Book Reviews/Comptes rendus

ELIA ZUREIK and MARK B. SALTER (Eds.), *Global Surveillance and Policing: Borders, Security, Identity.* Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing. 2005, xii + 259 p.

The social scientific study of surveillance is growing quickly around the globe, as it should, given the pervasiveness of surveillance practices today. *Global Surveillance and Policing* draws together some of the biggest (Marx, Lyon, Pellerin, Torpey, Bennett) and emergent (Salter, Muller) names in surveillance studies to comment on the always shifting terrain of border politics and the implications for group- and self-formation. Importantly, the papers in this book constitute not simply an analysis of borders *qua* borders, but show how border nodes serve as important sites for the unification of regulatory projects that are extra- and intra-territorial, involving complex political, legal, economic, linguistic and cultural processes. The conference from which this book emerged is linked closely to "The Surveillance Project" at Queen's University and, more specifically, the "Globalization of Data Project" (with co-investigators David Lyon, Elia Zureik and Yolande Chan). Lyon and his colleagues have generated numerous important works on information, communication, technology and privacy in the past decade, and *Global Surveillance and Policing* certainly ranks highly amongst the most path breaking. This book makes some original contributions to surveillance studies, but should also be considered required reading for scholars interested in citizenship studies, criminal justice, and for activists organizing against exceptional and insidious forms of social monitoring.

The strength of *Global Surveillance and Policing* is that no other book or anthology offers a simultaneous study of physical and virtual borders (2). The term "virtual border" refers to how "the border is now everywhere," as Lyon puts it in his chapter on identity cards, or, as Salter describes it in his theoretical offering, how pre- and post-liminal "rites of passage" occur before and⁄or after border examinations. State surveillance does not occur only at the border node, but involves monitoring before and after the node is crossed. The editors insist that global policing should be a central concern of policy makers, that surveillance studies is multi-disciplinary, that the border itself is under-studied and under-theorized, and that surveillance studies researchers must consider the movement of data *and* people (5). Perhaps the greatest strength of *Global Surveillance and Policing* is its melding of sociological theory and more diverse forms of cultural and political thought.

A very impressive and informative piece in the collection is by John W. Donaldson, who examines in comparative fashion the different techniques for struggling over territorial and boundary disputes in multiple locations in different countries. He discusses the "line of control" marking the boundary between Kashmir⁄Jammu in the dispute between India and Pakistan, the "green line" and the security wall in the region of Israel and the Occupied Territories of the West Bank and Gaza Strip (Palestine), but also the use of fences and barriers in undisputed boundary areas like Botswana-Zimbabwe, Saudi Arabia-Yemen, Bangladesh-India, Mexico-US, Morocco-Spain and Malaysia-Thailand. Colin J. Bennett offers a quasi-autoethnographic venture through the collection and processing of his own airplane passenger data in Canada and the US, making provocative but largely accurate claims that, first, privacy is not the antidote to surveillance but does provide the only conceptual and legal framework to achieve organizational accountability (132) and, second, it is not the capture, collection and storage of personal data that is dangerous *per se* but the analysis. Bennett's second claim is echoed by Jonathan Finn who writes, in his piece on profiling and the construction of threats, "the individual's identity as a threat to national security, a criminal, deviant or normal body can change depending on the deployment of data" (149). Bennett also rightly says "surveillance" is a signifier conflating a number of distinct processes, and should therefore be used with caution.

