Policing

Gary T. Marx. (2016). WINDOWS INTO THE SOUL SURVEILLANCE AND SOCIETY IN AN Age of High Technology. Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press. ISBN-13:978-0-226-28591-7 \$35.00 (USA). 427 pages.

My role as Surveillance Camera Commissioner (SCC England and Wales) thrust me into the heart of the debate around modern surveillance. Is it good or is it bad? No surprise then that I eagerly took up the challenge to review this book, written by a leading scholar, to determine what perhaps I should have known at the outset of my Commission—but didn't!

Surveillance is now ubiquitous; its tentacles are linked into networks of outstanding complexity. The pressing debate on its legitimacy calls for discussion on its visibility, analysis, legal, and regulatory frameworks. Marx pertinently points out that the 'modern tools in pandoras box could also creepingly and creepily undermine important human values.' This book challenges the reader to confront their views on the issue as they rapidly move, with fleeting reference, from the practices of the 15th century to the present day and beyond.

Consider these chapters as one might use the skills of a Sherpa navigating through difficult mountain terrain. We are skilfully led, via the intelligent construction of the book, through the myriad of issues society are now forced to address. In my regulatory role, I have often said 'I am pro good surveillance but anti-bad surveillance.' That's fine but what paradigm captures the fundamental

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surveillance structures, processes, goals, and data types, regardless of surveillance platform to determine which is good and which is bad. This book provides answers to those questions and, indeed, raises further questions to those answers. It helps us understand the essence of surveillance and what it might become.

The rapidity of advancing technology is overwhelming. In recent years it has gone from 0 to 60 in a flash. The rapidity of change is a constant theme within the chapters. It is not just the change of technology that is overwhelming but the challenge to hard-won freedoms; the right to privacy for one. Marx, however, ensures the argument is an even and a fair fight between proponents of the privacy versus security challenge. Throughout this seminal work, the many victories of modern surveillance techniques are also scattered throughout the book. The way in which it can make us safe (or safer) or gain easy, lawful, and unfettered access to buildings, find lost children, and support resource deployment on behalf of hard-pressed local authorities.

While Marx helps us to understand the impact of surveillance on society's development he also achieves something far more important. He raises awareness that things are changing albeit imperceptibly.

Not so long ago, the humble CCTV was a visible representation of the surveillance state. Recent years have seen us embrace flights of surveillance drones, live facial recognition, algorithms that connect voice, gait, and sensor technology, cloud computing, big data sets, and Internet. High-end equipment, once affordable only to the military, being sold on High Streets for pocket money. Most of this is neither visible nor understood by the citizen. Legislation to enable these striking societal developments is sparse on the ground. Awareness is even less evident as Marx effectively highlights.

Surely all this cannot be good surveillance? The boundaries that have defined social systems are experiencing a form of osmosis. Visibility and understanding of the capability and capacity of these new interconnected forms of surveillance are opaque. What price informed consent?

Why was this book not available in 2014 when my Commission began and why didn't I search out the writings of Gary T. Marx at the outset? I shall allow these questions to rest in a rhetorical vacuum and proceed to the book itself.

The study of surveillance has been with us for centuries but never have we seen the sheer capability and capacity of modern technology nor the increasing breadth and depth of its reach that we see now. Its impact goes to the very heart of the idea of our democracy, the dignity of the person, and the type of society we want to become. For illustration, we see legal challenges across the globe on police and commercial use of live facial recognition technology. Yet we see a disjointed debate concerning the lack of policy and regulation by democratic representatives. Why? Because it is so complicated. The issue presents a potpourri of human rights issues, privacy vs. security discussions, common law, and statute battle it out and in the background the power of the dollar (or pound, yen, or euro depending upon your own currency) continues to set the commercial pace of societal change.

So who needs a guiding hand in navigating these hurdles?

That is a discrete way of asking—well who is this book aimed at? Not just for Surveillance Camera Commissioner's because that constituency is rather small.

It is for the many commercial retailers, police commanders, human rights, and civil rights activists. It informs debate for civic leaders and the man and woman on the Clapham Omnibus. In short, it is for you!

Marx points to a sense that new surveillance is delivering something big. Something is occurring in our society but we cannot yet describe it. The correlations, connections, and multi-faceted surveillance platforms that not only identify you on the street but also determine your mood, assess

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your gait, and pinpoint your movements every single moment of the day.

