

Blumler indicate, has a great potential in solving problems of contemporary democracy. Thus, the authors' recommendation in establishing an independent government-funded agency along with creating civic commons is remarkable. However, this recommendation may be realized only for well-established democracies where the state and its political institutions are well-functioned and have capacities to deal with demands or problems raised by variety groups of people. In a society where democracy is new, a preparation stage for promoting an effective e-democracy such as by establishing political institutions that are properly designed, trustworthy, and efficacious as well as empowering pluralistic civil society would be required. Overloading active political participation to young democracies does not spontaneously bring advancement and consolidation to societies; indeed, it may even harm young democracies. Apart from these weaknesses, this well-written book is an important contribution to e-democracy, political communication, and policy literature.

**Mark A. R. Kleiman, *When Brute Force Fails. How to have Less Crime and Less Punishment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).**

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With a rate of about 1 percent incarceration per capita (i.e. the highest in the world) and damage from crime reaching 10 percent of GDP, the US allocates large budget resources to tackle this issue and faces serious deadlocks in the crime control domain. Starting from these facts, Mark Kleiman's "*When Brute Force Fails*" raises awareness of the need to alleviate both the damages caused by crime and the burden that its control exercises on taxpayers. The analysis is based on the US experiences with crime and crime control, and that is neither a disadvantage, nor a weakness, but an almost exhaustive presentation of the evolution of crime rate, incarceration and public costs.

Kleiman organizes his paper in eleven chapters, firstly explaining why the present crime control strategy (building more prisons) became inefficient and demonstrating the need for rethinking it. He continues with presenting crime-swerving alternatives, here including probation and parole, or drug and gun control. The policy expert reserves one chapter for reviewing potential drawbacks in the implementation of the alternative strategies and the last one for revising every policy proposed, with supplementary details.

He promotes the idea that the "zero tolerance" credo is obsolete, instead introducing alternative measures whose efficiency is shown with rational arguments and concrete examples. The aftermath of the severe punishment policy does nothing but incapacitate the criminals. However, resources are scarce and crime continues to take place. Given that for offenders the impact of incarceration is not proportionate with the time in prison, Kleiman shows that swiftness and certainty of punishment successfully replace severity, especially in enforced conditions of probation and parole. Also, communicating the punishment to the potential recidivist offender proved to be an effective crime control strategy, as he can acknowledge the risks he is subjected to and can make an informed choice of whether or not to abide the law.

Such components contribute to cheaper security. Moreover, collaboration between institutions plays an essential role: as soon as education, public health and social care move beyond their initial objective and take measures to prevent crime, they could diminish crime rate. The education sector could contribute to curbing juvenile crime by changing schooling hours, as most offenses take place during afterschool hours while pupils are not under their parents' surveillance; or introducing bullying prevention as a performance indicator for school management. Also, public health institutions should be concerned with raising awareness upon the dangers of becoming a member of a gang, using drugs or guns. Furthermore, drug law enforcement can influence the crime rate, both keeping potential offenders' minds

lucid and reducing violence in the drug dealing process. A better gun control law should primarily focus on reducing access to firearms for gun-ineligible persons; moreover, accent should be put on curbing gun trafficking through intensive crime-gun tracing and enforcement against offenders. Environmental focus can contribute to crime control, in such respect, Kleiman is highlighting the influence lead exposure has on criminal behavior.

*"When Brute Force Fails"* is a combination of rational choice and empirical approaches, becoming an enjoyable reading and a sustainable public policy initiative for three interconnected reasons. First, Kleiman explains through rational choice calculations how a person chooses to abide by or break the law. One might object that people rarely use rationality when making choices. However, by simulating offenses and limited-resource actions similar to the crime control reality (in the chapter called "Tipping, Dynamic Concentration, and the Logic of Deterrence"), Kleiman pinpoints the essential details of the broader picture: high offense rates and scarce resources and the need for a mechanism to efficiently curb crime.

Every suggested policy is motivated both by explaining the status quo urging for it and the consequences upon the offenders and society. The book depicts low resource-consuming strategies that brought almost miraculous results, and these strategies could and should be extended at a wider, maybe national level. One successful example is the Hawaii's Opportunity Probation with Enforcement (H.O.P.E.), which combined enforced conditions of probation, close monitoring and certain and swift punishment for noncompliant probationers. The program involved the corroborated work of probation officers, judges, prosecutors and lawyers, ending with an impressive curb in probationers' drug use.

An eloquent chapter is "What Could Go Wrong?", where Kleiman foresees potential hindrances and drawbacks of the policies he proceeds, like misapplications of dynamic concentration, if the problem is not the incapacity to punish, but crime detection, or differences of mission of institutions that should have concerted

work for crime control. He also highlights that some aspects of the policies should be subject to test and evaluation before they are implemented wider: presumably, the HOPE program will not work exactly with crack probationers in Washington just as it did in Hawaii. The book is aimed at sociologists, public policy scholars or crime control analysts, but also civic-active people who are interested in what should be done to ensure a safer environment.

One possible weakness of the book is that Kleiman fails to consider the position of victims. His arguments take into account both safety of tax payers and a better spending of their money. However, the emotional aspect is left uncovered. There are people willing to see their aggressors severely punished and this may be one reason why the US have a 15 percent lower crime rate than in 1974 and an incarceration rate four times as high. The book does not tackle the problem of extremely severe crimes, but, though they are not victims of grave crimes, burglary victims, for example, might not feel comfortable with the idea of their violators' probation, no matter how attentively scrutinized they are during the program.

What makes the book worthy is the fact that Kleiman remains tenaciously realistic. The public policy expert is conscious that crime will not disappear. Therefore, he offers some examples of how consequences of drug dealing, for instance, can be diminished for those who are not involved. Moreover, he acknowledges the fact that some of his policy proposals might be flawed; but even if they did, the mere demarche of analyzing crime from many vantage points (the public costs for incarceration, the private costs of victims, the rational choice perspective of complying or offending the law) and suggesting instruments from different fields to counteract the issue remains innovative and worth considering it for further research.

It would be a pity if Kleiman's remained just an impressive scholarly work. Everywhere resources are scarce and must be allocated efficiently to solve essential issues, like the safety of citizens. A primary responsibility of the state is to ensure the security of its citizen, and thus, crime control is a matter of both