BOOK REVIEWS

Rob I. MAWBY, Richard YARWOOD, *Rural Policing and Policing the Rural: A Constable Countryside?*, Ashgate, Farnham 2011, 261 pp.

This timely text introduces rural policing and the practicalities of policing rural areas in a variety of geographical contexts. The book begins by arguing that there has been a lack of attention – paid by geography – to the study of rural policing. The contributors argue that rural policing can act as a lens in which to view rural society and the various representations that have become commonplace, such as the concept of the rural idyll.

The opening research chapter 2 provides a comparative perspective across differing countries such as Australia, France and New Zealand. Differing structural arrangements are present within these countries: in Australia, policing vast territories means that resources for police work become stretched, which links with a general service provision discourse akin to that in existing studies of rural villages and market towns in developed countries. The Gendarmerie Nationale, a military force, police the rural areas of France and have a better public perception compared with their urban counterparts, the Police Nationale, a more special police force that is seen as being less flexible compared with the gendarmes of the Gendarmerie Nationale. The gendarmes are seen as more embedded in their local communities (see chapter 5). New Zealand, with its sporadic population structure has traditionally had to rely on local volunteerism in order to police remote rural communities.

In chapter 3, focus shifts to Canada and the United States. Operational budgets are differential between urban and rural forces in both contexts and the public, as with other developed countries, expected the police to adopt a 'generalist' role. This role is represented as being at odds with the economic reality for many forces in Canada and the United States. A generalist role, which features throughout the book, involves officers engaging in day-to-day police work – walking the beat, preventing theft and anti-social behaviour and engaging with the local community. In other words, the officers were expected to take on many roles related to law enforcement.

Chapter 4 focuses specifically on policing the outback of Australia, and provides more detail on some of the key issues regarding rural policing across vast expanses of rural territory. Barclay *et al.* note that existing work in the area has tended to oscillate between material and representational space – with the implication that focus on spatial practices of people has been neglected in a rural policing context.

The book offers some examples of the lived practices of ordinary people. One such issue was the pay of rural officers in the Australian outback. A rural posting often entailed low pay and was seen by some stakeholders as a means to gain promotion to an urban police force where there would be more resources and promotion opportunities. Another related issue was the lack of employment for partners (often female) and for those with skills and qualifications; it was often difficult to obtain quality employment.

Linked to the aforementioned gender inequalities related to rural employment, domestic violence was often found in an Australian context to be under reported. The police had a difficult task to, on one hand, be seen to become integrated into the local community (which thus affected relations with indigenous Australians) and on the other, perceived as being 'too close' to the community and therefore becoming susceptible to not taking action in order to preserve community relations. Police officers in such remote locations as the outback struggled with a lack of resources to open rural police stations and many were unmanned at night, which did not aid the reporting of domestic violence.

By chapter 6, a neoliberal discourse is outlined through the increasing use of police ancillaries. These ancillaries come in many forms, such as Police Community Support Officers (PCSOs) in a UK context and typically are lower paid and lack the powers of arrest. The introduction of 'cheaper police labour' appeared to reflect the economic realities of 21st century policing and the ingrained individualisation of many developed countries studied in the book (Although the case of New Zealand revealed that voluntarism could still counteract the trend towards using police ancillary labour).

Chapter 8 shifts the focus on rural policing to the non-human entities within rural space. CCTV cameras have been viewed as a panacea to the problems of recording rural crime. A key disadvantage highlighted of rural CCTV programmes was their inability to cope with the remoteness of rural settlements. The evidence presented suggested that CCTV did not lead to crime prevention and the police themselves recognised that the CCTV often shifted crime to areas without CCTV. The cameras offered the option of perceived safety and this appeared to satisfy the local residents. There was also public pressure to adopt CCTV when a competing town also had a scheme set up. The police were seen to stimulate implementation as often match funding could be obtained to make the scheme work and it, as mentioned, helped with public perception.

By chapter 9, neoliberalism becomes a key discourse for rural policing through the formation of partnerships. Police services were seen, by the public, as responsible for crime compared with parish councils that have limited funding. Government policy in a UK context has varied and rural policing is very low on the agenda apart from major events covered by Woods (see chapter 10) on rural protest. Pressure was also applied to have partnership structures in order to attract funding to make up for falling contributions from the public purse.

