EUROPEAN GROUP
FOR THE STUDY OF DEVIANCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

An international network working towards social justice, state accountability and decarceration since 1973

www.europeangroup.org/

Coordinator team: Vicky Canning, Katja Simončič, Dani Jiménez-Franco

47a Conferència Anual del Grup Europeu per a l’Estudi de la Desviació i el Control Social
European Group 47th Annual Conference for the Study of Deviance & Social Control

4, 5, 6 Setembre de 2019
Can Batlló, Barcelona

CRIMINALITAT ESTATAL-CORPORATIVA: RESISTÈNCIA i REPRESSIÓ.
CAP A UNA TEORIA DE LA INSURRECCIÓ
RESISTING STATE-CORPORATE HARMs IN TIMES OF REPRESSION: TOWARD A THEORY OF INSURRECTION

newsletter
APRIL 2019
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Dear comrades and colleagues of the European Group

Welcome to the April edition of our newsletter. We are delighted to say that the Group continues to go from strength to strength, with more members than ever and a promising outlook for the annual conference and the forthcoming editions of our collective journal *Power, Justice and Resistance*. We strongly encourage members to sign for the next editions which will be distributed over the coming months: [http://www.egpress.org/content/justice-power-and-resistance](http://www.egpress.org/content/justice-power-and-resistance)

As everyone will be aware, there are increasingly concerning moves toward populist right movements, including racist, xenophobic and antisemetic attacks and the mass murder of Muslims in New Zealand. This month’s edition reflects these concerns, with contributions from members addressing topics such as terrorism, white supremacy, democracy and social harm. Whilst we wish condolences for all those affected, we aim to continue developments of activist and academic counter approaches to intensifying violence. We hope that the annual conference will be key in increasing collective momentum.

To that end, we invite you to read the full call for conference papers (below) and take some time to read and reflect on the excellent contributions from members throughout the newsletter. As always, we very much appreciate it, and are happy to discuss contributions (email Vicky, Dani and Katja on europeangroupcoordinator@gmail.com before the 25th of each month).

*No pasarán!*

With best wishes,

**Vicky Canning, Katja Simončič, and Dani Jiménez [EG coordinator team]**
I. Barcelona 2019

European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control
47th Annual Conference

Can Batlló, Barcelona, 4, 5, 6 September 2019

RESISTING STATE-CORPORATE HARMs IN TIMES OF REPRESSION:
TOWARD A THEORY OF INSURRECTION

Opening of the registration period: 20 February 2019
The call for contributions is organized under streams pertaining to the titles of the European Group’s Working Groups. Please submit a summary of your contribution (máx. 600 words) to the relevant stream by 20 April 2019.

Registration & payment deadline: 29 April 2019

Across the globe, there has been an undoubted evolution of the intimate bond between states and corporations. The impacts have been prolific: as state-corporate power increases, the social, economic and political wellbeing of populations and ecosystems has degenerated greatly in many areas. Political repression has ensued across regions of resistance. Whilst wealth has increased for a minority elite, violent economic policies continue to inflict social, economic, emotional and political harms against some of the most powerless in society. Meanwhile, so-called ‘globalisation’ often imposes market totalisation: an essentially colonial dynamic to manage populations through the mechanisms of warfare and social control. Indeed, we are increasingly seeing the militarisation of police forces and borders, with armies patrolling the provinces of world ‘geoeconomics’: life becomes privatised, and death is outsourced.

In response to these shifts, the 2019 Annual Conference of the European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control will be held in Barcelona. Our objective is to give voice to those who resist, and offer the means to collaborate towards the collective construction of an insurrectional theory based on a variety of practical experiences. This is a chance to expand on a theory and practice which is based on the legitimate right to a dignified life. A theory to pull down the walls between discourses and struggles for justice, thus dissolving the divide between so-called ‘knowledge production’ and social organisation: it is always the latter what facilitates the former. We look forward to taking this opportunity to build activist and research agendas in this direction.

We particularly encourage papers and panels that draw together activism and academia, and bring to the table examples of where toolkits or actions for resistance have been successful – or not. We aim to build a mutual learning environment within which attendees and speakers can develop ideas to move forward in various areas across the spectrum of social inequality and multiple oppressions or violence.

See: http://www.europeangroup.org/
Working Groups / Streams:

**Prisons, Detention and Punishment**
Simone Santorso (Simone.santorso18@gmail.com)

**Policing and Security**
Georgios Papanicolaou (g.papanicolaou@tees.ac.uk)

**Crimes of the Powerful**
Samantha Fletcher (Samantha.Fletcher@mmu.ac.uk)

**Fear and Looting in the Periphery**
Dani Jiménez (djf@unizar.es), Ale Forero (aleforero@ub.edu).
Ignasi Bernat (ignasi.bernat@gmail.com), Rita Faria (rfaria@direito.up.pt)

**Social Harm**
Christina Pantazis (C.pantazis@bristol.ac.uk)
Simon Pemberton (s.pemberton.1@bham.ac.uk)

**Historical, philosophical and artistic approaches**
Stratos Georgoulas (s.georgoulas@soc.aegean.gr)

**Conference co-ordinator team:**
Ale Forero – aleforero@ub.edu
Dani Jiménez – diff@unizar.es
En todo el mundo, el vínculo íntimo entre estado y mercado ha sufrido evidentes transformaciones a lo largo de las últimas décadas. Los efectos nocivos de ese cambio han afectado a una mayoría de la población mundial, a sus condiciones de vida y a sus entornos sociales y naturales. La represión política se extiende a todos los territorios en resistencia. La llamada globalización impone una totalización del mercado por medio de dinámicas esencialmente coloniales, de ahí que la gestión de las poblaciones tienda a emplear lógicas y métodos de guerra y control social. Las policías hacen guerras locales, los ejércitos patrullan las provincias “geoeconómicas” del mundo, la vida se privatiza y la muerte se subcontrata.

