Terrorism, governmentality and the simulated city: the Boston Marathon bombing and the search for suspect two

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On April 15, 2013, at 2:50:15 p.m., only seconds after the second of two bombs

detonated at the Boston Marathon, David Green stood at the southwestern corner of

Boylston Street and Fairfield Avenue and used his iPhone to photograph a crowd fleeing

westward down Boylston Street, away from the explosions. As a photograph of the

aftermath of a terrorist attack, it is also a photograph of urban life, which, in modernity,

has always involved mediation by a constellation of technologies. As the city draws in

strangers, the question arises of how to understand and see those strangers in public

encounters. From physiognomy to flâneury and photography to facial recognition

software, technologies and modalities of seeing have in turn shaped how the city is seen.

Seeing in the city is thus inevitably mediated. In this paper I discuss only urban terrorist

attacks, partly because of the significance of urban terrorism, but also to explore the

relationship among terror, public space, and cities. Terrorism capitalizes on the visual

mediation of cities, attacking the banality of vernacular visual practice with violent

spectacle.

Although terrorism has long relied on the spectacle, many commentators have claimed that 9/11—by now the unavoidable referent for all terrorist attacks on Western cities—was not an attack from some radical outside but an irruption from within the Western society of the spectacle. Jean Baudrillard (2003) claimed of 9/11 that "we have dreamt of this event, that everyone without exception has dreamt of it" (5). According to this claim, the attacks pushed the logic of the spectacle to its conclusion by aiming not for "material damage, but for *the spectacular effect of it*" (Žižek, 2002: 13). A similar line of thinking supports the German composer Karlheinz Stockhausen's infamous statement that 9/11 was "the greatest work of art ever" (*New York Times*, 2001). These claims generated controversy, and with good reason: Death was not a spectacle for those thousands who suffered it on 9/11, or those countless others who have suffered in the

endless wars and military operations the attacks precipitated. Yet the provocative

language in which these claims were couched masked a point that is actually quite banal:

Most people worldwide experienced 9/11 not as a direct mortal threat but through the

mass mediated circulation of spectacular images of the event. Thus, perceptions of

history were shaped as the "iconographic" event was "immediately represented in audio-

visual-textual images transmitted globally" (Mitchell, 2002: xi).

In this paper I explore terrorism as a violent attack on the vernacular conditions of

urban visuality by discussing what the circulation of David Green's photograph reveals

about the mediation of terrorist spectacle. I depart from Mitchell in focusing not on an

"iconographic" but on an ordinary image—one plucked from the stream of online

circulation—in order to emphasize how photographs are experienced within "the ordinary

routines of everyday life" (Hariman and Lucaites, 2007: 2). I suggest that the spectacle is

only a special species of vernacular forms of mass mediated simulation. Indeed, the

ability to take and transmit images of various sorts—and thus to support the simulated

play of circulating images—is part of vernacular practice for everyday citizens equipped

with camera phones, business owners with CCTV cameras, and police and other

governing institutions with access to a range of surveillance cameras. In the Boston

Marathon bombing, these everyday citizens, businesses, and law enforcement officials

collaborated to collate an archive of images that facilitated the capture of the terrorist

suspects. David Green's photograph played a crucial role in this archival collation. After

he was identified as suspect two, the man in the white hat emerged in David Green's

photograph as the figure of terror, the condensed embodiment of the spectacular attack,

and thus as a specter, a figure whose appearance haunts the future with the threat of a

return of terrorist spectacle. By narrating how the significance of David Green's photograph changed as it circulated, I argue that this spectral emergence simultaneously displays terror's violent attack on the visual field and the everyday visual mediations that make terrorism possible.

More broadly, I investigate how the photograph functions as a key mediator of urban life, and demonstrate how this mediation supports the practices of urban governmentality. The ubiquity of digital photography, now standard technology on most cellular phones, makes ordinary urban routines increasingly mediated, turning urban space into what Manovich (2006) calls "augmented space," or "physical space overlaid with dynamically changing information" (220). I make use of two key terms to describe the archiving of this augmented reality: One is Derrida's (1994) notion of the specter, a particular event or object recorded in the archive (say, through a photograph), which registers that event or object as an appearance capable of haunting the future with a record of a revenant past, much like images of 9/11 threaten the return of terrorism to US soil. The second is the notion developed by Deleuze (1995) of the dividual, a name for the subject's mode of appearance as a data trace under the surveillance techniques of biopolitical "control societies" that manage and modulate movements rather than isolating bodies in space.

