"*I Break in Order to Reveal.*" Fran Morente Interview with Gary T. Marx

Fran Morente* & Gary T. Marx*

She [jury member] was extremely liberal. She was a sociologist, and I don't like sociologists. They try to reason things out too much.
–Florida Prosecutor (after losing case involving the undercover purchase of a 2 Live Crew album, *New York Times*, Oct. 22, 1999

Introductory Note

This e-mail interview was carried out in late 2018. Shortly after finishing my doctoral work I reviewed Gary T. Marx's (2017a) *Windows into the Soul* for the Spanish journal *RIPS - Revista de Investigaciones Politicas y Sociologicas* (Morente 2017). Spanish language social researchers, being focused on enduring social class struggles and regional and local issues have been slow to study the changes wrought by new surveillance and communication technologies. The *téchne* is not on the agenda. I intended the review and this interview to encourage such scholars to more deeply engage the emerging interdisciplinary field of surveillance studies (e.g., Lyon et al. 2012, Monahan and Wood 2018, the journal *Surveillance and Society*) and to introduce the latest work of Gary T. Marx, full wise *savor-faire,* with a distinct style of critical thinking: a skeptical sociology that unveils the hidden social dynamics from things close at hand. However, because of the homogenizing impacts of globalization and some near universals in social ordering and in research, the backstage conceptualization and

*Fjmp. 1984@gmail.com
gtmarx@mit.edu 8/22/19
Expanded version of paper
forthcoming in *Society*

craftsmanship questions the interview treats need to be understood and these concerns have general applicability, regardless of the issue, language or country. I am glad to present the interview to Anglo readers.

Windows into the Soul is a compendium and deep reflection drawing on a distinguished scholar's lifetime of study. It is forceful and encyclopedic, yet skeptical and tentative, dispassionately academic and objective, yet emotional and personal, heavy and serious, yet witty, playful and humorous, abstract, yet rich in concrete detail, and a book that speaks across disciplines to specialists, as well as citizens. Humbly but with vigor, the book challenges barriers of epistemology, ignorance, bias, and disciplinary and ideological narrowness that inhibit understanding surveillance, and the public policies needed to control it. To judge from the reviews in *Society* and elsewhere (e.g., Guzik 2017, Regan 2017 http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/wis_bookreviews.html) this is a foundational book. As we say in Spanish, it is "*una piedra de toque*" [touchstone] that provides tools to think about the future and what kind of society we are, or might become.

Round One: Being a Conventionally Somewhat Unconventional Kind of Guy

This interview began three days after what may be the worst day in the life of Mark Zuckerberg, CEO of Facebook. The hidden face of the largest 'social network' in the world comes to light in the wake of the scandal with Cambridge Analytica, Brexit and related

cases in our Post-Truth Era. Following days of silence, Zuckerberg admitted 'we made mistakes' and promises to change how Facebook shares data with his third-party apps. Mega data-mining and the nefarious communications that daily cascade out of the cracks in a heretofore

invisible dam are cause for alarm. We are still waiting for a cataclysmic Chernobyl-like data earthquake, but the aftershocks from what has already occurred are everywhere. In China more than 20 million video-cams equipped with Artificial intelligence are installed in streets and public spaces. In their new "trust" system all citizens will be given a trust score based on an astounding number and variety of records, apparently unguided by Western conceptions of individual rights. Data is the new gold, the promise of reaching the last redoubt of intimacy and independence in the face of authority – both reasonable and unreasonable. In the manner of Peter Berger (1963) have we become naked, experiencing a powerless personal fragility in the extreme, as against the selective revelation to others of being nude? The Zuckerberg's family garden parties broadcasted on Facebook Live are no longer friendly; the social critic must ask, "Is Facebook an advertising and National Security Agency for hire in disguise"? What do they (and the extended network of those within the data grids) know about our inner lives, our pasts and our supposed futures? Is the data right and should they have the right to know? Is the Stasi hidden under this seemingly free, harmless website? Have we made a mistake in considering Facebook a welcome and welcoming public space when it was always (or became) an avaricious, private supermarket with micros serving its owners? Do we even know what game we have entered or are playing?

For better or worse, what Gary T. Marx called 'the New Surveillance' in 1985 is ever more present in social organization and personal interaction.

Fran Morente: Professor Marx, you define yourself as a 'conventionally somewhat unconventional kind of guy'. *That is a curious description, and suggests some questions regarding your influences and orientation. Your expository clarity, and so you mention it, is often Orwellian, but your approach seems to start from the symbolic interactionism of Mead and Blumer and flourish in the Goffmanian garden of an asylum, a sociology that has its deepest roots in work that flourished at the University of Chicago decades ago. Are these authors your main influences?*

GTM: Yes, no, partially and maybe. (The same kind of answer I would offer in response to a question about whether surveillance is good or bad). We should never rest too comfortably with answers to such questions given the hidden (or forgotten) hands of history, the unconscious, failings of memory and self-interest. The dots of life are there, but is the *ex post facto* interpretation of memories reliable? Where, or when, does the truth *lie* or does it?

FM: Let me rephrase the previous question: who are your 'maestros' *and who are your* 'frères de plume'*?*

GTM: You have two questions there. The '*maestros*' question sounds very European and hierarchical to the egalitarian ear of a North American! Even most of the real maestros stood on the shoulders, or in the sunlight or shadows of those who came before them. As Whitehead said, "*every way of seeing is also a way of not seeing*". All gods are said to have feet of clay. Clay, a composite based on prior and distinct materials, can be porous and pliable, but it can harden and crack. Scientific truths which build on the composites of prior truths are continually cracking or at least subject to qualification. Most answers to empirical social questions and conceptualizations are to a degree time, place (both geographical and intellectual) and method bound and linguistically and culturally somewhat restricted, as well. When they are not, they are too often banal.

There is too much hero worship and doctrinaire censorship/judgment these days as academics, on the periphery of the great events they write about, jockey to be true to the presumed "genuine" meanings of their hallowed mentors even as the more insecure (or bolder) of their offspring may try to kill them. My approach is to respectfully draw from the masters what works given one's questions and then get on with it, trust yourself, even as you need to humbly, reflexively and presciently be aware of what limits whatever claims you make.

FM: I partially agree; the melancholy, the loss and the weight of the splendorous past, is the feeling spread all around the European continent. But, please, we should not miss the focus. No deviance is allowed! Let's not stray, Professor Marx, please. So, I ask again for influences, both mentors and peers.

GTM: All questions can be qualified by the time frame and the setting or context. Regarding mentors, looking back a century or more, the other Marx (social structure, power), Weber (*verstehen*, rationalization, comparative, the liberating and suffocating impacts of culture and social structure), Durkheim (social integration, collective consciousness) and Simmel (conflict, secrecy, essay style) loom large. During my studies at Berkeley in the 1960s also important were my other professors (beyond Blumer and Goffman) Seymour Martin Lipset (who showed how social science could be applied to understanding the supports and threats to democracy), Neil Smelser (who demonstrated the importance of systematically approaching historical and comparative questions about society) and Charles Glock who stressed the importance of analytic (rather than only statistical) rigor via, but reaching so far beyond, the survey research approach as it involves multi-variate analysis. More distantly Robert Merton, C.W.Mills, David Riesman, Howie

Becker, Herb Gans and Peter Berger were important early influences.

With respect to *frères* (and *soeurs*) *de plume*, the extended family is indeed large, and, depends on the issue. But on any shorter list with respect to social control questions, among the close kin are Ed Lemert, Lewis Coser, Allan Silver, Egon Bittner, Stan Cohen, Jerry Skolnick, Dane Archer, Craig McEwen, Chuck Wexler, Jim Rule, Peter Manning, Lode Van Outrive, Fritz Sack, Jack Katz, Glenn Goodwin, Bob Hoogenbaum, Tom Blomberg, J.P. Brodeur, David Altheide, Ron Corbett, Jay Wachtel, Charles Lemert, Nancy Reichman, Marc Rotenberg, Steve Margulis, Albrecht Funk, Cyril Fijnaut, David Lyon, Elia Zureik, Detlef Nogala, Minas Samatas, Charles Rabb, Graham Sewell, Chris Nippert-Eng, David Cunningham, Richard Leo, Glenn Muschert, Pat Gillham, James Byrne, David Flaherty, Oscar Gandy, Robert E. Smith, Colin Bennet, Helen Nissenbaum, John Gilliom, Ian Kerr, Nils Zurawski, Martin Innes, Clyde Norris, Elizabeth Joh, Dean Wilson, William Staples, Kevin Macnish, Mark Andrejevick, Kirsty Ball, Pris Regan, Steve Margulis, J.Robert Lilly, David Wood, Torin Monahan, Stephane Leman-Langlois, Michael McGuire, Peter Grabosky, Mary Virnoche, Susan Silbey, Kevin Haggerty, Simone Browne, Serge Gutwirth, Paul de Hert, Val Steeves, Mireille Hildebrandt and Keith Guzik.

The kin group was greatly expanded by writing papers with so many of my students (usually only one and the student's first paper), writing forwards or afterwords to colleagues' books, along with teaching in more than 20 colleges and universities (some guys just can't hold a job) in sociology, social relations, law, political science, social psychology, political science, urban studies and science, technology and society departments in North America, Europe and Asia, and working in government and foundation settings.

Of course there are also cohort and social influences such as growing up in Hollywood, California during the 1940s and 1950s, being at Berkeley, Harvard and MIT during the 1960s and 1970s (during the height of what has been called "the American century"). Then there are more personal parental influences, such as an authoritarian and principled father and an optimistic, kind mother with a strong social conscience.[1]

Shared with many mentors, colleagues and co-workers are some dualistic themes involving structure and process; description and explanation; universals and particulars; measurement (or better cognitive sensing beyond any counting and feeling/interpretation) –(we study people not variables as Herbert Blumer was fond of saying); and pure and applied work (whether in science, scholarship or art) in the pursuit

of varieties of truth. Awareness of these themes can help resolve or integrate the enduring tensions and conflicts of life.[2] In a previous article I identified themes from role and anti-roles models that I tried to either emulate or avoid.[3]

FM: Is the merging or mediating between distinct and often distant worlds or points of view the duty of the sociologist?
GTM: Yes, and also the challenge! But why restrict it just to "sociologists" when the divisions between the social sciences are ever more blurred, as are those

---

[2] Marx (2012) deals with personal and professional encounters with surveillance in http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/survhandbook.html. In it, this is discussed more fully with additional biographical details and references on coming of age in the late 1950s and 1960s. A brief excerpt:

"*A mélange of values, preferences, orientations and beliefs formed the psychic backdrop which ordered a career and defined a sense of self and personal style. These include: —appreciation of the intellect, rationality, empiricism, irony, paradox, thresholds and curvilinear truths, the concrete as against the grand abstraction (but appreciation of mid-range ideal types); authenticity/ honesty; surprise; humor; nature reverence and transcendence; resilience; individualism and a naive belief in an almost pre-social self-able to endure the slings and spears of destiny and the pressures of the crowd; fascination with the outsider; courage; challenges, relentless perseverance and struggle against the odds; performance; awe, enthusiasm, cool and hot, precision and passion; testing but respecting legitimate limits; and asking "says who and why and based on what empirical, moral, legal and measurement standards and serving what interests?", "are things what they appear to be?" and "who or what is behind the mask and screen?"; initial skepticism and tentativeness, but with awareness of the need to believe and act; and the struggle for justice and being a person of integrity*".

