



## Book Reviews: a cornucopia of books...

**Paul du Gay (ed.) (2005) *The Values of Bureaucracy*. Oxford: OUP.**

345 pp. Paperback \$48.95 (US), £22.50 (UK). ISBN-10: 0199275467, ISBN-13: 978-0199275465

**Graham Sewell<sup>1</sup>**

One of the most interesting ironies of contemporary social studies is that, at the very time that major state and corporate bureaucracies are supposed to be in their death throes, interest in the concept of bureaucracy has gained a new lease on life. One of the most important catalysts for this revivification of interest in bureaucracy can be attributed to the contributions made by Paul du Gay over the past decade. In his book, *In Praise of Bureaucracy*, and through his numerous critiques of the rise of the “New Public Management,” du Gay has been inviting fellow traveller to join him in rehabilitating the public image of bureaucracy, both as an interpretive “ideal type” and also as the guarantor of a certain mode of conduct in organizational life. This collection of essays is testament to the fact that du Gay has partially succeeded in his quest: if bureaucracy still dares not speak its name amongst politicians and policy makers, then at least academics need no longer feel embarrassed about taking it seriously. As a result, we have thirteen chapters (in addition to du Gay’s helpful introduction) that represent a diverse range of stances toward the challenges faced by bureaucracies in an ostensibly “post-bureaucratic” world.

The book is organized into four parts that deal with the politics of bureaucracy, the “end” (but, more accurately, the transformation) of bureaucracy, the state of bureaucracy in public management, and the broader role of bureaucracy in civil society. Part 1 kicks off with a chapter by the well-known public administration specialist, Charles Goodsell. This makes a compelling case for bureaucracy’s ability to fulfil what Goodsell calls the two main functions of governance: Rule and Response. He finishes by predicting that bureaucracy will once again become synonymous with accountable authority. This is followed by du Gay’s own chapter where he explores one of the paradoxes inherent in Weber’s original account of bureaucracy: that liberty can only flourish if there are some constraints on our conduct. This theme is partially taken up in Thomas Armbrüster’s chapter where he explores how neo-liberal economists deal with the tension between the need for regulation and the ideal of unfettered economic exchange.

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Paul Thompson and Mats Alvesson begin Part 2 by a very helpful review of bureaucratic and “post-bureaucratic” control mechanisms. This is followed by Mike Reed’s consideration of the usefulness of bureaucracy—both as a concept and as an organizational form—in the “knowledge economy.” In particular, Reed cast his critical eye over “network theory” and finds it wanting. If this theory fails to provide a compelling alternative model of “participatory democracy,” then why not a reconsideration of bureaucracy (or so the story goes)? Graeme Salaman concludes Part 2 by looking at the lot of “New Managers,” concluding that the rise of human resource management techniques mean that they are under greater surveillance than ever before. Good old fashioned bureaucracy looks like a nostalgic Golden Age in comparison!

We then move on to Part 3; perhaps the most cohesively themed set of chapters. First, Paul Hoggett contributes a thoughtful piece on how the current British government’s obsession with “What works” (i.e., an over-riding populist pragmatism in all areas of policy) has actually undermined the quality of public service delivery. Echoing Salaman’s chapter, Janet Newman then shows how the apparent greater discretion afforded mid-level British public managers is accompanied by heightened levels of surveillance and control. John Clarke also tackles this theme, in the process showing that post-bureaucratic accountability has done little to reassure the British public that they are getting their money’s worth when it comes to the provision of public services. Daniel Miller then closes with a discussion of the “Best Value” audit of British public services. This highlights the difficulties of reconciling the desire for economic efficiency that is measured in a homogenous unit of value (i.e., money) with any notion of a pay-off for citizens who see the benefits public services in heterogeneous terms.

Part 4 concludes the book, starting off with chapter by Yvonne du Billing. In a vein similar to that of Jane Freeman in the early 1970s, du Billing shows that bureaucracies do not have to be gendered and that non-bureaucracies do not necessarily offer an antidote to the problems of traditional patriarchal hierarchies. Next comes a very interesting chapter by Antonino Palumbo and Alan Scott who weave neologisms like globalization, social capital, and the “tragedy of the commons” into a traditional sociological critique of Weber as the champion of the bourgeois values of rectitude, proceduralism and due process. Finally, Mike Savage reflects on voluntary associations as bureaucracies. I agree with Savage that in the past much of the critical material on bureaucracy has concentrated on work organizations where matters of coercion and control are to the fore. In contrast, Savage looks at how bureaucracy can extend and enrich our participation in activities that are outside the bailiwick of the state or private corporations; although it would appear voluntary associations too are the embodiment of Weber’s bourgeois values.