Digital photographs thus help to form an archive of urban life, a collection of captured moments that serve as a resource for mediating, embodying, and documenting experience in the city (Blaagaard, 2013; McQuire, 2007). Here I trace how suspect two emerges as the spectral figure of terror as Green's photograph circulated through various media, eventually acquiring the imprimatur of the FBI. In this sense, the photograph is

part of both the archive that supports vernacular practice and the database that supports

the biopoltitical practices of simulated governance, or the governance of flows of data

and information (O'Malley, 2010). I demonstrate how the mediated urban archive

impinges upon vernacular visual practice and informs the techniques of governmentality.

In what follows, I alternate between describing the techniques of simulated

governance and the forms of mediation that make it possible, and analyzing how these

techniques and mediations resonate in the changing meanings David Green's photograph

acquired as it circulated. After a brief discussion of the relationship between simulated

governance, the dividual, and and the specter of terrorism, I describe how vernacular

media practices helps to establish an archive of the visual field that supports both

everyday experiences and the techniques of governmentality. I suggest, along with other

theorists of simulated and telemetric governance, that the relationship between media and

surveillance impinges upon simulated governance in ways that often go overlooked, and

that contemporary surveillance is less an effort to obtain total vision than it is an effort to

amass data in order to manage risk (Deleuze, 1992; Bogart, 1996; Haggerty and Ericson,

2000). In other words, the long and ongoing history of modern visual technologies from

early photography to film and beyond does not enforce the disciplinary partition and

segmentation of space but instead erects a mediated field in which circulating elements

can be registered. Simulated governance thus stages spaces of flows (Castells, 1996),

helping to establish the networks that link the economic, political, and symbolic. Visual

technologies mediate the movement of bodies and forms and, at the same time, provide

the conditions for coding, registering, and managing those bodies and forms as they

circulate.

Seeing the City: Simulation and Flows

The distinction between disciplinary segmentation and circulation, of course, draws on Foucault's distinction between disciplinary techniques and biopolitical techniques of governmentality. Where disciplinary surveillance segments space in the school, the factory, and the prison, governmentality modulates "mobile and contingent life—flows and circulations" (O'Malley, 2010: 796). One name for this technique of power is "simulated governance," a particular technology of biopolitics that targets not "individuals" but what Deleuze (1995) calls the "dividual," the dispersed and divided subject apprehended through a diffuse network of data traces from mobile phones, key fobs, bank cards, driver's licenses, and, increasingly, digital images (McQuire, 2007; Blaagaard, 2013; Reading, 2014). Tracking the dividual involves registering a mobile trace rather than isolating a body. The dividual is thus a product of biopolitical techniques. Where disciplinary power targets the individual isolated in the panoptic gaze, biopolitics targets the shared field of interaction that sustains flows of people, goods, and capital, making it possible to manage risk, promote health, regulate circulation, and harvest profit.[1] The dividual moves through that shared field, leaving traces that are recorded in an archive rather than fixed in a disciplinary institution.

Although theorists of new and digital media frequently make use of the concept of the dividual, its origins are not in the digital as such. Anthropologists have long used the concept to distinguish between the individual as atomistic free agent and the dividual as fractal, socially embedded actor (Smith 2012). And while digital forms of tracking and surveillance certainly offer new techniques for locating dividual traces, the need for tracking bodies in motion rather than isolating bodies in place was a primary concern of

nineteenth-century criminologists developing methods to locate criminals in crowded urban environments. Indeed, Alphonse Bertillon, famous for formalizing the mug shot, in fact introduced the mug shot as only one aspect of an expansive filing system dedicated to tracking traces. The system, known as *Bertillonage*, was comprised of an archive of individual cards for each arrested criminal that included a mug shot alongside a record of a series of biometric measurements taken at the police station—height, head length, width of head, length of foot, length of forearm, length of the middle finger, and length of the ear, and so on. Since, as Bertillon (1891) lamented, a "large a number of malefactors have recourse to concealment of identity," the *Bertillonage* system sought not to isolate identity—which could always be concealed or modified—but to convert the subject into a dividual, a series of recordable traces.[2]

Today, we increasingly interact with government not as individuals but as dividuals. In his analysis of the overlooked centrality of traffic policing to simulated governance, O'Malley (2010) describes how traffic tickets are issued automatically by machines to "a driver, an owner, a proprietor, an operator, a licensee," who is "anonymous but at the same time specific" and who is "registered and coded" as part of a potentially "risky flow" (796). These traces can be assembled into a constellation of information, a set of codes that track and register the dividual, targeting not the individual but the data trace. Managing traffic flows in urban space requires not spatial segmentation but a registered assembly of data traces. Simulated governance does not fix elements in space but instead promotes their well-regulated circulation.

Here I draw on this insight and reconsider it in the context of the urban milieu more broadly, focusing on how vernacular visual practices sustain simulated governance.