The cultural backdrop for Marx's formative years include: "*Ayn Rand and her sophomoric characters in The Fountainhead and Atlas Shrugged, Sinatra's swingingly having it his way, Hemmingway, Chandler, Hammet, Bogart, Brando, Newman, Dean, Traven, Kipling, Sartre, Camus, Kerouac, the lyrics of Cole Porter and the Gershwins, the singing of Chet Baker, June Christie, Chris Connor, Anita O'Day, Johnny Cash, Buddy Holly, The Beach Boys and Mose Allison, Southern California in the 30s, 40s and 50s, the hazy, lazy days of summer, the beach and desert, palm trees and stucco homes with red tile roofs, on a clear day you can see Catalina, convertibles and girls, girls, girls. In the background Sandburg, Mencken, Twain, Whitman, Thoreau, Emerson, Conrad, Kafka, Orwell, Huxley and Europe. And closer to home Groucho Marx, Jack Webb, James Dean, Natalie Wood, Lenny Bruce, Mort Sahl, Shelley Berman, Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, Bobby Kennedy and Erving Goffman*". (Marx 2009) http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/hitherthither. html

[3] Regarding such models Marx (2002) wrote: "*I took elements I most admired: intense dedication to scholarship and hard work, engagement with the great social issues of the day, clear writing for multiple audiences with both theoretical and applied concerns, interdisciplinary and comparative perspectives, persistence, independence, risk taking and a certain cultivated marginality, reflexivity and self-criticism, and honesty, helpfulness and civility with students and colleagues. I avoided elements I least admired: a one-dimensional life in which work overwhelmed everything else, one-trick theory or method ponies, arcane arguments and misplaced certainty. I sought to establish a recognizable and effective writing and research style and a set of questions around social control and technology that felt right and nourished my soul. I was drawn to issues out of passion, while seeking to apply the most rigorous standards of scholarship and writing, often with a mercurial eye to complexity, interdependence and tradeoffs..... This was informed by a noir sensitivity or realism, but without noir's degree of cynicism or attitudes towards gender and violence.*" His 1997 article, "Of Methods and Manners for Aspiring Sociologists: 37 Moral Imperatives" offers advice for beginning social studies scholars.

---

[1] For additional biographical information see http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/bio.html and articles in section "7. Academic Career and Some Social Research Issues" at www.garymarx.net.

between the social sciences, the humanities and the natural sciences, not to mention the further blendings seen with the appearance of new interdisciplinary fields. Where many of us end up is channeled, if not fully determined, by the accidents of time and place, as doors close and open far beyond our   control.

FM: In the postmodernist language 'dialogues' *between practice and theory, humanities and hard sciences and where we sit and where we stand.*[4]
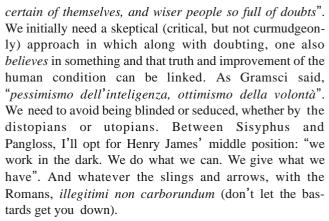
GTM: I view myself as a social studies scholar combining scientific and humanistic ways of knowing. With Habermas my method writ large is "thinking" – whatever it takes!

FM: Do all the efforts and ways of thinking come together to honestly reveal the truths and complexities of society?

GTM: Not necessarily. While far from Kool-Aid, the optimistic waters of the Enlightenment must be strained through reality. It is paradoxical that a part of our knowledge is awareness of what we remain ignorant of and, apart from substance, awareness of the factors that limit knowledge. This is not only because the research has not been done or opens up new questions, but because of the intractability of many problems given history, culture and consciousness and the weaknesses of our methodologies, including limits on human experimentation.

Most passionately contested social issues involve conflicts over values that can be informed, but not adequately resolved by evidence, even if the evidence were unequivocal. When there is a sense of crisis, strident advocates claiming empirical or theological certainty often dominate the megaphone over those whose expertise points toward qualification and moderation. One of the challenges, as Bertrand Russell observed, is that, "*the whole problem with the world is that fools and fanatics are always   so*

certain of themselves, and wiser people so full of doubts". We initially need a skeptical (critical, but not curmudgeonly) approach in which along with doubting, one also *believes* in something and that truth and improvement of the human condition can be linked. As Gramsci said, "*pessimismo dell'inteligenza, ottimismo della volontà*". We need to avoid being blinded or seduced, whether by the distopians or utopians. Between Sisyphus and Pangloss, I'll opt for Henry James' middle position: "we work in the dark. We do what we can. We give what we have". And whatever the slings and arrows, with the Romans, *illegitimi non carborundum* (don't let the bastards get you down).

Hope along with *humility* and *humor*, is one of the three "h's" that can sustain the scholar surrounded, but not blinded, by the fog and mirrors of complexity and the challenges of ambiguity and contradiction. Sometimes a fourth –*heroism* is also in the mix, although for the cloistered, tenured academic kibitzers who are protected in many settings by anonymity and secrecy and are not actually in the ring Teddy Roosevelt wrote   of, it is less common. Centrally involved here is the search for knowledge, wisdom and the techniques to discover them within what Robert Merton termed "disciplined eclecticism." The search involves the interplay of facts and values in a dynamic and somewhat relative world steeped in paradox and material and non-material scarcity where, while all should have their say, all answers should not therefore count equally. Yet among all this relativity there is a time to act, even if only as a chronicler or moral witness, (what Raymond Aron termed a '*spectateur engage*') rather than as an antiseptic moral eunuch unduly hidebound by the presumed objectivity and neutrality of the scientific method (while still appreciating that method). The method and theory must follow from the problem rather than the other way around. We need to clarify our assumptions -theoretical, empirical and moral, so that disagreements move beyond name calling and shouting.

FM: But, from the point of view of an American…, 'thinking' *is not enough since thought alone does not touch the external world. But does that thought deserve the honor of being called thought? Pragmatism, action, or to put it bluntly,* 'thought-in-action' *is what Richard Rorty teaches us.*

GTM: Thought and action of course need to be joined, even as we take care not to deny the role and potential of intuition and imagination, depending on the setting. Thought needs to learn the lessons of action, successes as well as failures. Yet in confronting the heavy issues of a world ever on the brink of one form or another of degradation and even destruction, don't overlook the joys of pure contemplation and personal pleasure and recall

---

[4] Elsewhere Marx (1991, 2017b and forthcoming) deals with inner and outer dialogues as these relate to marginality and negotiating contradictory pulls.

He notes he is, "… *both the intensely driven, hardworking, competitive, ambitious person (like those I encountered early in my career) and the laid-back bohemian surfer of my California days; the intellectual interested in ideas for their own sake and one of the progeny of Karl Marx and C. Wright Mills who wanted to see ideas linked to change (perhaps a committed spectator); the quantitative and systematic sociologist and the journalist seeking to describe in language that people could understand what Robert Park called* "*the big story*"; *the scholar and the handyman; the athletic, river-running, beer-drinking, former fraternity man who could admit to still having some Neanderthal-like macho attitudes and feelings and the righteous carrier of a new gender morality; a Jew with German and Eastern European roots and a secular American at home on both coasts (and in northern as well as southern California); the pin-striped suiter who could easily pass among elites and yet announce when the emperor was scantily clad or naked –but always with civility and in the King's English.*"

Emma Goldman's observation, "If I can't dance, I don't want to be part of your revolution." As well, the occasional resort to humor can offer perspective, inspire resilience and fight complacency and boredom, although this brings the risk of being misunderstood ("that's not funny!") by those unappreciative of or threatened by the writer's brand of humor. George Orwell said, "every joke is a small revolution." Yet that does not negate the importance of having one's writing sustained by moral questions. Orwell (1917) also observed that invariably when he lacked a political purpose, he wrote "lifeless books." But the seriousness of the questions need not weigh down the prose, nor an element of playfulness. That is said with awareness of the danger of restricting art only to the service of politics.

FM: Yes, such writing is the "élan vital" *of the enduring scholar. But why do you write and who do you write for?*

GTM: Great questions! If the writing is to be sustaining over a life, you have to write for yourself − satisfy your curiosity, understand better and follow your star! As the man said, "if he wrote it, he could get rid of it." But if it is only that, it can be too self-indulgent, if not irresponsible, particularly in tax-supported institutions. That is particularly the case if your work deals with social issues. Even then (and apart from the importance of feedback from others), we face the issue of audience. Can we both keep the customer satisfied and guessing? Can we be all things to all people (writing for scholarly peers in one's own language, culture and discipline; scholars beyond that; specialists in policy and application; the public at large? Hardly. Most scholars focus only on the first. Some go beyond this and write popular books (they are often shunned, even as they are the recipients of jealousy from scholars who remain unknown because they only write for each other). Some move back and forth, varying the writing style depending on the audience.

While I have written for mass publications, in the *Windows* book and in *Undercover* I tried to write at an intermediate level hoping to reach peers and non-specialists (partly done by having chapters better suited to one or another of the groups and by trying to keep down the jargon). With *Windows* I failed re the mass audience as judged by the relative absence of reviews in mass media outlets. The book "fell dead born from the press" as David Hume (2015) said of the response to his *Treatise of Human Nature*. A commentator said, "this book [*Windows into the Soul*] is not easy reading, but it is thought provoking". Given a need to choose, I'd rather be hard to read and provocative, than easy and unprovocative. Another reader posted: "reads more like a text book than an interesting police novel". You win some and you lose some.

