

Social acceptance of CCTV in Japan

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International conference

Security, ethics and justice: towards a more inclusive security design

Tübingen, Germany



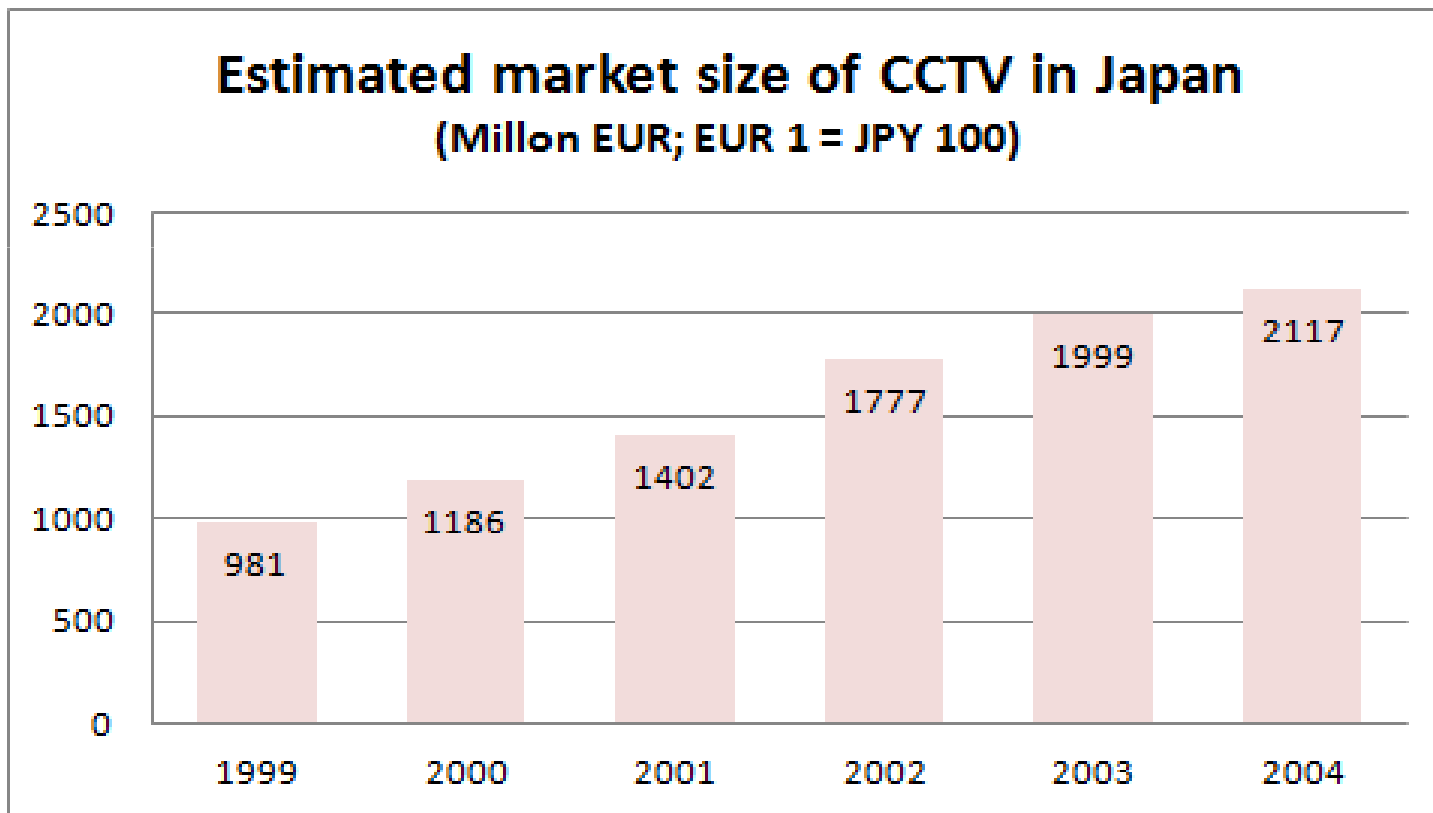
Overview

- Research background and objectives
 - Current Japanese circumstances surrounding CCTV
- The traditional Japanese sense of society (*Seiken*) and morality
 - The concept of the moral gaze of peer group is not unique to Japan, but has been somewhat stronger than in some other societies
- Modernisation of *Seiken*; the liquefaction of society's gaze
 - Social acceptance of “tender electronic eyes”