Overall, I think this book contributes nicely to the groundswell of opinion that we may have thrown out the baby with the post-bureaucratic bath water. Not surprisingly, there is much in this book to interest readers of this journal given that bureaucracy is associated with formal procedures of accountability, monitoring, and surveillance. I would, however, raise two important caveats before recommend the book as a good read. First, much of the discussion is focused on British preoccupations and there is little mention of bureaucratic life outside that “sceptred isle.” Secondly, when reflecting back on the contents of the chapters I was struck by how much of the debate on post-bureaucracy (at least as it is reflected in this book) has been dominated by liberals and conservatives as diverse as

Michael Oakeshott, John Gray, Friedrich Hayek, Ludvig von Mises, Robert Nozick, John Rawls, and Michael Ignatieff. Perhaps it is because we must respond to the anti-bureaucratic critiques of the likes Hayek and von Mises but where are the critics of a radical hue that have tried to reconcile the Nietzschean Weber and humanist Marx? For example, Alvin Gouldner—for my money one of the most prescient commentators on the backlash against bureaucracy in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century—merits no more than a single passing reference in the whole volume. For those of us who are obliged to locate bureaucracy in the wider framework of the incomplete project of Modernity this will come as a surprise. Still, within its limits this is a fine collection of essays that will reward the reader who is willing to invest a few hours reading.

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**Daniel Neyland (2006) *Privacy, Surveillance and Public Trust*. Basingstoke UK: Palgrave Macmillan.**

193 pp. Hardcover \$74.95 (US), £47.00 (UK). ISBN-10: 1403946701, ISBN-13: 978-1403946706

**Johanne Yttri Dahl<sup>2</sup>**

Daniel Neyland claims his book *Privacy, Surveillance and Public Trust* “actively engages in an assessment of the ways in which CCTV has been established, maintained and questioned, through a detailed ethnographic study of surveillance in practice” (p. 2). I agree with him. The book is centred on three main themes in relation to CCTV; privacy, surveillance and trust. The themes are discussed and analysed using existing social science research and original data collected over a period of eight years. The data were collected using a wide range of ethnographical methods. In the town of Burbville (a fake name used to ensure anonymity) Neyland has analysed documentaries and media coverage, carried out observation of CCTV staff in control rooms, and conducted semi-structured interviews with CCTV staff, managers, police officers, local retailers and residents. He also made a video of Burbville’s town centre which was then shown in discussion groups. The video aimed to capture spatial interactions on tape, an important undertaking given his focus on analysing CCTV interactivity. In chapter six Neyland tells the entertaining and informative story of how this video was made; a process filled with obstacles regarding securing access and permission to film spaces most people would consider public. Together, Neyland and the assistant director formed a film crew under surveillance by cameras lenses and the naked eyes of different managers of the car-park, cinema and other places they tried to film. As the author notes, making the film raised questions about space, accountability and technology. The chapter also includes an interesting discussion of the value of video as a methodological tool to analyse space in relation to CCTV.

While quite an amount of surveillance studies focus only on some of the groups involved in the surveillance process, Neyland looks at privacy, surveillance and trust from a range

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of perspectives; in front of the camera (users of the public space), behind the camera (CCTV operators and managers), those mobilized by the aid of the cameras (police) as well as the politics involved in these processes. This provides an opening for a thorough and wide-ranging discussion; one that Neyland manages to cover without difficulty in the books seven chapters.

In chapter two Neyland wonderfully illustrates how CCTV footage does not represent an objective truth. He does this by interpreting an episode caught by CCTV cameras and watched by CCTV operators of some children standing still, doing nothing, in the middle of the High Street of Burbville. The episode, which he titles: “Who are those Kids and Why are They Standing Still?” is analysed using four different theoretical approaches; a critical surveillance approach, an ethnomethodological approach, a science and technology studies (STS) approach and an alternative theoretical approach which examines possibilities raised by research on governance. By doing this Neyland challenges some of the previous research done on practices in CCTV control rooms such as that conducted by Norris and Armstrong (1999), Lomell (2004) and Luff and Heath (e.g. 1999). This chapter makes the reader aware of how representation of CCTV footage may be influenced by the researcher’s own assumptions.