Round Two: Varieties of Truth

FM: Listing your research topics is not an easy task. In a kind of a not-too-rigorous chronological order what we get is as follows: conflicts and social movements, racial inequalities, collective behavior, social control, the police as a sociological object and, already in your more recent work, technology as seen in surveillance under all its avatars. More broadly, there is the question of the nature and basis of social order and, in the spiritual and methodological background, questions from the sociology of knowledge and the overarching question of the reflective life −the search for truth. Certainly, Windows into the Soul *seems the* summa *of a lifetime. Not for its alleged autumnal style −quite on the contrary, your style is full of joyful, youthful force−, but for its encyclopedic knowledge and experience that can only be achieved after a life fully devoted to sociological inquiries. Is your work on surveillance the consummation of a life dedicated to sociology at the highest level?*

GTM: That conclusion is for peers to draw not me. But I do have a sense of a meaningful journey almost completed. The "Last Chance Cafe" comes ever nearer as does the "Lost Chance Café". But not to worry, the consummation in your question can stimulate, as well as sate, the appetite. It is also the case that, as James Baldwin (1984) observed, "You never get the book you wanted, you settle for the book you get". In spite of starting the book (or rather the book taking off from the last chapter of *Undercover* in 1988), I continued until 2013 when the publisher said either cut the book and quit writing, or find another publisher. At that point I severely deboned several chapters (ethics, policy) and was able to include others such as on cultures of surveillance and personal reflections only on a web page associated with the book. I left other chapters unfinished such as on the centrally important comparative international questions and those involving hypotheses, explanations and causes.

FM: John Barth once said that the work, in his case a novel, takes its own decisions… But let's go back to what has been written. Even coming in today's constantly changing best/worst moments of surveillance, Windows into the Soul *is hardly a quickly executed, spontaneous outburst. On the contrary, it is…*

GTM: It is fulfilling indeed to have wrapped up the surveillance book after so many decades when life, with its surprises, prolonged finishing it, while continuing to offer new data, if fewer new ideas.

FM: It's sound à la *Paul Ricoeur that we see a sense of sense: an unreachable horizon, which nevertheless shows a thin path.*

GTM: In a dynamic world answers too often lead to new questions and so any consummation is temporary. If we are fortunate; it is not that we are pushed backward, but that the path(s) ahead become steeper and longer as new challenges appear, hopefully even as our abilities to push become

stronger. We ironically see the bad news accompanied by the good in an eternal dynamic, or if you prefer, dialectic. Climbing higher or probing deeper can mean greater awareness of the importance of, but also the limits upon, the quest for knowledge and awareness of new dangers. Yet realism, moderation and tentativeness need not mean equivocation, nor avoidance of conclusions, rather they are expressions of humility in the face of eternal challenges. The trick is to gingerly cross the river both because of, and in spite of, the visible and invisible stones and currents.

FM: *You basically have written a non-fiction work that includes some fiction, However, I was not always clear which was which. The NHF (Nothing to Hide) and the SBC (Suspicion Breeds Confidence) Corporations sound fictitious, but what of the LOMBROSO (Legal Offensive on Murder: Brain Research Operation for the Screening of Offenders) project? Also, as a European, some of your names confused me. Are Rocky Bottoms, Tom I. Voire, Gigi Lesser, Porter Square III, Pebble Blech, Paul F. Lasers-field, Robert K. Conjuretsky, and Ron "Pudge" Grais purely imaginary, or are these persons you know?*

GM: Good point re the dangers of mixing fiction and non-fiction. There are other dangers beyond confusing the reader. For fear of the law and wrecking some friendships, I prefer not to answer your question about the names. Let's just say truth can be richer than fiction.

FM: *Going back to surveillance, according to David Lyon in* Surveillance, Power and Everyday Life *(2009), you are the spiritual father, the pioneer who in the eighties and later coined concepts such as "the Surveillance Society', "the new surveillance," and "the maximum security society" with its 11 components such as "categorical suspicion" and "a who are you, where are you, where have you been, who else is there, and what did you do society?". Among a sampling of other trenchant concepts, "the perhapsicon", "the softening of surveillance",, "mandatory voluntarism", "deformed consent", "surveillance creep, gallop and slack"; "the myth of surveillance", "extractive technologies", "Camerica", the "borderless person, organization, and country", "the 7 sees or "Cs" of surveillance analysis: concepts and causes; contexts and contingencies; conflicts, courses and careers; cognitions; cross cultural comparisons, controls (courtesies, courts, counter-technologies; and consequences); the three "C's" of surveillance goals: coercion, care and contracts", "disciplinary dark glasses", "the engineering of social control", "the uncertainty principle", "dastardly deeds done in the dark", "the hegemons", "the acquiescing frog" and a few from earlier, "covert facilitation", "ironies of social control", "issueless riots" and "the Negro white". How do you move so effortlessly between the events and objects of everyday life and graspable concepts that so nicely encapsulate your topic*

within the deeper, transcendent realities you seek to identify and understand ‒what Simmel called "the geometry of social life"?

GTM: I have no idea. Perhaps like the answer given the music student who asked the *maestro*, how do you get to Carnegie Hall?" And was told, "Practice, practice, practice." I have had almost six decades of practice. On a more serious note, Hemmingway, that paragon of self-reliance, wrote, "One man alone ain't got… no bloody chance." An important part of practice, beyond reading widely in all the unusual places, is having colleagues to criticize what you write, indicate when you are unclear and give you ideas. As well, one grows and can reciprocate in reading the work of others. The importance of reaching out to others as both gift recipient and giver laces through many of the 37 moral mandates I urge upon beginning scholars. (Marx 1997) http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/37moral.html This contact is what remains and gives enduring meaning to a career. As an aside, while originality is the coin of the realm in academia, beware of those timid or arrogant souls who identify few or no colleagues in their opening acknowledgements. They are either lying or their work is impoverished by lack of critique.

FM: *… As William Gass wrote: a world-shaped word… You also favor inventing new words and writing crisp, snappy, pithy, short lapidary sentences that cut to the essence and are easy to remember. Some of my favorite epigrams: "mushrooms do well in the dark, so does injustice"; "does the eye bring insight and/ or incite?; "do undercover police investigate or instigate?"; Re borders, "there is no more inside and outside, and if we aren't careful, there will be no more our side"; "if you want to catch a rat, you have to go down into the sewer"; "ambivalence about technology is a hallmark of our age as we navigate between hope and despair"; "modern democratic society is a farrago in a cauldron of conundrums accompanied by myths shielding harsher realities"; "Individuals involuntarily live in glass houses while the external walls of large organizations are one-way mirrors,"; the danger of "… a Teflon slide into a climate controlled, well-lit, but opaque world where individual and political choices are engineered away"; "The rays of sunlight around the eye can illuminate and warm but they can also blind and burn".*
At times you are playing with the Rorschach, fluid and contextual qualities of your topics, offering the reader no easy way out of life's paradox's: "there are two problems with the new surveillance technologies. One is that they don't work and the other is that they work too well." Whatever their astounding power, panoptic systems, "have ironic vulnerabilities and Kafkaesque absurdities. Albert Camus and Woody Allen, not to mention Sisyphus, are always waiting in the wings for an entry." Endlessly inventive.

GMT: Perhaps sometimes, but restlessly, rather than endlessly. Epigrammatic observations and analytic deciphering can encourage seeing through or beyond. As with the motto of the paleontological society, *frango ut patefaciam,* "I break in order to reveal". But what is revealed and is it in the thing observed or what we with our naming penchant label it? I chose to use (see?) the metaphor of windows, but why not a mirror (or a one way mirror), microscope, telescope, x-ray, vacuum, cleaner, magnet, filter or mosaic? Or …give me a few minutes for more.

FM: Are you happy with Lyon's labeling? Are you the patron of surveillance studies?

GTM: With respect to David Lyon's generous words, of course I am happy to be appreciated by a peer without peer such as David. But, as the song (Jamie Cullum, "Make Someone Happy") says, "*fame if you win it, comes and goes in a minute*" or, as put by the Greek poet Pindar 2500 years earlier, "brief is the season of man's delight". Today's news becomes the wrapper for tomorrow's fish. It's got to be the going, not the getting there that's good! And if your work is rejected, little noted and soon forgotten as it will be, in a line from a song by Mose Allison, "*I made my entrance on the Greyhound bus, I'm don't intend to cause a fuss, if you like my style that's fine with me, if you don't just let me be.*" With appalling regularity, there is always a later edition of a journal or newspaper telling someone else's story. Books go out of print and journal articles cease to be read, these electronic days they may never even be printed. What matters is engagement with the subject, keeping it real and passing on our *métier* and findings to students and the broader public, win or lose (Marx 1990). Be humble, but not self-effacing.

FM: A related question, how do you come up with your concepts and ways of writing?

GTM: Ok, but first a word of encouragement in support of students and colleagues whose writing is so challenged that it precludes challenging others, other than to comment on how bad it is. I failed the English exam required for admission to the University of California and had to take a remedial course, −initially with little improvement. A comment on an early paper: "an outstanding paper, but it is frightfully *dull* to read. Your style is heavy, pedantic, repetitive – unbelievably soporifically redundant. This is something that you can learn to overcome." Thank goodness for effort!

With respect to your question about generating terms, as indicated, I don't know where the inducted concepts come from. I try to listen carefully and see everything (the curse and power of the social analyst). The devil might be in the details, but so is Minerva. As a song from another century claimed, "little things mean a lot" and, according to Erving Goffman, "it's all data".

FM: As Berg (2009: 7-8) suggested, "the relation between what we see and what we know is never settled. […] The way we see things is affected by what we believe". Data and researcher, what strange dance partners!

GTM: Yes, and these get located within our concepts and classificatory schemes. Ideally these schemes come out of building on the prior research literature, or if not, they come out of a disciplined method for selection. By those scientific standards my less formal approach to classification would rarely get a passing grade. That is the case because there simply weren't terms for organizing the data I was interested in, or because I can't articulate rules for my choices beyond "it feels right". In one sense the value of the concepts is as a heuristic (do they do the job?), regardless of whether one can trace them to an academic lineage, a disciplined search method, or they just come from "thinking".

I try to merge my more abstract concepts with everyday life - both because of what they purposefully or inadvertently reveal and to better communicate with the public unfamiliar with our rarified languages. Using popular culture can help with speaking to both peers and the broader public. When we write about social life which, in a sense, all are experts on, we must try to speak accessibly, in contrast to the esoterica permitted the physicist or geneticist. Generating catchy phrases and terms can help convey basic ideas far beyond those who actually deign to read academic tomes. If you believe in what you do (and why bother to do it if you don't?) then, to paraphrase Willy Lohman in *Death of a Salesman,* "the important thing is for your ideas to be noticed "). But *ten cuidado amigo,* we need to be aware of the narcissistic temptation implied in playwright Tom Stoppard's observation that, "it is better to be quotable than to be honest." When faced with dodgy temptations, I try to recall my grandfather's advice, "fools names and fools faces are always seen in public places."

