places, banning orders, open street CCTV, place-specific police powers to stop-and-search and computerised crime mapping are some examples. This trend is accompanied by the downscaling of policing competencies and the responsibilisation of local actors through the creation of crime reduction partnerships, public safety round tables, urban wardens, and the revitalisation of municipal police forces.

It is this spatial turn in policing that the German geographer Bernd Belina critically examines from a Marxist perspective in his book *Raum, Überwachung, Kontrolle: Vom staatlichen Zugriff auf städtische Bevölkerung* [Space, surveillance, control: governing urban populations]. What are the meanings of *space* and *scale* for contemporary crime control and criminal justice policies? Do they really matter in these contexts, and if so, how? These are the key questions approached by the author.

His answer is, briefly spoken, that space and scale do matter, but not as abstract factors that determine the social and urban fabric or explain their shape and change. Instead, both space and scale are strategically utilised in spatial and scalar practices in order to regulate and maintain the social order and mode of capitalist production and manage its inherent crises. The concept of governing through crime through space and scale is the key to Belina's book. Against the 'democracy at work' thesis that criminal justice policies are responding to the electorates' demands, Belina argues in the tradition of critical criminology that they actually create and frame fear and discourses on crime. The specific function of space in these discourses and policies then is to justify a pre-emptive risk-based logic of crime control that is expanding state control beyond individual acts or criminalised groups towards selected territories being labelled as 'criminal' or 'dangerous'.

Thus, Belina argues "against space" (p. 25) and its respective turns and fetishisms. Instead, drawing on Henry Lefèbvre and radical geographers such as David Harvey and Neil Smith, he suggests that space (as well as scale) is meaningless without the context of social processes

**Raum, Überwachung, Kontrolle: Vom staatlichen Zugriff auf städtische Bevölkerung**
Bernd Belina, 2006
Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot
321 pp. E29.90 paperback
ISBN 3 89691 635 1 paperback

In recent decades, new narratives and strategies of space control have entered the thinking and practices of policing: crime hot spots, dangerous

and practices. The author works with a dualism and thus escapes from Lefèbvre's "ominous third" (p. 40), the *espace vécu*. Space is the physical, material space, on the one hand, and stands for meaning, signifier and ideology on the other. Rather than standing for themselves, space and scale are invoked in social practices as the means—or, if deployed against other interests, even as strategies—of achieving economic, political or other purposes, such as "landscape in order to walk ..., territory in order to exercise power over population" (p. 28). How this happens in the context of crime control and criminal justice policies is exemplified in the empirical chapters of the book which study different aspects of such spatial and scalar practices with a focus on Germany and the US.

First, Belina shows how the buzz-words and concepts of 'broken windows', 'zero tolerance' and 'New York' are deployed as ideologies of space to the end of, borrowing from Jonathan Simon (1997), "governing through crime". The 'broken windows' thesis proposes that the social phenomenon of increased presence of 'disorderly' people in particular areas might attract and entail severe crime and a breakdown of social order. In so doing, the thesis serves as justification for the spatially selective enforcement of a neo-conservative vision of order. The ambivalence of zero tolerance as a flexible concept to denote disproportionate racist police work as well as a measured and just law enforcement allows it simultaneously to promote and conceal the selective policing of space. When deployed against drug markets in Afro-American ghettos, zero tolerance policing might satisfy the revanchism of White suburban middle classes as well as it might nurture the hopes of the resident population. Last but not least, 'New York' as spatial metaphor is exploited to prove the alleged success of such policing strategies and to promote their superiority over competing strategies.

Secondly, Belina discusses how debates about public space mask the shift from inclusionary towards exclusionary visions of social control. While earlier notions of public space represented ideals of equality and citizenship, recent slogans to 'reclaim the streets' indicate the move to displace certain sections of the population in order to appease others. Thirdly, he shows how efforts to 'reclaim the street' materialise in the form of open street CCTV, banning orders and the selective policing of territories targeting the unwanted and marginalised, the beggars, junkies, prostitutes and homeless, those whose 'phenotypes' disturb aesthetic visions of new urbanism.

Fourthly, it is shown how responsibilities for crime control have oscillated between the local and the central state in the US since the 1920s and how these politics of "scale jumping" (p. 269) are determined by strategic interests and the quest for regulation. Only from the 1920s onwards did local police forces become more formalised (ending community-based policing of frontiers and boundaries), while in the 1960s the federal state intervened for the first time at the local scale in response to the urban riots during this time. Since the 1980s, the 'war on drugs' has brought federal law on the agenda while the 1990s witnessed the promotion of 'community policing'. (De)industrialisation and spatial strategies on crime, the author shows, are deeply intertwined.

He concludes that the changing practices of governing through crime through space and scale are to be understood as efforts to manage the economic and political contradictions of capitalism. The spatial turn in policing and the new downscaling of crime control thus have to be seen as efforts to stabilise the neo-liberal project by regulating and containing the 'surplus' population at possible low costs.

Belina's comprehensive analysis of the role that space and scale play for criminal justice policies is a sophisticated synthesis of critical criminology and radical geography. It both echoes and refines works on the governing of neo-liberalism through crime as, for instance, indicated in the 'roll out' concept of Jamie Peck and Adam Tickell (2002) or elaborated in the writings of Steve Herbert (1997; Herbert and Brown, 2006).

Sometimes the author paints with a very broad brush, for instance, when he more or less ignores the significant quantitative and qualitative differences between open street CCTV in Britain and Germany. Moreover, one wonders why there is basically no word about space strategies outside urban areas, despite their importance for the policing of borders and the control of migrants who are, as Belina will know, key (not only) to the neo-liberal project.

However, his book is an important contribution to the understanding of strategies of crime control in (neo-liberal) capitalism and, what is more, it is part of the author's project to transfer and translate the ideas of radical geography and promote them among a German-speaking audience (Belina and Michel, 2007). Thus, it is also a contribution to a better understanding between Anglophones and researchers from continental Europe—obviously a matter of concern for the author (Belina, 2005).

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**Blair's Community: Communitarian Thought and New Labour**
Sarah Hale, 2006
Manchester: Manchester University Press
213 pp. £55.00 hardback
ISBN 0 7190 7412 6 hardback