John Torpey's piece is a short but appealing attempt to integrate recent discussions in social and political theory regarding exceptionalism and empire with an analysis of US state surveillance both at home and abroad, while Lyon discusses the political implications of the proliferation of various types of identity cards. Critical of national ID cards, which Amitai Etzioni endorsed in his book *The Limits of Privacy*, Lyon focuses on social justice and the critique of "digital discrimination." His chapter in this edited volume is sincerely motivated and continually refreshing. Hélène Pellerin discusses the "dynamics of differentiation" involved in the restriction of migration and the surveillance of immigrants, while Benjamin J. Muller offers a call to resistance. I especially praise Don Flynn's piece on immigration control in Britain, which stresses that surveillance practices always take place in a social context (though the tendency is not to ground analyses of the uses of surveillance equipment in that context). For instance, Katja Franko Aas' piece on glocalization and governance, though incisive on the issue of virtual borders, veers towards a technological determinism typical of what could be called "information society analyses" of social monitoring. On the whole, *Global Surveillance and Policing* provides us with important conceptual tools for understanding the interconnectedness of states, borders, and surveillance at the beginning of the 21st century.

This book is a biting critique of security policy post-9⁄11 and provides valuable information on issues such as the Schengen Accord and what such convergences mean for policing the flow of people and information across borders. The strengths of this book are many. I focus on its shortcomings to identify gaps in the literature on borders, security and identity that are

perhaps indicative of troubles developing in surveillance studies more broadly.

First, this book does not deal seriously enough with the issue of identity, conflating the territorial (borders) with the question of identity (boundaries). Reflecting this, the notion of "borderlands," where socio-cultural ties exist or are developed across borders (see Gloria Anzaldúa's book *Borderlands*), is not discussed at length or even referenced. Donaldson's piece was more attentive to this matter than the rest, but studies need to be conducted showing how the mutability of border spaces and intensified social monitoring impact on community.

Second, the signifier "border" is not much used to refer to other contained and policed spaces like the "ring of steel" in London, UK, or the "red zone" in Victoria, BC, that are both local and global at the same time. Xiangming Chen has shown in *As Borders Bend* that new border zones are emerging from the shadow of Pacific Rim global cities. The formation and maintenance of symbolic urban divisions involves surveillance and identity. Whether or not the term "border" is rightly applied to make sense of such local differentiations, *Global Surveillance and Policing* emphasizes "juridical and geographical national borders" (12) to the exclusion of border making-breaking in local settings, thus reproducing a sovereigntist conceptualization of borders.

Third, as Foucault writes, looking at the plurality of regulatory practices in a social field, one must also look to the plurality of resistances. In this sense, though Lyon and Muller touch on it, the aspect of resistance and counter-surveillance is underdeveloped in *Global Surveillance and Policing* (see the chapters by Huey et al. in this volume). Finally, most critically, surveillance studies needs to become a much more empirically-driven sub-discipline. The difficulty is that, as Zureik and Salter point out, surveillance studies generally (but also this book specifically) draws from a host of multi-disciplinary forms of scholarship. Who to draw from, what to draw?

I envision four possible futures for an empirically-driven surveillance studies. In the first future, surveillance studies would borrow the range of techniques used by both quantitative and qualitative sociologists. This would enable us to spatially map the extent of surveillance practices but also understand how surveillance is experienced or "re(used)" as Danielle Egan says (volume 30 of *Critical Sociology*). In the second future, we could incorporate principles of actor-network theory (Bruno Latour and Stephen Woolgar's *Laboratory Life*) to develop innovative ethnographic strategies for discovering how human actors shape non-human actants in surveillance practices, and how actants in turn shape social relations and the development of networks. The third future could draw from social history (e.g., *The Politics of Population* by Bruce Curtis) to examine how techniques of inspection have been foundational to, for instance, state formation.

Ideally, futures numbered one through three would overlap and feed back into one another. The last future, however, being rather gloomy, would be the one where surveillance studies failed to live up to its potential. Surveillance studies now risks becoming a social science based on anecdotes if we do not soon begin to conduct lengthy and intricate research projects. As Philip Abrams (1982: 312) puts it, in a slightly different context, in *Historical Sociology*, "giving an account of the play is not merely enough to account for the outcome." Books like *Global Surveillance and Policing* go some way in ensuring this fourth future is never actualized, and thus should make a great contribution to surveillance studies and to related disciplines.

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