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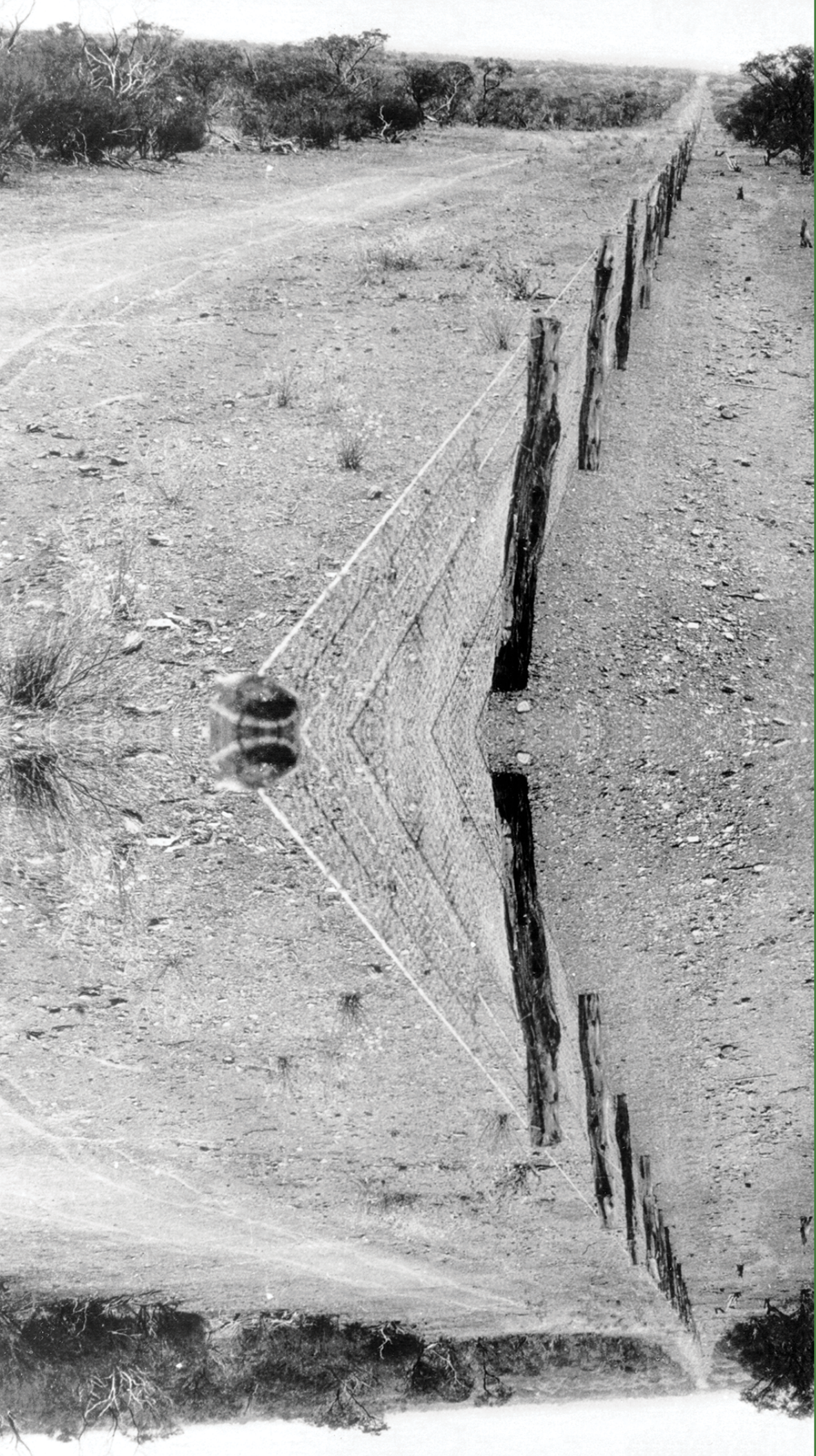
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All Along the Bell Tower: An Analysis of Surveillance and Affect on the Johns Hopkins University Homewood Campus

Sophia-Rose Diodati

Introduction

"No justice, no peace, no racist police!"¹ The chants reverberated across Shriver Hall's auditorium at Johns Hopkins University's Homewood Campus in November 2022. At the first of three community forums, students marched onto the stage raising signs with clear messages for the university: "Who will protect us from JHPD???", "JHPD will be as bad as BPD," "Police Protect Property Not People," and "What makes you feel safe? We do not consent to JHU Private Police."² At centerstage, the largest banner, which previously hung in an administrative building stairwell during the 2019 Garland Sit-In, demanded, "No Private Police No ICE Contracts Justice for Tyrone West." The university's decision to implement a private police force had received pushback from students, faculty, and Baltimoreans living around the campus since its inception in 2018. Despite the community's apprehension voiced at university-organized meetings, town halls, petitions, and protests, Johns Hopkins University proceeded with their plan.

¹ Khiree Stewart, "Protesters Disrupt First Town Hall on Hopkins Police Force," WBAL, September 23, 2022, <https://www.wbaltv.com/article/johns-hopkins-police-first-town-hall-meeting-protest/41342346>.

² Stewart. JHPD, acronym for Johns Hopkins Police Department; BPD, acronym for Baltimore Police Department.