Research background

- A wide and rapid spread of CCTV in Japan
- Increasing deployment of covert workplace CCTV



Statistics from the Japan Security Systems Association

CCTV research in Tokyo and Matsuyama in June 2011



- In the central area of Tokyo
 - 152 cameras seen directly, most of which caught AAA at least once in one day
- In the suburban area of Tokyo
 - 94 cameras seen directly, most of which caught KM
- In Matsuyama
 - 34 cameras seen directly, most of which caught YO
- Only a small proportion had notices near the cameras
- Only a small proportion had notices in the surveillance areas
- Many were difficult to spot, even when an expert was looking for them



CCTV in operation





Research background

- Opposing perspectives on CCTV deployment
 - CCTV is a humanising technology necessary to ensure security
 - Increase in reported and recorded crimes
 - Significant drop in clear-up rates
 - Installation of CCTV is not an urgent issue for Japan
 - The possible invasion of privacy and suppression of freedom caused by the installation and operation of CCTV systems and the resultant surveillance society



Research background

- No national regulation of CCTV deployment and usage
- No significant case law to limit them
 - JFBA recommended to establish a legal framework to regulate CCTV
- CCTV cameras are being upgraded
 - Face recognition, irregular motion detection, ...
- However, ...
 - Ordinary Japanese seem to accept, or at least not to resist the deployment of CCTV systems
 - Why?



Research objectives

- What does lie behind the proffered justifications leading to social acceptance of the widespread use of CCTV?
 - Considering the Japanese traditional sense of society and morality
 - *Seiken*
 - Moral behaviour based on one's consciousness of eyes of others in one's *Seiken*



The traditional Japanese sense of society and morality

- *Seken* (Abe, 1995; 1999)
 - An ordinary Japanese lives not in society but in a *Seken*
 - A small world defined by relationships with others whom the person recognises a present and/or future connection with and, therefore, considers the need to do his/her duty (*Giri*) toward and to have human empathy (*Ninjo*) with
 - One's individual personality is defined as relationships with others in one's *Seken*



- Characteristics of *Seken* (Abe, 1995; 1999)
 - *Seken* is given, but ...
 - Ambiguous boundary of one's *Seken*
 - Family, local community, old schools, companies, ...
 - Different people are living in different *Seken*
 - Architecture of *Seken*
 - The principle of elders/seniors/superiors first
 - Vertical relationships (Nakane, 1970)
 - The principle of gift and reciprocity in human relationships
 - Saving elders/seniors/superiors' and peers' face is important
 - Preservation of *Seken's* honour
 - *Seken-sama*
- ➔ Powerful influence over individual behaviour



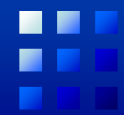
- Characteristics of *Seken* (Abe, 1995; 1999)
 - *Seken* is exclusionary
 - The Japanese tend to stress situational position in a particular frame (*ba*), rather than universal attribute (Nakane, 1970)
 - People tend to remain aloof from those outside their *Seken* (*Ta-nin*)
 - Particularistic behaviour
 - Not consider a whole society as an independent citizen
 - The concept of public or public space has not developed well in Japan (Abe and Murakami Wood, 2007, on intimacy)



People living in Seken, not society



The victims lived in evacuation centres helping each other. No riot, no plunder.