As well, in writing I am especially on guard against the fulsome, bloated, repetitive, overkill prose and eternally long sentences that I was drawn to in the ebullient, exuberant, energized Jack Kerouac style of the 60s (in part as a rebellion against the stodgy, emotionless, barren, minimalist, puritan style of academic writing that was the coin of the realm in the social science wing of the social studies field in its unqualified emulation of numbers as the key to science devoid of sentiment). I have learned to use my minimalist censor-scathe to guard against overdone sentences like the preceding one and include it only by way of example and warning and for a bit of self-depreciation as a shield against arrogance. In initial drafts, I write with a full force, uncensored, bubbling stream of mischievous consciousness, jamming one word after another, oblivious to run on sentences and worse. The eye of the observant social inquirer can never have enough detail. Here, contrary to the wisdom of the east, more seems better, at

least initially. The trick then is to edit, edit and edit and then edit. But lets get back to data discovery.

Speech, ideologies, advertisements, jokes, cartoon, photos, drawings, paintings, and songs, poetry, bumper stickers, tattoos, epigrams, spatial positioning and dress must be interrogated for what they are presumed to communicate. You don't need a research grant to seek these out, they come to you. Data are where you find them.

With respect to finding the right quote I am a collector. As I listen and watch some of what I encounter sounds either-pitch perfect or way off-key. At that point, a light bulb goes off and I write it down, usually with no idea where I will use it (many are offered but few are chosen). Intuition and barely conscious screens and scans serve one well here.

Regarding the cornucopia of datum we must ask, "what does it mean?" -to both the communicator and an audience. As well, we need to consider what was communicated but not intended. Particularly important and difficult is listening to the sounds of silence re what is said, or said only as a coded message to the cognoscenti. Veils, masks and stage sets must not be taken as given, but call out for respectful probing. As the bard suggested, "by indirections find directions out". The seeming trivia of everyday life may cover deep veins of meaning or they may not. Don't become a Don Quixote endlessly chasing the presumed real meaning buried within simple utterances. As Freud is reputed to have said, "sometimes a cigar is just a cigar."

FM: Following Goffman: the closest everyday things may be the farthest away, what we unconsciously take for granted remains invisible to our eyes.
GTM: It can also be helpful to take familiar phrases and turn them upside down, inside out or backwards. With respect to the driving force of technology and how the means can determine the end, -contrary to the popular understanding of wills and ways, I wrote instead "*where there is a way, there is a will* -by reworking the familiar and expected, thought gets shaken up and we may see other ways. A catchy reversal of a common trope is likely to be remembered longer than an admonition to, "don't let the means determine the ends".

FM: The nearest and surest things around us could be, if we have the courage, the strangest ones.
GMT: I also get mileage out of the juxtaposition of contrary ideas in the service of satire, without direct comment (Marx, forthcoming). Thus, in an example of showing, not telling, I opened the ethics chapter with a quote from President Nixon offered shortly before his lies became public and he was forced to resign: "*let us begin by committing ourselves to the truth*". Break with the reader's expectations (something Goffman was brilliant at). The first line in the acknowledgements section of *Undercover* thanked the National Institute for Justice for *rejecting* the book because

it led me to a much better funding source and for *Windows,* I wished other funders who rejected the project, "…well in their future funding endeavors" and hoped they would be of good cheer. While I was, "sorry we didn't have the chance to work together." I offered them some consolation -"Perhaps some other time".

FM: … very Quixotic, the instability of uncertainties…
GTM: Insight and fresh phrases can also come from finding, or putting, yourself in situations where you are marginal. Life can be enriched by occupying multiple and changing physical and cultural worlds,—like mercury or a boxer constantly in motion and never able to be pinned down. The "on the road" ethos is a metaphor for much more than physical travel. New environments require and extend attention and can spur imagining better, or avoiding worse, worlds.

I am fortunate to have drawn the marginality card, being something of an invisible person and social chameleon, able to fit into, and move in and out of, different worlds. This quality may be part of my intellectual interest in truth, trust, role playing, deception, ambivalence and wondering when the seeming stability and certainty of the world covers the quicksand. Moving between centers and peripheries, being both inside and outside makes it easier to see the "why" and "why not?" questions and not to automatically take what taken for granted worlds proffer. That is natural for strangers, immigrants; minorities and those set apart as a result of disabilities and atypical life experiences, but through imagination and experience, can also be cultivated. Levi-Strauss' concept of distanciation applies here.

With respect to finding concepts, we need to understand the potentials and limits of the ideal type Weber wrote about that succinctly encapsulate the purest essence of a topic. Such abstractions distort the richness of the world, but they make for parsimonious communication. I always encourage beginning scholars to use their imagination and create such concepts and, for comprehension and memorable impact, to draw them from popular culture when appropriate.

Of course, caution is required here about any proprietary sense. Sometimes we think we were the first to use a phrase when in fact it had been thought of independently by others viewing the same phenomena (as with the simultaneous invention of a tool in several locals when the elements permitting the invention became present). At other times, memory may trick us into to thinking we generated the phrase when we heard it elsewhere. That was the case with "moral eunuch", a phrase I often used for neutral academics who would not, or could not, take a position on issues relating to their expertise and in their civic role. In going through the cobwebs of my decades of files, I saw that more than 50 years ago Professor Henry Rosovsky used the term when we served on a university committee that created one of the first African-American studies departments.

FM: Your definition of the key-term surveillance is, "… a regard for or attendance to a person or factors presumed to be associated with a person. A central feature is gathering some form of data connectable to an individual (whether uniquely identified or as a members of a category). Gathering is a many-splendored things*" (*Marx 2017a*: 15). It's almost aseptic neutrality draws our attention and contrasts with less nuanced views of those you term the "surveillance essayists" such as Foucault and Deleuze. From that perspective, one of your most shocking quotes is, "Surveillance as such is neither good nor bad, but context and comportment do make it so." Surveillance seems in the midst of the precarious balance of control and protection, danger and opportunity. One cannot find a sentence like that in, for instance,* Surveiller et Punir*. Perhaps, is Foucault too much* soixante-huitard*? This ambivalence in your definition is striking, Professor Marx.*

GTM: Yes, particularly in settings of complexity and contradiction in which there may be no way to avoid irony and paradox, perhaps we were gifted with two hands in order to be able to say, "on the one hand, but on the other hand". In noting that, President Harry Truman said he wished he could have one-armed advisors. At the appropriate times, I proudly wear the ambivalence mantle (e.g., "*the perhapsicon*"). Indeed getting to work within and trying to resolve some of the haze of puzzles, enigmas, anomalies and deviant cases makes this a great gig. Georg Simmel, with his Talmudic *pilpul* inspired radar for analyzing contradictions and symbols, is an inspiration here.

This can involve discovery through analytic breaking. However, breaking is the easy part, the challenge is to bring some semblance of order −often by showing how things that seem to be the same may differ, and how things that seem to differ may share common elements. *Paradigmatic hegemony* is out, but so to should be *anarchic fragmentation* among subfields of a discipline (both terms that should never be used for the public without a note from one's mother).

In re-configuring the empirical, one walks back and forth between (in Darwin's terms) being a "splitter" and a "lumper". That distinction applies to disaggregation and aggregation in classifying examples. The splitter can engage in endless, precise regress in creating ever more categories to fit the specificity of the data. The lumper prefers inclusive, general categories for elements whose distinctiveness is seen as unimportant. The social researcher is pulled between the competing goods of specification and generalization.

The notion of ambivalence was central to my intellectual heroes such as Smelser and Merton. It reflects the tentativeness with which open-minded scholarship ideally begins, at least that scholarship which claims some empirical authority, logical consistency and legitimacy by standards transcending the political or religious beliefs and location of the scholar. Ambivalence also reflects awareness of levels of   analysis,

varieties of method and the frame of reference applied in reaching conclusions. Often, as you say in Spanish, "*No soy de aquí, ni soy de allá*". It all depends.

There is a need to stay fresh by moving around. For starters, there is the subjectivity (point of view) of the actor in the situation as against the outside observer basing conclusions only on objective factors that can be categorized and measured. Then there is the time frame −the present or the future (and how far into it).. Then there is the location of an impact - life chances, the family, work, health, national security, feelings of an individual or its symbolism. Ambivalence re the nonasceptic can also be seen in the need to walk in the other's shoes, realizing that there are lots of kinds of shoes, and some even prefer to be barefooted. The symbolic and *verstehen* approaches caution us to ask "says, who?"

FM: Opinions and performances anchored in living, contingent bodies.

GTM: Yes, and contingent bodies are self-protective. However, just because views are often consistent with self-interest does not mean they are necessarily wrong or cynically held. But their historical, cultural, social and psychological roots must be understood.

We need to start with finding tools that permit a degree of understanding across others, in spite of being so encapsulated in our own subjectivity. Once that is done for both concepts and methods and the facts are empirically and logically discovered and organized, we can proceed to moral evaluation and judgments −such as whether (or when) surveillance is best seen as only about control and coercion. In the case of the surveillance essayists, held to no standard other than their proclamations, those steps are often skipped. That is also the case for the fundamentalists of both religion and politics who start with answers rather than with questions.

Re your question on Foucault and the sunlight or shade of the *soixante-huitards*, although I struggle at reading French and am better at faking it in speech, I have read only a small part of his oeuvre and that mostly in English. A close reading of Foucault could suggest places where he adopts, or can be read to be to be adopting a broader view (e.g., that acknowledges the role of care). A conclusion may also depend on which period of his writing is considered.

FM: If the knowledge generation should be contextualized in its concrete historical period −another Spanish expression: "Hijo de su tiempo"−*, your work must be read in the advent of technologies, networks and data. Between the different concepts that you coined, one of the most significant insofar as it throws a skeptical look at technology is* "extractive technology"*. For extractive technologies we understand sensors and software, which seek for personal information in our outer manifestation as well as those looking inward such as DNA*

and brain wave analysis. These tools have the aim of unveiling the self and its networks through personal droppings such as e-mails, Twitter, Facebook, travel, consumption and bodily emanations such as urine or leaving DNA fingerprints on a glass. We seem to be either Homo Securitas or Homo-Gossip.