New Zealand, compared with other case studies, had managed to maintain a degree of voluntarism in the context of rural policing to deal with rural isolationism. This culture counteracts a remote settlement pattern and such voluntarism has been promoted in UK to deal with similar issues. However, the individualised nature of the economy and society present in the UK has not led to the same degree of voluntarism – as mentioned previously – citizens demand a police presence in rural areas and this was out of touch with economic realities, particularly in relation to current Conservative/Liberal Democrat coalition government austerity measures.

Whilst part I of the book focused upon 'Rural Policing' in a variety of contexts, part II examines the context of 'Policing the Rural' by implication, implying that the rural is a nebulous and hard to define concept which varies across space and time. Rural protests (chapter 10), such as those undertaken by farmers in the UK were highlighted as rural actors attempting to preserve the rural order against urban influences.

Recent events, which have featured in the popular media such as the Dale Farm traveller's site, provide more recent coverage of policing the rural where 'othered' populations appear

still to be marginalised (chapter 11). The everyday practices and experiences of the travelling community have not, according to Halfacree, been investigated and this links closely with his three-space approach that has noted the dominance of materialist and representational analyses of the rural and neglected human practice. This can also be seen to link to the work of Henri Lefebvre and Ed Soja who have also employed a three-fold spatial architecture.

Chapter 15 provides a well-researched commentary on the low priority of policing wildlife crime. As with the other chapters in part II, a neoliberalist discourse is present with Wildlife Crime Officers (WCOs) linking wildlife crime to other forms of criminality in order to secure funding and resources. Police Officers were also found to be sceptical of policing wildlife due to it not being represented as traditional police work.

The overly romantic notion of rural policing in comparison with the economic reality appears to be a consensus within many of the chapters. The generalist role of rural police versus police specialisms of the urban forces and the US Sheriff model of accountability were held up as examples whereby local policing could not deal with diverse crime such as burglary and domestic violence. With elections for a Sheriff come political pressures to reduce the rights of defendants and issue harsher sentences.

To summarise, this book focuses on a much-neglected area of rural geography and employs criminology scholars in order to highlight that rural crime is increasingly important. The case studies provide a balanced comparison of the different police forces around the world, although work is still lacking in regards to case studies from developing countries and newly industrialised countries (apart from a focus on Africa) in a rural context. This would have balanced what is otherwise an excellent introductory text on rural policing suitable for undergraduate courses in Criminology and Geography as well as for policy makers and practitioners.

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Mari HVATTUM, Brita BRENNA, Beate ELVEBAKK, Janike KAMPEVOLD LARSEN (eds.), *Routes, Roads and Landscapes*, Ashgate, Farnham 2011, 248 pp.

In this excellent edited volume, the significance of roads and routes for the current experience of place is studied from a variety of perspectives. Indeed, the 'mobilities turn' in cultural geography did not escape the attention of the editors and contributors, but it is fair to say that the present collection is at the same time more broadly oriented and more focused.

The focus is clearly on roads and routes, while the diversity of disciplinary and theoretical perspectives is quite impressive. This book is much more than a collection of essays. It places the new geography on a solid historical and sociological foundation, while systematically exploring the relations with urban planning and landscape architecture. The history of these applied fields is mined for the uses of roads to structure both space and experience, and, by consequence, subjectivity.

Editors and authors seem keenly aware that roads, as physical objects, and routes, as sequenced configurations of places, both enable and disable certain interpretations of

place and self, that they both open and close the world for the traveller. They are aware of the ambiguity of the road as a self-effacing point of observation and a physical object, as a place in itself and a place leading to other places.

None of the contributors falls in the trap of naive celebrations of movement, mobility, hybridity, fragmentation and nomadism. Neither do they simply reproduce the well-worn distinctions place/space and place/non-place, where roads, especially highways are traditionally on the receiving end. Both mobility and anchoring, both nomadism and striation, are seen as inextricable elements of ever shifting and historically contingent configurations – in line with the insights of Deleuze and Guattari, the theoreticians that inspired so much theorising of the weightless.

