Book review: *Surveillance and Space*

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In a perfect coincidence, on the same day I had finished reading *Surveillance and Space*, the main header in Israel's most popular newspaper revealed a new project, in which thousands of "smart cameras" would watch and survey Jerusalem's public spaces. "It will be just like in the movies", said a high-ranking police officer. "No person in the city would go unrecorded" (Saban, 2017). The article then describes the control rooms, the technological abilities of the cameras, and the risks and challenges of security and control in the contested city.

Someone who wishes to better understand the rationales and effects of the planned project is recommended to read Francisco Klauser's book. Klauser, a professor in political geography at the University of Neuchâtel, has written a thorough and rigorous, yet clear and accessible, book on the political geography of surveillance in the digital age. The book is published as part of Sage's Society and Space series, aiming to explore the relationships between the spatial and the social from a variety of angles and theoretical perspectives. This volume, concentrating on the spatial features of surveillance, cleverly ties together philosophy, science and technology studies, surveillance studies, and political geography.

The 11 chapters are divided into four thematic parts: "conceptual foundations", "spatial logics of surveillance", "the function of surveillance in its relation to space", and "the socio-spatial implications of surveillance". Each thematic part contains both a concise introduction and conclusion, helping the reader to extract the main themes in discussion, while each chapter ends with two or three recommendations for further reading. The choice to insert a case-study box at the end of the chapters, giving a brief illustration to the conceptual discussion, works very well. The case studies are taken from the author's own research repertoire; among them

are airport policing, surveillance in sport mega-events, smart energy management, and video cameras in street prostitution areas.

The key question dealt with in the book is "how does IT-mediated surveillance, in its logics, functioning, and implications, interact with space?" (p. 2). This interaction is studied in its bidirectionality: the ways in which space shapes surveillance practices and experiences while shedding light on how surveillance systems construct space and socio-spatial relations. It is, therefore, the "co-constitution of space and surveillance" (p. 3) that is at stake.

The first part lays down the conceptual foundations for the study of surveillance and space, tying together Lefebvre's concept of the everyday, Latourian discussion on actor–network interfaces, Foucault's forms of power and surveillance, and finally Raffestin on territoriality and mediation. It thus shows how the everyday is colonized by the surveillance systems, how these apparatuses work as complex assemblages of human and nonhuman actors, and what the political dimensions of power and control applied by them are, and it stresses their processual and relational characteristics. Following Raffestin, the social world is seen as mediated by language and technology, meaning that "a political geography of surveillance also invites [...] a political geography of mediation" (p. 26).

The second part is an ambitious attempt to develop a spatial vocabulary of surveillance. Beginning from art theory developed by painters Klee and Kandinsky, the relational nature of points, lines, and planes is explored to analyze modes of seeing and being seen. The discussion proceeds to questions of openness and enclosure, flexibility and fixity, arguing for the need to read Foucault's relation to surveillance beyond the panopticon and the disciplinary mode of power. The last chapter in the second part injects time and processuality to the spatiality of surveillance by bringing up Sloterdijk's "spherology" of bubbles, globes, and foams. The foam metaphor enables thinking of spaces as co-constituted, co-

dependent, and co-fragile. While each sphere may be studied separately (e.g., video surveillance in specific location), the combined vocabulary of surveillance suggests thinking of the security landscape as defined by complex structure of relational processes, enclosures, and flows, in which spaces are bound together by reciprocal implication and co-dependency.

As previously mentioned, the rich theoretical parts are supported by specific case studies. The empirics are intended not to present an exhaustive research but rather to complement the abstract discussions. Thus, Klee's and Kandinsky's theories of points, lines, and planes are followed by a case study on the punctual, linear, and planar logics of airport policing – and the other two parts (fixity/flexibility and Sloterdijk's spherology) are supported by a careful analysis of surveillance at sport mega-events.

