

# **EUROPEAN GROUP FOR THE STUDY OF DEVIANCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL**

**ESTABLISHED 1973**

**Coordinator: Ida Nafstad**

**Secretary: Per J. Ystehede**



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

**NEWSLETTER No 03, 2018**

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Front page photo: Spring up North (Ystehede)

## I. *Editorial*

Just a couple of days ago people rallied to denounce US gun legislation. Marching under the banner *March for Our Lives*, this has been described as a peaceful protest for change and against school gun violence. The responses in the press and social media, even from political opponents as of now has been to praise the fact that the rallies seems to have all been conducted in a peaceful and orderly manner. However, what if *March for Our Lives* had not been so 'peaceful' and 'orderly'? What might some of the responses have been then? These are questions raised in this EG Newsletter. As Rune Ellefsen puts it: *"When innovative protestors challenge the law – or operate on its very edge – while also resisting dialogue with the police, they are likely to be perceived as 'troublesome'. Responses to 'troublesome' protestors differ, and involve dynamics fundamentally different from those applied against those who are perceived as 'peaceful'."* How to understand these dynamics and what some of these responses are, this is the topic of Ellefsen's research, which you can read more about in this Newsletter.

Please remember that the deadline is approaching fast to get to go to the 2018 EG conference in Ljubljana! Please submit a short abstract of 150-300 words to the relevant stream coordinator by 31 March 2018. For those of you, whose papers have been accepted, please also note that registration for the conference is now open. The registration form can be found at EG website.

Excited to see you all very soon!

In solidarity,  
Ida and Per

## II. Relational dynamics of protest and protest policing: Examining the SHAC-HLS conflict in Britain (1999-2014)

By: Rune Ellefsen

All states seek to control protest and dissent in their population, but the ways in which control is exercised vary greatly across time and place (Waddington 1998: 117). Protest movements also push the limits of what is lawful and acceptable by employing innovative tactics, which sometimes take police and protest targets by surprise. When innovative protestors challenge the law – or operate on its very edge – while also resisting dialogue with the police, they are likely to be perceived as ‘troublesome’. Responses to ‘troublesome’ protestors differ, and involve dynamics fundamentally different from those applied against those who are perceived as ‘peaceful’. The policing of ‘troublesome’ protest frequently involves more than the public order police. It can include special units tasked to counter ‘domestic extremism’<sup>1</sup> and even terrorism, it can involve the intelligence services, the prosecution services, the courts, the probation service, and even private corporate actors (see e.g., Joyce 2016). It is this relationship, between these agents of *plural* policing and ‘troublesome’ (transgressive) campaigners, that my dissertation of 2018 “Performing and policing transgressive protest: A relational approach to the SHAC-HLS conflict in Britain (1999–2014)” examines. The relationship is explored empirically by studying the conflict between Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty (SHAC) and Huntingdon Life Sciences (HLS) in Britain and beyond, together with the business partners of HLS, the British government and criminal justice agencies. The analysis follows the entire life cycle of the conflict – from the birth of SHAC in 1999 to its final dissolution in 2014.

SHAC was a social movement<sup>2</sup> campaign established in England in 1999 with the single aim of closing down HLS, one of the world’s largest contract research laboratories, because of its extensive use of animals for product testing and research. The SHAC campaign spread across borders to become a transnational grassroots campaign that combined lawful and unlawful means to exert economic pressure on HLS, and on any company that did business with HLS. In 2011, Europol’s annual terrorism trend report stated that militants who oppose HLS ‘do not hesitate in using blackmail, sending threatening emails or making warning phone calls to their targets, often threatening their family and committing physical assault against their property’ (Europol 2011: 31). The most militant<sup>3</sup> of the protest actions involved arson attacks

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<sup>1</sup> The term ‘domestic extremism’ has no formal legal definition, but is routinely used by law enforcement agencies and government bodies in Britain. In 2014, The Metropolitan police provided a slightly revised working definition: ‘Domestic Extremism relates to the activity of groups or individuals who commit or plan serious criminal activity motivated by a political or ideological viewpoint’ (Metropolitan Police Service 2014). The prior working definition did not include the adjective ‘serious’ before ‘criminal activity’.