Indeed, everything is connected to everything, and everything thus shapes everything, object and subject, mind and matter, far and close, large and small. But this general principle spans a field of potentiality, and mapping and tracking the emerging and dissolving patterns in that field requires more than restating the pantheistic nature of nature in myriad ways. It requires all the efforts and the insights of other disciplines as well, the variety of methods embodied in them and the deliberation, checks and balances of interdisciplinary work. We believe that the authors achieved all this.

One imagines that these authors read each other's work, that they discussed the topics and theoretical framings of the book collectively, and feels that they respected the specificity and value of all the perspectives around the table. One can also notice that the authors considered planning and design as more than sites of deconstruction. Such deconstructions, well-informed ones, can be found here, but they never content themselves with the unveiling of hypocrisy or evil forces. They bring insight to the vexing problems of infrastructure planning and design that are indeed never merely technical issues. Roads and routes shape each other, they shape topologies and subjectivities, and they usually outlast decision-makers and their deliberations.

Infrastructure, such as roads, waterways and railroads, all discussed in this volume, therefore forms a legacy that moulds perception and experience in ways that escape their original determinations. In that sense they are, in science and technology studies-parlance, act ants. For that reason, it is also reassuring to see that this rich book is incorporating insights from that theory as well. It does not happen very often that Deleuze, Foucault, Latour, Kant and thorough historical and geographical work are not only combined, but also used in a mutually enriching manner, based on a sympathetic understanding of the strengths of each perspective and the associated methods.

One can locate the volume in the mobilities paradigm, and one can place it in the material turn in geography, cultural studies and sociology, a turn that was not necessarily new in (art) history and the design disciplines. While the editors did not impose a new theoretical orthodoxy or even promote a new paradigm, I believe that they, in all modesty and relatively quietly, found a promising combination of angles that can reinvigorate the study of roads and routes in various fields, while creating a new space for inter-disciplinary understanding.

The essays are good to excellent, but I would like to single out Finola O'Kane's highly perceptive analysis of 18th century road design in Ireland. O'Kane's work, based on painstaking analyses of historical documents, physical landscapes and plans and designs, succeeds in relating routes, landscapes and people in a way that confirms insights from a number of 'turns', without playing them out gratuitously against each other, and without relying much on one philosophical framework.

Also the more philosophical essays of Tim Cresswell and Peter Merriman avoid over-reliance on one theoretical angle and overly bold theoretical claims, and their insights therefore link up well with the patient cultural-historical investigations of Charles Withers, Vittoria di Palma and other contributors. Empirical detail necessitates a flexible and pragmatic approach to theory, and just as Foucault struggled all his life to combine theory-building and historical work in a highly flexible and always unfinished enterprise, the group of contributors to this wonderful book seems to have collectively understood that this is the only way forward if one really tries to tell new stories about roads, routes, how they are made and how they are making. We also believe that such approach makes more sense for policy makers than either scholastic fights or false promises of immediate application and univocal analysis. [Praise for the Norwegian Research Council for funding the project *Routes, Roads and Landscapes: Aesthetic Practices en route, 1750–2015*, which led to this book].

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Alessandro **BALDUCCI**, Valeria **FEDELI**, Gabriele **PASQUI**, *Strategic Planning for Contemporary Urban Regions. City of Cities: A Project for Milan*, **Ashgate, Farnham 2011, 160 pp.**

Strategic planning has been widely used as a practice of urban planning since the 1990s. The process of urbanisation creates a significant pressure on the boundaries of many world cities and enlarges the gap between *de facto* and *de jure* cities. The continuous spatial growth of today's cities and city regions even beyond their provinces causes serious difficulties for their municipalities to control this process. Beside the attempt to redefine the agenda of priorities for public action, the book also offers an alternative input to the debate of governance. Furthermore, it provides a detailed case study of a strategic planning process for Milan's urban region. The Strategic Project started in 2005 and was initiated by the Milan Provincial Administration in cooperation with a team of researchers from Milan Polytechnic. As stated in the book, the theoretical background is linked to Lindblom's concept of strategic planning (1975), according to which the authors are calling upon us to think of a planning process as a process which is required by its constitution not to be conventional. It also refers to Webber's permissive planning (1969), as well as to some recent theoretical thinkers (Mazza, Crosa, Palermo, Healley, Kuzmann, Hillier, Albrechts, Forester).

