve özel yaşam temsilleri, MOBESE’nin toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı inşası üzerinden örneklendirilmiştir. İlki savunmasız ve muhtemel suç mağduru kadın temsiline işaret ederken, ikincisi MOBESE’nin aile içi şiddete dikkat çekmektedir.

Özelin ihlali: MOBESE “Özel yaşamı değil suçu izliyoruz

Kameralı gözetim üzerine akademik çalışmalar arasında güvenlik ve özel yaşam önemli bir ayrıma işaret etmektedir. Kameralı gözetim, Guasti ve Meansfeldova’ya göre (2014) verimli bir güvenlik altyapısıdır. Ancak, güvenlik adına özel yaşam ve sivil haklardan ne kadar vazgeçilebileceği önemli bir tartışma konusudur. Bu noktada MOBESE ‘nin kurulumu güvenlik açısından bir gereklilik

olarak basın tarafından vurgulanmaktadır. Kentler *Biri Bizi Gözetliyor Evleri* olarak resmedilse de panoptik değil sinoptik bir anlam yüklenmektedir. Özel yaşam ise daha çok hak ve özgürlükler kapsamında tanımlanmakla birlikte, güvenlik ve özel yaşam arasındaki çizgi yazılı basın tarafından tartışıldığında MOBESE kameralarının kurumunun özel yaşam ile ilgili bir kaygı yaratmaması ve güvenliğin önemine dikkat çekilmektedir. Daha önemlisi, özel yaşam ve MOBESE ilişkisi ataerkil aile ilişkileri temelinde tanımlanmaktadır. MOBESE kameralarının açılarının ‘evlerin sınırlarını’ ihlal etmediği savı yazılı basın tarafından vurgulanmaktadır.

MOBESE’nin toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı temsilleri: “Şiddeti önlemede dikkat çekici”

MOBESE’nin toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı temsilleri üzerinden MOBESE kameralarındaki artış ve gereklilik nedenleri yazılı basında sunulmaktadır. Suçun ve kadına karşı şiddetin önlenmesi önemli iki temadır. Kadınların suça karşı savunmasız olması tacize maruz kalma ve öldürülmesi korkuları üzerinden resmedilmektedir. Maskülen kamusal alanın kadınlar için güvenli olmadığı, daha çok feminen olan özel alanın da şiddeti barındırdığı MOBESE temsilleri üzerinden görülebilir. MOBESE açık alanda faaliyet gösteren kameralı gözetim sistemi olsa dahi aile içi şiddeti önleme konusunda da iddialı gösterilmektedir. Örneğin, ŞÖNİM olarak adlandırılan sistem ile evde şiddete maruz kalan kadınların veya evlerinde hayati tehlikede hisseden kadınların MOBESE sistemi ile yerlerini belirlenmesinden sokakta izleme ve polis ekiplerini yönlendirmeye kadar kapsamlı bir sistemdir. Bununla birlikte, MOBESE’nin kamusal alandan özel alana kadar etki alanının kadınların güvenliği için gerekli olduğu savunulmaktadır. Ancak ataerkil güç de aynı şekilde yayılmış olabilir.

Sonuç

Sonuç olarak, güvenliğe dair endişeler artan gözetim sistemleri için ana nedeni oluşturmaktadır. Bu, güvenlik kültürlerine katkıda bulunmaktadır. Giderek artan güvenlik altyapıları kameralı gözetim sistemlerinde artışa neden olmaktadır. Literatüre benzer şekilde MOBESE gözetimi de güvenlik kültürlerinin inşasının bir parçası

olmakla birlikte, MOBESE kurulumundaki artış toplumsal kontrolün artmasına neden olabilir. Bu nedenle MOBESE kameralarının kurulumu ve sayısındaki artış vurgulanıyor olabilir. Bu tez kapsamında yazılı basının güvenlik kültürlerinin inşasına MOBESE temsilleri üzerinden katkısı görülebilir.



APPENDIX E

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

☐

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü

☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı :

Adı :

Bölümü :

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans

☐

Doktora

☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

☐

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.

☐

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: