Mathew Zaia

University of Windsor, Canada
zaia@uwindsor.ca

Randy K. Lippert

University of Windsor, Canada
lippert@uwindsor.ca

We crave mobile devices like iPhones, wearable technologies like Fitbits and Apple Watches, social media platforms such as Snapchat, and convenient mobile applications like Google Maps. We use these to exhibit numerous aspects of our lives, including our interests, opinions, desires, activities, locations, and more. Technological advances have facilitated new modes of communication, but have also allowed the surveillance and systematic collection of decidedly more intimate information as a result. Bernard Harcourt's *Exposed* argues we now live in an expository society that shapes our subjectivity regardless of whether we decide to immerse ourselves in the digital world. Harcourt's expository society influences everyone, whether they willingly enter social media relations or seek to resist the means through which they are exposed. What Harcourt calls the 21st Century's *homo digitalis* (pg. 18) desires social recognition via 'likes', 'retweets', 'favourites' and 'shares' on social media. To gain such digital recognition and attention, people are persuaded and seduced to virtually express themselves through mechanisms that, in turn, deliver them as subjects of surveillance.

Exposed has four sections. The first addresses key frameworks and models shaping our discernment of surveillance. Harcourt argues Big Brother, the Panopticon and the surveillance state have a limited fit with the 'digital era' (pg. 28). The world we live in is not one of relentless, monotonous oppression like George Orwell's *1984* dystopian Oceania, but one where people gain benefits for divulging their innermost secrets, desires, appetites, and passions. Nor is surveillance limited to the state. Instead, contemporary surveillance stems from private corporations and individuals too. Harcourt also underscores the limits of Michel Foucault's analysis of Jeremy Bentham's 18th Century Panopticon, a prison model that through its spatial arrangements induces permanent visibility of its captives. The Panopticon works through discipline, which forces its inmates to behave accordingly. But in the expository society individuals freely, cooperatively, even fervently expose themselves to often unknown others.

The book's second section elucidates the origins and prevalence of the expository society. Drawing on artist Dan Graham's 'glass structures' (pg. 108), Harcourt suggests the mirrored glass pavilion best describes 21st Century surveillance. Such a structure renders each and every person, despite varying emotions, visible while also exposing them to others' scrutiny. As opposed to the ancient Roman and Greek eras where publicizing was luxurious (i.e. public spectacles), currently becoming subject to others' monitoring is 'practically free of charge' (pg. 118). Harcourt then transitions into a genealogy of the new doppelgänger logic and shows how we are able to 'exploit resemblance' (pg. 145) via surveillance. Such a logic allows surveillance operations to locate each and every person's 'digital double' (pg. 157), a key focus of

expository power. This feature of the expository society also befits neo-liberal efforts to modify individuals' tendencies (pgs. 98-100). Thus, there is a sense in which exposure has been outsourced to individuals consistent with neo-liberalism through, for example, Facebook. Most of that social media platform's information collection is volunteered through efforts to expose and is then systematically sold for profit, but any negative effects are squarely placed on the individual user, not Facebook, the profit-driven corporation. Harcourt remarks that 'our expository society is suffused with an entrepreneurial logic and fueled by the consumer spending, advertising, and maximization of profit that are key features of neo-liberalism' (pg. 100). Harcourt proceeds to suggest that humanist values of our older 'analog selves' (pg. 166), like privacy and secrecy, have an inverse relationship with the expository society. Our willingness to expose ourselves for neo-liberal purposes has led to their rapid decline.

In the third section, Harcourt describes the case of American Josh Begley who sought to develop a mobile application (particularly for the iPhone) to provide real-time information on government-deployed drones and their casualties. After several submissions to Apple, the company refuses to launch Begley's application without modifying its strict focus on US 'government drone strikes' (pg. 190). Harcourt uses this case and others to exemplify the blurring of lines between public and private spheres whereby intelligence agencies and companies like Amazon are both replete with 'statelike power' (pg. 215). A key concept deployed here is Goffman's well-known 'mortification of the self' that shapes subjectivity in the asylum. This occurs when individuals eagerly and completely expose their 'intimate lives' (pg. 233) online and submit their personal space to others. Being mortified leads to changes in subjectivity (pg. 226) and reduces resistance to surveillance, as individuals willingly expose themselves and can dubiously proclaim the simplistic 'I have nothing to hide' rationale (pg. 233). Harcourt then suggests the expository society is like an asylum that too closely supervises our digital selves. For example, Harcourt draws a comparison between the correctional ankle bracelet and the Apple Watch, the only difference being that the latter accessory is gracefully and willingly purchased and worn.