The book consists of five chapters with an introduction, dedicated to the context and demand for strategic planning and to the process of planning *The City of Cities Strategic Project*. Within the introductory chapter the authors express scepticism to administrative reforms, which would create a metropolitan government. They are calling for cooperation, the construction of non-hierarchical forms of decision-making and the necessity of development of intermediate projects and construction of a common vision

across different administrative provinces and regions. The second half of the introductory chapter focuses on the chronological process by which the project was planned and implemented. It starts in January 2005 with a preliminary phase when the working style of the Strategic Project was established, continues with a description of the first competition of the interpretation of the concept of habitability and ends with a public presentation of the publication entitled *The City of Cities Strategic Project. For a New Culture of Governance for the Milan urban region.*

The first chapter defines relevant processes, which change the faces of today's cities: movement, fragmentation and construction of new communities. Consequently the link between planning authorities and geographical areas has been severed, the identification of a structure in the growth processes of physical cities appears chaotic and untidy, and tension between the space of flows and the space of places is increasing. The team of authors answers these challenges with the project *City of Cities*. They organise an unofficial planning process establishing new principles for governing urban development; proposing to improve *habitability* in all its dimensions as a strategic objective for the urban region.

Similarly to other cities Milan also has its path dependent discourse which has been more or less the same since 1980s with one significant exception, the issue of urban security. Additionally, Milan and its region have shown a limited capacity to produce innovations by policies – and that is exactly what *The City of Cities Strategic Project* was trying to do – to help redefine the main problems of the Milan urban region and change the structure of priorities for public action. The change of the urban agenda was based on concepts of *habitability*, *city of cities* and *city of population*. This should be achieved by three ways: the organisation of opportunities for cultural animations as sense-making practices; support for project ideas as a process of collective learning; the organisation of events as a mean of providing input to the public sphere. The second chapter finishes with a detailed explanation of the term habitability, which refers to a more general interpretation of emerging demands for development, quality of life and social equality in contemporary cities. It is an important factor for competition as well as an opportunity to increase the individual or collective well-being of inhabitants.

The third chapter begins with a brief introduction of the discussion and current discourse on territory – cities and regions – and their sovereignty in times of increasing migration and communication. The chapter continues discussing issues with metropolitan governance of contemporary regions by using concepts of *the urban region, a city of cities, a city of populations*. The concept *city of cities* emphasises that contemporary central cities breakup traditional boundaries (physical, social and institutional) and grow with cities behind those boundaries. Therefore the authors use an interpretation of the Milan region as a 7+3+1 representing on one hand the urban region and on the other hand concrete practices of coordination and governance on an inter-municipal scale. The term *city of populations* refers to the different forms of implicit or explicit, voluntary or necessary grouping to which the citizens of a community and its inhabitants in general belong, by virtue of the practices in which they are actors each day.

The fourth chapter represents a strong theoretical asset in reflection of strategic planning. It discusses the current challenges and discourse of strategic planning. This part of the book contains a good overview of planning discourse also for scholars and profes-

sionals from non-planning fields. The story continues with a detailed description of three competitions during the entire process.

The last chapter briefly summarises the main features of the planning process, its limitations and possibilities focusing on governance and the role of linkingages between knowledge, practice and interaction.

Regarding Friedman's definition of planning (1987, pp. 11, 181) 'linking knowledge to action' the book represents indeed a combination of well inter-connected theories and practices. It offers an innovative approach to strategic planning with emphasis on the importance of the planning as well as its opportunities and limits. The reader will find in the book an important insight concerning the current challenges in the Milano urban region, which has troubles with rigid political discourse and governance of the spatial growth of the city. Strategic planning as described in detail through new public policy and models of public actions represents a serious attempt to the discussion of relevance and importance of strategic planning. The strong idea of putting competitions at the centre of the planning process is a fundamental and innovative approach. Instead of imagining the 'right' network of actors, the research team tried to promote 'action networks' to produce 'actors' and 'networks' through the competitions, which activate a wider range of actors.

Despite the book being well structured, the reader may sometimes get the impression that there are too many sub-sections. The text of the book varies, depending on wide range of target groups (it is addressed to students, researchers, planners and administrators).