Black and Brown students at JHU were, and continue to be, disproportionately impacted by surveillance architecture and security technology built into the campus environment. Protest messaging including “shut down the plantation, cancel the Hopkins private police!” and “surveillance won’t give us safety” touch on the impact of these small forms of violence experienced by marginalized students, yet frequently disregarded by the perpetrating institution.³ When surveillance strategies are critiqued by activists, such violence is typically overshadowed by recordings of police discrimination and injustice via cellphone video or body cam footage—shareable snippets of these traumatic encounters consumed through social media. While the proliferation of this media has bolstered public discourse and forced institutional recognition of extrajudicial violence, its spectacularization comes at the expense of Black and Brown communities.⁴ As conversations about sensationalized violence carry importance and implicit harm, it is crucial to examine the conditions that precede traumatic encounters to discern the violent capacity of everyday surveillance. By exploring affect theory, architectural history, and art-making practices, this project analyzes objects that produce everyday forms of surveillance on JHU’s Homewood campus and the representational objects that can emerge from them. Through the production of mixed media photographs centering the campus’s architectural elements as subjects, I propose an alternative way of seeing without spectacle to work through these weighted affectual experiences.

Context

Johns Hopkins University Homewood campus is located in an area of Baltimore, Maryland known as the “White L,” a strip of land that bisects the city and veers to the east at the harbor. It demarcates predominantly White neighborhoods with a greater concentration of community resources, such as transit, grocery stores, banks, green space, and recreation centers.⁵ Homewood houses roughly 7,000 undergraduates in Charles Village, which is surrounded almost exclusively by other neighborhoods located in the “White L.” What lies on its exterior is called the “Black Butterfly.” Coined by Dr. Lawrence Brown, a research scientist at Morgan State University’s Center for Urban Health Equity, the term “Black Butterfly” references East and West Baltimore, areas

³ Annie R. Ramos, “Protesters Shut down Town Hall on Johns Hopkins Police Force for Second Time in a Row,” CBS Baltimore, September 29, 2022, <https://www.cbsnews.com/baltimore/news/protesters-shut-down-town-hall-on-johns-hopkins-police-force-for-second-time-in-a-row/>.

⁴ Safiya U. Noble adapts Guy Debord’s work on spectacles to establish a framework for understanding the consumption and proliferation of Black death in media. Safiya U. Noble, “Critical Surveillance Literacy in Social Media: Interrogating Black Death and Dying Online,” *Black Camera* 9, no. 2 (2018): 147-160, muse.jhu.edu/article/694972.

⁵ Lawrence T. Brown, *The Black Butterfly: The Harmful Politics of Race and Space in America* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2022), 12.

experiencing hypersegregation stemming from a long history of discriminatory policies that bolstered exclusionary zoning practices, taxation, and redlining.⁶ Hypersegregation, as employed by Brown, describes a type of spatial racial segregation of urban areas where African Americans were insulated based on several criteria: “unevenness,” an ununiform distribution of neighborhood demographics in a city, “isolation,” the number of African Americans residing in Black neighborhoods, “clustering,” the proximity of predominantly Black neighborhoods to one another, “concentration,” how much “physical space” African Americans individually inhabit at the urban scale, and lastly, “centralization,” the proximity of African American residences to the city’s center.⁷ These neighborhoods, retaining many of the boundaries redlined into the fabrics of the city in the 1930s, stand as racially coded markers for the University community as what might be deemed safe or unsafe areas.

Following amendments made to the 2018 “Baltimore City - Independent Institutions of Higher Education - Police Force” proposed bill, Maryland lawmakers approved the legislation in 2019 with the revised name, “The Community Safety and Strengthening Act,” which allowed the University to assemble a private police force in response to alleged rising crime rates in the area.⁸ Under the former title, the bill exclusively authorized the implementation of police forces at an “independent institution of higher education in Baltimore City” to exercise the “powers granted to a peace and police officer.”⁹ Following the amendments, the initial bill was repackaged among proposals for other community-oriented public safety initiatives, such as bolstering youth programs in the city and creating an internship program to “provide career opportunities in law enforcement.”¹⁰ As it pertained to campus policing, the approved bill solely addressed Johns Hopkins University, with authorization “to establish a police department under certain circumstances; prohibiting the police department from acquiring certain aircraft, drones, vehicles, or weapons; requiring University police officers to wear and use body-worn cameras in a certain manner; etc.”¹¹ When reframed to center the protection and support of the “community” as opposed

⁶ Brown, *The Black Butterfly*, 4.

⁷ Brown, *The Black Butterfly*, 12. Brown adopts this definition from Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, based on criteria established by Massee and Jonathan Tannen.

⁸ For a synopsis of the proposed bill, see “Legislation - HB1803,” Maryland General Assembly, accessed October 15, 2022, <https://mgaleg.maryland.gov/mgawebsite/Legislation/Details/hb1803?ys=2018RS&search=True>.

⁹ “Legislation - HB 1803.”

¹⁰ The Community Safety and Strengthening Act, SB 793, 439th Legislative Session of General Assembly (MD 2019), https://mgaleg.maryland.gov/2019RS/chapters_noln/Ch_25_sb0793E.pdf.

¹¹ From synopsis. See: “Legislation - SB0793,” Maryland General Assembly, accessed October 15, 2022, <https://mgaleg.maryland.gov/mgawebsite/Legislation/Details/sb0793?ys=2019RS>. For passed bill, see note 10 above.

to the safety mechanism being used, the bill's title obscures the unchanged proposal. The creation of a private police force at JHU remained at the core of this public safety initiative.

The bill's approval prompted a series of JHU student- and community-led town hall meetings and petitions. Fueled by the collective memory of the on-duty murders by police officers that ignited the Black Lives Matter movement in 2013, community criticism escalated to protests and a month-long sit-in on campus. At one rally in 2018, a student voiced their discontent to the Baltimore-based media outlet The Real News Network: "partnering with the Baltimore Police Department, arguably the most corrupt police department in the country, shows a complete disregard for students of color on this campus that would otherwise be brutalized if they lived just a few blocks down the street."¹² Another student elaborated on this sentiment: "this is another example of Hopkins looking out for its own power, its own image, without being accountable. This could really be dangerous for students and for people of color in the city."¹³ Signs at the protest read "Who R U Here To 'Protect'?", "Not Tryna Get Shot," while chants echoed across Homewood: "More police hurts the peace" and "How do you spell racist? B-P-D."