The book's final section explores resistance in the expository society. There is scarce resistance to becoming digitalized subjects of surveillance. But Harcourt nonetheless discusses different ways individuals may undertake resistance. For instance, Julian Assange's WikiLeaks platform has illuminated various government surveillance programs and techniques. On a smaller scale, Harcourt alludes to resistance through prevention of 'exposing our data on the cloud' (pg. 270) and taking courses in counter-surveillance to further educate ourselves (pg. 275).

Notwithstanding the discussion of resistance, more on the limits of expository power would have been welcomed in this outstanding, thought-provoking book. Many subjects of surveillance become such, at certain points at least, through completely covert means rather than via willful exposure when they are, for example, surveilled by 'cable-splicing intelligence services' (pg. 272). Exposure is only part of the surveillance story and while Harcourt acknowledges this, the level and prevalence of intentionality will remain an important empirical question in any instance if, for example, submitting information in a 'private' email is less intentional but is monitored nonetheless. It is also undeniable that there are many who are aware and may still not surrender to pressures of the 21st Century digital world or sometimes effectively circumvent these compulsions depending on available means. It is in these instances that the term expository begins to become indistinguishable from the (older) concept of visibility. But questions of intentionality are more empirical questions for others to take up in future research than criticisms of the argument in this excellent book. It is also true that some of *Exposed* covers previously trodden ground, particularly the failure of the Panopticon and Big Brother to capture the current surveillant moment. But *Exposed* nonetheless provides grounds for another significant way to analyze contemporary surveillance practices that will be discussed for some time. To do this *Exposed* eloquently draws on ideas of several renowned theorists (e.g. Erving Goffman, Michel Foucault, Max Weber) while connecting current practices with more contemporary neo-liberal currents too. Along the way Harcourt uses compelling examples and manages to write in a way that is accessible to different types and levels of readers. *Exposed* therefore will be of interest to students

and scholars across the social sciences, especially those in Surveillance Studies, as well as to the general public and privacy policy-makers. By the book's end all will likely be convinced that expository power is becoming more pervasive, intrusive and persistent.

Scholars working in criminology, criminal justice, and legal studies beyond Surveillance Studies will recognize *Exposed* as yet another of Harcourt's wonderfully-crafted, critical books marked by a sensitive awareness of current trends, a focus on vital subject matters affecting many people's lives, and a carefully researched and persuasive argument. Two of Harcourt's previous books are similar to *Exposed* in confronting what many other scholars failed to effectively challenge, and did so with a courageous, analytical zeal. For example, an earlier Harcourt book revisits empirical support for the simplistic broken windows thesis that had become all but common wisdom in policing circles, and his *Against Prediction* focuses on the effectiveness of profiling in reducing crime or unwanted conduct. Many scholars were concerned about broken windows arguments and profiling for various ethical and legal reasons, and some had a sense they are often wrongly and uncritically implemented, but Harcourt delved much wider and deeper, took on conventional policing wisdom, and in both cases found it wanting. This is true of the new forms of surveillance analyzed in *Exposed* too. As surveillance scholars we have a nagging sense that talk of Panopticons, the state, privacy, and even assemblages, is failing to render fully intelligible the current exuberant, historically peculiar willingness of persons to expose intimate details of their everyday lives to unknown others. Harcourt takes that nagging sense much further by confronting exposure head on and thoroughly exploring its nuances in a relentless, revealing critique. In this review we have limited our efforts to merely exposing this book for what it is—a brilliant work about contemporary surveillance.