

Unleashed:

The FIFA World Cup 2006 as Catalyst for the Expansion of Public Area CCTV in Germany

Paper presented at the conference:
POLICING CROWDS – PRIVATIZING SECURITY
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The rise of CCTV

- Proliferation of CCTV in urban spaces for more than 40 years.
- Worldwide rise of “public area CCTV” (permanent and intense surveillance) since the late 1980s / 1990s – accelerated after September 11.
 - Fortification of political and corporate power
 - “Purification” of urban areas in entrepreneurial consumer cities
 - Symbolic policy to appease “subjective (un)safety feelings” related to moral panics, media representations of crime and rising inequalities.

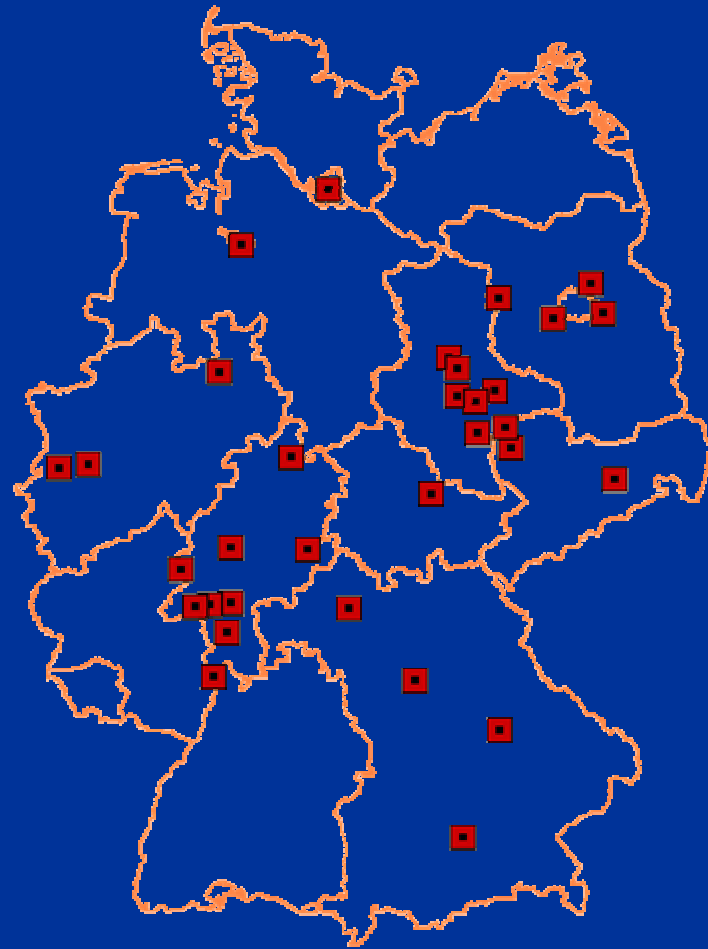
Context matters ...

- “It is true that some structural similarities and the common problems facing (late) modern states may produce similar techniques in different places. [...] It is also true that local and regional social, political and cultural contexts will experience surveillance in different ways. [...] The mere existence of new technologies is far from a sufficient reason for them to be used.”

(David Lyon 2004: ‘Globalizing surveillance. Comparative and sociological perspectives’ in: *International Sociology*, Vol. 19, No. 2, June 2004, pp.141-142)

Limited diffusion of public area CCTV in Germany

- Long experience of German police forces with deployment of CCTV cameras in public space (traffic management, policing of crowds and protest, criminal investigation)
- but limited diffusion of public area CCTV in comparison to other countries: in May 2006 in operation in around 30 cities – small networks with max. 14 cameras.



Limiting factors

- Legal containment:
 - Census verdict (1983) and “right to informational self-determination”: no surveillance without informed consent except in the “prevailing general interest” and with a clear legal basis, i.e. police acts.
- No support by the national government.
- Reservations within the police who is afraid of reduction in staff.
- Financial constraints

Enduring expansion of CCTV surveillance in the context of FIFA World Cup 2006 ?

- Militarization of policing and extensive surveillance as essential feature of contemporary mega (sport) events
- e.g. Athens Summer Olympics 2004:
 - network of more than 1,200 CCTV cameras integrated in a C4I system [command, control, communication, computers and intelligence] adopted from the Salt Lake City Winter Olympics 2002.
 - Developed and delivered by a consortium lead by the US-company SAIC, “the company that ‘pulls it all together’ for U.S. forces and allies” (www.saic.com)
 - 500 cameras remained in the post-Olympic city.

CCTV and the FIFA World Cup 2006

- In June 2000 (FIFA decision for Germany as host country) public area CCTV in operation only in 4 cities in Eastern Germany.
- National Security Concept (May 2005) declared intensified CCTV as central part of the concept – but leaves the decision to the Länder (states) and local authorities.
- Appeal of Federal Minister for the Interior to deploy CCTV at the 200 “public viewing” venues. (February 2006).
- Different responses by the Länder and cities.
- In June 2006 permanent public area CCTV is in operation in six of the 12 cities hosting the World Cup – only Hamburg’s was installed in conjunction with the World Cup.

Enduring surveillance networks ?

- Enduring expansion (and centralization) of CCTV at major stadiums, at Deutsche Bahn (German railways) and in many urban public transport networks in advance of the World Cup.
- Modernization of police equipment and extensive training lesson in CCTV-mediated crowd control during the World Cup.
- Withdrawal of extensive public area CCTV is likely to follow the World Cup because of legal constraints.

Conclusion

- Security apparatus is demonstrating and testing its ability for rolling-out extensive surveillance despite limitations in the German context.
- Contemporary “networked” CCTV is highly mobile and flexible and thus not as durable as traditional urban utilities.
- FIFA World Cup as catalyst: Increasing number of actors is being enrolled into the socio-technical network of CCTV surveillance.
- By claiming for maximum security mega events such as the World Cup are very likely to accelerate the process of the extension and normalization of CCTV surveillance and thus the fortification and “purification” of urban space.

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