Por todas estas razones, el próximo mes de septiembre en Barcelona, la 47ª Conferencia del European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control quiere dar voz a quienes resisten, con el objetivo último de construir colectivamente una teoría insurreccional basada en una suma de experiencias prácticas. Una teoría basada en el legítimo derecho a una vida digna. Una teoría para derribar los muros entre discursos y luchas por la justicia, eliminando la división entre la llamada “producción de conocimiento” y la organización social. Porque es siempre la segunda la que construye lo primero, y no al revés.

Os animamos a presentar experiencias que pongan en común la actividad de la militancia social y el trabajo académico, ejemplos en los que las herramientas, métodos y acciones de resistencia hayan tenido éxito – o no. Nuestra intención es construir un espacio de aprendizaje mutuo en el que asistentes y ponentes desarrollen propuestas encaminadas a avanzar en diferentes frentes de lucha contra la desigualdad social y sus múltiples formas de violencia y opresión.

Ver: http://www.europeangroup.org/
Grupos de Trabajo / Sesiones:

Cárcel, Encierro y Castigo
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Policía y Seguridad
Georgios Papanicolaou (g.papanicolaou@tees.ac.uk)

Crímenes de los Poderosos
Samantha Fletcher (Samantha.Fletcher@mmu.ac.uk)

Miedo y Saqueo en la Periferia
Dani Jiménez (diff@unizar.es), Ale Forero (aleforero@ub.edu).
Ignasi Bernat (ignasi.bernat@gmail.com), Rita Faria (rfaria@direito.up.pt)

Enfoques históricos, filosóficos y artísticos
Stratos Georgoulas (s.georgoulas@soc.aegean.gr)

Daño Social / Social Harm
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II. Stuart Hall and the ‘Little Caesars’ of Social Democracy

Joe Sim and Steve Tombs

In April 1981, the same month as a major disturbance in Brixton in London, generated by the racist use of stop and search powers by the police, *Marxism Today* published *The ‘Little Caesars’ of Social Democracy* written by Stuart Hall.

In seven, closely argued pages, Hall forensically and brilliantly analysed the rise of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) which had been formed in the previous month by four individuals who had held high, political office between 1974 and 1979 when the Labour Party was in government. Almost two years into the first Thatcher Government, these centrists decided to abandon a Labour Party under what they saw as a hard left Labour leadership. Their goal was to claim the centre ground, apparently vacated by the ‘Tory right and the socialist Left.

In his essay, Hall dissects the popular and political discourse that the centre-ground is the site where reasonable, moderate politics should be conducted and away from the tribal fire of conventional party politics. For Hall, in practice, moving towards the political centre was an act of incorporation, ‘a gravitation to the right- not the Centre’. The article dealt not only with the apparent disintegration of the power network that had governed how the Conservative and Labour parties had operated in Parliament for decade after pitiful decade, but it also focused on the problems of the labour movement, more generally, not least its myopic incapacity to think beyond the taken-for-granted so that it lacked the ‘organisation, strategy, programme or political will to rule’. Taken together, these developments were toxic for constructing a radically transformative politics at a conjunctural moment when Thatcherism – still in its infancy - was to grow exponentially into the brutally transformative force it was to become over the following decades.

We thought that is was timely for the European Group to make available Stuart Hall’s article to the readers of this newsletter. Timely, because many of the same arguments are currently being played out nearly forty years on in the UK with the recent formation of the ‘Independent Group’, composed of MPs from the two major political parties, who, like their predecessors, want to transgress conventional party politics and carve out a space for a pragmatic approach unadulterated by the expedient compromises of the two-party system. And while the debate about Brexit, and the abject failure of the Parliamentary system to arrive at some kind of consensual way forward on this issue has been sold as the main catalyst for their decision to leave their respective parties, in truth UK politics has been dominated by the drive towards the centre for the last four decades, as Hall’s piece illustrates.

Amongst many ironies is that the ‘Independent Group’ now sees politicians who were heavily involved in introducing harsh and pitiless policies around austerity sharing the same platform with politicians who opposed these policies from the opposition benches. And that is what third party, centre-ground politics is about, as Hall argued in 1981. It represents compromise and, through that very act it ‘neutralise[s]’ a socialist solution to the recurrent crises in capitalism and the desecration of the human spirit that these crises, and the brutal policies on offer to mitigate them, engender.

In short, retreating to the centre means more capitalism not less, more state brutality not less and more harm and destruction in the lives of the poor and powerless, not less. That is the lesson of Hall’s brilliant and prescient insights which speak so loudly and so poignantly four decades on. It is a lesson the so-moderate careerists who wish to start afresh on the so-reasonable ground of centrism will fail to heed.
Stuart Hall y los “pequeños Césares” de la socialdemocracia

Joe Sim y Steve Tombs [traducción de Daniel Jiménez]

En abril de 1981, mes en el que el uso racista de las identificaciones y registros policiales generó grandes disturbios en Brixton (Londres), Stuart Hall publicó “los pequeños Césares de la Socialdemocracia” en la revista Marxism Today. En siete páginas claras y sintéticas, Hall presentó un brillante análisis forense sobre el surgimiento del partido Socialdemócrata. El SDP había sido fundado un mes antes por cuatro individuos que entre 1974 y 1979 habían ocupado altos cargos en el gobierno del partido laborista. Pasados casi dos años del primer gobierno de Thatcher, estos centristas decidieron abandonar un partido laborista en respuesta a lo que consideraban un liderazgo de extrema izquierda. Su objetivo era reivindicar el centro político, aparentemente abandonado por la derecha tory y la izquierda socialista.

