

and statistics, Dikeç shows that in each case uprisings started with growing resentment among groups facing interlinked forms of marginalization—poor black communities in US and UK cities, immigrant youth in the suburbs of France and Sweden, and Alevis and other opposition-leaning groups in Turkey. He also shows that eruptions were spontaneous and uncoordinated: in each case, frustration that had built up over a long time was triggered by some specific event, often related to police brutality. In most cases, these protests then grew to encompass a much broader set of participants. Here, perhaps, lies an interesting question which is not fully tackled in the book: what explains why some of these protests become mass-based, spreading to other regions and encompassing a wide range of violent and non-violent strategies, while others do not?

Relatedly, while all cases speak to the multidimensional processes of exclusion in urban settings, there is also variation in how the protests start. The Greek and Turkish cases stand out somewhat, in being more mass based already in their origins. In Athens, Dikeç notes, participants came from most walks of life and were motivated by a common frustration with capitalism, bad governance and lack of participation in politics. In Istanbul, similarly, frustration with political rulers and the way the city is governed seemed to bring protesters together more than a shared experience of group-based exclusion. Hence, while Dikeç's overarching argument is that similar exclusionary processes are at work in most contemporary cities, there are also differences across the cases which suggest that the risk of urban rage, and the forms and intensity it takes, varies. Relatedly, it is noted that riots in Sweden were less intense, and also that Swedish society is comparatively more egalitarian (p. 131); also, it is noted that the participants in most cases, but not in Greece and Turkey, were those most harmed by urban regeneration projects (p. 215). In other words, while these dynamics are not at the centre of Dikeç's argument, they seem to say something about both the incentives and the possibilities to

voice grievances through protest in different political systems.

Taken together, the book is an enjoyable and enlightening read. It is very well written, in accessible language and with a healthy sprinkle of (dark) humour. It paints a vivid and convincing picture of how processes shaping our 'urban age'—including privatization, gentrification, and often a depreciation of urban communal areas—deepen inequality and strengthen the experience of exclusion. At some points, Dikeç is apologetic about the amount of statistics and facts he presents, but it is precisely the combination of rich qualitative evidence and systematic attention to statistics that makes the analysis convincing. One major contribution lies in making very explicit that violent uprisings are a reaction to other forms of violence—direct and indirect, physical and psychological—facing large groups in contemporary cities. The book is likely to be of interest to a wide audience, including scholars researching urban violence and riots as well as policymakers and the interested public.

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Barry Friedman (2017).

UNWARRANTED: POLICING WITHOUT PERMISSION. New York, NY:

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In *Unwarranted: Policing Without Permission*, Barry Friedman discusses why and how policing has gone wrong in the USA, focusing on the juridical and democratic procedures (or lack thereof). He draws on many different examples of where

policing has gone wrong in the USA, including the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson, to numerous searches, widespread surveillance and the violation of a broader faith in law enforcement in the USA. In light of ongoing militarization of policing and populist calls for more invasive forms of law enforcement and less privacy, the book is a necessary contribution to our understanding of how policing has become so unwarranted, and what can be done in light hereof. Clearly, an expert in the field, Friedman analyses various policing cases, providing detailed information about criminal justice processes and policing practices, the author concludes that there is an urgent need to 'fix' policing.

That policing is regularly violent and disproportional should come as no surprise, but the amount and scope of such actions discussed in this book are quite concerning. In 2015, police officers killed almost one thousand people, there were anywhere between 50,000 and 80,000 SWAT raids, and estimates suggest that between six and seven illegal searches occur per 100 residents. While the quantity of such violent and intrusive forms of policing are worrying in itself, the legal principles behind these practices often remain undisclosed or vague. And this is exactly the point of the book: the necessary juridical and moral grounds for policing are quickly disappearing. While Friedman acknowledges the importance of race and class when it comes to who is policed, he states that many policing practices are intentionally indiscriminate. In other words, anyone could become a victim of intrusive law enforcement and national surveillance. In doing so, he makes a convincing case as to why an increase in unjustified policing practices should be a concern for all of us.

Accordingly, the author wants to call out two groups that should be held responsible for the many invasive and unwarranted cases of undemocratic policing. 'The first actors responsible for the woes of policing today are the courts, which have done a perfectly appalling job of one of the chief tasks we have given them: protecting our basic liberties' (2017, p. xi). More important, however, is the second group: us.