GTM: Again why do we have to choose? It is clearly both and a lot more. As a younger scholar exposed to, if hopefully not drowned by, the waters of postmodernism, don't you need to give fluidity, overlaps and emergence their due in the face of the didactic categories and the either/or worlds of the past? A concept that works well here is Erikson and Haggerty's (2000) expansion of *rhizomatic* to describe the twisting, networked, interweaving of the voluminous unseen data that snake back and forth in real time, ever under revision and expansion.
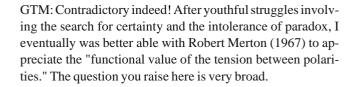
FM: You seem a little evasive or maybe inconsistent here. Slippery when wet. Can you at least give us an unequivocal answer about surveillance and neutrality?

GTM: Sure an unequivocal answer is: "the relationship is equivocal". Such a response is bound to frustrate the ideologues and the lazy, not to mention the uninformed. But if surveillance isn't clearly one way or the other, does that mean it is neutral? Hardly! – given the inherent inequality and power differences between individuals, as well as between and within groups and nations. However, the absence of neutrality is not necessarily bad, absent the context. We need to separate inequality associated with legitimate authority and that only associated with power shielded from accountability and principles (other than the self-interest of the power holder). Nor can we ignore the neutrality boosting potential for reciprocal transparency that can serve the less powerful. The border busting visibility the technologies offer is obviously a welcome resource for the more powerful, but as my former student Steve Mann (2000) suggests with *sousveillance* and related forms, the door can swing the other way as well, "No easy answers" must be the mantra for anyone who has lived through the hopes and horrors of the 60s and 70s to those of the present.

FM: Why is surveillance increasing?
GMT: That is an unclear question. What kinds, when, where?

FM: … I mean, with respect to several current forms the situation is contradictory. Our first impression is that surveillance is increasing around us. But at the same time, we are less afraid to share our private life or risk being overexposed. Public 'Selfies' are the buzzword of our time, are they a form of surveillance? Millions of strangers see our photos and those of family and friends and our opinions… It is not a contradiction, but a total paradox! Why this paradox? Do we hope for protection? Do we need to show our anodyne private lives to obtain self-realization? Or even worse, do we need soft social control to feel safe?

GTM: Contradictory indeed! After youthful struggles involving the search for certainty and the intolerance of paradox, I eventually was better able with Robert Merton (1967) to appreciate the "functional value of the tension between polarities." The question you raise here is very broad.

FM: But it is a necessary question. Let's try.
GTM: Given my inductive method, I'd rather start with questions closer to the facts on the ground. In the book, whether for explanation, policy or ethics I used an expanding accordion or upside down funnel analogy in moving from a specific application or tool at one point in time to broader questions. Questions of increase (but also decrease! it does retreat occasionally as with the use of DNA for insurance and other purposes, or traffic speed cameras in the U.S.) need to be empirically documented and their correlates noted in order to better understand expansion and contraction. We need to consider necessary and sufficient conditions for the spread or retraction of different facets, while not becoming unduly deterministic or linear in the face of jagged realities and feedback loops. A pinball analogy with causal vectors bouncing off of each other can be helpful in characterizing causes and careers paths of surveillance expansion and contraction.

Yet there is clearly a communicative and practical need for short-hands and parsimony, even as sweeping responses risk banality, obscuration and even obfuscation. Alas, the tensions and challenges never end! The calculating, efficiency and fail-safe seeking logic of modernization, and an ever more engineered society is driven by the economic system and the quest for security and control. These received an enormous boost since the technological developments of the last half of the twentieth century along with the acceleration of globalization, 9/11 and subsequent terrorist events and, in recent decades, the rise of social media and the feedback and controlling internet of things.

FM: Recently, talking about new technologies, Professor Richard Sennett said in the Madrid newspaper El País (18/08/2018): "Free always involves a form of domination. Now that we give away our personal information, or sell our intimacy, what would Orwell think of us?

GTM: First a response to Richard Sennett. Yes, there are no free meals. I came to understand that in college in reading Eric Fromm's (1941) insightful books *Escape From Freedom* and *The Sane Society* (1955). Up to that point, as a result of high school civics classes and the ideals of the Boy Scouts, freedom for me was an unexamined flag word and an unalloyed good. Reading those books attuned me to the downside of the good, although for reasons of hope, and because it is just too painful, not with the possible upside of the bad. I say that, even aware of a Native American Indian saying that, "the soul would have no rainbow if the eyes had no tears". With respect to freedom

and community we paradoxically need both wings and roots, but not anomie or root strangulation. So too, technology like freedom, has costs and risks, whatever the benefits. This fits well with the insight of sociologist Edward Shils that, "civil politics requires an understanding that no virtue stands alone, that every virtuous act costs something in terms of other virtuous acts, that virtues are intertwined with evil." If we substitute technology for virtue in the above quote we see the same duality. Now to return to your question about what would Orwell think.

Given a view expressed in much of his satiric writing, he would not be surprised at the ever greater engineering of control efforts, the ease of manipulating, seducing, intimidating and isolating people, the convenience of "to get along, go along" and the rampant escapism offered by drugs and the drug like quality of much of the media.

FM: Big Brother = Big Data?
GTM: Sure Orwell could take the appearance of big data as further evidence. But he would likely be pleased to see that in some ways we have moved (and continue to move) away from the society he envisioned in *1984*. His, as in almost all dystopic fiction, is structured partly around the failure of all such total control systems to work as planned. Looking more broadly, consider the ways Orwell was wrong (or at least the dystopian future described in the book was wrong): the gradual expansion of citizen's formal rights and education; the proliferation of mass society outlets beyond the direct control of the state as with the internet and new means of human connection and communication; increased awareness and moves toward more, not less heterogeneous societies with a more prominent role for diversity; increased contact with "foreigners" as a result of globalization; a relative lessening of physical coercion and much more. He saw government as the threat and did not anticipate the rise of powerful transnational corporations and their independence of, and even control over, governments. Threats to liberty are not limited to government, nor to the use of violence and coercion.

Given the not infrequent failings of the technology, more attention would also have to be given to what Brodeur and Leman-Langlois (2006) call "Big Bungler" or, to coin another phrase consistent with what was said about generating terms "Big Blotcher." From that view, contrary to the familiar Orwellian concerns about the all- knowing eyes and ears of government, recent history might suggests a reverse problem—blindness, deafness, and inefficiency (e.g., the 9/11 danger known only in retrospect, the failure of various airline passenger screening programs, the 10 year failure to locate Bin Laden in spite of the largest and most sophisticated surveillance opera- tion ever).

With respect to the two problems noted above, if the technologies don't work they can fail to prevent disasters, bring miscarriages of justice, and waste resources. If they do work they can (among obvious benefits, particularly for some groups), further inequality and invidious social categorization and repression. These twin threats are part of the enduring paradox of democratic government that must be strong enough to maintain reasonable order, but not so strong as to become undemocratic.

FM: Your skepticism mantra: "Surveillance is neither good, nor bad".
GTM: Exactly. I have a section in the last chapter of *Windows* on factors both undermining and supporting an Orwellian view of the world. My responses to many such questions are saturated with ambivalence (or as a critics could say, drowned by it). Many of your questions reflect the richness of reality that make it hard to take clean, one sided positions. That of course frustrates the ideologues and the lazy, not to mention the uninformed. A related question here is just what is the problem? Who decides that? What do we do when those claiming to have the answers themselves disagree? Is technology the problem or the solution? As the techno-cheerleaders demand, why not unleash these bountiful technologies promising ever more efficient and productive pragmatic solutions and a better life for all in the face of the terrible, life threatening problems and risks societies (and the singular global society) increasingly seem to face? Or is the problem a Euro-centered sense seen in the tragedies of history and dystopian accounts that involve the betrayal of the ideas of a high culture in which nature, the individual and the human spirit are in danger of decimation by the soulless modern and its quantification, bureaucratization, rationalization, de-individualization and furtherance of inequality? The English-American W.H. Auden captures that spirit in his poem, "*Under Which Lyre: A Reactionary Tract for the Times*" when he says that, "*Truth is replaced by useful knowledge*". That is also the case for Wendell Berry in his mad farmer manifesto: "*You will have a window in your head. Not even our future will be a mystery anymore.*" By what standards are and should the truth(s) be sanctified —science, religion, politics, poetics? Does the other golden rule apply? (The persons with the gold make the rules?)

FM: 'Truth'. A thorny subject, a swampy terrain. In the Post-Truth and Fake News era, is there any method to "separate the wheat from the chaff".
GTM: Let me try this. We can identify at least 3 responses in the quest for truth. The fundamentalist starts with answers rather than questions and says, "It's true because I say it's true. I know". To ask questions can be seen as heretical. Single-factor reductionists who find all answers within one idea or

who always give priority to one value reside here. The blind certainty of such a view in a dynamic world is deeply troubling.

FM: … Supercilious truth-bringers against plurality.
GTM: For sure, but a second response is also troubling and involves the non-committed relativist, who says, "Answers are just stories and it all depends on your point of view". One story is no better than another. In the face of this variety, truth is seen to lie in the hands of the person with the largest megaphone who controls the narrative *today*. That can change of course as the political winds shift. Here in a paradox, what is conventionally taken for truth *lies,* at least from the point of view of those lacking a megaphone. This ambiguity adheres and inheres in perception, cognition and language and our values of tolerance, pluralism and free speech and inquiry. This can bring a false equivalence denying history, logic and the empirical. All accounts are fabrications in being "constructed" by their author, but they are not therefore necessarily false.

FM: … Dangerous, even naïve, refractories of the real existence of truth. A relativism drowned in the plurality.
GTM: For sure! The third quest for truth is seen with the empirical scholar, even as such a scholar shares something with both the fundamentalist and the relativist. Yet such scholars start with questions, not answers, and realize that answers often lead to new questions. As well, they realize that all claims (and claimants) are fair game for questioning. They question their own views and are open to being proven wrong. Such a scholar is at home with the U.S. state motto that says, "Show me, I'm from Missouri." I want to see the evidence and the logic involved in the conclusions reached. Yet even with valid, quantified evidence, we need to acknowledge that integers require interpretation and that correlations, no matter how strong (and in social science they are rarely strong), do not automatically indicate causality. This calls for caution in going from discovered facts to policy solutions. Yet as with the fundamentalist, the scholar worthy of the name does take some things as given. If it is true that where you stand depends on where you sit (and sometimes where you rest being where you lie), the scholar sees and speaks from a particular social location with values and interests.