En su ensayo, Hall disecciona el discurso popular y político que define el centro como escenario de las políticas razonables, moderadas y alejadas del fuego tribal del partidismo convencional. Para Hall, en la práctica, moverse hacia el centro político fue un acto de incorporación, “una gravitación a la derecha y no hacia el centro”. El artículo no sólo abordaba la aparente desintegración de la red de poder bajo la que los partidos conservador y laborista habían operado lamentablemente en el Parlamento durante décadas. También se centraba en los problemas generales del movimiento obrero, incluida su miope incapacidad para pensar más allá de “lo dado por supuesto” y su falta de “organización, estrategia, programa o voluntad de poder”. Tomados en conjunto, todos estos factores sabotearon la construcción de una política radicalmente transformadora en ese momento coyuntural en que el thatcherismo empezaba a crecer exponencialmente – hasta convertirse, como ocurriría en pocos años, en una fuerza brutalmente transformadora.

Hemos creído oportuno que el Grupo Europeo pusiera el artículo de Stuart Hall a disposición de los lectores de este boletín, pues muchos de sus mismos argumentos están siendo esgrimidos en el Reino Unido hoy, casi cuarenta años después, ante la reciente formación de un “Grupo Independiente” compuesto por parlamentarios de los dos principales partidos políticos, que, como sus antecesores, quieren superar la política partidista convencional y abrir espacio a un enfoque pragmático no adulterado por los intereses del sistema bipartidista. Los motivos aducidos para tomar esa decisión son el debate sobre el Brexit y el abyecto fracaso del sistema parlamentario para acordar alguna fórmula consensual que permita avanzar en el tema, pero lo cierto es que la política británica lleva cuatro décadas dominada por esa deriva centrista – como ilustra la obra de Hall.

Entre muchas otras ironías, ese “Grupo Independiente” reprocha ahora que quienes aplicaron los recortes más duros y despiadados compartan plataforma con quienes se oponían a estas políticas desde la oposición. Y en eso consiste la “tercera” política del centro, como explicó Hall en 1981: representar un presunto compromiso mediante el cual se “neutralizar [s]” cualquier solución socialista a las crisis recurrentes del capitalismo y a la profanación del espíritu humano que engendran estas crisis y las brutales políticas de oferta que dicen mitigarla.

En resumen, la retirada al centro significa más capitalismo y no menos; más brutalidad estatal y no menos; más daño y destrucción en la vida de los pobres e indefensos, nunca menos. Esa es, cuatro décadas después, la lección de Hall, de sus ideas brillantes y proféticas, de sus sinceras y conmovedoras palabras. Una lección siempre ignorada por esos arribistas “moderados” que quieren reinventar el “razonable” espacio del centro.
Stuart Hall und die ‘Kleinen Caesaren’ der Sozialdemokratie

Joe Sim und Steve Tombs [übersetzt von Andrea Beckmann]


Nach fast zwei Jahren Thatcherregierung entschlossen sich diese Zentristen die Labour Partei zu verlassen, die sie als hart links geleitet ansahen. Ihre Ambition war es die politische Mitte für sich einzufordern welche sie als von den rechten Tories sowie von der sozialistischen Linken verlassen sahen.


Wir dachten daβ es ein passender Zeitpunkt für die Europäische Gruppe wäre diesen Aufsatz von Stuart Hall für die Leser dieses Newsletters zugänglich zu machen [Stuart Hall’s article].


Und während die Debate über Brexit, und das erbärmliche Versagen des parlamentarischen Systems einen einvernehmlichen Weg zu diesem Thema einzuschlagen als der Hauptkatalysator für die Entscheidung ihre jeweiligen Parteien zu verlassen dargestellt wird, ist es wahr daß die Politik im Vereinigten Königreich seit vier Jahrzehnten von einem Drift zum Zentrum dominiert wird, wie Halls Aufsatz illustriert.

Es repräsentiert Kompromiss, und, dadurch ‘neutralisiert [es]’ eine sozialistische Lösung für die wiederkehrenden Krisen des Kapitalismus und der Schändung des menschlichen Geistes welche diese Krisen und die brutalen politischen Massnahmen die diese abschwächen sollen, beinhalten.

Kurz gesagt, der Rückzug zum Zentrum bedeutet mehr Kapitalismus, nicht weniger, mehr Staatsbrutalität, nicht weniger und mehr Leid und Zerstörung in den Leben der Armen und der Machtlosen, nicht weniger. Das ist die Lektion von Halls brillanten und vorausschauenden Einsichten die, nach vier Jahrzehnten so laut und so mahnend zu uns sprechen. Es ist eine Lektion welche diese so-gemässigten Karrieristen die frisch anfangen möchten auf der so-vernünftigen Grundlage des Zentrismus nicht hören werden.
III. How expressions of white supremacy seep through our society

Elizabeth Stanley @ The Spinoff, 21 March 2019


Yesterday it emerged that 10 years of public documents from NZ spy agencies contained zero mentions of rightwing extremism. Yet narratives invoking racialised fears and myths of Pakeha superiority run deep, writes criminologist Elizabeth Stanley

We have officially experienced two acts of terrorism in New Zealand. The first was the bombing of the Greenpeace Rainbow Warrior ship by French government agents in July 1985. The second is almost too painful to write: our sadness, anger and confusion for the white supremacist massacre and maiming of Muslim New Zealanders at prayer is profound.

For now, we have to attend to our personal, community and institutional needs – recognise those we have lost, mourn, support those victimised in all ways possible, reassert our community relationships, change gun laws, investigate whether security agencies ‘dropped the ball’, and provide accountability. All of these things, and others are vital today and in the years ahead.

Yet, we might also reflect on the structural and societal underpinnings of this terror. Because despite their significant differences in nature and impact, these forms of violence are bound together through their ultimate expressions of supremacy.

Consider the Rainbow Warrior. In 1985, it was about to sail to the Morurua Atoll to challenge French nuclear testing. Over the years, France deployed about 200 nuclear tests in the South Pacific. The mushroomed radioactive clouds led to cancers and leukaemia across French Polynesia (for civilians and military officers), and devastated landscapes and ecosystems. Some areas are still ‘no-go zones’.