Going back to the outcome of the strategic plan, the three concepts *habitability*, *city of cities* and *city of population* has produced three shifts in urban agenda: (a) from competition and attraction to habitability; (b) from spontaneous market forces to concrete support for social innovations (c) from the need to protect inhabitants to welfare of opportunity based on ethnic variety, cultural mix and on plurality of populations and living practices.

The approach presented in the book might be an important aspect in redefining the concept of public agenda and public discourse also in other cities where the discourse stagnates, which is a valuable reason for researchers, scholars and students also from other fields of urban studies e.g. for urban geographers interested in city development and strategic/urban planning, to consider this book as a very useful addition to their list of literature.

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Michael MURRAY, *Participatory Rural Planning. Exploring Evidence from Ireland***, Ashgate, Aldershot 2010, 164 pp.**

Recent decades have witnessed an apparent turn towards more participatory approaches in the arena of rural development. There has been a recognisable shift from the imposition of top-down development strategies towards the promotion and encouragement of local and community involvement. Consequently, ideas of partnership, participation and empowerment abound within the rural development discourse. The importance of participation is frequently stressed and this is underpinned by an espousal of community involvement, empowerment and local capacity-building. Within Europe this has been evident both at EU level and through policy formulation and implementation by national governments. This seemingly more people-centred approach has been the subject of much academic scrutiny and evaluation. Michael Murray's book explores various dimensions of this trend using case study material from Ireland. The book does not advance a single overarching thesis but rather endeavours to present insights drawn over a number of years from the author's engaged activity, fieldwork and critical reflection. The examples used relate to government planning policy for rural areas in its more 'macro' forms, specific strategies with respect to rural housing and village plans, and a more detailed account of the operation of a citizens' planning group. In this way, very different (though connected) elements are brought together. This breadth is furthered through the use of material derived from two political jurisdictions Northern Ireland (part of the United Kingdom) and the Irish Republic.

The book is organised in six chapters. The first provides a useful theoretical overview of shifts from a more top-down approach to rural planning and development to a more bottom-up one. It outlines an analytical framework for examining participatory approaches. Murray's objectives are to explore the benefits of collective capital (linked to ownership, identity and trust), the promotion of meaningful dialogue (as distinct from adversarial posturing), the potential to bridge relationships rather than simply co-opting or incorporating local views, and the value of recognising and developing new knowledges within these expanded spaces of governance. Chapter 2 presents a review of the relevant spatial planning policy context on both sides of the Irish border, with particular reference to the extent and means of citizen engagement in processes of policy formulation. These chapters raise important questions about the disjuncture between the desires of local residents and the needs of statutory organisations and point to tensions between genuine dialogue and tokenism and the distinction between consultation and participation.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are designed to investigate participatory planning in action through an exploration of housing policy in Northern Ireland, village planning on both sides of the border and, finally, a focus on European citizens' panels. Chapter 3 reviews the nature of official policy consultation in Northern Ireland in relation to rural housing and goes on to examine a specific 'unofficial' pilot project. Chapter 4 highlights the difficulties and time needed for facilitating meaningful participation focussing on the formulation of village plans and an examination of specific village planning projects. Chapter 5 discusses the EU active citizenship agenda with a discussion of regional citizens' panels. The chapter explores the issues in more detail through a focus a panel straddling the Irish border region. The final chapter presents an appraisal of the limits and potential of more participatory approaches.

Although this is a relatively small volume that ranges over rather disparate examples, it manages to weave a narrative that draws together issues of governance, spatial planning, rural development and community involvement. In some ways Murray's book works better as an overview of trajectories in rural development rather than an in-depth assessment of participatory methods. While there is clearly a case to be made for more genuinely participatory approaches, Murray acknowledges the numerous difficulties associated with it and, importantly, the resistances to it exhibited by statutory agencies. He points to some of the merits and potential of widespread participation but also reminds us of the problems of operationalising this, the difficulties of fostering genuine engagement and the political context which might be seen to be rhetorically supportive but structurally resistant. As Murray himself states early on in this book the problem remains of 'the extent to which participatory arenas of engagement can champion negotiating practices that move citizens closer and into the loci of power, or merely place them on the fringes of polite advocacy' (p. 14). Murray argues that government at a variety of spatial scales may promote participation but primarily for functional means. Additionally, in so far as some useful progress is made in relation to bridge building and so on, this may suffer from the time-limited dimensions of funding conditions and related constraints. While Murray concludes that there is an enthusiasm for these approaches, his work paradoxically demonstrates that there remain problems with getting people more actively and meaningfully involved.