After all, policing traffic is part of a broader effort to conceptualize and thus to manage the city. Urban planners and traffic police, for example, both share a preoccupation with the street and the moving bodies—both human and technological—that occupy it. The spaces of the flows of the modern city require a mode of governance capable of modulating circulatory flows rather than enforcing fixity. As Foucault (1997) suggests, biopolitics emerges along with "the urban problem" (51), and constitutes an ensemble of techniques that operate not at the "level of the body itself," where events are "aleatory and unpredictable when taken in themselves or individually," but instead at the "collective level" of dividual traces registered in a searchable archive (Foucault, 1997: 246). Mediation both constitutes experience and produces an archive, and this archive is an inheritance that must be negotiated as part of vernacular practice and that provides resources for simulated governance. Mediation is thus a mode of experiencing the present, reckoning with the past, and anticipating the future.

The spectacle of terrorism both relies on this mediation and attacks it. Mediating the terrorist spectacle registers the event as a specter in the archive. Derrida (1994) defines the specter as "that which could come back" from the past in the future (48) and as "the apparition form," or as that which appears (169). Derrida (2002) repeatedly returns to the photographic archive to explain his spectrology: The photograph spectralizes because it archives a particular moment, allowing the moment to "come back" in the future to haunt the present with a record of the past, but only allowing that moment to return as an apparition, or as a reappearance of some past moment. This is why terrorist spectacle is *spectral*: it is recorded within the archive of urban experience, but it also challenges the security of future experience by haunting vernacular practice

with its potential return. In this sense, terrorism unearths a spectrality that is at the heart

of contemporary urban practice: Anyone who has ever received a traffic citation in the

post accompanied with a photograph or video of one's car running a red light or

exceeding the speed limit knows what it means to be haunted by the specter of one's

dividaulity. Terrorism, of course, operates in a different register of intensity and violence,

but it is not of a different order than vernacular practice: Terrorism is "urbicide" (Coward

2007) directed at the vernacular mediated conditions of the city, yet terrorism also relies

on those same conditions. Simulated governance registers the spectacle in the archive as a

specter. This archival register at once provides the basis for anticipating and preventing

future aleatory attacks and endows the spectacle with the capacity to haunt the future with

the fear of its return. Tracing the circulation of David Green's photograph can help to

sketch this complex relationship between the spectacle as mediated specter and the

simulations of urban governance. I turn now to the changing resonances of Green's

photograph as it moved from the public archive of urban experience into the database of

simulated governance.

"Extraordinary Nonchalance": The Image of Suspect Two

 On April 15, before any suspects had been identified, David Green sent his photograph

to the FBI. As he told the *AP*, the *New York Times,* and Piers Morgan, he was initially

suspicious of a man standing still and yelling rather than running.[3] Apparently, the FBI

was not immediately interested in the photograph or the man in the white hat either. But

Green also posted the photograph to Facebook. After surveillance camera images of the

suspects were released on April 18, one of his friends posted it to LetsRun.com, a user-generated message board site for running enthusiasts. From there it quickly circulated to other user-generated content sites. Commenters began to notice that the photograph included a clear image of a man in a backwards white hat who closely resembled the grainy surveillance camera images the FBI had released of the man they were calling suspect number two, who would later be identified as Dzhokhar Tsarnaev, the 19-year-old younger brother of Tamerlan Tsarnaev. There was a heated online debate about whether it was in fact the man from the surveillance camera images, and about whether the image had been altered, the man in the white hat digitally pasted into the image.

After reading these online discussions, Green sent the FBI the photograph again (Somaiya and Zilar, 2013). By 7:00 p.m. on April 18, the FBI authenticated the photograph as the clearest image it had of either suspect, and Green's photograph helped other runners and spectators at the Marathon search out images of suspects in their own photographs.[4] Meanwhile, events in the manhunt progressed. At 1:00 a.m. on April 19, a man whom the bombers took hostage in his car managed to escape and alert police. The ensuing police chase culminated in an armed standoff during which Tamerlan Tsarnaev was shot dead by police. At 8:30 a.m. on the same day, police identified Tamerlan and Dhzokhar Tsarnaev as the bombers, and clear images of both of their faces circulated widely.

In four days, the meaning and reach of David Green's photograph altered drastically. At first, it was a haunting image shared with friends of the immediate aftermath of a terrorist attack—smoke permeating the street, people running, some of them clearly panicking—but passed over by the FBI, who could not initially see anything

important in it. When the suspects were still unidentified, the image was nevertheless a richly textured archive, a tableau holding terror in suspension and perhaps harboring the terrorists themselves, hidden in the crowd. Then, with the FBI's release of the grainy surveillance camera images of the suspects, the man in the white hat surged into view, the most identifiable feature from the surveillance camera suddenly impossible to miss despite its wearer's location at the margins of the image, away from drama of the crowd fleeing the smoke in the background. Indeed, his unavoidable visibility led enough internet users to question whether it had been digitally altered that the *AP* and the *New York Times* ran stories verifying its veracity.[5] Once the police released clear images of the identified suspects after the standoff, and the man in the white hat's identity as suspect number two became irrefutable, the image emerged with a new form of clarity, its contents now visible only from the vantage of what everyone then knew: the man in the white hat had committed a spectacular attack. His image was now a haunting reminder of the death he inflicted and of the risk of future attacks.