Protests and demonstrations continued into April and May 2019, with the 35-day Garland Sit-In and Occupation marking an inflection point in the response to the bill. Students reclaimed Garland Hall, the university's main administration building at the time, forcing its services to relocate. Occupying students, university faculty, and community members demanded that the university cancel the proposed private police force and advocate against police brutality.¹⁴ One student organizer quoted by The Baltimore Sun spoke on the importance of the movement: "I care because I am black. I care because I'm queer...I understand the implications that a private police force will have on black and brown and queer bodies. I care because historically police have been abusing black bodies."¹⁵ Present at the sit-in was community organizer Tawanda Jones, the sister of Tyrone West who had been murdered by on-duty Baltimore Police and

¹² Brandon Soderberg, "What A Private Police Force Would Mean for Johns Hopkins University and Baltimore," *The Real News Network*, March 13, 2018, <https://therealnews.com/what-a-private-police-force-would-mean-for-johns-hopkins-university-and-baltimore>.

¹³ Soderberg, "What A Private Police Force Would Mean."

¹⁴ Colin Campbell and Talia Richman, "7 Johns Hopkins Protesters Arrested after Monthlong Sit-in at Garland Hall over Private Police, ICE Contracts," *Baltimore Sun*, May 8, 2019, <https://www.baltimoresun.com/education/bs-md-jhu-sit-in-wednesday-20190508-story.html>. Organizers also requested the end of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) contracts with the university, which were not renewed after they had expired.

¹⁵ Campbell and Richman, "7 Johns Hopkins Protesters Arrested."

Morgan State University police in 2013.¹⁶ Her brother's story was mobilized by Sit-In organizers to condemn the BPD and their neighboring, peer institution's complicity. The Occupation ended when the BPD negotiated with protestors to vacate the premises, resulting in seven student arrests, but community dissent did not cease.¹⁷

Following the murder of George Floyd by on-duty officers in May 2020 that sparked nationwide protests, JHU's president Ron Daniels paused the police force's development. Daniels stated that the hiatus would offer the opportunity to "draw on the energies, expertise, and efforts of our community in advancing the agenda for consequential and enduring reform."¹⁸ This decision was met with distrust and criticism by those opposing the JHPD. The Baltimore Beat quoted Jones on her frustrations of being repeatedly disregarded: "They didn't listen to us at all. We weren't respected. They mistreated us, and now we're supposed to buy this? No...Police had my brother in a George Floyd situation back in 2013, and here we are in 2020. Do we need more police? Hell no we don't."¹⁹ A JHU faculty member echoed this concern, "The idea that Freddie Gray's murder at the hands of six police officers five years ago would not provide a tipping point, and would not keep an initiative like this from getting off the ground, is just astonishing...We're calling for the full abandonment of this initiative. We're making it clear that the pause that popped up as we were in this process is not a sufficient response to that call."²⁰ Despite JHU officially pledging to reform public safety procedures, the development of the force proceeded in 2022 with the signing of its Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), a document developed by JHU and the Baltimore Police Department detailing how the Johns Hopkins Police Department (JHPD) is to operate, on December 2nd of that year, with anticipated deployment of the force through Fall 2023 and Spring 2024.²¹ Through years of consistent protests and demonstrations, the students, university faculty, and local community members and organizers emphasized the same belief: bolstering surveillance on campus would

¹⁶ Jacob Took, "Abolish, Not Delay: Opposition to Proposed 'Pause' On Johns Hopkins Private Police Force Grows," *Baltimore Beat*, July 13, 2020, <https://baltimorebeat.com/abolish-not-delay-opposition-to-proposed-pause-on-johns-hopkins-private-police-force-grows/>.

¹⁷ Campbell and Richman, "7 Johns Hopkins Protesters Arrested."

¹⁸ Hub Staff, "Johns Hopkins Will Pause Development of a Police Department for at Least Two Years | Hub," *Johns Hopkins University Hub*, June 12, 2020, <https://hub.jhu.edu/2020/06/12/hopkins-pauses-jhpd-for-at-least-two-years/>.

¹⁹ Jacob Took, "Abolish, Not Delay: Opposition to Proposed 'Pause' On Johns Hopkins Private Police Force Grows," *Baltimore Beat*, July 13, 2020, <https://baltimorebeat.com/abolish-not-delay-opposition-to-proposed-pause-on-johns-hopkins-private-police-force-grows/>.

²⁰ Took, "Abolish, Not Delay".

²¹ Public Safety, "Memorandum of Understanding," Public Safety, n.d., <https://publicsafety.jhu.edu/community-safety/jhpd/memorandum-of-understanding/>; Public Safety, "Status and Updates," Public Safety, n.d., <https://publicsafety.jhu.edu/community-safety/jhpd/status-and-updates/>.

increase the harmful, institutional gaze of both the state and university on its marginalized students and those living at its bounds.

