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"The World Allows No Hermits": Some Thoughts on

Robert Hauptman's Review* of *Windows Into the Soul*

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Writing in 1928, D.H. Lawrence certainly got that prohibition right.[1] The changes from the industrial revolution that undercut private space of so many kinds have moved at Mach speed since the mid twentieth century.

What a pleasure to read this review by Robert Hauptman that so carefully reflects what the book tries to do and in a journal dealing with the ethical and related policy issues around information (the fuel that both drives and results from surveillance). Hauptman identifies the major outcome I sought: "a taxonomic completeness in many categories couched in a precise and expansive terminology". He sees the richness and complexity of the topic, that it goes beyond just government or even corporations to everyday life and that, in spite the darkening clouds, there is resilience and a qualified optimism or pessimism regarding how full the glass is.

Seeing Hauptman lay out the scale of book made me a little dizzy with all the concepts, dimensions, categories, subtypes and questions. I like to think of the book as revealing the recondite, rather than being recondite. But it is not a quick airplane read, (even with the fiction, images and lyrics) and hopefully not a book to be asked about on a final exam, and when did I ever have time to play with my grandchildren?

Hauptman's review triggered a few thoughts that are elaborations rather than disagreements. He notes that I insist, "that technology is the cause and the new surveillance the result". Yes, they are linked in that order. But in noting that, I do not want to be put in the camp of the technological determinists, they, above all, need to see the interactions between the technical and social. Yet, as a long time inhabitant of the endless corridors of MIT, neither do I want to be in the camp of the social determinists. Instead I have tried to wend my way along the razor thin edges of competing truths and I have sought ways of integrating the technical and the social (Marx and Guzik, forthcoming). The challenge for the scholar trying to avoid capture by a discipline, theory, ideology or method is to give all their due without being captured, while still standing for something. Bob notes how surveillance affects individual privacy. The social costs (social sorting and implications for equity and group borders) can also be profound as the work of David Lyon and those working in surveillance studies (e.g., the journal *Surveillance and Society*) make clear.

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Bob mentions the gestation period. But when does birth begin? Is a child one-year-old when leaving the womb (as in classical China?) Ascertaining the temporal birth of a book is no less clear. The project formally began with the Jensen Lectureship sponsored by Duke University and American Sociological Association in 1991. But its roots can be traced ever farther back. It perhaps started with growing up in western civilization; (and in Hollywood) under the watchful eyes of a loving, but stern father; being in a wonderful Boy Scout troop sponsored by the Los Angeles Police Department; encountering police in a very different environment as a student in Berkeley (including encounters in the civil rights group CORE with an agent provocateur who stole our funds);and then working for the Kerner Commission studying police behavior in riots. The latter two experiences sparked research interest in intelligence gathering and social control.

I wrote about changes in technology and surveillance in a 1984 Council of Europe conference on George Orwell. That was followed by a 1984 presentation on the new surveillance in a session with major theorists S.M. Lipset and M. Janowitiz at a plenary session of the American Sociological Association meetings. I followed their austere, formal presentations by playing Sting's "Every Move You Make" and used it to illustrate the profound changes in surveillance.

In the roads not taken department, my participation in that meeting (given my youth) was accidental. The late Stan Cohen, of such imposing intellectual and moral stature, had to bow out for health reasons and so I was invited. The encouragement that resulted from that presentation was important to my subsequent work. That presentation was the most satisfying I had ever done and the very positive response to the content and the cultural materials from that session bolstered the foundation for the undercover book. *Windows* is an expansion of that book's last chapter.

After finishing *Undercover: Police Surveillance in America,*(1988) I identified 11 enduring, and perhaps irresolvable, questions that one is left with in completing an interdisciplinary book on a broad topic that mixes social science, social criticism and popular culture and that is aimed at academics, practitioners and the educated public (Marx 1995). These apply as well to *Windows.* Such an undertaking can be an invitation to angst, self-doubt and role conflict. Among some of the issues were dipping into areas that I was not a specialist in; wrestling with what it means to understand and explain a topic; how academic knowledge might contribute to public policy; how to reach both academics and the educated public; the potential value conflicts between being a scholar-fiddler and a value driven citizen firefighter; what obligations the scholar has to promote the work beyond producing it; and how to know when a book is finished. I will briefly mention only this last.

In starting a project there are doubts about whether one has any thing original to say. I take strength from the biblical injunction (Matthew 10:19) "…do not worry about what to say or how to say it. At that time, you will be given what to say." And so it has

been and will be to a point where there is too much too say and never time to say it all. At the other end of a project, how does one know when it is time to stop? I take strength in knowing that the well of ideas and events to be written about, rather than running dry, continually overflows. The Beatles nailed that one: "Dear Sir or Madam will you read my book….It's a thousand pages give or take a few, I'll be writing more in a week or two." Thus, the author of a book on contemporary events must be forever frustrated as new events and research appear.

I was not ready to call it quits. There was so much more I wanted to write –for example a comparative international chapter, a more detailed analysis of the various policy options and a more systematic, classically, scientific hypothesis-driven explanatory chapter. As Bob imagines, it was indeed heart-rending to have the rich, often evocative and provocative, material from popular culture (surveillance in music, art, film, adds, cartoons) gathered over the several decades not included in the print version of the book. Yet, including that material would have greatly increased the cost of the book. Having it available on a web page the press created for the book was a partial solution. Calling it quits (at least for the first edition) meant I was unable to comment on subsequent developments –whether new technologies, policies –or particularly important, new writing.

Calling it quits (at least for the first edition) meant I was unable to comment on subsequent developments –whether new technologies, policies –or particularly important, new scholarship. If I was finishing the book today (Feb. 2017), among topics I would give more attention to –big data (and the misguided notion that with respect to finding solutions, correlations can easily substitute for causality and that integers do not require interpretation inspired by a degree of intuition); the merging of face recognition with far flung data bases and social media; drones (including the efforts to develop "no-see-ums") [2] robots, driverless cars, video-cams and policing, the internet of things, cyber-security; new biometrics (the ultimate windows into the soul) including implants, brain scans and DNA analysis; new tools for protecting information; new restrictions on the collection of bulk data after Snowden (2015 USA Freedom Act) and the subsequent abrogation of current privacy protections associated with our new *It Can Happen Here* (with apologies to Sinclair Lewis 1935) President after only a few days in office.

Apart from new public events, the swirling, ever-expanding sink holes of hypertext mean a scholar's work is never done and the sense of incompleteness is eternal. To mention only a few recent books I wish I could have drawn from --on culture: Andrejevic, Mark. 2013, Zimmer 2015, Lefait 2013, Ridker, 2014, White 2016, Poitras and Sanders, Joy 2016; on tools, institutions and problems: Lubbers 2012, Taylor 2014, Breckenridge 2014, Smith 2015, Schuilenburg 2015, Braverman 2015, McCahill and Finn 2014, Smith 2015, Kitchen 2014, Harcourt 2015, Finn and Nissenbaum 2016, Turrow 2017; and on law, policy and ethics: Rotenberg, Horwitz and Scott 2015, Calo, Froomkin and Kerr 2016, Friedewalde and Pohoryles 2014, Wallach 2015.

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[1] He writes in *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* "The Industrial noises broke the solitude, the sharp lights, though unseen, mocked it. A man could no longer be private and withdrawn. The world allows no hermits".

[2] Consider drones that look like flies and hover like hummingbirds, "snakebots" that can slither under doors, and smart dust, micro motes and cyborg beetles (live insects) that can portage cameras and other sensors (Hudson 2016).