People living in Seken, not society

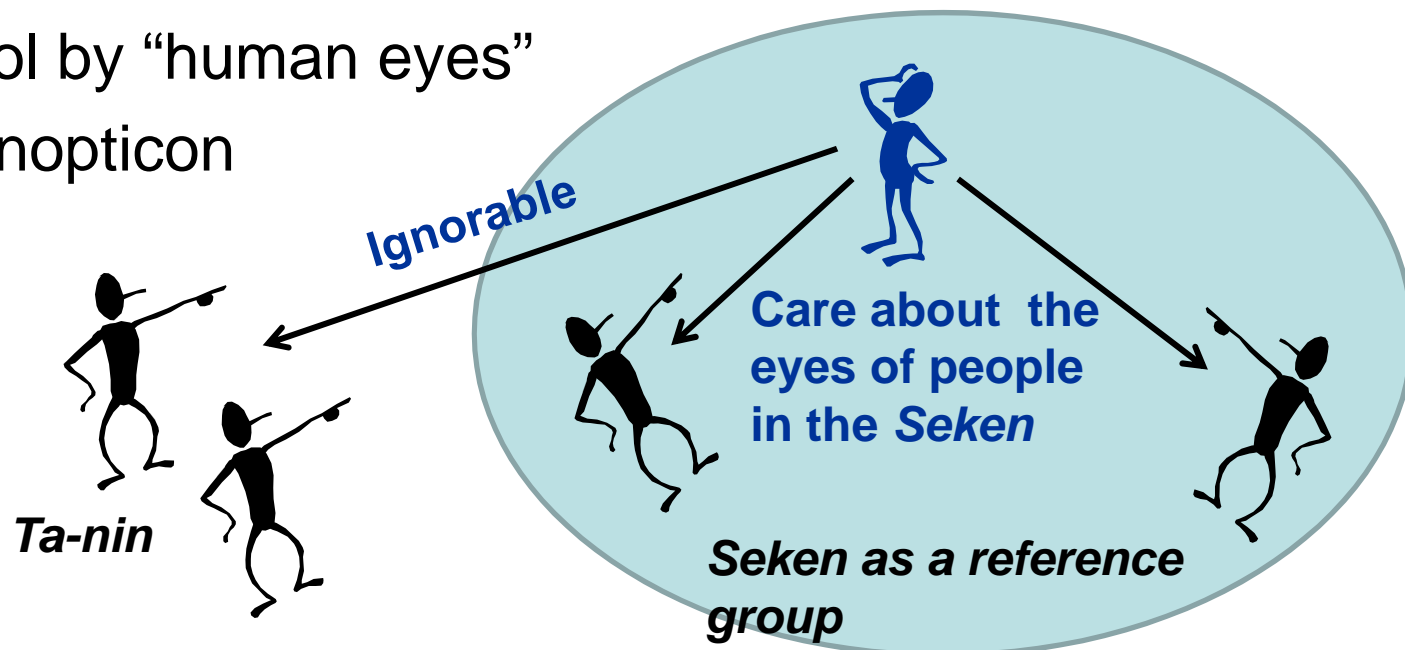


The massacre in Akihabara in 2008: seven people were killed by a young guy.



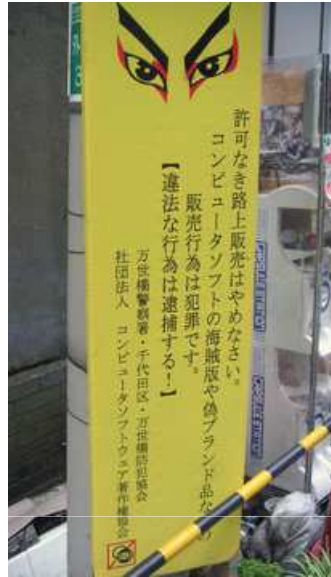
The traditional Japanese sense of society and morality

- *Seken* as a reference group (Inoue, 2007)
 - The moral code of people is “not to be shamed within their *Seken*”
 - They care about the eyes of others in their *Seken*
 - When they consider that they fail to meet the expectation of their *Seken*, they feel ashamed
 - Shame as internal sanction
 - Control by “human eyes”
- ↔ Panopticon





Someone is watching you!