Everyday Surveillance

Many forms of surveillance negatively impact how Black and Brown students experience educational spaces.²² When considered in conjunction with the effects of historical constructions of race, many experience the sensation of perpetual surveillance as their bodies carry the histories from which these violent systems originated and functioned to other and oppress Black and Brown communities. Bound by the racial implications of transatlantic slavery and colonialism, contemporary surveillance employed in institutional spaces reasserts a historic gaze upon those from marginalized backgrounds who fall under it. In *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness*, author and educator Simone Browne discusses the intersection of race and surveillance to highlight “how racism and antiblackness undergird and sustain the intersecting surveillance of our present order.”²³ She examines Foucault’s understanding of the Panopticon alongside that of the slave ship in order to explore methods of control and intended outcomes prior to the construction of prisons. Referencing Foucault’s idea of “hierarchical observation” as a way of casting watchful gazes through formalized institutions, Browne asserts that this observation method intends to change individuals’ behavior: “With this play of gazes in the disciplinary institution, such as the penitentiary or the school campus, surveillance...sought to objectify, transform, and improve individuals through architectural arrangements, registration, examination, and documentation.”²⁴

When occupying a matrix of sightlines produced by university surveillance mechanisms, one may be inclined to change, transform, or otherwise negotiate a presupposed “otherness” as they perceive themselves first through the lens of the surveyor. For Black and Brown students, the tension that arises when negotiating one’s self-perception against how one is perceived through the lens of surveillance is an embodied experience. Such an ontological sensation may be regarded as affect. Brian Massumi adapts the work of Gilles Deleuze in his interpretation of affect theory,

²² Odis Johnson and Jason Jabbari’s research shows that high surveillance schools (HSS) negatively impact students as determined by comparatively lower math test scores, higher suspension rates, lower likelihood of matriculation to higher education, with Black students being at higher risk as they were four times more likely to be enrolled in a HSS; greater detection led to greater punishment regardless of demographics of student body. Odis Johnson and Jason Jabbari, “Infrastructure of Social Control: A Multi-Level Counterfactual Analysis of Surveillance and Black Education,” *Journal of Criminal Justice* 83 (November 1, 2022): 101983, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2022.101983>.

²³ Simone Browne, *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 9.

²⁴ Browne, *Dark Matters*, 41.

describing this experience as being neither palpable nor imaginary, but manifesting between them with emotion being secondary to it. Both theorists term the plane in which this sensation emerges as “the virtual,” the space caught between the actual, or the tangible, and the imagined, or the intangible.²⁵ Massumi suggests that when affect emerges, this experience is characterized by its nearly imperceptible dance between both the virtual and corporeal realms: “What is being termed affect...is precisely this two-sidedness, the simultaneous participation of the virtual in the actual and the actual in the virtual, as one arises from and returns to the other.”²⁶ When understood against the backdrop established by Browne, affect occurs as the tensioned response to the institutional gazes at “play” in the virtual; the sensation of feeling watched or monitored by surveillance mechanisms can be deemed as an experience beyond a manifestation of the mind, but rather something regarded as critically as somatic experiences.²⁷

Surveillance measures seen at JHU include an assortment of contracted security guards, off-duty Baltimore Police Department officers, as well as security belonging to the institution, referred to as “Hop-Cops” by students. Uniformed individuals stationed on nearly every block throughout Charles Village and the campus itself are an overt and active form of surveillance. However, passive forms of surveillance built into the landscape offer a different understanding of what it means to be watched.

Like many universities across the nation, JHU has installed an emergency Blue Light system, a public safety mechanism of permanent towers equipped with security cameras and blue bulbs installed at strategic locations. This system offers immediate security to any person who feels unsafe on campus or any JHU property via a button and/or phone installed into its tower. At some institutions, the Blue Light system is a rectangular tower with “emergency” emblazoned on all sides with a blue light at the top, while at JHU’s Homewood campus, it is merely a blue orb at the top of a pole. This security system is advertised on campus tours as being so prevalent, that at least one of the bulbs should be visible, or reasonably accessible, from any location on campus. Programming software synchronized to these cameras autonomically reports suspicious activity for security intervention—a feature touted to prospective students and parents during Blue Key Society campus tours.²⁸ While these blue orbs are intended to function for security, they perpetuate the presence of total surveillance: the towering mechanism is visible, but the surveying entity is not, similar to Foucault’s Panopticon. These sorts of measures do not protect the perimeter nor deter external threats—they are blended

²⁵ Gilles Deleuze, *Difference and Repetition*, trans. Paul Patton (London: Continuum, 2004), 208.

²⁶ Brian Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 35.

²⁷ Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual*, 41.

²⁸ This comment stood out to me during my own Blue Key Society tour. Tour Guide Unknown. “Admission Session & Tour,” Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, MD, August, 2016.

into the campus infrastructure such that they become mundane characteristics of everyday life that have disproportionate implications for the campus community.

While I was a student at Hopkins, I was consumed by an awareness of this system's affordances and its panoptic gaze. An architecture professor once off-handedly mentioned that from anywhere on the neoclassical campus, one may look up and see at least one cupola. The cupolas are a formidable presence on campus that dominate the skyline and architecturally simulate the watchful eye on the student body exacted by the blue orbs of the Blue Light system. Radiating from the blue orbs and each cupola are imperceptible, virtual threads that connect the built environment and the systems of surveillance that I navigated daily as a student, all while carrying the weight of memory, history, and time.

Art Objects

Both Homewood's cupolas and security system infrastructure share similarities in function and imagery when viewed through the lens of architectural history. Once a critical ventilation mechanism in various ancient Asian and European structures, cupolas were adopted into English domestic architecture to create an unobstructed path through the house for airflow.²⁹ Many design schemes allowed internal access to the cupola's interior, thus effectively making them observational decks with 360-degree visibility.