Despite the book’s small number of pages, the variety of themes discussed and methods used makes *Privacy, Surveillance and Public Trust* a uniformly solid volume. One of the reasons for this is how the chapters communicate with each other. It is an excellent starting point for new researchers in the field because it covers several theoretical and methodological perspectives regarding CCTV and continuously refers to the wider bodies of literature which are beyond the scope of the book. Neyland’s *Privacy, Surveillance and Public Trust* should also be of interest to the more experienced researchers in the field, due to the way he challenges earlier research, develops new theoretical approaches and makes use of data collected using assorted methods. Indeed, the wide use of different methods is definitely one of the books strengths, making it interesting not only to surveillance-studies scholars but also to people interested in social scientific methodology.

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**Libby Schweber (2006) *Disciplining Statistics: Demography and Vital Statistics in France and England, 1830-1881 (New Edition)*. Durham NC: Duke University Press.**

277 pp. Paperback \$23.95 (US), £13.99 UK. ISBN-10: 0822338149, ISBN-13: 978-0822338147

**Ann Rudinow Sætnan<sup>3</sup>**

Schweber's primary argument in this book concerns the circumstances, forms, outcomes, and dynamic consequences of discipline formation activities. She builds her argument around a case comparison of the discipline-formative activities of two purportedly failed, purportedly ineffectual national programs of statistics in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. These two programs – demography in France and vital statistics in England – have been largely ignored by statistics historians, perhaps because they faded away towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, leaving few identifiable traces behind in terms of institutions or statistical techniques. Schweber shows, through detailed documentation and analysis, that the two programs could at least as accurately be described as successes to the point of self-defeat. Initially blocked from influencing medical and administrative statistics, proponents of demography and vital statistics succeed in forming alternative alliances, initiating international conferences, winning academic prizes and appointments, and institutionalizing degree programs, some of which remain to this day. However, discipline formation is in dynamic interaction with its own structural contingencies. Eventually, in part through the institutional successes of demography and vital statistics, those contingencies shifted in ways that brought about the statistical programs' respective demises.

Of course, this brief synopsis is a simplification to the point of distortion relative to the rich detail of the book itself. After all, discipline formation is not a research focus in surveillance studies, nor is it a focus in other aspects of my own research. So as I read the book I had the feeling of peeking around the corners of its pages, looking at themes at the margins of the book's argument. For instance, given my current involvement in a qualitative study of statistics, I was drawn into the book's secondary argument, namely that statistics as we are taught them today might well have been conceived differently, were conceived differently once, even as debates surrounding statistics in the 19<sup>th</sup> century remain with us to this day. For instance, the argument that one can only use data one has gathered oneself, that only then can one attest to their accuracy, is an argument I have encountered in my career; likewise the idea that data gathered by professionals for use within professional practice (e.g. physicians' diagnoses in patient records) are more accurate than data separately elicited by research or oversight agencies. The debate between descriptive and analytical statistics is one that we meet now in new guises when statistical monitoring of public services is proposed. Monitoring is now often presented, and accepted, as descriptive and as a basis for self-reflections ... before regulatory agencies then proceed to use the data for algorithmic distributions of resources. And debates between positivist positions (that data are readily observable and that quantifiable observations are the stuff of science) and various critical positions (for instance that

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numerated and aggregated data are imprecise because they gloss over the particularities of individual lives, understandings, and choices) are very much alive to this day.

Of course, many readers of *Surveillance and Society* may not share my interest in statistics. To these, I would point out that statistics are (in addition to serving other purposes) among the technologies of surveillance. Note, for instance, this excerpt where Schweber (p. 170-171) quotes from an 1885 report:

“The report by Édouard Millard [...] opened with the statement that ‘statistics was an essentially modern science’: ‘No government in our day, can be un-interested in a science whose object is to investigate all the forces by which societies live. In democracies, public powers have an even greater obligation to weigh these forces, to determine their value and to apply them with order and precision.’”

This statement was followed by a lengthy list of the policy issues which the science of statistics promised to address, including:

the defense of the country on land and on sea, the movements of the population, the instruction and education of a people and the degree of its intellectual culture, the causes of criminality, the conditions of hygiene; the state of the wealth of the land, natural or conquered, the importance of industrial creations, the transformation of economies of work and the questions which derive from them, the best means to foster communication between peoples and to transport the profits of their activity, the extent of our internal or colonial trade, the fluctuations in our general commerce; the distribution of taxes, the art, so rare, of establishing, and, even rarer, of maintaining an equilibrium of finances, the revelation of neighboring countries, too often ignored, even when their frontiers border on ours, the observation of their progress which threatens us or of the decadence which might warn us, so many subjects amongst many others, worthy of our attention and which belong to the science of statistics, such as you certainly understand, Mister minister, and such as is manifest to us.