<sup>2</sup> Social movements are here understood as ‘networks and individuals and organizations that have common identities and conflictual aims and that use unconventional means’ (della Porta 2013: 14).

<sup>3</sup> Militant/miltancy are here used interchangeably with politically violent/political violence. But, for analytical purposes one could further classify the actions referred to according to whether they are directed at the protest targets’ property, people’s

against cars and property, while a majority of the protests conducted in the course of the campaign were lawful (Mills 2012: 143-148). A risk assessment report published by the London-based Aegis Defence Services in 2004, reflects the level of concern raised by the campaigners' economic impact. The report claimed that 'animal rights extremists' were one of the most serious threats to Britain's economy, because of their growing intimidation of companies linked to animal experiments (Evans 2004). As the protestors came increasingly to be regarded as a major economic threat, the government introduced a series of new and ever more repressive measures to tackle this perceived threat. The protestors and the agents of policing thus entered into a process of intensified interaction, a kind of cat-and-mouse game in which each party sought to gain the upper hand by developing and refining their tactics. The case illustrates how the policing of transgressive protest involves particular challenges, including considerable potential for negative social costs.

A motivation for choosing this particular conflict as a case study was the escalating level of conflict resulting from the unprecedented impacts of the sophisticated protest tactics developed by the radical faction of the animal rights movement<sup>4</sup> (see Munro 2012), and the subsequent clampdown on this movement through international cooperation between corporate and criminal justice actors. The aim is to understand how and why these events and actions came about, including the strategies and measures employed and developed by the various actors in the course of the conflict.

My research seeks to answer one overarching question: how and why do the key players relate, respond and adapt to each other's actions and tactics throughout the conflict - and with what consequences? Three empirical articles made up the core of my PhD dissertation, and answer different aspects of the question, while a fourth article explicates epistemological challenges that arose in the course of the study. Data used for the empirical articles are derived through a triangulation of qualitative methods that encompass activists, private companies and agencies across government and criminal justice - the key players in the conflict. Interviews with representatives of these players, observation of criminal trials, and participant observation among activists are the primary methods used. The first article identifies the succession of tactics employed to dismantle SHAC by state and private actors in their search for the measures which protestors would find most disruptive to their campaign. The second article traces how the players' strategies developed in tandem in the course of the conflict, as a result of their interaction, and some of the unforeseen consequences involved. The third article analyses the strategy of economic pressure employed by the SHAC campaign, and explains how and why it was at first successful, and the conditions under which it later became detrimental to the campaigners. The fourth article tackles methodological and epistemological issues experienced throughout the

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psyches and/or people's bodies. For example, one can separate property destruction (e.g., symbolic destruction or economic sabotage), psychological sabotage (e.g., 'home visits'/doorstepping or public naming and shaming of an individual) and physical violence against living beings' bodies. (della Porta 2013: 7; see also Peterson 2001).

<sup>4</sup> In the articles, I refer to the SHAC campaign as a representative of the animal liberation movement and as being part of the radical segment of the broader animal rights movement. These are differing ways of conceptualising the same campaign or movement segment.

research, which arose from my own position vis-à-vis the research field, and the challenges of researching socio-political conflict.

Together these articles maps and explains various dimensions of the ways in which protest – and the policing of protest – are closely interrelated practices which form reciprocal relationships across long-lasting conflicts. The interaction between protestors and those who police protestors is decisive to how the conflict develops, and to what the players perceive as necessary reactions to their opposition. In order to understand SHAC, the campaign must be situated in its ‘dynamic relational field in which the ongoing actions and interests of state actors, allies and counter-movement groups, and the public at large’ all influence the campaign’s emergence, activity and impacts (Goldstone 2004: 333). This take on the protest-policing nexus has led me to adopt a relational research approach, in which the examination of a series of interactions between the main players forms the central element of the inquiry. A relational approach means following the conflict over time, in order to analyse, trace and explain how, why and when the players’ tactics and strategies developed in the course of it, and how their outcomes changed.

