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Zygmunt Bauman and David Lyon, *Liquid Surveillance*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012.

The double-edged character of contemporary surveillance is the stubborn and fruitfully unresolved theme of this lively and mutually respectful dialogue between David Lyon, a founding figure of contemporary surveillance studies, and Zygmunt Bauman, the influential sociologist of 'liquid' modernity. Although the book centres on Lyon's recurring attempts to play the 'angel's advocate' by coaxing the resources for hope out of Bauman's (and his own) critiques of contemporary surveillance, the real payoff for the reader is in the wide range of themes contemplated and commented upon along the way. The authors touch on, among other topics, the role of monitoring and tracking in the online economy, post-9/11 regimes of security, the fate of the panopticon, and the use of social media technologies for political and consumer activism. The exchange is a warm and intellectually generous one, reflecting the enduring academic friendship between the two thinkers.

Lyon, whose influential work has long emphasized the contrasting themes of care and control in his analysis of surveillance practices, invokes Bauman's work as influential in this regard, and sets about salvaging traces of ambivalence from Bauman's bleak descriptions of the Facebook era as one in which people 'are simultaneously promoters of commodities and the commodities they promote' (p. 31). Citing the role played by social media in the revolutions collectively described as the Arab Spring, Lyon notes that, 'it's all too easy to see how people might be used by Facebook and forget that, equally, people use Facebook' (p. 44). What happens, he asks, when social media are used for purposes that 'are opposed to the corporations or governments who might be thought of as using them [the media platforms]'? (p. 31). If, in questions like this to Bauman, Lyon emphasizes the 'other side' of controlling or commodifying technologies, Bauman frequently responds by returning to the *other* other side. With respect to Lyon's question about the Arab Spring, for example, he writes, 'we all watched with bated breath and rising admiration the wondrous spectacle of the Arab Spring … but we are still waiting, so far in vain, for the Arab Summer.… And Wall Street took little note of "being occupied" by the offline visitors from the online world' (p. 51). The intervening seasons have perhaps done little to temper this observation. A bit later in the conversation, Lyon tries again: 'back to my question,' he prompts Bauman, 'can surveillance technologies be tuned to the key of care or are they hopelessly compromised …?' (p. 96). This rhythm characterizes the exchanges, in which Lyon frames the discussion by offering an overview of contemporary critiques and then turns to the question of possible alternatives. Bauman's responses are sympathetic with Lyon's concerns, but he emphasizes that, 'However

numerous the instances of praiseworthy (yet surely unplanned) applications of surveillance technology might be, the fact remains that it is not these meritorious and approvable uses that set the pattern and draw the "road map" of surveillance technology development' (p. 98).

If the theme of the conversation is the prospect for hope in the face of what looks like the consolidation of surveillance-based control in the commercial and public sectors, the variations provide insightful forays into the contemporary surveillance terrain. The discussion of drones as a distancing technology (in both physical and moral terms), for example, explores the affinity between what seems, at first glance, to be a throwback to the ballistic-era fantasies of rockets and jetpacks and the algorithmic imaginary of the digital era. Bauman makes explicit the connection between drones and data mining: both allow for a certain kind of action at a distance, both push this tendency towards the logical endpoint of automated data collection and decision-making. They also promise to render surveillance increasingly comprehensive, and thus complement a world in which the privacy of the padlocked diary is displaced by the publicity of the Facebook page. Both, in short, announce a reconfiguration of surveillance in which the target is the population.

