

For: Information, Communication and Society.

Review: Gary T. Marx, Windows Into the Soul: Surveillance and Society in Age of High Technology. The University of Chicago Press, 2017. ISBN: 13:978-0-226-28591-7.

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This is a very important book. Let's start with a compelling statement from chapter 13 "An Ethics for the New (And Old) Surveillance" (p. 288). "Under appropriate conditions agents have a right and even an obligation to surveil, but they also have a duty to do it responsibly and accountably. Reciprocally, those subject to legitimate surveillance have obligations as well (e.g., not to distort the findings or threaten agents), even as they also have rights not to be subjected to some forms of surveillance."

Gary Marx knows surveillance and social control, especially by formal agents of social control (FASC, my acronym...he has a lot of his own!). Following an Introduction, that could be subtitled, "Forget Everything You Thought you Knew About Surveillance," to prepare us for an analytic voyage through mind fields to come, we confront 14 chapters and at least 5 more addendum's that can be accessed on line. The fans of the Panopticon will be surprised. Decades of definitions and discourses about surveillance as a field of study, old and new surveillance, social processes and the human element in exacting surveillance and deceiving the monitors, as well as technology and cultural contexts emphasize a number of underlying themes involving power, privacy, and profit.

Gary Marx is up to the challenges of understanding and theorizing about surveillance--especially in a free society, especially when technologies abound to "get behind appearances," especially in contemporary life when identities, products, and meanings are intended to deceive and obfuscate. This gets complicated, partly because, Marx suggests, we haven't asked the right questions about all relevant dimensions of surveillance. Marx seeks to rectify this gap by systematically identifying the numerous relationships between those doing the surveillance, those surveilled, historical contexts, potential harms, relevant metrics, as well as a range of sanctions and accountability structures. He warns the impatient reader early on, "Without a language for analyzing change we cannot understand the profound experience of shock (and often affront and invasion or sense of security) many individuals feel in the face of the new surveillance." (p. 53) So we get a lot of definitions, conceptual clarifications, and matrices and diagrams (e.g., in Chapter 4 concentric circle of information—types, varieties of sensitive and intimate information). The 44 items of "Techno-Fallacies of the Information Age" (Chapter 12) are stunningly insightful.

The analyst—Professor Marx—isn't really given the task, like in many sociological investigations, to cut through the irony of claims being made, and then guide us to the truth, a Truth, about deception, invasion, usurpation, social control, and punishment. The 'truths' to be seen are themselves hidden by past technologies, sensibilities, nuances, meanings, and contradictions about privacies, risks, and security. It is not his agenda; the agenda has emerged through current policies and practices. And above all, technologies. He lucidly navigates the conundrums through the experience of a fictitious character, Rocky Bottoms, (Chapter 12) integrating science, social control, privacy violations, policing, digital technology, advertising and military aggression. We have the possibility, without high probability, of being safe, secure,

and basing this on a paradigm that is betting on the rational utilitarian use of an expansive digital technology and artificial intelligence. We want to bet on this because, after all, we are certain that more control will make our lives better, safer, and less stressful. Shouldn't we and our families be as safe as we can be, free of worry about the ubiquitous evils, harms, inconveniences, and yes, the broad stroke of FEAR that has been artfully constructed through generations of mediated popular culture and entertainment? I mean, damn it, the world changed after 911...didn't it? Of course, we should be! Just when you think you have clarity on the individual and societal impacts of surveillance, Professor Marx seems to say, "yeah, but..." And it is the "but" that really gets your attention, such as the final chapter (14), "Windows Into Hearts and Souls: Clear, Tinted, or Opaque Today?" where 17 persuasive points supporting of a panoptic perspective are set forth, only to be offset by 13 counter trends of a panoptic perspective. There is Big Brother, and Little Brother, but they often stumble, miss the obvious and create problems by reifying their own artifices and believing their own propaganda.

But the problem is that the technology, hardware, and agency that will protect us and—so we believe—minimize our risks, is accessible to others who want to govern and control us. And above all to sell to us the things that once bought also label and track us to buy more stuff, as well as reveal our behaviors, routines, prejudices, dreams, and even more fears. So, is surveillance good or bad? Well, it all depends. And that is the question isn't it—depends on what? Marx suggests that the surveillance apparatus and awesome machines must be connected to accountability and control mechanisms that are accessible, reasonable, but perhaps most significantly, honored and respected. The surveillance future has been with us for some time; there is the "new surveillance," but it plows the same emotions and concerns of previous attempts to keep tabs and control behavior. But now, because of this very important book, we understand more clearly the scope and dimensions, which, in their expansiveness, creates still more work and conscientious creative thinking grounded in social justice and human rights concerns. Marx put it this way:

"If it is correct *that surveillance is neither good nor bad but context and comportment make it so*, then a central task for analysts is to understand variation within and between contexts, while a central task for citizens is eternal vigilance. Cherished values are ever precarious, and freedom is indeed a constant struggle." (p. 320 emphasis in original). And so the conundrum of freedom and security remains, but it is now more lucid.