#### **Articles of the dissertation**

[Deepening the explanation of radical flank effects: Tracing contingent outcomes of destructive capacity](#) (*Qualitative Sociology*)

[Relational dynamics of protest and protest policing: Strategic interaction and the coevolution of targeting strategies](#) (*Policing and Society*)

[Judicial Opportunities and the Death of SHAC: Legal Repression along a Cycle of Contention](#) (*Social Movement Studies*)

[Taking sides? Issues of bias and partisanship when researching socio-political conflict](#)  
(*Critical Criminology*)

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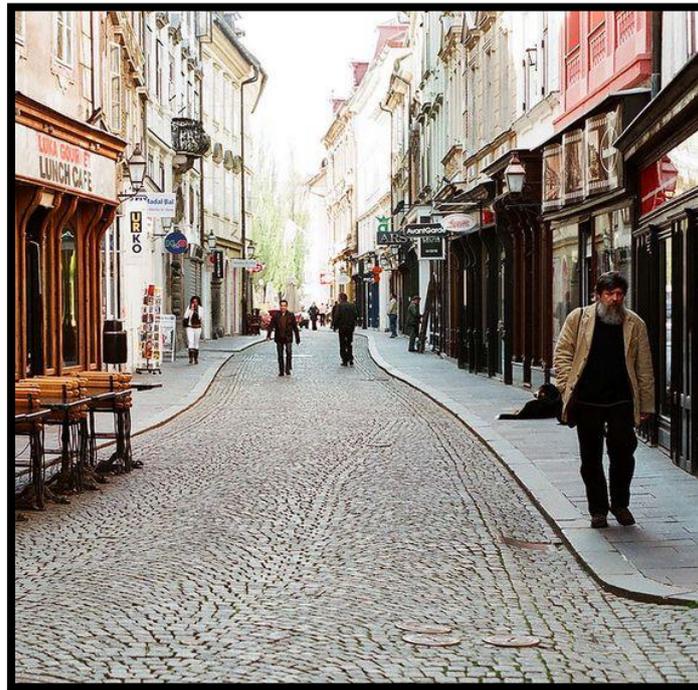
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**Rune Ellefsen**, PhD, is based at the Department for Criminology and Sociology of Law at Oslo University, Norway. Ellefsen's research interests include social movements, the policing/governance of protest, and political crime and violence. He has published in journals such as *Critical Criminology*, *Social Movement Studies* and *Policing & Society*. He defended his PhD dissertation in March 2018, and is currently affiliated with the Swedish research project "Radicalization and Counter-radicalization".

\* Get in touch if you would like to receive the whole dissertation by email  
[rune.ellefs1@gmail.com](mailto:rune.ellefs1@gmail.com)

### **III. European Group 46<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference: *Ljubljana, 22-24 August 2018***

#### **Social harm in a digitalized global world: Technologies of power and normalized practices of contemporary society**



The world in which we live in is more interconnected and changing more rapidly than ever before. Accelerated technological advances, climate change and large-scale migration, to name a few, are all having an increasing effect on how we experience our lives today and how we will in the future. It leads to new modalities of social control and understandings of deviance as well as to increasing gaps between those who are able to take part in a digitalized global world, and those who are not – those who are privileged by globalizations and those who are harmed by it.

The changes brought on by globalization and the rise of technologies of power are influencing different aspects of different people's lives. While the transformations have been positive for many, they have also been extremely harmful for countless of others. Analyzing the changes and wide specter of consequences brought on by trends such as consumerism, transnationalism and digitalism in different parts of the world is a necessary prerequisite to understand and act upon new ideological, policy, legislative, and enforcement solutions. Distinctions between public and private modes of provisions and control are becoming increasingly blurred, preventing oversight and bringing surveillance and repression, driven by economic incentives.