Schweber nowhere in the book uses the term “surveillance,” yet it is clear from such examples as that quoted above that statistics often serve as a surveillance tool. The example also serves to remind us that surveillance is not always directed at individuals and does not always stand in opposition to privacy. Aggregated data can be equally powerful as forces of control, even intrusive control.

Then too, *Surveillance & Society* readers might find the main argument of the book intriguing from a self-reflective perspective. Are we not engaged in disciplinary activities ourselves? Schweber defines disciplinary activities as “any activity associated with the introduction of a new disciplinary category. Relevant activities and events included the rhetorical call for recognition from existing scientific authorities, one-time events such as articles or conferences, more lasting organizational forms such as specialized journals or congresses, and the institutionalization of the new science in a set of permanent organizations responsible for training, accreditation, and the award of scientific

recognition” (p. 222). Are we not currently engaging in such activities on behalf of “Surveillance Studies”? E.g. this journal, in the throes of becoming a sustainable organisation; the recent methodology conference in Berlin; the proposed thematic group within the International Sociology Association; university courses; books; and so forth. Based in the examples of 19<sup>th</sup> century French demography and British vital statistics, Schweber affirms “Henrietta Kuklick’s observation that disciplinary claims tended to be asserted in periods of insecurity and defensiveness concerning the field’s legitimacy, and Steve Fuller’s argument that a discipline forms ‘not by taking out a clear domain for itself, but rather by successively failing to control some *other* body of knowledge” (p. 223). I propose that our own disciplinary efforts are different from, yet also the same as Kuklick, Fuller, and Schweber describe. Our efforts are different in that they are inclusive rather than exclusive, that we are attempting to corral together many researchers interested in surveillance from many disciplinary perspectives, at least as much as we seek to fence out some perspectives. Yet our efforts may be similar in that we do so due to a sense of insecurity and failure to gain recognition, specifically that our concerns regarding a vast and rapidly growing surveillance apparatus are not being heard.

All in all, am I recommending that you read this book? If I have managed to interest you in it, then yes, I am. I found it valuable and thought-provoking, though not an easy read. Initially I found it a difficult read because of the slow, detailed progress of the analysis. After a few chapters I found that detail a strong point of the book, as it slowly recreated a sense of the times the author describes, times that also resonated with current debates. My final remaining irritation with the book was the use of endnotes rather than footnotes. I much prefer to read notes at a glance, rather than the greater interruption of turning back and forth between the main text and the final pages. I also found myself longing for more detail, disappointed when many endnotes did not provide it, offering only references to historical documents I am unlikely to find. Nevertheless, if you have found any of the above points of interest, then yes, I am recommending that you read this book.

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**David Shulman (2007) *From Hire to Liar: The Role of Deception in the Workplace*. London: ILR Press.**

213 pp. Paperback £18.95 (US), £11.49 (UK). ISBN-10: 0801473314, ISBN-13: 978-0801473319

**Kirstie Ball<sup>4</sup>**

This book is a well executed microsociology of deception in the workplace. It is a comprehensive source of information on the social function of “deception” with the majority of its chapters devoted to the discussion of very rich data. The book seeks to demonstrate that deception, or, as the author (long-windedly) defines it, acts or omissions which deliver false information, break trust, involve manipulation of organizational resources to ones own ends, and so on, is multilayered, multidimensional and can involve victimisation and harm at many levels.

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Firmly located in a North American Organizational Behaviour tradition, the analysis is grounded in data, with a short but authoritative theoretical exposition at the outset, and the methodological discussion relegated to an appendix. Using Goffman's core concepts of interaction order, secondary adjustment and dramaturgical infrastructure, the work fills the gaps in standard approaches to worker compliance which address counter regulation and resistance as an exception rather than as a norm. As such, it is unsurprising that the author did not find it hard to justify a bottom up empirically driven account of the phenomenon.