In the nineteenth-century United States, cupolas were often employed in governmental and academic buildings constructed in the Jeffersonian neoclassical style, developed by Thomas Jefferson to symbolize the country's free and democratic ethos. However, Jefferson's neoclassicism cannot be divorced from its subversive practical affordance to keep enslaved laborers and their dwellings hidden from sight. For example, his plantation Monticello (1809) was designed in this style as a symmetrical structure boasting a red, brick facade with marble pillars framing its entry. Jefferson designed two additional levels with lengthy terraces extending from the structure's backside, further masking the sleeping and working quarters for the enslaved laborers built into the opposing side of Monticello's hill. This terraced design can be seen replicated in his design for the University of Virginia's "Academical Village" (1825): interconnected buildings extend from the Rotunda, a central library that frames the east and west side of a quadrangle greenspace referred to as "the Lawn."³⁰ This arrangement was originally intended to accommodate lodgings for both students and

²⁹ John Milnes Baker, *American House Styles: A Concise Guide* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1994), 74.

³⁰ Mariacristina Loi, "Origins and Development of the American Campus: The 'Academical Village' of Thomas Jefferson," in *Buildings for Education: A Multidisciplinary Overview of the Design of School Buildings*, ed. S. Della Torre, M. Bocciarelli, L. Daglio, R. Neri (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 90.

professors to be “advantageous to morals, to order, & to uninterrupted study.”³¹ However, like Monticello, this design served the dual affordance of not only implementing the omnipotent gaze of the academic institution, but also burying the subterranean enslaved laborers' quarters beneath the Village's architectural footprint. In *Race and Modern Architecture*, architect and scholar Mabel O. Wilson argues Monticello's and the University of Virginia's (UVA) hilltop locations offered Jefferson optimal site conditions to bury the enslaved laborers' quarters below that of the primary living areas, an architectural metaphor for the paradox of freedom.³²

Imbued with the ideals of the Enlightenment, neoclassical architecture synthesized elements of Greco-Roman architecture—e.g. orders, pediments, domes—and classical principles of design—e.g. proportion, harmony, symmetry—with the evolving understandings of nature through scientific discovery and the cultural shift toward challenging the ruling, traditional ideologies that governed architecture at the time.³³ In the American context, architects' use of neoclassicism was a nod to the formation of the Roman Republic, one of the earliest examples of representative democracy.³⁴ Pushing the importance of perception and symbolizing national values through form, Jefferson's inclinations extended beyond his civic buildings, such as the Virginia State Capitol, to his plantation home Monticello and UVA's campus. Yet, this classicizing landscape replete with symbols of “equality, justice, and freedom” physically obfuscated enslaved laborers, connoting a sense of choreographed invisibility, power, control, and surveillance.³⁵

With the same arrangement utilized in the Academical Village, the Homewood campus shares this complex mix of motifs. Gilman Hall (1915), the university's most iconic structure, implements covered terraces or breezeways to connect the academic buildings framing its quadrangle, Keyser Quad. Atop Gilman Hall sits its cupola that secures the building's status as the tallest on campus. Towering over its neighboring structures, Gilman Hall exudes an unwavering sense of importance, as though seated at

³¹ Thomas Jefferson, “Rockfish Gap Report of the University of Virginia Commissioners, August 4, 1818,” accessed November 3, 2022, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-13-02-0197-0006>.

³² Mabel O. Wilson, “Notes on the Virginia Capitol: Nation, Race, and Slavery in Jefferson's America,” in *Race and Modern Architecture: A Critical History from the Enlightenment to the Present*, ed. Irene Cheng, Charles L. Davis II, and Mabel O. Wilson (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2020), 23-42.

³³ Dell Upton, *Architecture in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 72.

³⁴ Though in practice, the Roman system functionally maintained the power of its founders' class while furthering class disparity, perhaps creating an unwitting parallel with Jefferson's admiration for it, as it mirrors the abuses inherent in the American government being built upon the paradox of equality in a society reliant on enslaved labor. Michael R Allen, “Trumpism, Neoclassicism, and Architecture as Propaganda,” *PLATFORM*, May 27, 2022, <https://www.platformspace.net/home/trumpism-neoclassicism-and-architecture-as-propaganda>.

³⁵ Wilson, “Notes on the Virginia Capitol,” 25.

the head of a table. Like the Rotunda at UVA, Gilman Hall's entry boasts stark, white stairs, columns, and a sizeable pediment. Although the Rotunda does not feature a cupola, the imposing form of its domed roof references the 360-degree visibility of the watchtowers and cupolas of other JHU structures. With the first building on the Homewood campus incorporating Jeffersonian elements, the designs for the rest of the campus followed suit, placing cupolas atop several academic buildings. A total of nine buildings have cupolas. While some cupolas have stairway access, others do not and are ornamental.

Through the practice of art making, I explored the relationship between the university's cupolas, the blue light security system, and their built environment by creating a series of art objects entitled *Affect Arrays*: a series of photographs capturing different cupolas on JHU's campus with red thread sewn into the developed images depicting the web of surveillance they cast on the campus landscape. Each photograph serves as a moment in the process of moving through campus and taking inventory of the cupolas through the view of those falling under their gaze.

Frames highlight different angles that display the relationship of structures to their immediate surrounding environment. I developed six photos into 8x10 inch prints to use as the final objects (figs. 1-6). With a needle and red thread, I sewed the perceived sightlines into the images beginning at the cupola (or other form of surveillance in the frame) and extending to the edges of the print to make the gaze of these structures visually legible and physically tangible.



Figure 1. Sophia-Rose Diodati, *City View, Baltimore*, *Affect Arrays* series, photograph and thread, December 2019, 8 x 10 in. Courtesy of author.



Figure 2. Sophia-Rose Diodati, *Gilman Hall (front)*, Baltimore, *Affect Arrays* series, photograph and thread, December 2019, 8 x 10 in., Courtesy of author.

