Notwithstanding these comments, *Crisis and Control* is a valuable addition to the growing critical literature on current protest policing practices, and it deserves to be widely read. The study is centred on developments in policing principally within Canada and the US, not Europe, but having said that it will be of interest to anyone wanting to understand the origins, organizational styles and police repression of social movements. I get the sense that *Crisis and Control* has been written for a variety of readers, not simply an academic audience. There is much here to stimulate thought and prompt reflection, not least because Wood also offers us at least some tentative insights about how police militarization can be resisted and opposed. Given that the move to paramilitarism and strategic incapacitation imperils some of our most cherished civil liberties, this is perhaps the most urgent issue.

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**References**


D. Rothe and D. Kauzlarich (eds), *Towards a Victimology of State Crime* (London: Routledge, 2014), 263pp, £95.00

Reviewed by Sandra Walklate

It is now almost commonplace to observe that national and international appreciation of the shape and form of victimhood has undergone significant transformation. No longer is the concept of victim confined to the innocent victim of violent crime that informed criminal injuries compensation initiatives in the 1960s. Contemporarily, the concept of victim and the contours of victimhood have been transformed. From hate crime to genocide, victimology has had an important presence in setting the agenda that has contributed to this transformation. This has not
been an even or a uniform process of transformation but nonetheless, from the United Nations to regional and national jurisdictions, recognition that being a victim is problematic has taken a hold. In this collection, Rothe and Kauzlarich encourage us to push the parameters of our understanding of victimhood further. We are invited to think above and beyond individualized or individualistic conceptions of the victim to one that embraces the systematic violence(s) imposed by states. Such victimizations constitute often less visible but nonetheless just as harmful sources of victimhood. This book, comprising 14 chapters divided into two parts, brings together a range of empirically grounded work that challenges us all to think a little more deeply about what the concept of victim, and the experience of victimhood, actually means.

Part one of this book, “State crimes, harms, and victimization”, documents the kinds of victimizations that can be directly attributable to state (in)action. In introducing this section, Rothe and Kauzlarich take the opportunity to remind us of the theoretical dilemma posed by thinking about what constitutes a victim. Do we take the law as the defining frame of reference or do we take harm as our definitional starting point? Each position has its limitations and each point in a different direction as to who, and what, might be included or excluded in a victimology of state crime. The chapters that follow serve to illustrate this dilemma further. From “street” children, children in institutional “care”, the “Mukaradeeb Massacre”, the normalization of civilian bombing, victimization during and after war, Somali piracy to the role of immigration policy in victimizing the undocumented alongside displaced persons, each offers a substantiated exploration of the ways in which the victim label could be reasonably and justifiably applied in all of these different circumstances. While not explicit, though referred to in the opening chapter by Rothe and Kauzlarich, there are some key themes that tie together, what otherwise might appear to be a rather disparate collection. For this reader, those themes are power, the propagation of systematic violence(s) and vulnerability. Sometimes, these features are self-evident and to the fore in the chapters included here, on other occasions they are not so obvious being almost wallpaper. However, when taken together what these chapters reveal is the often partial papering over of the cracks of denial that are left behind in the aftermath of victimization. Indeed, it is within such practices of denial that it is possible to forge the links between the kinds of analyses of victimhood presented here with what might be considered the more ordinary or mundane aspects of victimization (like intra-family child abuse or domestic violence). Once these shared processes of denial become apparent, so do the features of power, systematic violence(s) and vulnerability, and so does the fact that from atrocity crimes to rules on immigration, these too result in ordinary and mundane experiences of victimization. Perhaps somewhere between these themes, there lies a future for a theoretical framework for victimology that might
be able to transgress the currently existing boundaries between different strands of contemporary victimological thought.

Part two of this collection shifts its gaze to “responses to state crime victimization”. In this shorter section, these chapters discuss the European Court of Human Rights, the role of restorative justice for the victims of conflict in Colombia, the connections between apartheid in South Africa and victimization, the relationship between state crime control and the creation of victims, and the question of whether or not an international criminal justice system can address victims’ needs. Each of these chapters, in different ways, asks us to think about the nature of the principles on which each of the state responses under consideration is based. Principles that are more often than not based on false assumptions of the universalism of citizenship (the European Court) question how individualistically rooted restorative justice might respond to mass trauma, how the search for national unity in South Africa erased individual pain, what the “costs” of doing good might look like and whether the criminal justice arena (international or otherwise) could reasonably be a setting in which the harm of victimization can be put right. These chapters offer an insight into how state responses themselves may actually compound presumptions of vulnerability and systematic violence(s) that part one of the book documents. They also remind us of the dilemma between the law and harm with the law sometimes compounding individual harm as much as it might be a source of relief from such harm.

In sum, this is an important edited collection. Hopefully as the summary above suggests, it brings together a range of works and opens up an agenda that ordinarily would remain on the boundaries of victimological concern rather than in its centre. As with any collection, there is some unevenness. The chapters themselves vary in quality and one or two seem somewhat dated. However, the concerns that this book addresses are contemporary and prescient. It might have been improved had the editors had the space to draw out their own conclusions from this collection. Yet leaving the reader to do this for themselves is also a good strategy to generate thinking and energize debate.

Victimology, rather like criminology, is a meeting place for academics, policy makers and campaign groups. Some of the tensions between the different voices that occupy this space can be felt in the collection drawn together here. The vested interests that exist between each of these voices do not always do service to those on whose behalf they claim to be speaking. This danger alluded to in this collection, when writ large, needs to be heeded. This is especially pertinent contemporarily. As victimology, like criminology, develops an increasing global presence, dominated as it is by Western-centric thinking, the discipline itself would also benefit from being considered through the lens of the issues that this collection puts to the fore: power, systematic violence(s) and presumptions of vulnerability.
It is an opportune moment to add to this conceptual agenda the question of reflexivity. This collection challenges mainstream victimological work and its associated policies to reflect upon how it is that some groups and circumstances easily acquire victim status and the requisite policy response and others do not. It also does much more than this. It challenges us all to look behind those constructions of victimhood, examine their shape and form, and ask questions about those victims that we “see” and those that we do not “see”. If we add to these questions the role of the victimologist in contributing to those ways of seeing, then it is possible that this collection in and of itself might inspire some renewed theoretical and conceptual thinking for victimology as a discipline.

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Reviewed by David Scott

Crime, Justice and Human Rights is an important contribution to the growing literature on criminology and human rights. The book is dedicated to Stanley Cohen, and as the authors rightly state, “[n]o criminologist has pursued the project of aligning critical criminology with human rights activism with such effectiveness and vigour as the late Stanley Cohen” (p. 78). Cohen’s writings were characterized by a strong political commitment to human rights and transformative justice. His work was relevant, accessible, interventionist and filled with theoretical insights that raised key questions which needed to be answered by those in power. Stanley Cohen also had that rarest of abilities in that he could write to a number of different audiences at the same time and yet deliver a multilayered analysis carrying the greatest of insights appreciated by all. To say that the authors have delivered a text following in this tradition is the highest praise I can bequeath them.

Crime, Justice and Human Rights is a book with broad-ranging appeal. It provides a multidisciplinary introduction directed at a diverse audience – criminologists, human rights practitioners, the general public – and does so very well. The danger with multiple audiences and writing from multiple disciplines is that those with more in-depth knowledge may find that within their areas of expertise, the narrative becomes restrictive and requires more depth. However, I think the authors provide an innovative, imaginative and critical approach that in the main avoids such a pitfall. This does not mean that it is not possible to selectively engage with