The bombing of the ship – long covered up by the French government – renewed New Zealand’s impetus for its nuclear-free status. However, this terrorism and nuclear testing showed us how powerful states and corporations viewed the Pacific as a place to destroy in the interests of their own national security, industrial growth and global power expansion.

The capitalist, colonial logic of environmental annihilation has intensified in the intervening years, so much so that on the morning of Friday 15 March, thousands of New Zealand school children went on strike (joining many others across the world) to protest against the lack of state action towards climate change. They understand that we face catastrophic anthropogenic harms, largely from powerful states and corporations who remain wedded to exploitative economic, material or technological priorities. With rising sea levels, some of our neighbours could yet make the ultimate sacrifice of dispossession. We face unimaginable global harms.

Sustaining this advanced capitalist, colonising order has depended on rich narratives that invoke racialised fears and perpetuate myths of our superiority. In New Zealand, the early drive was to build a ‘better Britain’, plumped up by warnings about Māori deficiencies or the invasion dangers of the ‘Yellow Peril’. Today, as the Cameroonian philosopher Achille
Mbembe has noted, western societies are characterised by ‘exclusion, hostility, hate movements, and, above all, by the struggle against the enemy’.

Our dominant desires are to separate, to enclose, to exterminate those who we deem different, and to keep away those who may be a threat (not just to our personhood, but to our wallets and our ways of life). We are busy establishing borders, securing areas and minds, setting out resources, sorting out who ‘belongs’ and who does not. We look to deport those who we cannot tolerate (including climate change ‘overstayers’ from Pacific states) but ease the movement of those whose faces or passports are thought to fit (including French state agents or an Australian neo-Nazi).

Under supremacy logics, the management of populations (and who is ‘us’) is continuously reconfigured. Along the way, there is an active forgetting about how Pākehā and white Australians, Europeans and North Americans sustain privilege. We never have to explain ourselves. We conveniently minimise histories of colonisation and imperialism. In New Zealand, we argue that our lands were peacefully settled, or that colonisation is over. We often assert that we are the ones who are victimised, and we are the ones under threat.

In turn, we build power by profiling racialised and capitalist risks. We consistently seek to manage the behaviour of readily identifiable populations – Muslims, Māori, Pasifika, Asians, environmental activists. We regulate their political and social citizenship through vilification and dehumanisation. We build threats, surveillance, and repressive controls around them. We expect them to conform, and if this does not happen, we demand other members of their group to demonstrate their loyalties to us.

We can see this supremacy in many places. The persistent funnelling of Māori and Pasifika children through care or criminal justice systems. The targeting of Māori and environmental activists as ‘terrorists’ during Operation 8 and its terrifying policing of Māori communities. The security surveillance of Green MPs. The racist predictive tools used by immigration authorities. The casual constructions of ‘dangerous’ asylum seekers. The hushed acceptance of an inhumane Australian asylum regime. The legitimacy given to US-led bombings and drone strikes across Muslim countries. The social scorn and ready criminalisation of Muslim communities and the state reticence to provide protection to complaints of racism, including physical attacks. What would happen if these narratives and actions were reconfigured and directed to our white selves?

All too often, we deliberately withhold care to those who we see as a threat or ‘other’. Our supremacism persists, and it threatens humans, animals and our globe. It is normalised, and it sets the grounds for who or what will flourish, or suffer.

In moving forward, then, let us remember that these acts of terror and destruction are interlinked. We are not the same as the perpetrators who violently declared who could live or die. But, we cannot announce that their expressions of supremacy are not part of how we structure our societies and live our lives.

*Elizabeth Stanley is a professor in Criminology at Victoria University of Wellington*
IV. ‘Terrorism has No Religion’
Scott Poynting @ Criminology Collective, 17th March 2019
https://www.criminologycollective.nz/2019/03/17/terrorism-has-no-religion/

‘... and death shall have no dominion’ — Dylan Thomas

The only way to begin, is by joining in sorrow with those bereaved in Christchurch on 15 March, and remembering and respecting the fellow humanity of those who, so painfully recently, were also living. Of course, we must find a way to comfort those made fearful by this terror: especially since such fear-making was its major purpose.

There are some crimes of such moment that we always remember where we were and what we were doing when we heard. The assassination of John F. Kennedy is one such that is often named; September 11th is another. The latter was a terrorist attack that was made for showing on television; I heard it on the radio and obstinately refused to watch TV for two days. The Christchurch massacres were made for propagating the terror and ideology via the internet. I am not yet clear about what this means, but it is obvious that it is significant, and that the jumbled ravings of the killer were put together with gleanings from the Web. He says so, in his pre-murder ‘manifesto’. Police and politicians cautioned us not to watch the video footage. Indeed I had no stomach to do so. Yet I spent the night reading the weird manifesto, which was easy enough to get hold of early on.

When I heard the appalling news — somewhat late — I was sitting at my desk, trying to write about Islamophobia. Ironically, the last sentence that I had written, was: ‘There is nothing intrinsically Islamic about these ‘old enemies’ vanquished (eventually, for a time) by the empire; Islam was just part of the package of the otherness, along with non-Whiteness / non-Europeanness, of these brown or black non-Christians who stood in opposition to the empire.’ I was harking back to how the crazed jingoists of the white settlement colony of New South Wales had sent troops to Sudan in 1885 to avenge General Gordon’s ill fate in Khartoum — and it was an immensely popular gesture — invoking, in their recruitment and fundraising campaign, ‘England’s and all Christendom’s old enemies, the Saracens’. The anti-Muslim racism was bound up in empire, I was arguing.