The main argument of the book—that policing agencies should be more receptive to the people's will—is explained in three main parts. In the first part, the concept of democratic policing is introduced, which concerned the idea that people are more involved to participate in policymaking processes. Similar to other forms of governance, policing practices should be authorized by law. The lack hereof might seem strange in a country where many rely on legal services, and where references to the constitution appear frequent. Yet, it seems that policing lacks the democratic deliberation and authorization necessary to legitimize everyday policing practices. A democratically authorized form of policing—by which people are able to say something about how policing agencies should operate—should prevail over a form of policing that is purely constitutional.

This connects well with the second part that discusses more in depth what the constitution does, and how it shapes policing practices. Analysing several cases in which police officers have conducted searches and entered private homes without warrants, Friedman suggests that the constitution itself is not the problem. It is the reality in which police officers do not obtain warrants or the watering down of the requirements to obtain them in the first place. Controversially, it seems that justices seem to suggest that the constitution does not really call for warrants. This becomes increasingly problematic as obtaining a warrant is essential for harbouring the need for probable cause. In other words, what protects people from the biased intuition of police officers and indiscriminate searches. From 'searches without warrant' (chapter 5), 'searches without probable cause' (chapter 6), and 'general searches' (chapter 7) to 'discriminatory searches' (chapter 8), it is clear that the laws and constitutional rules are 'getting twisted beyond recognition' (2017, p. 188). Because of racial profiling, certain groups in the USA are subjected to an extraordinary amount of control, including drug testing and searches.

While critical of these practices, the discussion of race and discrimination remains rather superficial and concerned with the failure of the juridical system and lack of democratic oversight. Policing and surveillance are therefore not inherently problematized. Granted, the focus is on the workings of the government and legal procedures, but the author appears to depart from a binary understanding of policing: a policing that is good and a policing that is unwarranted. The former being a policing that is justified, which is carried out on the basis of evidence and required legal procedures and principles. However, the discussion of what these concepts actually entail in practice remains limited to a juridical understanding and a criminal justice perspective. What if the broader understandings and biases in which these forms of oversight, evidence, and procedures are formed and applied are an issue? Can we address unwarranted policing by relying on the idea that the law can be upheld in a neutral, unbiased, way?

The final part of the book feels a bit more disconnected as it involves a discussion of various present and future challenges to policing. Presented with a wide range of tools and instruments, both online and offline, the question remains: Does this make us safer? The debate surrounding surveillance versus privacy is addressed by drawing on several court cases and illustrates the growing concern of how privacy is violated, how subpoenas work by keeping targets uninformed, and the amount of data collected and accessed under the premise of public safety. Underlining that technology will not be a panacea for unwarranted policing, the main solution that this book provides should no longer come as surprise: more governance on the front end, rather than an after-the-fact review.

The book has clear strengths and weaknesses. It is impressive how Friedman connects everyday practices, drawing on empirical cases, with juridical procedures, pointing out where and how policing goes awry from a legal standpoint. Speaking to a broad audience, the author makes unwarranted policing insightful and accessible, covering a wide

range of practices and providing solutions where possible. However, although the author convincingly argues that (more) democratic oversight of the police can address some of the issues discussed in 12 chapters, I am not sure if the problem with policing is exclusively found in the legal and governmental realm. Recognizing that democracy has its flaws—people do not care about minority rights if they believe their safety is at stake—is not enough. Policing is about more than only police practices. It also involves a broader culture in which citizens are mobilized against one another. This sort of vigilant behaviour is often considered to be perfectly legal as perpetrators are also found not guilty in a court of law. The use and reference to the notion of ‘us’ in this book seem therefore at odds with a highly internally divided, and individualized country, especially when it comes to the issues of terrorism, migration, and policing. The question, then, becomes if ‘we’ can change policing, and whether this entails first and foremost a legal and procedural change, or that perhaps more is needed to change systemic violence and racial injustices.

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Book Review: Hannah L.F. Cooper and Mindy Thompson Fullilove (2020). FROM ENFORCERS TO GUARDIANS: A PUBLIC HEALTH PRIMER ON ENDING POLICE VIOLENCE, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

The public health approach to study of interpersonal violence has been revolutionary, not only