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Security and everyday life, edited by Vida Bajc and Willem de Lint, New York and London, Routledge, 2011, 312pp, \$125.00, ISBN 13: 978-0-415-99768-3 (hbk).

The twelve articles that comprise *Security and everyday life* are all scholarly pieces which together effectively argue that the various efforts by states to maintain security are increasingly invasive but rarely succeed in achieving their expressed goals. They may not always protect their own citizens from various kinds of threats, but they almost always succeed in limiting their citizens' freedom. Thus, in the name of safeguarding freedom they are actually taking it away. These articles may be scholarly, but they should appeal to just about everyone.

The twelve articles have various theses, but there are several themes which link them. The first theme is the notion that there are many enemies plotting to do evil things to countries. These enemies are mostly external but there are dangers from internal enemies as well. The subject of external enemies is addressed by several authors; in Chapter 4 Kathleen Staudt looks at the problems confronting the southern border of the United States. She notes that after September 11, 2001, various U.S. 'wars' were folded into one. These included the 'War on Drugs', the 'War on Terror', and the 'undeclared war on immigrants'. As a result of this convergence, the US / Mexican border was singled out as the area that needed heightened security. Staudt's contribution is not so much about the efforts that the United States authorities undertook to secure the border as much as to discuss the various means in which people on both sides of the border engaged in various practices to circumvent the 'militarization of the border'. These practices included activism as well as resistance. While she does not spend very much time on these efforts, Staudt does set out various responses to the history of US bills and laws which were specifically designed to keep out alien elements.

The theme of external enemies is also addressed in Chapter 6, but here the individuals are not people who have sought to come into a country; instead, they are Arabs and Muslims already living in Canada. Reem Bahdi discusses how Arabs and Muslims have been targeted and the charged with various infractions. The Canadian authorities seek to portray these groups as 'illegitimate rights claimants', thus attempting to paint them as threatening to do violence. Of course, these individuals are no threat to national security; however, the authorities ensure that those suspected are never able to clear their names. Bahdi's main point is that 'we risk becoming Kafka's antihero: the man who gave up everything to access the law and died while passively accepting the authority of those who stand outside the law' (Bajc and de Lint 2011, 144).

Chapter 7 also takes up the theme of external enemies but here Gabe Mythen focuses on the topic of the extraordinary measures that countries have adopted in order to defend against terrorist attacks. Mythen looks to various books by Frank Furedi who has convincingly discussed how the present has been turned into a 'climate of fear' (Bajc and de Lint 2011, 172). The authorities need to exaggerate the possibilities of extreme harm and to warn against 'erring on the side of caution'. Thus, they attempt to harness the public's fear and thereby legitimize the extraordinary actions that they take. However, Mythen warns that military and police measures

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are totally inadequate to meet these threats, and what is needed instead is a comprehensive understanding of the social-political and economic problems which lead people to engage in terrorist acts.

A second theme is the conflict between control and freedom. Willem de Lint addresses the notion of the 'culture of control' in Chapter 5 and discusses the authorities' attempts to persuade their citizens to distinguish between 'us' and 'them' (Bajc and de Lint 2011, 126). This involves the need for an 'external bogey'. To counter such threats requires a very small circle of individuals who are trustworthy enough to make competent decisions about security matters. In his 'Conclusion' he again takes up the issue of how the few frame the problem of security and tamp down any discussion of its pro's and con's. The result is the 'devaluing of the citizen-subject' and the diminishing of their rights (Bajc and de Lint 2011, 260).

The thesis that authorities are untroubled about restricting freedoms in the name of security is the theme of Chapter 8 but this time the focus is on Europe. Sirpa Virta writes about the increasing 'democratic deficit' in a number of European countries. The 'War on Terror' has undermined the 'shared commitment to freedom based on human rights, democratic institutions, and the rule of law' (Bajc and de Lint 2011, 186). Because no single country can effectively tackle terrorism, European countries have joined forces to try to combat it. Their banner may be 'freedom, security, and justice' but the real emphasis is solely on security. Since 9/11 the notion of national security has been transformed from defense against other nations into an offensive strategy against terrorism (counterterrorism). But, one of the biggest problems is the question of how to prevent radicalization. Virta underscores this difficulty and notes that some of the efforts at community policing have the unintended consequence of alienating citizens and ultimately driving them into radical groups.

Another theme is the notion of 'internal' enemies and the special difficulties in confronting them. In Chapter 10 Nelson Arteaga Botello surveys the 'security metamorphosis' in Latin America. He notes that in the 1990s many of the Central and South American countries experienced a significant rise in criminal violence and that they embarked on attempts to address this rise. Unfortunately, what most of the countries did was to establish 'archipelagos of security'. These safe islands were patterned after certain areas of the United States and used many of the same lines of defense that the Americans did: gated communities with private security firms; home security electronics, as well as massive surveillance through CCTV. These closed circuit televisions not only were trained on the housing communities but on traffic as well. That way, authorities could monitor the general traffic as well as the dwellings. In addition, the wealthy citizens resorted to the use of helicopters and private planes to move about without encountering the criminal areas, and when these people were forced to travel by car they did so with specially armored vehicles. Unfortunately, none of these measures addressed the social and economic causes of the rise in crime; if anything, the diversion of money from social programs to security programs meant that the plight of the lower classes only increased.