I particularly see this book being of value to the legions of public servants trying to work out the ethics behind a Smart City where thousands of surveillance cameras and sensors, interconnect with large data, that will both guide our lives, enhance our lives, and interfere with it in ways we cannot yet imagine. I see huddles of scholars and lawyers trying to understand the past to better inform the future. This is where this excellent book casts light into dark spaces.

The reality of private organizations using powerful surveillance technologies increasingly puts them on a par or even beyond the capabilities of the State. Often they have more diverse and powerful networks, less regulation, and vague requirements to adopt an ethical approach. This book allows the reader to understand the size and scale of this development and begin to understand the kaleidoscope of issues. It allows the reader to compare and contrast today against tomorrow and be clear-eyed about the direction society is moving.

Marx provides an excellent thought-provoking read that will take your hand and walk you through six centuries in a whistle-stop tour of religious, political, state, and post-modern surveillance. Just for good measure, you will be treated to quotes from Elizabeth 1st, Cole Porter, DH Lawrence (Lady Chatterley's Lover), and even some Rock n' Roll lyrics. This is an informative and hugely entertaining book.

I found the structure of the book helpful in collating the vast array of issues. It provides a new framework that systematically defines surveillance with respect to structure, organization, practice, function, and process. It breaks down into four key parts that take the reader from the conceptual and theoretical issues underpinning surveillance through to social interaction and development over time.

Parts 1 and 2 define a journey from old surveillance to new surveillance describing the harmonization of technology, computers, and sensors. It

moves from the narrow meaning (police and spies looking at bad guys) to a wider meaning. The firestorm of new technology raises to the ground the old pre-conceptions of what surveillance is.

Marx introduces the concept of a 'career' for surveillance technology. Throw any system into spotlight; Automatic Number Recognition for example. It grows from a lonely little camera on the roadside capturing vehicle registered numbers on camera and cross-references against a database. This narrow focus, in the 1990s, has shifted to the thousands and thousands of such cameras creating rings of roving eyes across capital cities in the world. Keeping us safe but, simultaneously raising revenue for the exchequer, identifying ultra-low emission vehicles, road traffic violations, and continually challenging our understanding and tolerance of what is being done in our name. It raises the perennial question 'just because we can-does it mean we should?'.Labelling this particular progression as a 'career' is helpful in understanding the existence of surveillance mission creep. It highlights an imperative for all societies not to be blasé about our freedoms and privileges. It perhaps also demonstrates how we become desensitized to the gradual erosion of those very human rights we have fought so hard to gain freedom of movement, privacy, family life, and religious expression.

A 'surveillance career' is just one of the delightful yet illuminating concepts Marx throws into the pot and walks away leaving the reader to ponder the broader impact.

There must be recognition of the wide variety and fluidity of surveillance goals and conflicts between them. Surveillance may serve shared or parallel goals. This book highlights with unnerving precision how those goals will shift and expand and demonstrate their ability to do more and more. Those goals can and often do conflate.

Part 3 focuses on culture and uses fictional and thought-provoking narratives—drawing on accounts from real-world events—these fictions raise complexities that are not possible in a single Book Reviews Policing 1999

document study. Importantly they highlight the importance of Marx in this sphere of study. He demonstrates an intuitive grasp of the multifaceted dimensions of the modern surveillance ecosystem drawing upon his lifetime passion, knowledge, and awareness.

Finally, Part 4 addresses ethics and public policy; an area that has occupied much of my time over the last several years—what are the competing values and how can the citizen respond? I look at the current debates on the deployment of intelligent surveillance systems. While technology, standards, and regulation are key components of those discussions I would argue that the ethical use of such equipment is first among equals. Ethics panels are springing up among police forces, local authorities, and multi-agency organizations. I think the public is saying show me it is ok to use this equipment! Quite a challenge.

It forces us to examine societal norms and how these will be impacted by such advances. Modern surveillance impacts us in new and exciting ways not all of them good.

Windows Into the Soul is an apt title for this impressive book. It is insightful, thought-provoking, scary in its implications, and yet measured in recognizing humanities ability to mitigate risks. It recognizes the value of new and advancing technology for society but underscores that society does not want to throw away its hard-won freedoms on the alter of the micro-chip. I will leave the last words to Gary T. Marx 'Surveillance is neither good or bad but context and deportment make it so.'

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