These art objects are comprised of two main elements: a symbol of surveillance, the cupola or a blue orb, and its resulting gaze represented as red thread. When first approaching the cupolas in my design process, I sketched the towers by hand, gaining an intimate understanding of their design and intricate details. Laying trace paper on top of these sketches, I drew the sightlines of a potential observer situated on top of the watchtower, then extended these lines like rays of light fracturing outwards (figs. 7-9). The resulting images provided an alternative way of viewing these structures. While these towering white structures offer aesthetic cohesion, they also cast a similar gaze onto bodies as the campus's security mechanisms. They act as constant reminders of the University's prestige and overwhelming power, seemingly as bold and pristine as its marble pillars. Imagining these structures as alternative forms of surveillance did more than just create the hypothetical image itself. It materialized my affectual experience amidst the University's perpetual surveillance.

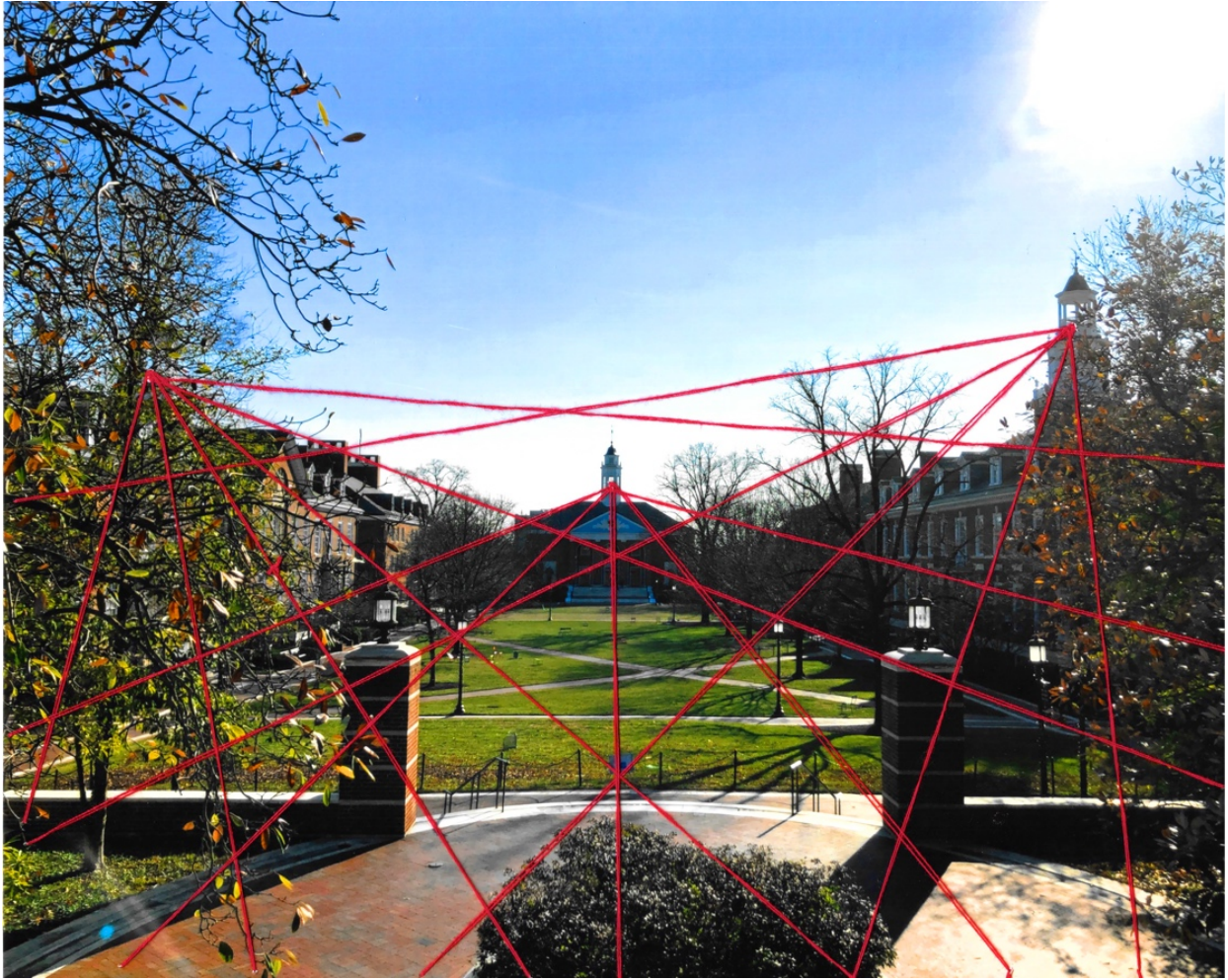


Figure 3. Sophia-Rose Diodati, *Wyman Quad*, Baltimore, *Affect Arrays* series, photograph and thread, December 2019, 8 x 10 in. Courtesy of author.

The affectual experience brought on by surveillance is represented in the objects' second element, the red thread. Representing the line of vision from the manifested watchtower through this imagery provides similar affordances of (in)visibility as Foucault's Panopticon. In this style of representation, each view offered a different way of perceiving the directionality of the sightlines. For example, *Gilman Hall (front)* (fig. 2) presents an array that extends onto the landscape beneath it, much like *Wyman Quad* (fig. 3) and *Gilman Hall Cupola & Blue Light System* (fig. 6) that show several cupolas' arrays overlapping and extending to the foreground in a similar manner, respectively. However, in the case of *City View* (fig. 1), the arrays of the cupolas pictured in the distance are presented connecting with one another as opposed to fracturing into the city to emphasize the network of surveillance between them. *Garland Hall & Latrobe Hall Cupola* (fig. 5) displays the only array not originating from a cupola or surveillance mechanism with fractured rays. To distinguish its rays within the series, each thread extending from Garland Hall bends, redirecting each path more vertically as opposed

to radially to emphasize its positioning as a site of protest and its connections beyond the campus, as organizers connected with local communities and other universities.³⁶ Maintaining the medium and color of this array lent consistency to its reading within the series: these connections exist virtually, sharing the burden of surveillance with those who stand in solidarity, protesting in their respective communities and campuses. Materially speaking, thread has the dual affordance to reliably bind fabric together, showing strength and durability, while also being delicate to the touch, as if barely there. Thread as a metaphor for affect makes virtual space visible, bridging the real and imagined realms.