It is a sort of white (European) supremacism, anti-immigration and ethnic cleansing that pervade the 74 incoherent pages of the Christchurch murderer’s diatribe. Islam is almost incidental to him, although a mish-mash of obsessions alludes to Saracens, crusader imagery, Knights Templar, ‘the Turk’, the siege of Vienna and so on and on. Yet also Valhalla, just to emphasise that it’s about ‘race’: the killer proudly owns to fascism and racism and does not baulk at neo-nazism, though he regrets that there are no real nazis any more. The ‘vipers’ nests’ must be burned, and non-European children who are in ‘our lands’ must be killed, without hindrance of sentiment. The killer is fixated upon the non-white others out-breeding ‘us’, and effecting ‘white genocide’ — a by now standard Islamophobic trope and one similarly colouring the ‘manifesto’ of that other mass killer, Anders Breivik, to whose motivations and crimes the Christchurch mass murderer’s have already been widely compared.

The nonsense of this irruption of irrationality should not lead us to the error of believing that individual madness is the cause, or that the motivations are unshared. In the immediate aftermath of the 2011 Oslo massacres, when ‘we were all Norwegians’, George Morgan and I wrote (in Global Islamophobia, 2012: 1) that the mass murder displayed ‘the clear imprint of
a revanchist nationalist politics that has gained popularity in many parts of the contemporary West. ... While rightwing political organisations have scurried to denounce Breivik and the murders ... it is clear that he drew on their (tortured) political logic to rationalise his actions. Australia’s right-wing racist Senator, Fraser Anning, who has remarked that migration was behind the Christchurch massacre, and recently called even more despicably for a ‘final solution’ to the ‘Muslim Question’, is in the same camp. Breivik credited the likes of Dutch anti-Muslim politician Geert Wilders and the English Defence League for his inspiration. This perpetrator’s ‘manifesto’ played on exactly the same sorts of themes: mass immigration, Muslim birth rates, ‘white genocide’, and all the rest. It is not only his insignias that are fascist. It is exterminist, and we have seen it before.

New Zealand rightwing extremist blogger Cameron Slater, having in 2015 just quoted Golda Meir as condemning Arabs as not loving their children, wrote of Islam: ‘... religion of peace? No way, it is a death cult and we should kill them before they kill us’. Well, the message got across on 15 March in Christchurch. Slater, Fraser Anning and their ilk all sell the same sort of product. Will they own it now?

What hate crime and terrorism have in common — and this crime was both — is that they victimise communities beyond those directly targeted, in order to ‘send a message’. A bright young academic, and our recent co-author on Islamophobia, exclaimed to our collaborator in her grief, ‘They keep killing us!’. The perpetrator’s warped and wicked testimonial, The Great Replacement, with its obsession about ethnic cleansing, makes clear that the armies of his allies (yes, he sees himself as a courageous ‘soldier’, repelling ‘invaders’ by killing unarmed civilians including children) will keep doing so until ‘they’ go back to ‘their own lands’. He wants to reinforce a ‘they’ and ‘us’ — and we must not let him.

Others will have commented more than enough about the irony of this (white Australian) immigrant railing against immigration and appointing himself as the defender of ‘our land’ — which he conceives of as a little finger of Europe. While obsessed with ‘race’, he does not mention, in 74 pages, Indigenous people in either the land of his birth or the land of his recent residence. His white supremacy harks ‘back’ mythically to a racially pure/purified Europe. It is different from the US white supremacy excused (embraced!) by Trump, which disparages Black Americans or Hispanic peoples; rather it regards the United States (and indeed Brazil) as hopelessly degenerate and irredeemable. (The manifesto looks forward to guns and war sorting all that decadence out, with the white race emerging victorious.) This racist gunman is no more concerned with the ‘race’ legacy in the Americas of chattel slavery than he is with that of settler colonialism and the dispossession of indigenous peoples. It’s a strangely Europe-centred racism, cobbled together with memes from the internet: no less effective, for all that.

I feel strangely soiled, having immersed myself in this excrement. And deeply disturbed. But I am committed to the methodological principle of taking this sort of testimonial seriously, for explanations of the crime. Also, to finding ways of countering this sort of ideology. There are many such violent racists out there on the internet, and recruiting and proselytising in our communities — and he boasts of this. He addresses them, instructs them.

One of the first public comments that I read about the massacre was Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan’s observation that terrorism does not belong to any religion. He has a global political point to make, and he is correct in doing so. Before his election to political office, when people in Pakistan’s north-west were systematically terrorised by murderous US-alliance drones in the name of western counter-terrorism, Imran Khan campaigned in a principled way against this. He has to deal with Indian nationalist terrorism on the other
side, along with plenty of the ‘home-grown’ terrorism. Empire and nationalism may be inflected by religion, but they are by no means reducible to it.

I later watched with unexpected admiration as New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern spoke, movingly and with dignity, of compassion and indeed the duty to give shelter to those in need of it, as crucial, unifying New Zealand values. How different from bullying ‘mateship’ purveyed as ‘national values’ on the other (my) side of the Tasman. She did seem to have trouble mentioning the M-word, but then the murderer declared that he selected his victims as immigrants and non-‘Europeans’ rather than as Muslims. In two mosques, at Friday prayer time, mind you.

Some of the media commentary noted the kiwi ‘black humour’ bandied for comfort among the traumatised people anxiously gathering outside the mosques (these ‘others’ are capable of such kiwiness!). In that vein, and as we will all be New Zealanders for the while, I might observe that the killer began his legacy rant with a complete rendition of Dylan Thomas’s ‘Do Not Go Gentle into that Good Night’. One dear literature-loving Muslim colleague of mine commented that the man had added one more (minor) crime — of plagiarism — to his record. The rant is pretentious and pseudo-erudite, with sprinklings from literature and worldly-travelled posturing as well as potty-mouthed locker room macho menace.

In laying claim to inheriting — and safeguarding — all of European civilisation, the killer declares his English, Scots and Irish heritage. No Welsh: some small comfort for Dylan Thomas. As the epigraph at the top of this present piece suggests, perhaps ‘we’ should take Dylan Thomas back.