The knowledge that the man in the white hat committed the attacks converted him from a face in the crowd into a figure of terror, and thus a specter. The specter explains the impact of mediating terrorism: Not only do such attacks destroy lives at their point of impact, but the circulation of images of destruction, panic, and fear in the aftermath of such attacks remind viewers of the threat of future destruction. Once he was identified as suspect two, the man in the white hat registers as an appearance of a future threat, a haunting image of revenant terrorism.

Yet the knowledge of the man in the white hat's identity does not mean one sees the stable truth of the image more clearly, that the eye can identify each person in the

photograph, understand their fear and analyze their reaction, or that the eye can still the repercussion of the bomb blasts that would yet have been resounding off Boylston Street's brick buildings and its pavement—the blast wave visible in the chaos of reactions to it as bodies alternately scatter, look at the explosion, or grab loved ones. The man in the white hat is jogging, but he seems somehow still, suspended in a separate time from everyone else; as Piers Morgan (2013) said, "he continues to exude this demeanor of extraordinary nonchalance;" he is "remarkably, notably calm." David Green also noted that the man in the white hat "is acting very differently from everyone around him," telling interviewers that "he is calmly walking, without panic" (AP, 2013). As he passes the corner of a building at the intersection of Bolyston Street and Farfield Avenue, the contours of his body are sharply outlined against the building, the contrast between the darker brick on Boylston and the lighter brick on Farfield Avenue bisecting the white hat. It is as if the geometry of the street is giving him up as the suspect.

Of course, this interpretation is only possible after the man in the white hat was identified as suspect two. Then, his body is unavoidably there, the terrorist amid the crowd, moving calmly through the chaos, as if suspended in a different space-time. The changing significance of the photograph reveals the complex temporal logic of the specter: Only from the present—on the basis of a return to the archive—can we recognize the specters of the past. Yet this discovery in the present of specters from the past paradoxically haunts the future: That a photograph that was once dismissed by the FBI can now seem to offer such an unavoidably clear image of extraordinarily calm nonchalance amidst panic and terror reminds us that the archive always arrives too late for its present. As Derrida (2002**)** reminds us, "wherever there are these specters, we are

being watched," but the source of this watching only appears in the archive—the specter

can only be discovered after its passing (122). This is why the specter always haunts the

future. Once suspect two appears in the image, his specter haunts the future with

terrorism's return, reminding us that the terrorists will be calm while we panic, will

nonchalantly jog from the scene as we flee in fear. From the perspective of simulated

governance, suspect two appears as a specter in another sense as well: The image records

his commitment not only to terror and the death of others but to his own death. The

record of his dividual trace haunts his future as well as ours, making his capture nearly

inevitable. Once captured, his death is certain—either symbolically through

imprisonment, or, as we now know, through Federal execution. He is spectral, but not a

ghost. He is not yet dead, but his actions commit him to death. His appearance augurs his

own death and the death of others. He is thus no longer a figure in the crowd but a figure

of terror.

The question David Green's photograph raises is how terror appears in the city.

Put another way, the photograph forces us to confront terror's urban apparitions, which

also entails confronting the field of vernacular practice that technological mediation

renders. Urban culture and visual culture are co-constitutive (Cunningham, 2013). The

city is always a simulated city. Terrorism attacks that simulation from the inside,

exposing our simulated reality to the very limits of simulation. At the same time, it forces

us to confront the limits and possibilities of mediated visuality, including the mediations

of surveillance technology. This is not a question of sacrificing liberty for security but of

exploring the very simulated and mediated conditions that make urban life as we know it

possible. Derrida (1994) argues that the frontier between public and private is being

displaced "because the medium in which it is instituted, namely, the medium of media

themselves (news, the press, telecommunications, techno-tele-discursivity, techno-tele-

iconicity, that which in general assures and determines the *spacing* of public space, the

very possibility of the res publica and the phenomenality of the political)" is an element

that "spectralizes," that *appears,* and in this appearance, troubles the boundary between

past and present, embodied experience and dividuality, material existence and mediated

image (63). These "spectral effects," promoted by "the new speed of *apparition*…of the

simulacrum" increasingly come to define both appearance and everyday experience.

Vernacular practices therefore negotiate a web of technologically mediated appearances

(Derrida, 1994: 67). This web of appearance establishes the conditions of vernacular

practice that simulated governance seeks to manage. As the archive of appearances

captured and stored in vernacular practice expands, so simulated governance expands to

include this vernacular archive within its domain.