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Michael D. GORDIN, Helen TILLEY, Gyan PRAKASH (eds.), *Utopia/ Dystopia. Conditions of Historical Possibility*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, Oxford 2010, 293 pp.

The book *Utopia/Dystopia. Condition of Historical Possibility* is a collection of essays which shows the concepts of dystopia and utopia as a historically grounded analytic categories. The authors also show how individuals and groups in the world could interpret the present with an eye to the future. As the authors noticed, utopias and dystopias are histories of the present. Moreover, these concepts have received much historical attention, especially the utopian conception.

In the comprehensive introduction the authors explain the differences between utopia and dystopia using different examples from the history. On the one hand utopia takes everything into the future and serves to indict the present but on the other hand dystopia places all straight in the dark and emphasises the reality conjuring up the frightening future if people do not recognize its symptoms which are here and now.

The publication is divided into two main parts. The first one, which is called *Anima*, consists of five articles. The authors present considerations connected with utopia as a method, and deal with Southern African frontier, India and Rhodesia during the decolonisation. In *Anima* the authors show different inflections which are related to human existence. The authors also suggest that utopia and dystopia tend to test the boundaries of the reality.

In the first chapter called *Utopia as a Method, or Uses of the Future* the author Frederic Jameson shows that utopian projects are useful because they let interrogate own way of thinking and help in the understanding of frontiers and webs of imagination. The second chapter, *Literacy and Futurity: Millennial Dreaming on the Nineteenth-Century Southern African Frontier*, written by Jennifer Wenzel, shows millennial movements in midnineteenth-century South Africa. That time was a decisive moment of the colonialism when European faith in the civilising mission reached the top. The third chapter called *Bourgeois Categories Made Global: The Utopian and Actual Lives of Historical Documents in India*, written by Dipesh Chakrabarty, is looking for the answer to where to look for the past records resurrected especially in the decades preceding a nation's political independence. The next chapter called *The Utopia of Working Phones: Rhodesian Independence and the Place of Race in Decolonization* is written by Luise White. The author tries to show how colonialism which was a minority rule became a rule of majority and revolves around limits of the racial politics. The last chapter of this part, called *Hydrocarbon Utopia*, was written by Timothy Mitchell. The author focuses on energy politics and tries to predict the future where energy and politics unite to be more democratic.

In the second part of the book, which is called *Artifice*, the authors explore subjective and modern utopian and dystopian ways of thinking and practice. All chapters emphasise the manipulation and abstraction.

In the chapter called *Techno-Utopian Dreams, Techno-Political Realities: The Education of Desire for the Peaceful Atom*, the author John Krige tries to analyse a twentieth-century phenomenon – nuclear power. The next chapter, *On Cosmopolitanism, the Avant-Garde, and a Lost Innocence of Central Europe*, written by Marci Shore, shows dystopian clash between fascism and communism. What is interesting, the author tries to show some optimistic aspects of the Bolshevik Revolution. The next chapter, *The Breath of the Possible: Everyday Utopianisma and the Street in Modernist Urbanism*, written by David Pinder, tries to show the nature of the present. The author presents his reflections connected with utopian possibilities starting at the streets. One of the most important points of these architectonic movements was initiated by Le Corbusier. The next chapter called *Stalinist Confessions in an Age of Terror: Messianic Times at the Leningrad Communist Universities* was written by Igal Halfin, who tries to show the mechanism of NKVD's investigations and procedures. The last chapter of the book called *The Heterotopias of Dalit Politics: Becoming-Subject and the Consumption Utopia* is written by Aditya Nigamis, connected with politics in India. The article is a collection of three scenes featuring a leader of the outcasts, dystopian space and Dalit Capitalism Party. The author explains the notions of time implied in utopia.

The strong point of the book *Utopia/Dystopia. Condition of Historical Possibility* is interesting notes which are included at the end of each chapter. They let the readers have a better understanding of the issues addressed. In sum, this book not only shows different concepts of utopia and dystopia but also presents an illuminating overview of some historical facts.

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