Scott Poynting is a visiting fellow at the Centre for Islamic Studies and Civilisation, Charles Sturt University. He is Adjunct Professor in the School of Justice at Queensland University of Technology and in Criminology at Western Sydney University. He co-edited, with George Morgan, Global Islamophobia (Routledge 2016) and, with Monish Bhatia and Waqas Tufail, Media, Crime and Racism (Palgrave, 2018).
V. Crime, harm and the question of justice

An interview with Samantha Fletcher @ Commonweal, 26 February 2019


1) Please tell us, Sam, how you interpret the terms ‘crime’ and ‘harm’, with examples?

The discipline of criminology has a long history of overwhelmingly focusing on matters of crime, as defined by criminal law and the state.

In contrast, over the years, various scholars within criminology and beyond have sought to depart from this narrow conception of the ‘crime’ agenda.

They have instead sought to recognise that ‘crime’ as defined by laws and states severely limits the attempt to truly understand and adequately recognise all forms and wider conceptualisations of harms and violence.

One of the biggest developments in this line of thought was the arrival of zemiology.

At the annual conference for the European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control in Spetses, Greece, in 1998, members of the group called for a new area of study that placed harm at the centre of their concerns (zemía is the Greek word for harm).

The basic premise of their argument was that there is no ontological reality to crime – what is meant by this is that there is nothing intrinsic to an act that makes it criminal. Instead, there are acts, and some are defined as criminal and others are not.

Therefore, the concept of ‘crime’ helps very little in adequately recognising the scale, form and extent of harms within society.

Thinking about harm more broadly – rather than as acts that have been assigned the ‘crime’ label by state institutions – allows us to expand our imaginations and recognise a whole range of additional harmful activities, often happening on a far greater scale.
Violence is subject to similar critique and concern. States, governments and their related criminal justice systems overwhelmingly focus on matters of interpersonal violence – actual or threatened violence that takes place in close proximity between a relatively small number of people.

Instead, we can and should think of violence as including structural violence – the everyday systems and structures in society that lead to grave harms through the denial of people’s basic needs (for more on this, see Johan Galtung’s 1969 article ‘Violence, Peace and Peace Research’).

Without downgrading interpersonal violence, if it’s to be the only understanding of and framework for violence, this masks a whole host of everyday forms of structural and institutional violence that happen routinely and often go unchallenged.

Thinking critically, starting with the concept of harm and a wider understanding of violence, allows us to think beyond interpersonal interactions and recognise other harms to human (and non-human) life.

Harms to human life include

- deaths in the workplace (see Tombs and Whyte, 2008)
- the harms of Britain’s immigration system (see Canning and Bhatia, 2018), and
- the violence of austerity (see Cooper and Whyte, 2017)

– to highlight just a few examples.
2) Your work also examines harms caused by ‘powerful persons’. Who are they, and what are these harms?

‘Crimes of the powerful’, a term coined by Frank Pearce in 1976, refers to a number of types of harmful activity committed by persons with significant economic, political and/or social power – I say and/or, but the three of these often go hand in hand and are in many ways inextricably related.

Those studying the crimes of the powerful seek to turn the analytical lens towards harmful activities and actions by states and corporations, many of which are rarely labelled as criminal.

Or if they are defined as subject to criminal law, they receive comparatively lenient sanctions.

Various scholars have also drawn attention to the relationship between the state and the corporation, examining how they act in mutually reinforcing ways (see for example Tombs and Whyte), as opposed to one dominating the other at different times, as many people expect.

Within the remit of highlighting the crimes of the powerful, it is also vital to recognise that the harms caused by powerful persons and institutions have varying impacts on different social groups.

For example, a vast range of scholars have sought to unpack the continuing harms caused by colonialism, patriarchy and capitalism in order to recognise the impacts of different structural relations within society.

I am particularly drawn to the words of Marcia Rice (2008), who speaks of the importance of recognising ‘qualitatively different’ experiences across gender, ‘race’ and class lines (the full chapter by Marcia Rice is available within the book *Gender and Crime: A Reader*).
3) What can activists do to tackle harms and crimes by powerful people?

I’m very cautious about speculating or prescribing specific courses of action on these issues. However, what can and should be recognised is the role of grass-roots movements in challenging the dominant narratives masking the true extent and variety of harms and violence within society.

Going further back, these groups range from the various protests of 1968 and the civil rights movement to the movements of 2011 onwards, such as the Occupy/Decolonise movement and Black Lives Matter – to name just a few!

These movements emerging ‘from the ground up’, rather than ‘from the top down’, have played and continue to play a vital role in highlighting the harms and violence committed by the ‘few’ at the expense of the ‘many’.

Most recently, we have seen a growth in grass-roots movements calling attention to the ever-pressing matter of climate change and environmental harms, including various anti-fracking campaigns and **Extinction Rebellion**.

As has always been the case (even if hasn’t always been well documented), young people are playing a vital role in these movements. In recent times, the Climate Strike and related movements, inspired by **Greta Thunberg**’s extraordinary initial strike action outside the Swedish Parliament in August 2018, have been making great strides towards greater recognition and the action needed for positive change.

If I were intrepid enough to foresee anything, it would be the key role young people will play in forging a less harmful and less violent future.
4) Can you recommend any books or other sources to deepen understanding of these topics for a general readership?

Although there is less research on harms and violence in the wider context than on mainstream criminological concerns, there is still a plethora of literature and resources available.

There are many free online resources that give further insight into these issues. Readers may wish to check out two of the free short courses available on OpenLearn:

- **Crimes of the powerful**, which provides an introduction to examining the harmful activities of powerful people in society, and
- **Criminology beyond crime**, which includes an introduction to Green Criminology and the vast range of eco or environmental harms involving humans, non-humans and the environment.