The Specter of Terror

This mediated spectrality of terrorist attacks is one of their defining features. As Žižek

(2002) argues, on 9/11 the "fantasmatic screen apparition" of the spectacle "entered our

reality. It is not that reality entered our image: the image entered and shattered our

reality" (11). Our "reality" for Žižek, though, is characterized by a Lacanian "passion for

the Real" that paradoxically culminates in its opposite. Rather than confronting the "hard

kernel of the Real"—that which resists all symbolic representation—we desire spectacle

and simulation, finding ourselves capable of sustaining the Real "only if we fictionalize

it" (Žižek, 2002: 23). This fictionalization offers what Baudrillard would call a hyperreal

simulation of the Real. For Baudrillard, the hyperreal has become the model of postmodern society in which entertainment, information, and communication technologies replace "the feeling of the real, of the banal, of lived experience," with "models of simulation" (Baudrillard, 1994: 121). Insofar as we dream of simulation and spectacle, according to Baudrillard, we have all "dreamt for" 9/11 as the ultimate simulated spectacle.

However, Baudrillard's position passes too quickly from citing the ubiquity of simulation to claiming for simulation a total victory. As a result, he misses the ways in which the mediated simulations of hyperreality are always shot through with contradictions. Redfield (2007) examines the complications of fictionalization at the level of the mediated reception of 9/11, writing "the symbolic damage done seems spectral— not unreal by any means, but not simply 'real' either" (56). As Redfield suggests, the aesthetic mediation of violent events signals a "stress point" of aesthetics in Western modernity: Aesthetic renderings and mass mediations of such events thus seem "both necessary and violent, imperative and obscene activities" (Redfield, 2007: 71). The commonplace claim that 9/11 seemed "like a movie" signifies artifice—the great work of art to which Stockhausen referred—yet the deaths inflicted were all too real. These contradictions were captured in photographs of people jumping from the Twin Towers that were briefly circulated before being largely eradicated from US media coverage of 9/11, the harsh reality of an impending brutal death judged too brutal for mass mediation (Zelizer 2010). Living on after violence and trauma—even mediations of trauma— involves hesitating between remembering and forgetting, remaining close to and finding distance from the event (Redfield, 2007).

These same contradictions course through the archiving of urban experience on which both vernacular practice and simulated governance rely. Indeed, vernacular practice generates its own media techniques. As David Green explained to interviewers, his impulse to photograph the aftermath of the attack was triggered by the explosion of the second bomb, as if by reflex: "When I saw it, I pulled out the camera and immediately took that picture" (AP, 2013). To be sure, the scale of 9/11 was of a different order than the Boston Marathon bombing, but Green's narration of his response to the bombing does not seem to reveal a "fantasmatic screen apparition" shattering his fictionalized reality; instead, he points his own screen at the apparition of violence, registering the spectacle as a specter, preserving it in the archive of past events that haunt future practice. Although 9/11 preceded the ubiquity of camera phones, the vast archive of amateur footage of 9/11 reveals that witnesses who had access to a camera had much the same response as Green did. Recognizing the social and visual construction of reality and acting accordingly is part of vernacular practice. Indeed, the vernacular practice of filming and photographing these events has now filtered into big-screen apparitions in such films as the 2008 *Cloverfield*, a monster film set in New York presented as found footage recovered by the US Department of Defense from one person's handheld camera—a witness's record of a violent attack thus becomes part of a government archive, an echo of the circulation of Green's photograph. Although Baudrillard argues that "reality" has succumbed to simulated hyperreality, *Cloverfield*'s conceit draws directly on vernacular media practices, suggesting that everyday experiences affect simulations of those experiences. Green's reaction to the second bomb blast thus reveals a complicated relationship between simulation and everyday experience: Green did not

physically leave the scene of the attack when he photographed it, but he added simulation to his experience. It is not so much that simulation substitutes itself for experience, then, as that simulation is thoroughly imbricated in experience.

The career of Green's photograph—which circulated from Green's phone to online discussion forums to the FBI and news media—demonstrates that vernacular media practice is increasingly part of simulated governance. The specter, as the reappearance of something that has disappeared in time, figures these complex relationships, and indeed figures into the experience of events in their immediacy. When Green photographed the immediate aftermath of the second bomb blast, he converted that moment into a spectral event, a particular moment registered in the archive of terror, a haunting record of panic and fear, a token of revenant terrorism to come, and an image of the man in the white hat—the dividual trace of suspect two.

