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individualizing motivations” (p.18). Control then becomes one component of post-industrial freedom and the new deviant class is “made up of all those who cannot or do not know how to extract anything worthy of sustained effort from contact with the institutions” (p.5). These people, Lianos’ “normative proletariat,” are the children of the old “working class” and immigrants—“inheritors of inappropriate aspirations and limited cultural tools” as well as the “advocates of a return to an outmoded normativity” such as stubborn fundamentalists and neo-totalitarians (p.6).

The channeling of nearly all post-industrial activity through these “institutions,” each with its own norms, logic, and objectives, results, Lianos asserts, in lives that are fragmented and atomized and essentially unintelligible outside of the context of these organizations, which he sees as a product of capitalist democracy. Moreover, such a hyper-individualized existence undermines sociality and trust and produces a culture of suspicion where threat and menace are perceived as omnipresent. Lianos calls this social process “dangerization.” The “normative proletariat” is of course the target of such fears but all are considered “at risk” of falling into disconnectedness from the institutionally-dense web that provides security and predictability. The existence of those living on the margins and this fear of falling, if you will, provides extra incentive for those embedded in the institutions to maintain their positions and engage in the process of “othering” the dangerous.

Lianos lays out these theoretical ideas in the introduction to the book and then offers two chapters that provide quasi-case studies in how control is embedded in the “small actions; repetitive automated learning” that are part of the “great socio-technical structure” that has enveloped us. In Chapter 2, he turns to the automated passenger control system in the Paris subway system. Here he makes the case that the turnstiles are not responsive to the personal qualities of the individual user; in fact they are “temples of a ‘pure’ equality” that regularize contemporary life but that exclude in advance all those who are not able or who are unwilling to abide the system. Chapter 3 takes on surveillance cameras which Lianos argues are systems that track and memorize signs of behavior and produce a form of “hyper-regularity.” “The camera,” he claims, “does not prevent acts; it prevents decisions” (p.32). Like internalizing the gaze of the panopticon, the target of the camera regularizes behavior to avoid arousing the suspicion of the device; again, limited options. Actors play their roles on the security stage; they are both the suspect and the protected. And the recoded image, viewed after an incident, is a poor representation of the actual scene yet it imposes a “truth” of forensic evidence that appears to a jury, as immutable. Chapter 4 returns to the notion of “dangerization” and focuses on the role of government agencies, the media, and private interests in generating fear of crime, or more precisely for Lianos, “fear of victimization.” This kind of fear, an anxiety maintained by the polarization of the sociality into normal and abnormal, is something that atomized individuals experience in a private and isolated way. Examples are drawn from Britain and France of how a climate of suspicion has become a way of life in both countries and where the dangerized “other” is produced through strategies of avoidance.

There is much to like in Lianos’ The New Social Control; I read it with interest and with frequent nods of agreement. Yet, as provocative as I found this monograph to be, I also believe that the author undermines his contribution by exaggerating the extent and the centrality of this new social control as he sees it and by failing to situate this project within relevant scholarship that he too easily sets aside. In some ways, each issue reinforces the other. The “post-industrial” world described here is so overdrawn that at times it takes on the quality of science fiction. Citizens appear as mindless cogs, so ensnared and controlled by a vast, fine-meshed “institutional web” that to do anything other than conform to its highly-regularized regime is pointless. Rather than setting limits on his totalizing analysis, offering qualifying statements, or acknowledging other forms of social control still very much with us, he seems to be saying that all social control has been reduced to a socio-technical function—the “permission to access” of the turnstile, the credit card, and the password—while intentionality, coercion, the role of the body, as well as traditional norms and values are now simply irrelevant. All that matters in the world depicted in these pages is behavior that is compatible with institutional demands. When one draws such a stark and limited view of
late modernity, it becomes fairly easy to dismiss essentially the entire body of scholarship since Foucault as “obsolete and inapplicable” because most, if not all of that scholarship, deals with the vast realities of contemporary life that Lianos has simply left out of his ruminations.

In the end, *The New Social Control* challenges us to reconsider many taken-for-granted assumptions in our theorizing about the operation of social control. To his credit, he does not romanticize the *gemeinschaft* of the past. Moreover, I deeply appreciate his meticulous, micro-analysis of the most mundane socio-technical systems where his focus is on how these schemes actually operate, rather than simply making normative judgments about their existence. I also found his “dangerization” thesis to be intriguing and highly suggestive. Finally, like any good theory book, the ideas presented in *The New Social Control* prompted me to think about several possible research programs and for that, Michalis Lianos’ *The New Social Control* may have an impact on the field of Surveillance Studies for years to come.