In addition, the Centre for Crime and Justice Studies hosts *Criminal Obsessions: Why Harm Matters More than Crime*, a key publication covering a lot of ground on all the matters discussed in this post.
VI. Campaign to End Child Imprisonment

Dear Member of the European Group,

You will probably be aware of the growing evidence of the persistent and serious failure of prisons to rehabilitate and protect detained people and wider society. Nowhere is this truer than in prisons in England and Wales which are used to detain children. Did you know that at least one in four of children in prison:

- Has been in care
- Was eligible for free school meals before being incarcerated
- Has special educational needs

A shocking one in three has mental health needs and one in ten has experienced the death of a parent and/or a brother or sister.

The levels of violence and use of forcible restraint are extremely high and in the summer of 2017 the Chief Inspector of Prisons reported that not a single child prison was safe, and a tragedy was inevitable.

A new coalition has recently been formed which is campaigning for the abolition of current custodial provision for children who have to be detained. The coalition will:

- Press for the closure of children’s prison’s and raise awareness of the harms of child imprisonment.
- Propose a child welfare based secure model for the small number of children who cannot be safely looked after in the community.
- Push for responsibility for detained children to be removed from the government department that deals with adult imprisonment.
- Seek changes to law and practice so that children can only be detained as a last resort, in line with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

We would be really pleased if you could support this campaign by signing up on www.article39.org.uk/endchildimprisonment or for further details contact info@article.39.org.uk

Thank you for your continuing support.

Sincerely

Steering Committee of the Campaign to End Child Imprisonment
We are pleased to announce that the 2019 CSAA Conference will be held at the University of Queensland from Wednesday December 4 to Friday December 6. The conference will be preceded on Tuesday December 3 by a one-day event, “Prefix,” designed for HDR and ECR researchers.

Confirmed Keynotes

- **Associate Professor Mel Chen**, Associate Professor of Gender and Women’s Studies at U.C. Berkeley and Director of the Centre for the Study of Sexual Culture
- **Professor Bronwyn Carlson**, Professor and Head of Indigenous Studies, Macquarie University
- **Professor Jean Burgess**, Director, Digital Media Research Centre, Queensland University of Technology

Conference Theme: Cultural Transformations

It seems the future is no longer rushing to meet us but has already arrived. The speed and extent of the cultural transformations currently taking place around us raise urgent and imperative questions. Cultural studies researchers have recently turned to examine these questions across a representatively broad range of fields, including gender and sexuality studies, critical race and disability studies, film and media studies, internet and digital cultural studies, affect studies and the environmental humanities. Yet significant work remains to be done. How are we to respond most effectively to such issues as the disappearance of salaried jobs and their replacement with a gig economy, to climate change and species extinction, to the rise of “populism” and the new right, as well as the ever-worsening treatment of refugee and indigenous populations, to the systemic gender and sexuality-based disadvantage revealed by #metoo and the divisive SSM poll, to the emergence of AI and algorithmic logics, as well as gene-editing and other biomedical technologies?

The 2019 conference of the Cultural Studies Association of Australasia aims to provide a forum at which both the challenges posed and opportunities afforded by these transformations can be collectively addressed. Taking as its theme “Cultural Transformations,” the conference welcomes proposals for papers or panels that address this topic from a diverse and inclusive range of perspectives, as well as general papers in Cultural Studies.

The conference welcomes proposals for papers or panels that address the theme of Cultural Transformations from a diverse and inclusive range of perspectives, as well as general papers in Cultural Studies.


Further Information regarding conference opportunities, events and travel available on the conference website: [www.csaaconference2019.wordpress.com](http://www.csaaconference2019.wordpress.com). Please email the organising team for more information: csaaconf2019@gmail.com
Many authors now recognize existing Anglophone and Eurocentric epistemological hegemonies (Blažek & Rochovská, 2006; Brown & Browne, 2016, Kulpa & Silva, 2016) as well as racial, class and gender privilege in the production of knowledge (Taylor 2013; Johnston 2018). However, we have been less concrete in identifying actual barriers and stayed largely silent about the actual ways, tools and/or courageous visions by which it would be possible to overcome and/or deconstruct these barriers (Kulpa & Silva, 2016; Timár & G.Fekete, 2010; Tlostanova, 2014). Silencing subjects, ridiculing themes and studies, restricting access to resources, and perpetuating language fetishism are only a few examples of how these hierarchies are played out. Despite the acknowledgments, the hegemony of this knowledge production continues to have a substantial impact on the shape of (not only European) discourses and power relations within feminist, gender, sexuality and queer studies.

If we narrow the broad field of geographies of sexualities to the Anglo-American academia, then we can say that it is established and represents a rich field of inquiry (Bell and Valentine 1995; Browne, Lim, and Brown 2007; Johnston and Longhurst 2008). We have also seen significant advancements of the sub-field in different contexts beyond Anglo-American academia (Sibalis 2004; BASSDA 2006; Ferreira and Salvador 2014; Silva and Vieira 2014). However, it is safe to say that the sexuality scholarship as such remains largely "Western-oriented", both methodologically and discursively.