The Crowd and the Visual Archive of the City

No wonder, then, that many internet commenters initially thought the man in the white hat was a digital trick, a pure semblance in the field of the visual. But even after the FBI confirmed his identity, he still appears too real to be real, an uncannily still specter that haunts the other mediated reality of chaos, motion, and reaction that surrounds him. It is impossible to ignore him—he created this event with his calculated violence, motivated by an unimaginable disregard for human life—but it is also impossible to imagine his desire to destroy and his calmly performed fulfillment of that desire. This impossibility of imagination distances him from the crowd and thus from scene itself. In this sense,

images of terror might undermine Benjamin's (1969) famous (and ambiguous) claim that photographic reproduction collapses the aura or distance of the work of art.

There is nostalgia in Benjamin's claim, a lamentation of the loss of aura, but there is also the recognition—too often ignored by commenters—of the power of what is gained. The image becomes separable and transportable and thus presentable for public scrutiny. This circulatory network of images from film and photography creates a public archive out of ephemeral events. This public archive constitutes the field of vernacular practice in public space. It also provides the field for managing that practice.

Photography, as Benjamin (1969) shows, is part of a constellation of technologies that train the subject to make sense of the everyday, to forge a new commonsense in the flux and flow of life, and in particular of city life. Through photography, "the touch of the finger" suffices to "fix an event for an unlimited period of time" (Benjamin, 1996: 175). This fixation is vital in an urbanized world, where the blasé attitude described by Simmel (1950) becomes a necessary coping mechanism to deal with the overwhelming stimuli of urban life. The city dweller recedes into a state of necessary distraction—focus for too long on any one object, and risk colliding with passersby, or a tram, or a speeding car. Benjamin (1969) argues that photography offers a different collision, one that occurs in the imaginary but that affects experience as it makes "it possible for an event at any time to be permanently recorded in terms of sound and sight" (175). Benjamin is referring to photography and film here, but film encourages synesthesia in the viewing of photography. The ephemerality of urban life—in this case a crowd fleeing an explosion—becomes an archive.

The archive of simulated governance is often described as a database, but this

database also draws on the archive of aesthetic media—film, photography chief among

them—not usually described as data. Yet archives of aesthetics and data are both

prerequisites for the techniques of governmentality. Simulated governance operates

through technological and mediated fields. The term thus suggests a significant

imbrication between governance and technology. Visual technologies have been central

to the urban experience, and perhaps no technology is more central than photography.

The history of urban photography is a history of attempts to capture the trace of urban

experience, or, in other words, to register data that can be coded, networked, and attached

to the dividual. It is not so much that government data becomes part of a visual archive

as it is that the visual archive becomes part of government data.

The ubiquity of camera phones perhaps intensifies this relationship between

vernacular media practice and governmental surveillance, but it did not inaugurate the

relationship. Indeed, the resonance between aesthetics and governance is implicit in the

popular moniker for early handheld cameras: the "detective camera." In the late 1880s,

advances in film technology radically reduced exposure time and produced portable film,

allowing photographers to capture live street scenes where before popular interest in

seeing street people and street laborers had to be satisfied by staged photographs. The

"detective camera" could thus move with and capture the urban crowd. In his 1893 *Hand

Camera Manual*, Walter D. Welford resists the "detective camera" label, lamenting, "It

implies a use of the instrument for purposes to which some of the public emphatically

object, *viz:* —the securing of scenes or incidents, pleasant or otherwise (in their minds

generally very much otherwise) which could not be obtained by other means" (7). Yet

after extolling the handheld camera's ability to produce "quickness of thought and rapid

action," Welford (1893) finds himself seduced by the clandestine contrivances the new technology promotes: "There are many little wiles and tricks—in fact, the up-to-date hand camera man should be a deceiver of the deepest dye—such as lighting a pipe or cigar, buttoning a coat, taking off the hat to wipe the forehead, blowing the nose, looking into a shop window, &c. &c. Anything and everything in fact to cheat the public, to deceive them as to his purpose" (68, 75). Capturing the fleeting traces of everyday street life required the skills of the detective—the ability to think quickly, act rapidly, and blend unnoticeably into the street crowd. In other words, the detective attempts to see the visual field by immersing himself within it. The detective deals in the immanence of the visual field. The ubiquity of camera phones obviates the need to appear as a face in the crowd before photographing the crowd. But photographs still promote this detective vision, this attempt to apprehend the field of the visual in its immanence. Recall David Green's suspicion of the man standing still rather than running. The man captured Green's attention because he did not seem to blend into the crowd. However, after the FBI recognized suspect two, what was visible in the photograph was fundamentally altered— the man in the white hat was no longer a face in the crowd but a dividual trace of suspect two. Yet the visual field as captured in the photograph never changed; all that changed was its location in the archive of governmentality. It was no longer *only* an image of the aftermath of a terrorist attack; it was also the image of the spectral figure of terror itself.