Resisting harms resulting from the normalized practices of contemporary society as well as harms brought on by technologies of power is not an easy task as it encircles our everyday life. In an aim to preserve human dignity, the normalized practices of contemporary socio-economic conditions as well as technologies of power that are changing the world as we know it must attract our attention in order for us to act upon it.

### **Streams**

The call for papers is organized under streams pertaining to the titles of the European Group's Working Groups, and suggests a series of key themes for that working group in relation to the overarching conference theme. We do, however, also welcome papers that explore other critical trajectories pertaining to the wider intersections of the overarching conference theme and the concern(s) of the working groups. If you have any queries please do not hesitate to contact one of the stream coordinators.

Please submit a short abstract of 150-300 words to the relevant stream coordinator *by 31 March 2018*.

<p><b>The quest for growth and the issue of social harm</b></p> <p>Contact: <a href="mailto:katja.simoncic@pf.uni-lj.si">katja.simoncic@pf.uni-lj.si</a></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The "normal", harmful practices of contemporary society</li> <li>- Technological progress and ethical issues</li> <li>- Privacy and data protection, a question of class?</li> <li>- Big data, Algorithms and Policing</li> </ul>
<p><b>Crimes of the Powerful</b></p> <p>Contact: <a href="mailto:samantha.fletcher@open.ac.uk">samantha.fletcher@open.ac.uk</a></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Privacy as a privilege of the powerful;</li> <li>- Critically examinations of technologies and the state-corporate relationship;</li> <li>- Accountability in global, transnational and/or digital economies;</li> <li>- From the local to the global - green criminology and the environment;</li> <li>- Resisting and contesting the crimes of the powerful: Activism and protest in the digital 'global' world</li> </ul>
<p><b>Social harm/Zemiology</b></p> <p>Contact: <a href="mailto:C.Pantazis@bristol.ac.uk">C.Pantazis@bristol.ac.uk</a> <a href="mailto:S.Pemberton.1@bham.ac.uk">S.Pemberton.1@bham.ac.uk</a></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Uncovering harms of the sharing economy</li> </ul>
<p><b>Fear and looting in the periphery: Approaching global crime and harm in (and from) the south(s)</b></p> <p>Contact: <a href="mailto:aleforero@ub.edu">aleforero@ub.edu</a> <a href="mailto:rfaria@direito.up.pt">rfaria@direito.up.pt</a> <a href="mailto:djf@unizar.es">djf@unizar.es</a> <a href="mailto:ignasi.bernard@gmail.com">ignasi.bernard@gmail.com</a></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Technology and surveillance in the southern borders.</li> <li>- Controlling the (poor) migrants</li> <li>- Turning the predator into the prey: mapping and documenting harms and crimes to support resistance and social memory</li> <li>- Technologies and data treatment against global state-corporate crime.</li> <li>- Social torture and social murder under debtocracy</li> <li>- Synopticon, state repression and the (southern) violence of austerity</li> </ul>
<p><b>Prison, Punishment and Detention</b></p> <p>Contact: <a href="mailto:Victoria.Canning@open.ac.uk">Victoria.Canning@open.ac.uk</a></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Crimmigration;</li> <li>- Imprisonment and resistance;</li> <li>- Immigration detention;</li> <li>- Abolitionist perspectives on confinement;</li> <li>- Punishment;</li> <li>- Torture and state sanctioned violence</li> </ul>
<p><b>Historical, philosophical and artistic approaches on the study on deviance and social control</b></p> <p>Contact: <a href="mailto:s.georgoulas@soc.aegean.gr">s.georgoulas@soc.aegean.gr</a></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- history of crime and social control</li> <li>- criminological theory</li> <li>- crime in arts and literature</li> </ul>

## IV. News from Europe and Around the World

### 'Theorising Sites of Discipline in Society'

The School of Social Science at Liverpool Hope University is hosting a free one day conference 'Theorising Sites of Discipline in Society', sponsored by the British Society of Criminology Northwest Consortium and Liverpool Hope University on Wednesday, 23rd May.