FM: So, is there any way to preserve the best of each approach and discard the worst? Is there a right way for the rigorous search of truth?
GTM: Among unquestioned elements for most scholars are the values of democracy, the dignity of the person, and learning through empirical research. Such a scholar sees with the relativist that there are many stories to be heard. But after listening, the scholar seeks through inquiry to assess varied claims by publicized standards of, and results from, empirical

observation across different observers, mindful of the setting in question (whether the country or the institution).

When such observers agree on the ground rules for drawing conclusions about what the facts are some consensus is possible, whatever their individual politics and interests. Such a scholar seeks to identify and help overcome gaps in knowledge, identifies tacit empirical and moral assumptions, and offers criteria by which competing claims can be assessed. The scholar also identifies different kinds of truth and explores possible connections between them (e.g., seeing if assumptions about the facts that underlie a value position are empirically supported, seeing if actions that might logically follow from empirical analysis seem intuitively right or wrong). Such a cautious, thought provoking approach will be rejected by those who want answers that will put an end to the questions.

But even when we have confidence in a type of answer, special care is needed when convictions are robustly held. The strong emotions which propel a relentless search for truth can also inhibit finding it. Being caught up in our own consciousness and culture and with our own interests, we need tools that permit a degree of distance from these and insight into our shadows, along with tools for understanding others.

In seeking to understand, we are forever caught between the invisible, taken for granted, concrete strictures and structures of our own place, time, experience, language, identities and chauvinism, as against those of others, and other places and cultures. Caution, humility, imagination and appreciation of culture relativity are vital tools for cross cultural and temporal understanding, even as distance from what we study can offer fresh insights and awareness of general and universal functions, structures and processes cutting across interaction and societies.

FM: What do you propose?
GTM: Some suggestions for researchers are below, but first the overarching theme of reflexivity should be among the most treasured of scholarly directives. In the introduction to an edited volume on *Muckraking Sociology* (1972) I emphasized the importance of reflexivity. In taking a strong position on behalf of subjecting all voices to a standard of empirical observation. The facts do not speak for themselves. But they can speak very loudly when seen in a shared context. Meaning and applicability depend on the frame of reference one applies. The question or problem (whether intellectual or policy) should determine the preferred method and approach. Too often, this is reversed, as those with a favored method, concept, theory or policy trot it out as the only correct approach or answer, before adequate analysis or clarity about its utility for the need at hand and consideration of risks.

In my experience, the fauna most prone to a misplaced (or at least premature) discovery of certainty

and the suspension of reflexivity because the cause is just are jejune, student activists (who can be excused for their impatience and naivety) and politicians and journalists (who cannot). During an interview in which I answered a complicated question about undercover policing by saying "that depends" and offered qualifications, the impatient reporter said, "enough, come on professor, just answer the question", "Yes or no –is it good or bad"?

In the last chapter of *Windows* I offered a number of "Meta-method Moral Mandates" for aspiring students of surveillance, but they apply more broadly. To mention a few: attend to beginnings (things have origins); disaggregate and aggregate; adopt a loose (but not too loose) systems approach; recognize that things change and remain the same; be aware of changes in degree vs. in kind; don't automatically associate correlation with causality; be attentive to kinds of causation and levels of analysis; move cautiously from the aggregate to the individual level and the reverse; talk to strangers; try to differentiate facts from values, be aware of the role(s) you are playing as a scholar and/or as a citizen; and carry a big tool kit. A recent exemplary research article that nicely illustrates these points is Sarah Brayne's (2017) interview and observation study of the growth of surveillance and big data usage on police patrol and investigations.

Round Three: Self in the Surveillance Era

FM: In one of your papers you introduce the Joycean pun 'camerica' (Marx 2005). In Europe, as Kundera (1996) suggests, private life is the most precious of things, a deeply personal preservation of the mysteries of the self and a currency to be used with discretion. . But in America it is not quite so simple. The frontier between public and private is more blurred. While Updike memorably wrote "America is a vast conspiracy to make you happy" (Updike 1972), Pynchon shows in his novels the tremendum conspiranoia in which we live. Surveillance is ambivalence, a convoluted thing. In this everyday far-reaching surveillance, on the one hand we encounter gossip, voyeurism, control and intrusion, and on the other, confidence, protection and security. Let's be Spinozist! As citizens, can we assess the harms and the goods of surveillance? And if your answer is 'Yes', and I know that you will say, 'Yes' just for the pleasure of entering in a path of hard resolution, how then to assess them?

GTM: "Yes", but also "no" as suggested above. First there is something about democracy, particularly in its most plebian, communal, egalitarian, sunlight forms that abhors the private as the shield for undeserving elites with things to hide. Yet there is another stream of democracy valuing the dignity and autonomy of the individual and its corollary cowboy capitalism that strongly supports privacy as an adjunct of private property and liberty. In that sense, privacy is associated with the rise of the bourgeoisie.

FM: Do you mean libertarian? We own ourselves…
GTM: Yes. It is a serious error to reduce privacy just to the protection of privilege and its peccadilloes (or worse). America traditionally held out hope for individuals to define themselves and to have control over their personal information in self-presentations. That requires back stage regions with the curtain controlled by the actor. Civil society must honor the informational borders of groups as well. Borders around information are also of course central to national security and public safety. As with most multifaceted questions we must avoid the traps of either-or ("is it good or bad?") and of linear thinking in which if, in small amounts something has clear benefits or costs they will continue in larger amounts or over time. As suggested above, we need to ask "when, where and why, and how do we balance (or better weigh, since balance implies equivalence) conflicting values and answers?" In all of the above we see the ironies of information control.

FM: Yes, and don't we see further ironies in realizing the varied pulls that may be felt when we know that our steps (or missteps) are well-watched, –whether peace of mind, egoistic pleasure, appreciation of acknowledgement, a sense of just desserts or fear, embarrassment, shame, guilt, anger? How should one feel about being watched?
GTM: "Well-watched?" well, well –from a "deep well"?, "well", as in efficient, correct and maximal?, or "well" as in healthy, legal and moral? That is another example of a question that needs to be broken down by contexts and characteristics of the agent, subject, audience and setting of surveillance.

FM: … I break in order to…
GTM: Watching your toddler is very different that infiltrating a group seeking to protect the environment. But ignoring such distinctions, probably all of the above responses you mentioned, if at different times. But there is also another response –sometimes relief. When surveillance is done in a supportive, even compassionate, rather than a punitive way, it may be welcomed. Consider a worker whose activity is videotaped and then given feedback based on that. Constructive feedback can improve the work product and the individual's sense of competence, let alone mean continued employment. It can be instructional and, where rewards are based on productivity, may also be appreciated. In addition, those lacking in full self-control may welcome being watched as a way to keep themselves in line. Consider compulsive gamblers who asked to be on a list that prohibits them from entering casinos. There are also protective uses such as a sensing video tool that can identify swimmers who appear to be drowning. When social control of the other rather than one's self is the issue,

surveillance tools may increase feelings of safety as in a dark, isolated parking lot.

FM: Who's watching the watchers?

GTM: *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* –the ultimate question for Juvenal and the Romans onward and implicit in any pluralist system of checks and balances. They of course watch each other with rival agencies such as the national and military police of many European countries or the national and local police of the U.S. and internal affairs or inspection units within. They also watch themselves when they are properly socialized, have a conscience and sense of duty and honor which ideally can transcend abuses by those with the power to watch. The watchers can be controlled by knowing that they themselves are subject to the same technologies (e.g., drug testing and body cameras for police). The contemporary policies of accountability and transparency seek to address the issue, even as they may have other unwanted consequences. Meaningful procedures for challenges and complaints are also needed.

FM: You list multiple fallacies, but, in the end, what legitimize the intrusion into a private life? What is the most pernicious fallacy to defend intrusive surveillance?

GTM: To start, I don't claim that all intrusions (already that word biases it!) are illegitimate. Intrude implies unwelcome, crossing a border or wall intended to keep out "intruders". But life is so filled with contradictions that the failure to intrude itself can be cruel and inhuman at worst, and at best, simply a reflection of bad manners and lack of regard for the other. I argue in the book that the failure to surveil when appropriate can also be a problem. With respect to the most pernicious fallacy, again it depends on the context and specifics. But the idea that the end necessarily justifies the means and that the technology works as planned and without unintended consequences would rate very high.

FM: As Jorge Luis Borges ([1975](#)) *said, at the end, all is a matter of ethics. In the last part of your book, Professor Marx, where implications appear, you introduce the concept of transparent glass: only negotiated transparency can open a path to transparency. Can we continue with your calling attention to knowing the goals, benefits and risks for all parties and the need to define limits and conditions for legitimating or denying use of the tactics?*

GTM: Sure, but as soon as one brings in ideas of costs and benefits we face the issue of what kinds and who defines and measures that, let alone how to weigh short and long, and longer run time periods and for which groups. That of course adds complexity and we need (at least as a thought and broad frame setting exercise) to deepen the analysis.

As you suggest, the book argues that the ethics of a surveillance activity must be judged according to the means, the context and conditions of data collection and the uses/goals. We see these factors in considering the myriad elements involved in the "surveillance process". I identify "seven surveillance strips" that combine to form "surveillance stories". The strips correspond to discrete units of action in the "career" of an application. These are tool selection, subject selection, data collection, data processing, data interpretation, data uses and data fate. Ethics and policy judgments can be applied at each of these.

In the chapter on ethics I suggest 39 questions to be asked about the various elements of surveillance activity. Respect for the individual and human dignity and fairness runs through many of them. The more one can answer these questions in a way that affirms the underlying principle (or a condition supportive of it) the more ethical the use of a tactic is likely to be. Among important conditions which, when *breached*, should raise ethical hackles are: respect for the dignity of the person, validity (whether of the tool itself or a given application), trust, fairness in subject selection, notice, permission, inspection, correction, the ability to challenge and more broadly, due process in authorization and the avoidance of harm when crossing personal borders. I offer a bunch of these be- cause, as Groucho Marx was reputed to have said, "these are my principles, if you don't like them, well I have others."

Of particular importance and a great challenge for surveillance decency is the numbing or hiding of the possibility of *awareness*. When one is cognizant of what is occurring a reaction is possible, even if only to negate or to withdraw, let alone to try to change it. Awareness can also lead to hopelessness and depression, or at least mostly tending one's garden as Voltaire suggested.