Taking questions of mediation and actor–network theory seriously, the third part examines the role of technological expertise and the global marketing of surveillance tools. On the one hand, surveillance products are exported from one location to the other, many times by global corporations that sell their expertise and experience regardless of questions of space and context. This situation holds the risk of flattening the human world, with its varying complex security and social contexts, to a limited number of pre-designated "shelf solutions". The complexity of the surveillance technology, coupled with the need to rely on limited variety of "traveling" solutions, reduces then the power of democratic institutions to make an informed discussion about the desired tools and results of surveillance. On the other hand, Klauser reveals cases in which surveillance "solutions" are going through changes and adaptations through their importation and exportation. It thus presents the surveillance industry as a contextualized practice between place, economy, and discourse, on both local and global levels. Its influence exceeds, of course, the realm of technology, as it opens questions of democracy, participation, responsibility, and accountability.

The book's last part develops the socio-spatial implications of surveillance. Through an analytical discussion and a detailed case study, that section dwells on an important question that unfortunately is only rarely asked, that is, what the effects of surveillance and securitization strategies are on the micro-scale everyday lives of individuals in the surveilled space. The research opposes face-to-face management, which is based on nuanced communication between authority and individuals, with IT-mediated surveillance, in which the surveilled and the surveilling are distanced and separated. Video cameras are deaf and anosmic, making the control room a disconnected space not only by means of physical distance from the occurrences but also by means of affect and embodiment. Watching and managing through video cameras and flat screens thus creates "both a spatial and a social and mental distance between the observers and the observed" (p. 132). The other side of the equation is the everydayness of being governed from afar. What the case study shows is that the cameras' existence quickly fades from people's minds. The fixity of the cameras, coupled with the physical distance and lack of direct action on behalf of the observers, caused people to "lose belief" in the cameras, seeing them as ineffective and negligible. This "loss of faith" in the surveillance system undermines the whole idea of surveillance, that is, internalization of discipline and "right behavior". Thus, the huge amount of resources invested in smart apparatuses might prove itself worthless.

The book is an ambitious attempt to create a basis for further research into the political geography of surveillance. It argues for a multi-scalar geography that connects global forces with specific sites, while putting the focus on the process of space-making rather than on the intentions or outcomes of the surveillance systems. It is therefore an important reading for scholars in political geography, urban studies, and surveillance studies.

Referring back to the newspaper item with which this review began brings up an important point for further research. *Surveillance and Space* cleverly explains many of the rationales, technologies, and expectations, as well as the limitations and prospected failures, of the planned surveillance apparatus in Jerusalem. At the same time, however, it reveals the need for further research into the spatial politics of surveillance. Klauser's book concentrates on western contexts. It is reflected in the case studies, brought from Western Europe or Canada, but more importantly is the focus of analysis that seems to take citizenship and inclusion for granted. Surveillance has a direct connection to issues of inclusion and exclusion of populations. In colonial, postcolonial, ethnocratic, or authoritarian regimes – and with recent developments, also gradually in Europe and the US – struggle against surveillance "is related to the struggle over basic rights to be free from harassment and persecution based on political, social, and religious convictions" (Dean, 2017). In the case of Jerusalem, a contested and divided city, the Palestinian inhabitants (40 % of the city's population) have no citizenship but rather a "permanent residency", which they can lose if not able to prove that Jerusalem is their "life center". Thus, when Israel surveys East Jerusalem's Palestinian inhabitants, it does so in order to prove that they *do not* belong to the city, as part of "exclusionary surveillance" aimed at depriving their rights (Handel and Dayan, 2017). Jerusalem's surveillance systems are therefore part of a larger political geography, in which the colonization of the everyday is inseparable from the geopolitical scale of the Israeli colonization of the Palestinian territories. Surveillance is a means to an end, and the ends are changing from context to context. Keeping in mind both the means and the ends is the only way to bridge the gap in political geography between "politics" and "Politics" (Flint, 2003), that is, between the everyday practices of territorialization, on the one hand, and the larger scale of geopolitics and the Politics inclusion and exclusion on the other. A political geography of surveillance that would go beyond the Global North will have to widen the framework to include further territories and contexts.

References

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