Modernisation of *Seken*

- Industrialisation after WWII
 - The high-speed economic growth (1954-73)
 - Heavy and chemical industries centred on export-manufacturing industries were a driving force
 - Young factory workers from rural areas were called “golden eggs”
 - Flow of population from rural/agricultural areas to urban/industrial areas
 - ➔ Social transformation
 - Urbanisation
 - Development of commuter towns
 - Eroded local communities
 - Transformation of *Seken* fit for the industrial economy
 - Traditional rural collectivism → urban collectivism



Modernisation of *Seken*

- Modernised *Seken* centred on businesses
 - The Japanese-style business practices contain the elements of traditional *Seken*
 - Lifelong or long-term employment
 - Company castle town/company housing
 - » Moral impact of eyes of people in neighbourhood
 - Seniority-based pay and promotion
 - The principle of elders first
 - The principle of gift and reciprocity
 - In-house union
 - Cooperative trade union
 - ➔ All the members of a company are encouraged to behave carefully not to lose company's honour



Modernisation of *Seken*

- Modernised *Seken* centred on businesses
 - The Japanese-style business practices contain the elements of traditional *Seken*
 - Long-term business relationships
 - Between companies and their customers/suppliers
 - Between competitors
 - = The principle of gift and reciprocity
 - » Year-end (*O-Seibo*) and midsummer (*O-Chugen*) gift
 - Business people have been encouraged to behave appropriately not to drag down their customers'/suppliers'/competitors' name
 - Moral impact of eyes of people in business connections



Liquefaction of the modernised *Seiken*

- The burst of the bubble economy (1987-90) in the early 90s
- The Lehman Brothers' collapse (2008)
 - Superstrong yen
- ➔ The crisis of Japanese economy
 - Corporate downsizing
 - Diversification/fluidity of the shape of labour
 - Increase in the number of job-hoppers and non-permanent workers
 - Short-term business relationships
 - = The end of Japanese-style business practices
 - ➔ Deterioration of the moral functioning of eyes of people in the modernised *Seiken*



Liquefaction of the modernised *Seken*

- Breakup of the modernised *Seken*
 - Individualistic behaviour
 - Self-responsibility
 - Identity crisis
 - Weakened identity based on the sense of belonging to one's *Seken*
 - Short-term human relationships
 - Anyone can be *Tanin*
 - Light capitalism
 - The work can no longer offer the secure axis around which to wrap and fix self-definitions, identities and life-project. Neither can it be easily conceived of as the ethical foundation of society, or as the ethical axis of individual life. (Bauman, 2000: 139)



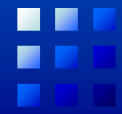
Social acceptance of tender electronic eyes

- Substitution of electronic eyes for human eyes
 - A fear of strangers
 - Electronic gated community
 - Monitoring using CCTV cameras is positively regarded
 - In workplaces, ...
 - Managers' accountability for risk management
 - Employees' diligence and honesty
 - In public space, ...
 - Crime deterrence and false accusation prevention
 - “If you have done nothing wrong, you have nothing to fear”
 - » We are secure and safe, when CCTV cameras monitor and track people
 - » CCTV cameras are monitoring potential criminals or malicious people, not us!



Conclusions

- Social acceptance of CCTV in Japan relates to the traditional Japanese sense of society and morality, and liquefaction of the modernised *Seiken*
- The shift to the liquefied *Seiken* of the CCTV camera is a replacement of the gaze of *Seiken* by the panopticon ideal, supported by an already internalised moral sense drawn from *Seiken*



Thanks for your attention!

Q & A