In a highly accessible and readable style, Shulman launches into empirical description from the first chapter onwards. The book sets up a comparison between workers who have to use deception "officially" as part of their jobs, and those whose deception is of a more emergent or "unofficial" nature. This is where the primary interest lies for scholars of surveillance, as the former group of employees examined are private detectives. The detectives interviewed describe the processes of watching others, and the manipulation of identity which is required in doing so. Massive insight is given here for those interested in identity theft, as a neat table presents all of the resources private investigators use to find out information on their targets. Moreover significant attention is paid to the processes of identity management undertaken by investigators in uncovering information, with concepts such as "rehearsal," "seduction," "calculated unintentionality" and "camouflage" being applied to social relations in terms which speak volumes to those interested in subjectivity and surveillance. The utilitarian justifications of private detectives for their deceptions are then used as a launch-pad for an analysis of those who feel the need to deceive in order to manage their day-to-day working lives.

The chapters which follow unpack the nature of "unofficial deception" as having a number of characteristics. Often used to the end of administrative functionality – oiling the wheels of the organizational machine, deception also helps to resolve social contradictions; is sometimes collectively implemented; and its meaning is open to debate. Although there is no allusion to power relations as described by Foucault in *The History of Sexuality* (as one would expect from a North American Organizational Behaviour specialist) there is clearly room for such an interpretation. In each example, which spans financial services, not-for-profit, advertising, and other service sectors, Shulman draws on extensive and detailed interview data to illustrate his arguments. In this section of the book, interest for surveillance scholars wanes, although organization and labour process theorists would find it fascinating. If, as the book asserts, deception is so deeply embedded in our collective experience of work, it raises a profound critique of the rational model of social behaviour adopted by countless managerial models which are vigorously taught in business school and consumed by MBA students the world over. In light of Shulman's analysis, "rational organization man" (sic) rapidly becomes "rational organization straw man." In order to apply to any surveillance-related problematic, however, the data would have to be recast in terms of resistance, power, politics and dissimulation in the face of organizational processes focused on performance management or behaviour regulation. It is possible that insight into resistance to surveillance might be gained from the text as it stands but not without some secondary analysis. Incidentally, for readers who are not from Canada or North America "Goofing off," the title of Chapter Seven, refers to the practices of work avoidance and the deception required to hide one's sloth and laziness.

The book rounds off with some concluding comments about ethics and deception, as well as a surprising final chapter which is a punchy *tour de force* of the different areas of organization theory which apply to the question of deception. I would have appreciated this chapter earlier in the book. Unfortunately I spent the majority of the time struggling to reconcile my extant knowledge of resistance and workplace relations with the book's content. I was constantly finding other interpretations of the empirical material which caused me to question the credibility of this thorough and intentionally empirically grounded analysis. In essence, the author required me to suspend my disbelief around the subject matter, quash my European organization theory/labour process theory prejudices and take the arguments at face value. As such, my single and most penetrating question about this book concerns the uniqueness of deception as a concept and its ability to stand alone against the many different takes on workplace sociology which would pull it apart: As a distillation of power relations, a product of surplus value of labour, a critical bi-product of institutionalisation processes, a characteristic of emotional labour or whichever way one chooses to cut the data. I appreciate how the author tried to sidestep the trap of shoehorning an empirically rich and complex phenomenon into a number of tried and tested frameworks. However, the broad area of organizational politics has already dealt with these issues, as have other areas of organization theory concerning *inter alia* gender and sexual politics, and organizational misbehaviour.

Having said that, in many senses, Shulman's lack of emphasis on a theory driven analysis is a strength. Despite the struggle I had with its use of theory, I enjoyed it immensely. The reader was left to fit the data into their own frame of reference and make sense of the stories told in relation to their own interests and lines of enquiry. As such, this is a book which appeals across the disciplines, not just to Organizational Behaviour specialists. In fact because of its heavily grounded nature, it appeals to many different segments of the academic audience. Students and teachers will find it an accessible source of examples to weave into any general organizational behaviour or organizational sociology course. It is also a strong example of Goffmanian analysis. The style is at all times accessible and helpful. Researchers will find the book a source of scenarios to unpick and analyse, to test and illustrate theoretical propositions, and build a picture of worker subjectivity, power, and politics. This is not a book about surveillance, but it will be informative to those prepared to think deeply enough about it.