Until today, only limited attention has been given to geographies of sexualities in "other", or rather "othered" contexts and regions such as Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and many more (Kulpa and Mizielska 2011; Stella 2013; Navickaitė 2014; Szulc 2018). We need to ask ourselves why we are not interested in these contexts that may lay outside of (y)our "interest-zones", "comfort-zones", "language-proficiency-zones", etc. Why do we not seek geographies of sexualities from different vantage points, empowering fellow scholars "elsewhere"? Disempowerment may be based upon various power-relations involving "old" discussions within academia regarding qualitative/quantitative, objective/subjective, essentialist/constructionist that perhaps aim to police disciplinary boundaries, hierarchize the proper from improper ways of doing geography (Browne & Nash 2018). When some scholars feel urged to seek and "police" what they believe to be proper and/or "true" subject matter of geography. Consequently, questions and discussions regarding disciplinarity of geography, in/appropriateness or out-of-placeness of geographies of sexualities as well as feminist and/or gender geographies should receive more attention. Those who did succeed with their "fight for recognition" are encouraged to share their stories and those who still do need to be empowered by others, regardless the various national or academic boundaries. Learning from each other and seeking new ways in which we can help each other may give birth to new types of collaborations and new types of solidarities. The "old" discussions are not the only obstacles that need to be resisted, we have also experienced the dawn of "new" barriers and "new" strategies by which feminist, queer or sexuality studies are resisted or
even threatened. We can see this trend both from within and outside academia, from various academic hoax cases to the recent ban of gender studies, in Hungary, which all pose new challenges that lie in front of all of us.

This conference invites scholars from various and diverse parts of the world to participate including those that have so far felt excluded, disempowered, evened-out or simply ignored – let us come together and find strength and support in mutual learning and exchange!

Abstracts of papers and sessions on, but not restricted to, the following topics are invited for consideration:

- "disciplinarity of geography", "in/appropriateness" or "out-of-placeness" of geographies of sexualities as well as feminist and/or gender geographies;
- interdisciplinarity, transdisciplinarity, or post-disciplinarity of geographies, center-periphery discursive dynamics, methodological nationalism;
- "othered" regions, vantage points, decolonizing "Western" geographies of sexualities and feminist geographies;
- re-historicizing, re-contextualizing post- and pre-socialist, post- and pre-communist, post- and pre-secular; post/de-colonial;
- language barriers, locating sexualities scholarship "beyond translation", approaching concepts lost in translation;
- empowering disempowered individuals and groups;
- job insecurity, precarization of scholars, academic transnational mobility;
- intersections between academia and/or activism;
- reactions to heteroactivism, anti-feminism, right-wing populism, extremism;
- new types of collaborations and new types of solidarities;
- queer theories, queer epistemologies;
- intersections of gender and sexualities;
- heteronormativity, heterosexism, homophobia and stigma;
- sexual citizenship, the geopolitics of sexualities, homonationalism(s), LGBT rights and obligations, privileges and traditions;
- queer migrations, queering beyond urban/rural, center/periphery divides;
- queer knowledge beyond the Anglo-American world;
- rainbow family, traditional family, procreation, queer demographics;
- sex work and sex tourism pornographies and sexual imaginations;
- regional traditions of naturism;
- intersections between sexualities, (public) health, illness, and policies;
- sexualities and disabilities;
- queering epidemiology, syndemics of HIV

How to participate?

To organize a session (CfS): Please see our call for sessions submission guidelines here and send your session proposals before March 1st, 2019, or visit https://2019.egsconference.com/index.php/call-for-sessions/

For more information regarding session/paper submission and more info about the conference (including organizers, registration, conference venue and other), please visit our conference websites: [2019.egsconference.com](http://2019.egsconference.com)

**General Inquires**

For general inquires please contact us by email [info@egsconference.com](mailto:info@egsconference.com)
XIX. Future Choices: Keeping Europe Intact Conference

https://essl.leeds.ac.uk/law/events/event/836/future-choices-keeping-europe-intact-conference

- **Date:** Friday 26 April 2019, 09:30 – 16:30
- **Location:** Liberty Building, University of Leeds
- **Interval:** Every day
- **Until:** Saturday 27 April 2019
- **Type:** Community engagement, Postgraduate research, Conferences
- **Cost:** Various. See Eventbrite for details.

This conference will see speakers from law, philosophy, health, psychology, and other disciplines explore European developments regarding children’s rights to bodily integrity. There is an emerging consensus in Northern European nations regarding a child’s right to bodily integrity.

Approaches to the cutting of male, female and intersex children are provoking debate. A strengthening commitment to children’s rights and a greater understanding of the harms occasioned by some traditional practices, parental choices, and medical interventions is increasingly reflected in law and policy. This has contributed to a developing sense of American exceptionalism in this regard. As the UK leaves the European Union, this conference explores shared European values that respect all children’s rights to bodily integrity and self-determination.

This conference will see speakers from law, philosophy, health, psychology, and other disciplines explore European developments, what we might learn from neighbouring jurisdictions, and the different directions the future might hold. Confirmed speakers include:

- **James Chegwidden** (Barrister, Old Square Chambers London);
- **Daniela Crocetti** (Sociology, University of Huddersfield);
- **Brian Earp** (Philosophy, Yale University);
- **Fae Garland** (Law, University of Manchester);
- **Jameson Garland** (Law, Uppsala University);
- **Antony Lempert** (GP, Secular Medical Forum);
- **Kai Möller** (Law, London School of Economics);
- **Saxon Norgard** (RightsInfo, London);
- **Rebecca Steinfeld** (Centre for the Body, Goldsmiths);
- **Mitch Travis** (Law, University of Leeds);
- **Michael Thomson** (Law, University of Leeds);
- **Josh Warburton** (Law, University of Leeds);
- **Hibo Wardere** (Activist, London).

A speaker will also attend from CRIN (Children’s Rights Information Network)
Please click here to register for the conference via Eventbrite

Location Details

Moot Court, 1.28, School of Law, Liberty Building, University of Leeds, LS2 9JT

For sat navs, please use the postcode for Moorland Road, LS6 1AN.

The Liberty Building can also be found on the campus map.

All welcome. This is a free event, though registration is required.
A BIG THANKS to all the European Group members for making this newsletter successful. Please feel free to contribute to this newsletter by sending any information that you think might be of interest to the Group to Vicky/Katja/Dani at europeangroupcoordinator@gmail.com

Please try to send it in before the 25th of each month if you wish to have it included in the following month’s newsletter. Please provide a web link (wherever possible).

http://www.europeangroup.org/