David Lyon (Bauman and Lyon [2013](#)) calls attention to Bauman's concept of *adiaphorization* in which ethical implications are divorced from an action. This generates a specious sense of neutrality and irresponsibility. This distancing of ethics from systems and tools can also apply to the distanced (both spatially and emotionally) technocrat who says, "I don't make the rules, I am just doing my job" ala Stanley Milgram's ([1974](#)) work on obedience to authority. This reflects an unreflective deferral to instrumentality as the preeminent value and the divorce of action from accountability.

Some observations by Erich Fromm ([1955](#)) apply here: "The danger of the past was that men became slaves. The danger of the future is that men may become robots…. Men are increasingly automatons, who make machines which act like men and produce men who act like machines; there reason deteriorates while their intelligence rises, thus creating the dangerous situation of equipping man with the greatest material power without the wisdom to use it".

FM: You are "a retiring but not shy college professor" (Marx 2011) and have offered mentoring advice to those just beginning their careers and to those at mid-career. Now, looking back after more than 5 decades, what gave most meaning to your academic career and what advice would you offer those approaching formal retirement?

GTM: With respect to what gave the most meaning that's easy -keeping the flame of Erasmus alive by working with students and colleagues on research and passing on the art and science of scholarly inquiry. I am grateful to my teachers (and their teachers) and to those I have taught and worked with over the last 50 years for their complicity in the great chain of being that involves the delivery, receipt and transmission of knowledge (Marx, 2017b). Knowledge, unlike other forms of wealth, is enriched as it is shared and exchanged. As with The Dude in the film *The Big Lebowski*, the giving of ideas abides— that is our satisfaction and our solace, our sustenance and perhaps even our salvation.

With respect to your question about colleagues approaching retirement there is the ever more soulful realization that the engagement of the intellect and the imagination are wondrous gifts. Wisdom is indeed more precious than rubies. As Michelangelo is reputed to have said late in his life, *ancoro imparo* (I continue to learn). With Tennyson's *Ulysses*, it is better to burnish in use (even if somewhat dulled) than to rust through inactivity - "though much has been taken much abides" and "some work of noble note, may yet be done".

As far as advice for those facing retirement (and maybe a few others): be in the moment. Don't put off things you have wanted to do. 'Let it be' as the Beatles sang—both your expectations for, and your anger at others; be appreciative of all that has been, and continues to be, good in your life and in life; don't let hard times and dusty roads result in settling for too little, but neither set the bar so high that the quest for the ideal prevents accepting the good enough; stay active within your physical limits; stay engage *à la* Sartre (and occasionally *enrage*) with whatever moves you and doesn't hurt others; when possible try and merge means and ends; come to terms with the transitory nature of recognition and success and see their accidental and environmental correlates; appreciate dualities, polarities and ironies and the fascinating elements of the individual and the social in which individuals die, but the culture that nourished them and that they contributed to lives on.

Finally (the last of my 37 moral imperatives for aspiring social scientists) keep the faith and the passion! Do this in spite of aging, your increased understanding of complexity, and the slowness, difficulty, and unintended consequences of change. Let encounters with those hostile to the idea of a research university, unfettered inquiry and scholarship more broadly lead not to withdrawal or bitterness, but to enhanced commitment to the ideals of universalism, freedom of inquiry, and civility that must be at the core of any university worthy of the name. The moral power of ideas and the rights of your position come with a mandate to use them responsibly. Know that both principles and ideas matter and that the individual can make a difference. Believe that knowledge is better than ignorance that knowledge is possible, and that empirical and scientific knowledge about humans and social conditions can result in the improvement of those conditions.

FM: Wow! A lot to process there. You sound like a biblical prophet. However, let's move from pontification to prediction and wrap this up by considering the future. What you do in Windows *is gather the past with respect to the sociology of surveillance, -surely that must have some bearing on the future. Professor Marx, in May of 2018, a Google's concept was leaked:* the Selfish Ledger -*a Lamarckian epigenetics through data. An unsettling look, disturbing. The first thought that comes to mind is Goffman and his dramaturgical concept of impression management. We want to control our public behavior to impress in others a positive image of ourselves. In the book you consider Keith* Guzik's (2016) concept of prohesion. *This involves efforts to increase social control by targeting the material dimensions of social life. The self becomes hemmed in, as the state or other organizations adhere themselves to things such as vehicles, phones, identity cards, even bodies. Heterogeneous data accumulates and sticks to the person both literally and metaphorically. The person's record is presumed to offer coherence re a particular goal. The self becomes 'datafi cated' and is described according to data and patterns, resulting in efforts to predict, prescript, prescribe or proscribe behavior. Here the abstracted data speaks for an objectified us, lacking a full face. It may presume to know what is best for us, whether or not we are aware of this or have a choice.*

So two questions in a futuristic vein: Without sounding too pessimistic too soon, is this the next step -the end of free will with continuing steps toward absolute control? What should we be worrying about next? What does the future portend for the hard fought, constantly under assault values of humanism as expressed in democracy, transparency, equality and respect for truth?

GTM: "*Quien sabe*?" Certainly the colonization of our lives and the continued emphasis on mechanical prevention and risk avoidance continues, whatever the cost. We will likely see brain, body and machine mergings and a vast increase in the use of unseen and unknown artificial intelligence algorithms based on mega data bases from sensors embedded everywhere and in everything, With this we will also see the galloping, rather than the trotting of the ability to engineer what Boétie (1997) several centuries ago called *voluntary servitude* Such mandatory voluntarism results from (recall the story of the acquiescing frog who stayed for dinner after being put into a pot of cold water that only gradually

came to a boil) a barely seen socialization/propaganda/discipline and the conditions of contemporary life which give us almost no choice but to go along.

Regarding specific predictions, social scientists who failed to predict the civil rights movement, the coming of computerization, the end of the cold war, 9/11 and subsequent events in a jarring context of globalization and global warming, may do no better than telling time from a broken clock which will sometimes be correct.

However, as a compliant, loyal, polite and powerless subject of your interview (you are asking the questions not me!) I will go along, to get along in the hope of peddling some ideas and maybe a book or two.[5] For futures (really "nows" or "soon in a neighborhood near you", there are of course the exotic, ghee whiz, newsworthy devices such as drones that look like flies and hover like hummingbirds, "snakebots" that can slither under doors, and smart, micro motes and cyborg beetles (live insects) that can portage cameras and other sensors (Hudson 2016). There will be ever more data gathered from environmental sensors and what is unique to a person (DNA, smell, voice, face, gait and behavior patterns including social media) and from "smart cities, vehicles and homes. These will be tied to risk or opportunity predictors and access or denial. We are seeing the expansion of the new biometrics (the ultimate windows into the soul) including implants, brain scans and genetic analysis along with unimagined cyborg forms. Any shopping list as well must also include robots and the internet of things and, running through much of the above, artificial intelligence and cybersecurity. The issues go far beyond protecting passive personal records in a database.

For what is a person profited, if he or she shall gain privacy, but lose understanding, autonomy and an environment that feels safe? Inscrutable decisions based on hidden correlations lacking in interpretation and explanation will become ever more important to life chances. Safe and secure? Perhaps, but be careful of losing control over a self-driving car or airplane, or a medical device that automatically dispenses a deadly overdose or of cyber-attacks on communications, electrical, water, and transportation systems -topics recently treated by Schneier (2018) and Chertoff 2018). Unseen and relatively insecure networks are growing ever larger and more connected. Software called "smart" and "intelligent" will continue to learn from environments and go beyond *recommending* action, to *taking* action independently of humans. In such a situation, the ideal informed and consenting subjects with access to their records as envisioned in the recent European Data Protection Law have a lot to be concerned about.

But let's return to your question about what the future portends for the values of humanism as expressed in democracy, transparency, equality and respect for truth. As sacrosanct as those are, they are not the only values? There are other values such as efficiency, health, safety, security, energy saving, planning, ease, comfort, and a host of other positive factors that can be associated with the technology −even as they may also legitimately or illegitimately undercut the cherished values you mentioned.

Looking at the brighter side, we see Erving Goffman joined with operant conditioning and the anomic donkey following the carrot that dangles in front it. One doesn't need much satire to see why so many persons *welcome* the score cards the technology offers. If done with clear rules and valid data, it is easy to imagine cheerful robotic slaves bonded to AI programs. In the best American, self-help tradition these offer persons the chance to better themselves through continuous health monitoring, improved credit scores, careful measurement and rewards for work results, not to mention popularity and a rich social life through harvesting electronic friends and "likes". As well, when away, there is the bonus of the remote monitoring and control of homes and children and warnings about traffic congestion, driving while tired and hurricanes. It is thus easy to be unconcerned over inscrutable decisions based on hidden artificial intelligence (what a great double meaning that term has!) correlations lacking in interpretation and explanation.

Yet whatever the good stuff, ironically, technical developments are also a perpetual dissatisfaction machine. Their promise of "ever more and better" continually raises expectations and can bring new anxieties and insecurities beyond the risks noted above. Playwright Neil Simon observed, "nothing recedes like success". That could be a warning that it doesn't last, but it could also mean that there is always another, even higher, mountain to climb: more security, more efficiency, more ease etc. Considering just security, note how contemporary fear has moved from an understood, known, *visible, alien "other" beyond* the walls of the village or the fortified castle or home, to a *less visible "other" within the community or capable of remotely entering it.* Walls are not what they used to be. With continuous bio-feedback and health monitoring, we become aware that the enemy might even reside within our own bodies. With modern culture, humans seem sentenced to a never sated quest in which "progress" bootlegs in dissatisfaction and along with new vulnerabilities.

FM: This reminds me that "the invention of the ship was also the invention of the shipwreck" *(*Virilio 1999*: 52)…*

GTM: (*laughs*) Sure, but I'm not quite so ready to fully abandon the idea of progress. As an academic analyst I come as neither a torchbearer for the Luddites, nor as a beacon for the entrepreneurs. The relentless march of the omnipresent and totalizing mediation of information technologies onto, and into, our daily lives, is like air,

---

[5] A nice example of Marx' approach to the imbalance in such social research is in *Windows* (pp.121−124) where, drawing on existing tools, he imagines what the "Soft Interview of the Future" could look like.

everywhere. Without air we die, yet with too much we die as well. The technology is something of a two way street, even as structures and cultures of inequality push to make it one-way, or at least an expensive toll road. Certainly, there are tidal waves of momentum driving the depth and speed of current change and ever-greater penetration of supportive macro infrastructures. Yet the tidal waves come into existing complex, multi-layered environments, which will shape them, and have social consequences in ways not anticipated or even imagined.