In Chapter 3 Liora Sion discusses the conflict between law and security by investigating the case of Tali Fahima. Fahima was a 28 year old Jewish Israeli woman who had lived most of her life as a 'normal' Israeli woman. She had voted for Likud and had served in the military; thus, she was not, and did not regard herself as a political activist. However, she began to suspect that she was not receiving an accurate picture of the Palestinians and she began to seek out English language material that might provide a corrective to the picture that she had been given. She began using web sites and chatted with Arab web users and the information that she gathered made her fundamentally change her mind. Instead of being a loyal Israeli woman, she 'crossed

the lines' (Bajc and de Lint 2011, 81) when she decided to be a human shield and protect Zbeidi, a leader of the al-Asqua Martyrs Brigade. The Israeli authorities determined that she was a security risk and consequently was subjected to lengthy and harsh interrogations. At her trial, she was convicted; not because of her deeds, but on her thoughts (Bajc and de Lint 2011, 95). Eventually she was imprisoned, in part because of her 'confession'. For the Israelis, Fahima was a traitor, a whore, but to the Palestinians, she was a hero. She was not content to continue to believe the Israeli narrative of the Palestinians as the evil other, and strove not only to understand their plight but to try to change it for the better.

In Chapter 1 Mark B. Salter investigates airport security and notes how there is a contradiction between the sense of freedom of travel and the sense of the lack of freedom through security measures. Specifically, he focuses on the travelers' behavior and how security measures intimidate, with the result that there is 'obedience without belief' of the security instructions and the 'docile acceptance' of the security measures. In order to underscore these points, Salter looks to the directive prohibiting jokes. On the face of it, the 'No Joking' directive is counter-intuitive – people are more inclined to make jokes when they are in certain stressful situations and airport security is undoubtedly one of them (35). Moreover, jokes do not seem to be that threatening. Yet, as Salter notes the state seeks to be the 'producer, arbiter, and manager of knowledge' (Bajc and de Lint 2011, 38) and jokes threaten this power. The 'no joking' rule actually undermines this by revealing a critical 'epistemological tension'; that is, the state security apparatus cannot distinguish between a legitimate threat and a harmless joke. As a result it must resort to a complete ban, but unfortunately, this serves only to alienate travelers and actually undermine their trust in the airport security personnel.

Chapter 9 has its own special theme: instead of physical threats the theme is alien cultural threats. In their contribution Jiang Fei and Huang Kuo discuss the problems of security but with their cultural ramifications. They investigate the collision between spheres of values; specifically between Chinese traditional values and importation of American values, culture, and ideology through 'transnational media corporations' (TNMCs) (Bajc and de Lint 2011, 214–5). The authors discuss the history of the TNMCs in China; a few companies moved into China beginning in the 1970s, but the larger influx took place after 1989. An even larger number of companies rushed in after China joined the WTO in late 2001. These companies include the publishing companies Bertelsmann and Hachette Philipacchi, the television empire Viacom, as well as the news agency Reuters. On the plus side, the foreign firms showed the deficiencies of the State run media businesses with their lack of professionalism. But, the influx of the TNMCs also prompted the Chinese to both reevaluate their businesses and also begin to defend them. Ultimately, the TNMCs prompted less centralization and more reforms. This dynamic is changing the ways in which the Chinese think about and watch programming; however, the government is erecting sufficient cultural barriers in order to safeguard Chinese traditional values and to maintain the cultural identities of China.

In both of her contributions Vida Bajc focuses on the belief that security is the central value and that bureaucracies are established in order to maintain order. These bureaucracies are then given the power and the 'authority' to use any means necessary, including secrecy and deception. In her Chapter 2 she discusses how authorities perceive uncertainty as 'something dangerous and potentially violent' (Bajc and de Lint 2011, 49). She uses the Pope's 2000 visit to Jerusalem to demonstrate how authorities attempt to 'get people to agree to adjust their behavior' in line with security directives in order to try to establish a 'reality of safety' (Bajc and de Lint 2011, 61). For

the authorities safety and order are paramount – ‘This is order’ (Bajc and de Lint 2011, 67, 69–72).

Order is perhaps the dominate theme in the entire collection: the authorities who try to impose it upon the chaotic masses of people. But, this book is also composed of many cautionary tales; scholarly accounts of the flawed theories and the counterproductive practices of the fight against real and perceived security threats. It is also a book containing accounts of groups and individuals who did not believe the claims of the authorities and undertook strategic means to confront the propaganda and stereotypes. For those people who believe that order must be maintained at all costs, this book is probably not for you. But, for those people who believe that the principles of freedom and justice must take precedence over order and security, then this is an ideal book for you.

Reference

Bajc, Vida, and Willem de Lint, eds. 2011. *Security and everyday life*. New York and London: Routledge.

Notes on contributor

Christopher Adair-Toteff is author of forty articles in the interrelated fields of German sociology and philosophy. His articles on Max Weber include ‘Max Weber’s charisma’, ‘Max Weber’s pericles – The political demagogue’, ‘Max Weber’s mysticism’, and ‘The *Protestant ethic* and the spirit of politics’. His book *Sociological beginnings – The first conference of the German sociological association* was published by Liverpool University Press in 2005. He has taught extensively, including as Assistant and then as Associate Professor of Philosophy at the American University in Bulgaria. He is Fellow at the Center for Social and Political Thought, University of South Florida. Adair-Toteff is currently writing a book on the theological contexts of Weber’s *Protestant ethic*. He lives part of the year in the USA and part of the year in southern Germany.