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**David Wall (2007) *Cybercrime: The Transformation of Crime in the Information Age*. Cambridge UK: Polity Press.**

276 pp. Paperback \$ 26.99 (US), £17.99 (UK). ISBN-10: 0745627366, ISBN-13: 978-0745627366

**James Sheptycki<sup>5</sup>**

The rise of computers and especially computer-mediated communications, has given rise to a new genre in criminology, viz. cybercrime. David Wall's book of that name aims to promote an understanding of crime in an age where advances in information and

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communications technologies have led to wide-scale social change. The book is solidly constructed in a brick-like fashion and its overall structure could be likened to an arch supported on two pillars. Each chapter commences with a boxed presentation of the 'chapter at a glance' (assembly instructions). The chapters themselves are built-up from short sub-sections (the bricks), which themselves have clear and useful sub-headings that cement them together. The opening three chapters (the first pillar) explain the purpose of the book and attempt to settle some tricky definitional issues. The last chapters (the second pillar) are concerned with speculating about the likely future lines of development in cybercrime, the policing of on-line crime and the regulation of the internet. The middle three chapters (the arch) focus on three substantive aspects concerning how crime has changed in the information age. In chapter 4 the subject matter is hacking, cracking and denial of service attacks, what Wall calls 'computer *integrity* crimes'. Chapter 5 is concerned with various sorts of computer *assisted* crimes – frauds of all sorts, pyramid schemes, identity theft, and intellectual property theft for example. The sixth chapter examines various forms of computer *content* crime. Online pornography is one example of this, but so are offensive online communications (cyber bullying) and websites focusing on ethnic, racial or religious hatred.

Wall writes in the style of a legal scholar and with wry wit but – be warned – this is not a textbook of cybercrime law. Rather, it is a good solid attempt to theoretically structure the conceptual vocabulary of criminology in order to better explain the effects of computer-aided communications media on crime. The book aims to provide a framework for understanding what precisely is new about crime phenomena in the information age. According to Wall, what is distinctive about cybercrime is that it pertains to 'criminal or harmful activity that is informational, global and networked' (p. 4). He posits a 'transformation hypothesis' which asks, roughly speaking, when considering any given example of purported 'cybercrime,' to what extent is there something fundamentally new that results from the new information technologies? There are three sorts of answer to this question: computers may change the criminal division of labour; they may give rise to new criminal opportunities; or new types of crime. The flip-side of the transformational concept is that the technologies that enable the new cybercrimes also provide the means to regulate and police them.

This book contains a wealth of detail which feels almost encyclopaedic. Readers will learn a great deal about such things as logic bombs, cam-girls, on-line gambling, fraud, hacktivism, phishing, trojans, spyware, worms and zombie computers and much else. It is fascinating material which is given clear treatment. Wall has to be congratulated, not only for putting together a compendium of cybercrime, but also for suggesting a structured way to understand it. He is an obvious master in this new, difficult and developing field of criminological enquiry, but for me there looms over the text a nagging doubt that it is entirely possible to definitively capture the transformational aspects of computer-aided communications media and the implications for crime in this way. Wall signals awareness that there could be a problem when he alludes to Moore's law – which observes that computing power increases exponentially, doubling approximately every two years. "So fast has been the rate of change" Wall confesses, "that this book has already been revised considerably during the course of writing" (p. 3).

Wall's analytical strategy for coping with the consequences of the ongoing and rapid transformations in crime and society due to computer-mediated communications is to write what he calls "a thematic history of cybercrime's present" (p. viii). He strives to produce a narrative "driven by a progressing thesis" which "maps out and contextualizes the range of cybercrimes" (p. 5). His is a "multiple discourse approach which recognizes that cybercrime, like ordinary crime, is a form of behaviour that is mediated by technology but also by social and legal values and economic drivers" (5-6). As interesting and informative as the resulting account is, it does not, in my view, completely convey the full transformative impact of the new media. Perhaps the problem is one that Marshall McLuhan identified because, when we shape our understanding as an historical one, we view our present through the rear-view mirror and we are therefore in danger of marching backwards into the future. Of course, McLuhan knew his history well and was not averse to learning from the past. A considerable portion of his oeuvre concerned the social, political and scientific ramifications subsequent to the invention in 1436 of the printing press and movable type by a German goldsmith named Johann Gutenberg. McLuhan showed how the new print media exerted a gravitational effect on cognition which had important effects on social organization. According to his view all media are 'extensions' of our human senses, bodies and minds, and changes in media inevitably affect changes in both thought and practice. He argued further that the new media of the electronic age had accelerated, intensified, and ultimately enabled already ongoing cultural and cognitive changes at break-neck speed, and with dramatic consequences for the human race. With great prescience, McLuhan warned that, absent due vigilance as to the effects of media influence, the Global Village may become a place where both totalitarianism and terror rule. All of which is to say that the criminological consequences of the transformative capacities of computers and computer-mediated communications are, quite possibly, broader and deeper than a strictly criminological account can convey.