FM: Peter Diamandis and Singularity University claim that technologies that promise a future of superabundance are on the horizon. Is this case for trying to leave town on a space flight as soon as possible?

GTM: Food for thought and maybe packing a picnic lunch (or a few thousand) for the journey. Yet, it is too easy to have an abhorrent reflex response to technology, just as it is too easy to have a welcoming cheerleader response. We face a complex set of shifting trade-offs. In the case of the Internet for example, in spite of the increased use of mobile devices and the coming "Internet of Things" that can undercut locational and identity privacy, there are dissipating factors such as address anonymizers and encryption noted by Susan Landau (2016). The good news is that there are often choices. The bad news is that they can be costly and we need to be made aware of them.

As my late colleague Egon Bittner pointed out, a screwdriver is a wonderful tool for projects, as well, it can be used to spread peanut butter on a sandwich or to stab someone. A market theory approach suggests that where there is a perceived need, suppliers will appear (whether legal or black market). The human spirit is creative and resilient and individuals and groups have resources to throw monkey wrenches into the system. There are always tacks in the shoes and ironic social arrangements.[6] As James M. Harding (2018) documents there are also tools for cultural warfare and as Scott (1987) argues the weak, as well as the strong have resources. In the face of the heavy determinisms of those who dismiss individual *agency* and transcendent cultural ideas regarding the dignity of the person as sideshows, attention to local contexts will show that sometimes the choices are between the good and the good (or the better), or at least between the bad and the worse (or in Machiavelli's words viewing "the least bad as good"). Certainly the evaluation of such choices (or even the ability to see them) partly resides in the eyes of the beholder. Nonetheless, I disagree with writer Paul Goodman who once said that the lesser of two evils is not a choice

between half a loaf and a whole one, but between a more or less virulent form of rat poison. Degrees matter.

FM: So, does assessment of a technology depend on our actions and ethics − that is, what is done with it?

GTM: In *Windows* I suggested that in a world that muddles through with its conflicting pressures, it is premature, and perhaps even sacrilegious, to conclude that information technology will destroy us. The tide cannot be turned back, but it can be nudged and redirected a bit in aware and resilient environments. We continually hear about what the newest technology *will give to us*. Less frequently do we hear about what we *will give to it* or what it will uninvitedly *do to us.* We must attend not only to the truth claims of the advocates, but ask about the costs to the individual and society. It most decidedly is not, as the techno-propaganda suggests, a win/win situation with only rainbows and happy endings, but neither is it only a sugar-coated Faustian mirage. Seeing clearly what it is can lead to political choices that move toward the former or at least that do not permit drifting ever closer to the latter.

FM: This interview is already ending, Professor Marx, do you leave something unsaid?

GTM: Every ray of light has a shadow, and mirages mix with the literal world. At its best, skepticism can reflect reality and the need to avoid the seduction of misleading truths and exaggerated promises of contemporary utopians, of whatever stripe. The Greek etymology of *utopia* is an imaginary place ("*ou*" = no, "*topos*" = no place!)*.* An observation quoted by Huxley (1932) in the first edition of *Brave New World* in French[7] from Russian religious philosopher and former Marxist Nicholas Berdiaeff is a bracing call for realism, although not retreat. Berdiaeff notes that utopias seem more in reach than was previously thought. The advocacy of the true believer raises the issue of how to avoid their utopias. Berdiaeff hopes that soon, "…intellectuals and the privileged will find ways to return to a non-utopian, less "perfect" but freer society".

Windows opened with a quote from Kafka's 1919 cautionary story "In the Penal Colony," The story is about a new technology described as "a remarkable piece of apparatus"—a highly acclaimed, state-of-the art machine invented by a corrections officer for punishing inmates. The story ends when the machine malfunctions and kills its operator—an enthusiastic advocate of the benefits and infallibility of the

---

[6] *FM: 'Monkey wrench' here refers to* Albey's (1975) *book and a tack in the shoe to stepping on a thumbtack in one's shoe to thwart a polygraph exam. This is considered in chapter 6 of Windows and an earlier paper (*http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/tack.html*) on neutralizing and counter-neutralizing moves within surveillance.*

[7] *Les utopies apparaissent bien plus réalisables qu'on ne le croyait autrefois. Et nous nous trouvons actuellement devant une question bien autrement angoissante: comment éviter leur réalisation définitive?… Les utopies sont réalisables. La vie marche vers les utopies. Et peut-être un siècle nouveau commence-t-il, un siècle où les intellectuels et la classe cultivée rêveront aux moyens d'éviter les utopies et de retourner à une société non utopique moins "parfaite" et plus libre.*

machine. The sky is not now falling, even if that offers only modest grounds for rejoicing, there are after all holes in the ozone layer.

Further Reading

Albey, E. 1975. *The monkey wrench gang*. New York:Lippincortt.

Bauman, Z., & Lyon, D. 2013. *Liquide Surveillance*. Malden, MA:Polity Press.

Boétie, E. 1997. *The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude*, translated by Harry Kurz and with an introduction by Murray Rothbard. Montrèal/New York/London:Black Rose Books.

Berg, B. 2009. *Qualitative research. Methods for the social sciences*. Boston:Allyn & Bacon.

Berger, P. 1963. *Invitation to sociology*. New York:Doubleday.

Borges, J. L. 1975. *Other inquisitions, 1937-1952*. Texas:University of Texas.

Brayne, S. 2017. Big data surveillance: The case of policing. *American Sociological Review*, *82*(5), 977-1008.

Brodeur, J.P. and Leman-Langlois, S. 2006. Surveillance Fiction or Higher Policing? in Haggerty, K. and Ericson, R. 2006. *The New Politics of Surveillance and Visibility*. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press.

Chertoff, M. 2018. *Exploding Data*. New York:Atlantic Monthly Press.

El País. 18/08/2018. Entrevista a Richard Sennett.

Ericson, R. V., & Haggerty, K. D. 2000. The Surveillant assemblage. *British Journal of Sociology*, *51*(4), 605-622.

Guzik, K. 2016. *Making things stick Mexico's war on crime*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Fromm, E. 1941. *Escape From Freedom*. N.Y:Rinehart.

Fromm, E. 1955. *The sane society*. N.Y:Henry Holt.

Harding, J. M. 2018. *Performance, transparency, and the culture of surveillance*. Ann Arbor:Univ. of Michigan Press.

Hudson, M. 2016. "What Will Surveillance Look Like in the Future". *The Atlantic* (November).

Hume, D. 2015. *My own life*. New York:Cosimo Classics.

Huxley, A. 1932. *Brave New World*. Garden City:Doubleday, Doran and Co.

Kundera, M. 1996. *Testaments betrayed: An essay in nine parts*. New York:Harper Perennial.

Landau, S. 2016. "Choices: Privacy & Surveillance in a Once & Future Internet" *Daedalus*. Vol. 145. No. 1. Winter.

Lyon, D. 2009. Surveillance, power and everyday life. In Avgereou, C., Mansell, R., Quah, D. & Silverstone, R., Oxford handbook of information and communication technologies. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lyon, D., Ball, K., & Haggerty, K. e. 2012. *International handbook of surveillance studies*. New York:Routledge.

Marx, G. T. 1972. *Muckraking sociology research as social criticism*. New Brunswick:Transaction Press http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/ www/ascmuck.html.

Marx, G.T. 1985. "I'll Be Watching You: The New Surveillance". *Dissent*. Winter.

Marx, G.T. 1988. *Undercover: Police surveillance in America*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Marx, Gary T 1990. On Academic Success and Failure, in Berger B. *Authors of Their Own Lives*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press. http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/success.html

Marx, Gary T 1997. Of Methods and Manners for Aspiring Sociologists: 37 Moral Imperatives. *The American Sociologist*. March. http://web. mit.edu/gtmarx/www/37moral.html

Marx, Gary T 2005. Camerica? Two cheers (or Less) for the indiscriminate spread of video cameras in public areas. *ID Track Mix*, Oct 2005. http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/camerica.html

Marx, Gary T 2002. Looking for Meaning in All the Right Places: The Search for Academic Satisfaction, in Geis, G., and Dodge, M. *The Lessons of Criminology*. http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/geis.html

Marx, G. T. 2009. Hither and dither no more: Thoughts of a retiring but not shy, professor. In C. Powell (Ed.), *Critical Vocies in criminology*. New York: Lexington Books. http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/hitherthither.html

Marx, G. T. 2012. Your papers please: Personal and professional encounters with surveillance. In D. Lyon, K. Ball, & K. Haggerty (Eds.), *International handbook of surveillance studies*. New York: Routledge http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/survhandbook.html

Marx, G. T. 2017a. *Windows into the soul*. Chicago:University of Chicago Press.

Marx, Gary T 2017b. "What's It All About? Reflections on Meaning in a Career", in Darling, R., and Stein, P. Sociological Lives and Ideas. http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/whatsit.html

Marx, Gry T. forthcoming. "A Satirical (?) Book Review of *Windows Into the Soul, The American Sociologist*. *http://web.mit.edu/gtmarx/www/satire.html*

Milgram, S. 1974. *Obedience to authority: An experimental view*. New York:Barnes and Noble.

Monahan, T., & Wood, D. 2018. *Surveillance Studies. A reader*. New York:OUP.

Morente, F. 2017. Windows into the soul. *Revista de Investigaciones Politicas y Sociologicas*, *16*(2), 264-267.

Orwell, G. 2017. *A collection of essays*. New York:Harcourt Brace.

Scott, J. C. 1987. *Weapons of the week*. New Haven:Yale University Press.

Schneier, B. 2018. *Click Here to kill everybody*. New York:W.W. Norton.

The Paris Review (Spring 1984). Baldwin, J. Interview with James Baldwin.

Upidke, J. 1972. "How to love America and Leave it at the same time". *The New Yorker*, (August).

Virilio, P. 1999. *The politics of the worst. An interview with Philippe petit*. Massachusetts:MIT Press.

Fran Morente (1984) is Doctor in Economy, Business & Law from Victoria University and Head of Innovation in VidaCaixa (Spain). He is author of publications on innovation, management, organizations, entrepreneurship, idioculture, public urban space and sociology.

Gary T. Marx is Professor Emeritus MIT and founder of the Simmel Bike and Kayak Club.