Surveillance can thus be understood as 'liquid' not only in the sense summarized by Lyon, who (drawing on Bauman's work) notes the increasingly transitory and flexible character of social forms, but also in the way monitoring techniques and data flows contribute to the de-differentiation of spaces, practices and applications. One of the productive results of using the 'liquid' lens, which Lyon describes as an 'orientation' rather than a strategy of specification, is the connection it traces between seemingly disparate realms of social practice, such as, for example, drones and dating sites (linked by logics of remote targeting, sorting algorithms, risk management and so on). The refreshing result in the wake of an era of small, local and otherwise truncated theory is the resuscitation of thinking at the level of the social, broadly construed. Bauman's diagnosis of liquid modernity, for example, diagnoses what might be described as the 'affective turn' in management and control strategies (helping to periodize its emergence as a topic of academic concern), noting the global logic that connects Facebook, Ikea, and the second managerial revolution in the shift 'from enforcement to temptation and seduction, from normative regulation to PR, from policing to the arousal of desire' (p. 57). The result, he writes, is a shift in 'the principal role in achieving the intended and welcome results from the bosses to the subordinates, from supervisors to the supervised, from the managers to the managed' (p. 57).

In theoretical terms, the result has been a need to update, revise or otherwise reconfigure one of the organizing figures of surveillance theory in both academic and popular discussions: that of the panopticon. Bauman sees it as 'alive and well, armed in fact with (electronically enhanced, "cyborgized") muscles so mighty that Bentham or even Foucault could not and would not have imagined them' (p. 55). Despite its newfound strength, however, he argues that the panopticon, 'has clearly stopped being the universal pattern or strategy of domination that both those authors believed it was in their times' (p. 55) and has been turned instead to the service of tracking and controlling 'the "unmanageable" parts of society' (p. 56). For everyone else – the 'managables' – Bauman sees, 'temptation and seduction taking over the functions once performed by

normative regulation, and the grooming and honing of desires substituting for costly and dissent-generating policing' (p. 73).

The two interlocutors work towards imagining an alternative to the surveillance-based control that concerns and fascinates them. Towards the end, the discussion turns theological as Lyon draws upon the resources of his faith and his interpretation of Psalm 139 (from which Bentham proposed the epigraph for the panopticon papers): 'Thou … spiest out all my ways. If I say, peradventure the darkness shall cover me, then shall my night be turned to day.' For Lyon, Bentham's invocation of the Psalm 'stresses only the apparently controlling, instrumental gaze of an invisible, inscrutable and possibly punitive deity', neglecting the psalm's evocation of, 'another kind of seeing altogether, a relational vision that supports and protects' (p. 138). Bauman highlights the complex relationship between control and care by noting the way in which they converge in the self-understanding of the managerial gaze of the industrial era, when:

> Bentham, and the pioneers of the 'satanic mills', and Frederick Taylor of the time-and-motion measurements that aimed to reduce the machine operator to the role of its obedient slave, could sincerely believe themselves to be the agents, promoters and executive arms of morality. (p. 140)

Bauman is willing to follow Lyon into the theological realm, but with the caveat that, 'it would be an awful world if attention to the Testaments' message and the grace of absorbing them depended on a belief in the divinity of their senders' (p. 157). In this regard, the conversation provides more than an overview of theoretical and ethical concerns regarding contemporary surveillance practices: it also serves as a model for the process of thinking together across shared commitments and differing convictions.

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James Stanyer, *Intimate Politics: Publicity, Privacy and the Personal Lives of Politicians in Media-saturated Democracies*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012.

The Clinton–Lewinsky scandal is possibly the most famous example of a politician's infidelity. However, it is certainly not the only one. The list of politicians who have been caught by the media transgressing the norms of sexual and family behavior is a long one, and includes John McCain, David Mellor, Silvio Berlusconi, Jim Cairns, Hans-Juergen Uhl and Nicolas Sarkozy.

James Stanyer's *Intimate Politics: Publicity, Privacy and the Personal Lives of Politicians in Media-saturated Democracies* explores this topic of the media's exposure of politicians' personal lives cross-nationally and cross-temporally, asking two questions. First, to what extent are politicians' personal lives visible in media reporting? And, second, how can the differences between countries, but also between leaders within the same country, be explained? He draws on a variety of media sources, including newspaper coverage, appearances on entertainment shows and leaders' biographies in order to answer the first question in the context of seven democracies: the US, the UK, Australia,