Perhaps the best way to comprehend these media-led transformations is to step back and appreciate the bigger sociological picture. Take two examples, one at the microscopic level and the other at the macroscopic, which illustrate the broadly socially transformative impact of computer-media on society, deviance and crime. Pierre Tremblay of the School of Criminology at the University of Montreal has studied some of the effects of the internet on the social status of paedophiles which shows that the social isolation often associated with this type of deviant sexual identity has been swept away in cyberspace. The communicational possibilities of the Internet allow paedophiles to seek each other out, creating the conditions of possibility for a deviant community and even a new social movement. Advocacy groups have already emerged to publicly challenge age of consent laws and aim at providing favourable definitions of paedophilia. It is too early to tell what the precise results of this new social grouping will be, but this empirical example hints at the tremendous transformative potential of the internet working at the molecular level of global society. At the macro level, we might consider an important point made by the social historian Jack Weatherford, who has observed that, after a prelude of some two thousand years during which humans developed many different and elaborate forms of money and a vast array of institutions around it, world history has entered the cyber age: the age of electronic money. The consequences of electronic money are enormous, not least for the global class structure and we may be witnessing the emergence of a transnational capitalist class. The interests of this newly emergent class do not coincide with any territorially-based form of power, or any fixed currency, but rather exist in the

circuits of the transnational financial system. As a result, the forms of criminality open to the global upper classes (operating in the electronic money system) and the impoverished multitudes (who are stuck in the paper money or barter systems) are vastly different. Moreover, the available evidence might be taken to suggest that this global elite of electronic money wishes to operate – to do business – but not to rule or govern in the general interest. With the age of electronic money has come a global regime of power without responsibility, and that too has enormous consequences for crime.

Sociologically speaking, from the micro to the macro level of social institutions, the emergence of globally networked computer-mediated communications – extensions of our human senses and minds – has been as socially transformative as any previous technologically driven revolution, only it is happening much faster than any previous technological revolution in history and on a global scale. This massive historical shift brought some *fin de millénaire* thinkers to the verge of self-refuting and fruitless relativism but, after reading Wall's book, there can be no denying that it has brought with it new varieties of criminal opportunity. Hence the value of criminological studies of cybercrime in understanding our global village.

Emphasizing the difficulties of theorizing on-going social transformation is not the same as criticizing attempts to do so. The enormity of the historical transformations of our present defies easy categorization and scholars from a variety of disciplines and perspectives are bent hard to the task. *Cybercrime* is a welcome addition to the literature because it offers the first comprehensive and criminologically robust account of cybercrime. While some of the topical content of Walls' book may succumb to the corrosion of Moore's law, its admirably well structured thinking will be a long-standing testament to the early 21<sup>st</sup> century criminological imagination's contribution to understanding the wired world.

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**Whitfield Diffie and Susan Landau (2007) *Privacy on the Line: The Politics of Wiretapping and Encryption (Updated and Expanded Edition)*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.**

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**Andrea L. Johnson<sup>6</sup>**

*Privacy on the Line* provides valuable insight into the world of US wiretapping, surveillance, cryptography and intelligence; and the potential threats to individual privacy. The authors explore the evolution of technology used in encryption, wiretaps and other forms of surveillance; the historical events that have shaped US policy and the government's willingness to carry out illegal searches under the guise of national security; and congressional efforts over the years to narrow the scope of the activities of

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the FBI, CIA and NSA. The authors argue that while the government has upheld the privacy rhetoric in laws and policy statements, there is a historical disconnect between the beliefs and philosophy espoused about the importance of privacy in a democratic society, and government practices when provided the means to intrude. This book is noteworthy because the field of government security is often shrouded in secrecy and rarely subject to public scrutiny. As public debate intensifies in response to disclosure of Bush's secret program of spying on US citizens, this book reveals some of the challenges that make public accountability of government actions virtually impossible.

The book is organized by topics that begin with a general discussion of telecommunication developments and then focuses on a rather detailed history of cryptography, or the field of encrypting and decrypting codes. This discussion is rather technical in its descriptions of cryptosystems such as US Data Encryption Standard or DES, but provides a good overview of how codes are encrypted and decrypted. What becomes apparent in subsequent chapters is that the technology has not driven NSA policy considerations on what tools are most effective to protect national security. For that reason, introducing US policy goals up front may engage the reader more to better understand the context for discussing cryptography.