Figure 4. Sophia-Rose Diodati, *Chemistry Building*, Baltimore, Affect Arrays series, photograph and thread, December 2019, 8 x 10 in. Courtesy of author.

When moving through these spaces, the arrays represent the instant activation and fleeting awareness of one's proximity to the structures at play on the university's grounds which include, but are not limited to, the histories and broader understandings of boundaries, community, and identity. Speaking on the many connections that catalyze affect, Massumi suggests that the virtual consists of many potentials, "where futurity combines, unmediated with pastness."³⁷ These temporalities appear too transitory to be perceived in the moment as they

give way to the resulting "affect or intensity in the present."³⁸ Drawing on similar concepts of space and time, Doreen Massey suggests in *For Space* that in the virtual plane, space and time collide creating multiple resonances that allow the space in which

³⁶ Students from other universities shared public support for the JHU students at the time of Garland Sit-in in 2019. Some of the universities represented included Brandeis University, Yale University, Portland State University, Tufts University, and University of North Carolina. Chad Williams (@Dr_ChadWilliams), Twitter post, May 1, 2019, https://twitter.com/Dr_ChadWilliams/status/1123735764284649473; Lindsay Ayling (@AylingLindsay), Twitter post, May 1, 2019, <https://twitter.com/AylingLindsay/status/1123699517839302656>; PSU Student Union (@PortlandStateSU), Twitter post, May 1, 2019, <https://twitter.com/portlandstatesu/status/1123673020248264704>; Tufts SJP (@SJPTufts), Twitter post, May 1, 2019, <https://twitter.com/SJPTufts/status/1123724585092960256>.

³⁷ Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual*, 30.

³⁸ Massumi, *Parables for the Virtual*, 32.



Figure 5. Sophia-Rose Diodati, *Garland Hall & Latrobe Hall Cupola*, Baltimore, *Affect Arrays* series, photograph and thread, December 2019, 8 x 10 in. Courtesy of author.

one inhabits to be considered dynamically rather than statically, offering consideration for how affect might be inscribed onto place in one's memory.³⁹ Similarly to Massumi, Massey suggests that at any point in time physical space has the affordance of facilitating this temporal convergence, with the transient present constantly making and remaking its current, virtual existence: "The specifically spatial within time-space is produced by that—sometimes happenstance, sometimes not—arrangement-in-relation-to-each-other that is the result of there being a multiplicity of

trajectories...There is always an element of 'chaos'. This is the chance of space..."⁴⁰ What Massey considers the "chance of space" can be understood as what might manifest in a location as affectual experiences that erupt from the complex convergence of the past, present, and future. In this case, the "chance" of the space where students encounter methods of surveillance—whether by people, machine, or built environment—carries the weight not only of the present encounter, but also the virtual collision of the histories that detailed and foreshadow the outcomes of such systems.

When considered against the backdrop of institutions as Browne suggests, affect must be understood beyond a one-dimensional view of what it

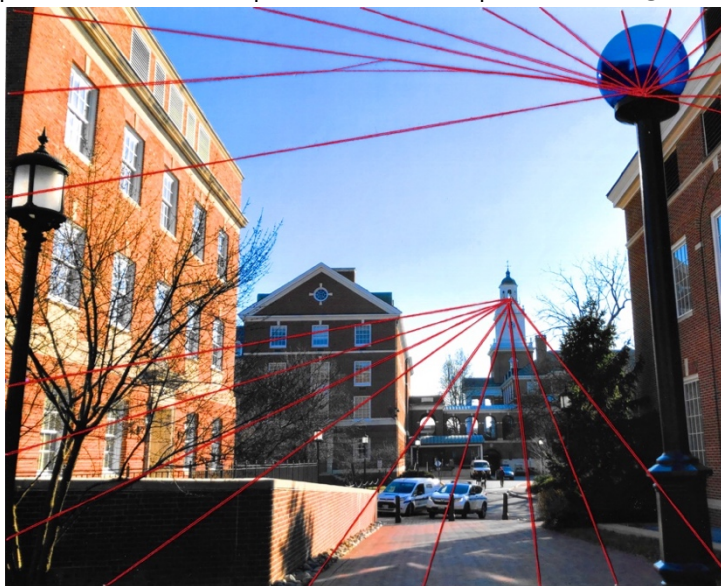
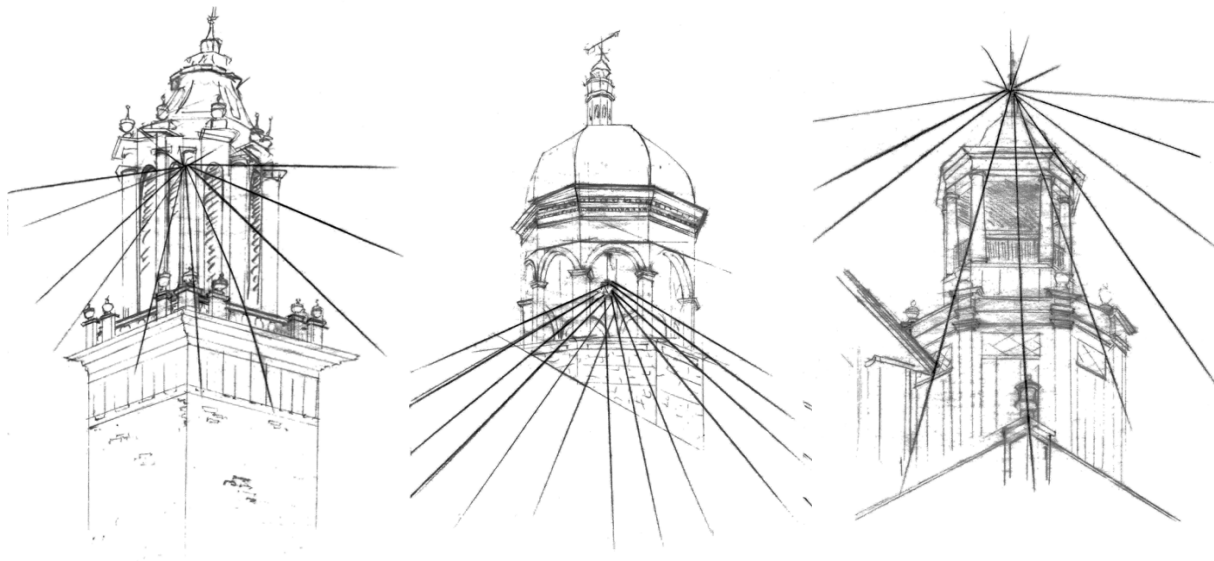