Photography is thus a technology of "simulated governance." It does not capture the individual; it produces—and has done so at least since the rise of Bertillonage and the detective camera in the 1880s—the dividual, the trace of the subject technologically preserved. It provides mediated access to daily urban life, and indeed reveals that

mediated access is the only form of access that can be archived. There can be no archive

of urban life—no manageable database—except through technological mediations of

various sorts: the detective camera or the automated speed camera, the film montage or

the CCTV feed. Indeed, as Welford (1893) acknowledges, the hand camera is labeled the

detective camera because it allows for "the securing of scenes or incidents…which *could*

not be obtained by other means" (7). It is not so much that technology mediates reality,

then, as it is that reality is itself a technological mediation.

This mediated archive of urban life establishes the conditions for experiencing,

acting, and relating in the city. David Green photographed the instability of this archive.

Suspect two emerged as the unavoidable specter of the image only after his image was

circulated elsewhere with the imprimatur of the FBI. The approach one takes to the

archive can thus unearth what was once obscured. But suspect two remains spectral in

part because this is still an image of a crowd in chaos. The photograph is replete with

bodies, some of them discernible as individuals, but all of them members of a crowd.

They are embodiments of what Hariman and Lucaites (2007) have called the individuated

aggregate: "They are neither individuals nor abstractions," but metonymic reductions of a

"more general construct," in this case members of a crowd at a public, urban event (88).

The figures in the foreground are more discernible as individuals, but as

individuals they still represent crowd members. Although the foreground is cluttered, the

most striking aspect of this image—before one knows who the man in the white hat is,

anyway—is the woman in shorts and a hoodie running athletically toward the camera, her

muscles visibly taught as she plants her right foot, her arms swinging as she turns her

head to her right, toward Boylston Street, her hair streaming behind her over her left

shoulder. With her dark sunglasses, she appears cool yet purposeful. She looks heroic, as if she might be running ahead of the group of women and children who trail behind her in order to confront any potential danger on the corner of Farfield Avenue.

Contrast her purposeful motion with the women in a teal sweater running westward through the crosswalk across Farfield Avenue. She appears to be crying as she clutches her cell phone, her jacket hanging off her shoulders as if she had been trying to put it on as she ran. Before suspect two was identified, she was likely unnoticed in the crowd, but once he was identified, her panicked scramble contrasts sharply with suspect two's serene jog. Indeed, many news sources cropped the photograph to show the drama of this juxtaposition, which only emerges once suspect two has become spectral.[6]

Together, these two individual women stand in for general patterns of behavior—in this case, if not quite fight or flight, then at least two versions of flight, one collected, ready to react, one panicked. There are any number of other figures that might capture

one's attention in this image—a woman running while covering her mouth with her shirt, a man in a bright yellow shirt stumbling forward as he looks back at the smoke, a woman in a bright pink coat walking by the soaring arches framing a large wooden door and the windows of a building on Boylston Street, or a little boy in a red hoodie scrambling to keep pace with a group of adults. But all of them stand in for the crowd reacting to the chaos, whether fleeing it or gaping at it. This is both a photograph, then, of the aftermath of a terrorist attack, and a characteristic image of an urban street, an image of a crowd in movement. The chaos is more intense than the everyday, but it is not of a different order; instead, the chaos emerges from the very conditions of urban life, from the forces that gather crowds in space, groups of strangers gathered together in public.

The crowd is also a metonymy for Boston. There are two Boston Red Sox logos in this photograph, one on the hat in the lower left hand corner, and one on the collar of the shirt of the gray-haired man leaning against the guardrails for support. The hat-wearer and the gray-haired man are simultaneously individuals and fans of Boston's most famous team, witnesses to a violent attack on a particular street, and reminders that this was an attack on Boston as a symbol. Insofar as the crowd members become a metonymy for Boston, and specifically Boston under attack, they become resources for shared action, for a response to the terror. As the photograph places the spectator and the photographed in a space of shared relationality, they exert what Azoulay (2008) has called an emergency claim. The photograph both makes visible a moral calamity and prescribes "how it ought to be handled" (198-99). The mediated emergency claim thus generates a mediated response to the calamity, one that relies not only upon registering the specter as a threat to be prevented in the future but on reckoning with the specter as a

past haunting that must be confronted, mourned, and exorcised. After suspect two was

captured, runners gathered to re-run the final mile in a symbolic gesture that Boston

would not surrender to terror. President Obama (2013), in his remarks at a service in

Boston only three days after the attacks, when the suspects were still at large, addressed

the crowd as members of the individuated aggregate of Boston, saying "Your resolve is

the greatest rebuke to whoever committed this heinous act. If they sought to intimidate

us, to terrorize us, to shake us from those values…that make us who we are as

Americans, well, it should be pretty clear by now that they picked the wrong city to do

it." As Red Sox player David Ortiz would more succinctly put it in an unscripted moment

in front of a large crowd and a live television audience during a commemoration at

Boston's Fenway Park shortly thereafter, "This is our fucking city" (Greenberg, 2013).