The book's central theme is how the convergence of electronic surveillance and intelligence gathering, brought about by changes in US policy to address national security threats, have blurred legal protections afforded US citizens. Early government surveillance programs made clear distinctions between the federal actors and whether the target was domestic or foreign. Electronic surveillance, including wiretapping, has traditionally been a law enforcement investigatory tool for the FBI, where the goal is gathering evidence to secure a conviction. To protect individual rights, the government is required to obtain a court order after showing probable cause. The law defined when surveillance was reasonable and provided US citizens with protections guaranteed by the US Constitution. As technology innovations made wiretapping more accessible, security agencies convinced Congress to enact the Communications Assistance for Law Enforcement Act of 1994 (CALEA) to require communication providers to permit access to their networks.

Government intelligence, by contrast, has been the purview of the CIA and NSA, and focuses on information gathering and encryption, where the goal is to exploit information without regard for whether a crime has been committed. The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 (FISA) prescribed the legal requirements for conducting electronic surveillance abroad, which usually was done secretly, without the target's knowledge. Since the focus under FISA was primarily on foreign agents, protection of US individual rights was less an issue, unless the citizen was acting as a foreign agent.

Over time the privacy discussion has shifted from protection of individual rights to the exploitation of information, tipping the delicate balance against legitimate use of surveillance and intelligence to protect national security, in favor of illegal use to effect political and social agendas. Congressional efforts to curtail illegal government surveillance have largely been ineffective because the executive often circumvented Congress in exercise of its discretion to authorize surveillance. In support, the authors cite domestic surveillance activities under the Kennedy Administration to investigate bribes

on congressmen supporting trade legislation affecting the Dominican Republic; the Johnson Administration's use of wiretaps to influence the Paris peace talks during the Vietnam War; and Nixon's illegal wiretaps of the Democratic National Committee, which lead to Watergate.

Moreover, Congress was often placed in a reactionary mode, trying to harness efforts by federal security agencies to broaden their jurisdictional powers to achieve social agendas. Examples include the government's illegal use of census data on Japanese Americans during WWII to identify and remove them to concentration camps; and Hoover's illegal wiretaps of US citizens for nearly thirty years to discredit persons, such as Martin Luther King, who were perceived as political dissidents. These revelations provide a sobering reflection of the extensiveness of surveillance programs and the virtual absence of any accountability.

The authors cite two primary factors that facilitated this shift in government policy. First, history has shown that it is not uncommon for the government to use fear to justify the need for greater or more powerful tools without ever proving their effectiveness. President Bush's call for a swift and direct response to the 9/11 terrorist attacks lead Congress to pass within weeks sweeping legislation known as the Patriot Act, which greatly expanded law enforcement investigatory tools and amended FISA to apply to domestic surveillance. Under these expanded powers, agencies such as the NSA, FBI and CIA can routinely share information in ways that previously were restricted by law. The effects have been to blur jurisdictional distinctions, diminish legal protections to US citizens, and reveal the fallacy perpetuated by the government that privacy interests are of equal or shared value to the government's need to know.

Second, executive agency reporting often exaggerate the utility of surveillance programs and the nexus between surveillance and conviction rates. Security agencies often fail to prove the extent to which electronic surveillance actually curtails the threat of terrorism; results in criminal convictions; or enhances the government's ability to protect the US from future threats. With the expansion of communication services over the Internet, such as VoIP, current government efforts to extend CALEA to the World Wide Web create technical and legal issues that need to be fully vetted before implementation. The potential risks to privacy are significant, particularly in light of reports that the government also uses intelligence and electronic surveillance, e.g. Echelon satellite, for commercial espionage. Moreover, the ongoing debate around government efforts to impose a public key escrow system in response to increasing private use of encryption and other security measure to protect commercial traffic highlight the potential role of government intelligence in commercial trade.

Overall, this book provides a good chronology of events, practices and policies that reveal a striking dichotomy between our beliefs about government protection of individual privacy; and the practical reality of government intrusion. There are extensive notes and bibliography accompanying the text that make the book a good resource for legal research in this area. This book should challenge legal scholars in tort, administrative, constitutional and telecommunications law to focus on the privacy implications for victims and whistleblowers seeking effective relief. This is timely in light of the Sixth Circuit's recent decision that private individuals lack standing to sue for alleged privacy

violations under President Bush's domestic spy program because of failure to prove that they were under surveillance. If the court's decision stands, it could bar any challenge to secret government spy programs. If that happens, the privacy ideals of our democracy could cease to exist. In that way, privacy is truly on the line.