Figure 6. Sophia-Rose Diodati, *Gilman Hall Cupola & Blue Light System*, Baltimore, *Affect Arrays* series, photograph and thread, December 2019, 8 x 10 in. Courtesy of author.

³⁹ Doreen B. Massey, *For Space* (London: SAGE, 2005), 10.

⁴⁰ Massey, *For Space*, 111.

means to be watched; affect's gravity for Black and Brown students on university grounds results from how surveillance sightlines intersect with the temporalities that Massumi and Massey describe. The perception of oneself as understood through institutional gazes is inherently informed by these temporalities: the past, comprised of the histories of control placed on Black and Brown communities that extend beyond physical violence to the quotidian forms built into institutions and their environments; the present, referencing those histories echoing through time and reenacted by modern day practices of policing; and the future, envisioned as extrajudicial violence, recorded and reproduced in media giving visual reference for future possibilities. The virtual collision of time, space, history, and memory creates affectual experiences for Black and Brown students navigating Homewood that are embodied and carried throughout campus and across these arrays.



Figures 7-9. Sophia-Rose Diodati, *Cupola Sketch(es)*, Baltimore, Affect Arrays series, Pencil on vellum over pencil on paper, December 2019, 7 in. x 11 in. Courtesy of author.

Critical Conclusions

Casting a critical lens on how affectual experiences of surveillance can be rendered more legitimately made this type of visual inquiry and analysis possible. This process began with an interest in the over-policing of communities, coupled with knowledge from my own experiences, seminar-style discussions, theoretical readings, and engaging with art across different media.⁴¹ With growing concern on the JHU

⁴¹ Suzan-Lori Parks, *The Death of the Last Black Man in the Whole Entire World: AKA The Negro Book of the Dead* (New York: Samuel French, 2019); Claudia Rankine, *Citizen: An American Lyric* (London: Penguin

Homewood campus regarding the institution of a private police force at the time of this research, my interests shifted towards the university's current surveillance systems and the structural, historical, and architectural systems embedded within it. Understandings of affect theory and the virtual became a central part of this investigation, providing other means of discussing the embodied responses to campus surveillance. In pursuit of an art-making methodology, the photographs and alterations made from my exploration of campus required attention not only to the built environment and my surroundings, but also to a consideration for affect as it emerged internally.

Through cataloguing personal affects across the campus landscape, the methodologies that rendered these art objects stemmed from a material exploration of the virtual itself. Collecting images of the same mechanisms that surveilled me stirred up a deep discomfort; raising my lens to record another lens that had been recording me seemed wrong as I became hyperaware. The effects of the omnipresent surveillance on the Homewood campus became increasingly apparent as I consciously moved through it, my body feeling heavier and more entrenched in a web of suspicious gazes. Even as I reversed the direction of surveillance, the overwhelming affect from its Panoptic presence continued to bear down on me. As these mechanisms of surveillance disproportionately impact othered bodies, the resulting affect is far more damaging than that of those in more privileged skin, and the more that their virtual reality is disregarded and replaced by actual images of traumatic violence, the heavier it is to carry—the more harmful it becomes.

The virtual plane, where affect emerges, for Black and Brown people is only considered legitimate in the public eye after real and unmediated representations of their vulnerability manifest. Popular consumption of media containing shocking or otherwise attention-grabbing material renders violence as spectacle.⁴² When the affectual experiences of communities are disregarded for the privileging of graphic representations of violence against them, what comes next? In the crucial conversations about necessitating ostensible proof of tangible violence to validate a community's trauma, questions of how to represent the small forms of violence that precede such traumatic ends are often lost. Providing another way of "getting on" in the world, or a way of surviving, should never be underestimated. My inquiry through the practice of physical representation and (un)making suggests a new way of seeing that does not implicate sensationalized images of bodies that resembled my own. Rather, we should consider other ways of representing the entanglements we carry with us. If a possibility emerges such that the virtual is regarded as concretely and tangibly as the actual, then perhaps the way that Black and Brown people move through surveilled space could

Books, 2015); Jay Buim, "Creative Time Presents Kara Walker's 'A Subtlety,'" (2014; Brooklyn, NY: Creative Time), <https://creativetime.org/projects/karawalker>.

⁴² Noble, "Critical Surveillance Literacy."

change as these security mechanisms would, allowing them to shed the affects of those that came long before.

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