With the suspects not yet in custody, recovery began amid the terror. Thus every member

of the crowd becomes a symbol of the urban, of the complexity and resiliency of

vernacular practices that sustains public life.

      Suspect two exists at the limit of visual field those vernacular practices support.

He becomes the condensed figure of the terrorist spectacle, of the visual attack on the

banality of the visual. But his spectrality is visible not only in the threat his actions signal

to the future—the revenant terrorist—but in the promise of his destruction. The

photograph thus includes the arch of terrorism: the threat of the spectral suspect (the

figure of the spectacular attack), the emergency claims of the scattering crowd (who, as a

group of citizens responding to a threat, also issue a call for the government to destroy

that threat), and the embodied metonyms of an unshakable Boston appear as the arch of

this terror, which includes both the attack and its overcoming. The photograph's

circulation reveals that spectrality stimulates and propagates simulated governance in the urban milieu: This record of suspect two's public appearance made his capture possible. This is thus simultaneously a photograph of the chaos terrorism produces, the state's reassertion of order, and a haunting register of terrorism's unpredictable future return.

Conclusion: Surveillance, Social Networks, and Simulation

David Green's photograph is unlikely to consolidate public memory of the bombing, but it was one of the most important recoveries of the FBI-directed crowdsourcing. Of course, the crowdsourcing had negative repercussions too, including most famously the *New York Post* cover falsely accusing two innocent people as the "Bag Men!" of the bombing. With the rash of internet sleuths combing photographs and videos of the crowd to find two men in baseball caps, it was difficult to ignore how often one's appearance in public is recorded, whether through cameras in individual stores whose tapes are only synchronized later if events call for it, as in the case of Boston bombing, or through coordinated CCTV networks like those in London and New York, which has labeled its CCTV network "Domain Awareness." From its command center, Domain Awareness checks license plates entering lower Manhattan against the Terrorist Watch List, automatically alerts operators to such things such as bags left on sidewalks, and can even scan for something as specific as the color of an article of clothing (*The World*, 2013). On the one hand, this is unnerving. On the other hand, we enter the city to be seen, to be photographed, to be looked at, to have our clothes noticed. Even the recent revelations of NSA spying, including the NSA-Verizon consumer data sharing agreement, are, in some sense, nothing new. As people increasingly and willingly submit self-photographs and

their precise locations in a dispersed online network that, as the Boston bombing response

shows us, can easily be organized into a searchable database, there is the sense that the

NSA, Instagram and Facebook are all just filling niches in the network of visibility.

As O'Malley and others have demonstrated, the data registering dividuals in this

diffuse network of visibility can be quickly assembled to bring into view an individual

body that has been recognized (correctly or not) as a threat to the social body. At these

moments, sovereign power is reactivated to destroy the threat, whether through

banishment or execution. Yet contemporary surveillance has as its target not the

individual but the dividual, not the trainable body but the manageable social body. In

other words, contemporary surveillance is rarely disciplinary and almost always

biopolitical. It exists not to train or discipline subjects but to amass data, manage risk, and

identify threats to destroy, an intention made visible when the police won the consent of

the citizens to stay indoors after the Boston bombing during a manhunt conducted as a

ground war. Of course, the manhunt was also conducted on television and in

photographs. Simulated governance thus unfolds in mediation, vernacular practice

providing resources for and recalibrating the techniques of biopolitics. This network of

mediated images combine to form the ephemeral archive that contributes to the visual

construction of Boston urban life. This network gives terrorists a target.

This ephemeral, visual, urban archive also explains why the man in the white hat

becomes spectral as suspect two: he targeted the spectrum of the visible with the pure

spectacle of terror, a violent attempt to exceed the social that requires its symbolic

reconstitution in part through his inevitable state-sanctioned killing, which will be as

symbolic as it is real.

Notes

[1] See Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1978); Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in *The Foucault Effect*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, trans. Pasquale Pasquino (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991); Michel Foucault, *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures as the College de France, 1975-1976*, trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 1997); Michel Foucault, *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège de France 1977-1978*, trans. Graham Burchell, 1st ed. (New York: Picador, 2009).
[2] Alphonse Bertillon, "The Bertillon System of Identification," *Forum*, May 1891, 330.
[3] This paragraph's description of the photograph's circulation combines information from Somaiya R. and Zilar, J. (2013), AP (2013), and Morgan (2013).
[4] The story was almost everywhere, including traditional news sources like *CNN*, *Fox News*, the *New York Times*, *Huffington Post*, and the *Boston Globe*, and periodicals like *People* magazine and *Runner's World*.
[5] See Somaiya and Zilar (2013). Green also submitted a higher resolution photograph than had been circulating in some online forums in order to quell the controversy.
[6] See, for example, Somaiya and Zilar (2013).

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