Nils Zurawski, Kriminologisches, Feb. 2018 (translation from the German)

Gary T. Marx begins his book with a quotation from the English version of Franz Kafka's penal colony: *"It's a remarkable piece of apparatus."* In fact, this is a remarkable book. In over 326 pages (the rest consists of notes, references and an index) he develops a theoretical analysis rich in sociological imagination. Gary T. Marx did not begin as what his colleague David Lyon would call a "Surveillance Scholar," (should such a term make sense at all). Rather he became known in the 1980s for his work on undercover policing in the context of critical criminology and sociology. This work mainly dealt with police and related topics in the United States. For more than 20 years, Marx, a former MIT professor born in 1938 and a student of Erving Goffman, has been writing and thinking about surveillance and privacy. His informative website, where his texts are openly accessible (www.garymarx.net) reports on this work.

This book presents the fruits of his work over the decades. To describe it in a nutshell, *Windows into the Soul* surveys the phenomenon of surveillance in full social detail, with its subtleties, fundamental elements and theoretical implications. He is concerned with neither surveillance scandals, nor a specific technology, but wants to develop a conceptual framework that can capture the variety of phenomena, modes, social relations and technologies that are often popularly and inaccurately referred to as monitoring and often not treated in an analytic fashion.

His approach is that of analytic induction (p. 8), in which he reveals and classifies the concepts that can give structure to the empirical. In his own words he is not interested in a consistent sociological theory, nor does he test hypotheses. Instead he develops questions that need to be answered. For purposes of explaining, evaluating and regulating the empirical possibilities he identifies four basic categories of surveillance (p. 8) around which the book is organized. These are: surveillance concepts; social processes; culture and contexts; and ethics and politics.

What looks like an easy-to-follow structure is actually a challenge for the reader, - but a challenge well worth considering. The four chapters of the first part alone would have been sufficient for a publication. In them, Marx does not deal with the specific practices of a given surveillance tool or use. He does not advocate for a specific theoretical approach or concept (whether Foucault or the assemblage). He develops lists to demonstrate what the dimensions of surveillance can be. He considers existing "surveillance essay" approaches (page 43) to show what is being treated and what may be new or old, similar or dissimilar. Chapter 4, in which he

deals with the variants of personal information is illustrative of his approach. The graphics and lists used to dissect the complexity of the theme are impressive and a tremendous asset in the face of the often mundane quality of so many current discussions including those with an emphasis on privacy scandals. To note that all information is not equivalent and forms of differentiation can calm some of the excited debate around the topic.

It is not easy to highlight individual chapters or retell the book in its entirety, there are too many ideas and references and too much food for thought worth pursuing. Marx uses cartoons and films reflecting America's popular culture to develop and illustrate arguments. In Part 3 he writes four sociological fictions - "invented" stories, which make clear the "essence" (p. 175) of certain contexts in which surveillance occurs. These aggregates help analysis and thus understanding. The detailed stories make his analysis vivid, while serving to clearly develop his own reasoning. It is unusual, at least for German readers, to get an analysis presented in this way, especially since the stories are not gloomy dystopias. Gary T Marx develops and clearly writes these sociological fictions with a great sense of irony and accuracy.

In addition to all the lists, stories and analysis, presented by Marx with obvious fun, the book is there is above all an analytical rigor which defines the book. Questions of power, inequality, social asymmetries and freedom are always in view. Surveillance, he concludes (page 320), is neither good nor bad. Starting with this assumption, variations between and within circumstances and contexts must be central to analysis. The book offers a wealth of ideas and concepts useful for thinking about other research and is a guide to theoretical thinking. If there can be any criticism of this book, it is that the reader may feel overwhelmed by the multitude of new ideas amidst an exemplary demonstration of the sociological imagination. In considering the book all the way through from the front to the back, you should look at individual chapters or just one or another of the category lists to find out what is useful for yourself and what may be postponed for later. Aside from a fashionable quick analysis and a display of some of the scandals of surveillance, *Windows into the Soul* with its density and detail is a fundamental sociological analysis.