There has been growing interest within criminology and across the social sciences more widely in the diffusion of disciplinary techniques and institutions throughout society. These techniques range from the more subtle as exhibited by the development of the Behavioural Insights Team (or nudge unit) under the Coalition Government and the associated shift towards an increasingly penal welfare state, to the hardening of responses in more traditional institutions in the carceral state and beyond. This one-day conference intends to critically examine the growing influence of some of these techniques and institutions and their impact upon vulnerable and marginalized populations as well as their wider ramifications for society as a whole. Themes which we intend to address during the day's discussion include: the role of the military in disciplining marginalized populations; the disciplining of refugee and migratory groups in the 'Jungles' of Northern Europe; the problems posed by imprisonment upon those seeing to desist from crime; the associated role of society as a site of discipline for those facing the stigma of criminal records and Disclosure and Barring Service checks; and shifting sites of discipline in contemporary mental health and penal welfare policy reform.

#### Speakers include:

Dr Emily Hart (University of Liverpool)

Developing a 'Critical Desistance': The harms of imprisonment and the search for a 'real utopia'

Dr Andrew Henley (Keele University)

Criminal records checks and the regulation of redemption: a delegation of the power to punish?

Dr Rich Moth (Liverpool Hope University)

From psychiatric abuse to psycho-compulsion: shifting sites of discipline in contemporary mental health and welfare policy reform

Dr Zaki Nahaboo (Liverpool Hope University)

Disciplining refuge in The Calais Jungle

Hannah Wilkinson (Keele University)

The military as a continuation site of discipline and conflict: 'it was either join the army, or go to jail'

Spaces are limited, so if you are interested in attending, please register via the link below:

<https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/theorising-sites-of-discipline-in-society-one-day-conference-tickets-43545367366>

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**SOLITARY PLEASURES: IN ART AND PSYCHOANALYSIS**  
Day-conference at the Freud Museum London

28 April 2018

9:30am – 5:30pm

Bookings: <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/solitary-pleasures-in-art-and-psychoanalysis-tickets-43385970606>

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**Free School of Critical Feminisms 2018 - Applications Open**

The London Free School of Critical Feminisms is a week-long course that will see 16 students come together to explore questions of feminist theory outside the imperatives of institutionalised academia. The School will charge no fees whatsoever, with the aim of removing the economic barriers that often accompany events of this nature – barriers that affect women, queer and trans people of colour in particular.

The week will be held from 16th to 20th July 2018 at SOAS, University of London. It is kindly supported by the SOAS Centre for Gender Studies, with a contribution of £750. This money goes towards paying for lunches, printing posters, and paying for speakers who are in precarious employment circumstances. However, the Free School is completely autonomous; it is jointly organised by Jana Cattien and Rowan Powell, neither of whom are doing it in any institutional capacity.

This is the second event of its kind; it follows the immense success of the first Free School in 2017. This year's School will explore the following themes: Critical Race and Postcolonial Theory; Pop Feminisms; Critical Perspectives on Gender, Drag and Speculative Fiction; Feminisms from the Global South; Feminist Legal Theory; Queer of Colour Critique; and Posthuman Feminisms. Confirmed Speakers include: Nadje Al-Ali, Gina Heathcote, Rahul Rao, Emily Jones, Victoria Sin, Akanksha Mehta, Jin Haritaworn, Kate McNicholas-Smith, and Eddie Bruce-Jones.

For further information and to download our application form, go to <https://freeschoolcriticalfeminisms.tumblr.com/>.

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**“The mounting list of scandals must be seen as systemic failings by the government, not one-off incidents”: BID hold G4S to account.**

February 20th, 2018

BID ([Bail for Immigration Detainees](#)) have launched [a legal action](#) which they hope will mean multinational security firm G4S is finally held to account.



G4S have been complicit in human rights abuses across the world – including extreme misconduct in child custodial institutions in the [UK](#) and the [US](#), in operating in illegal settlements in [Palestine](#), and offshore detention centres in [Australia](#). In the UK they are also involved in various aspects of our increasingly privatised asylum & immigration system – including [asylum housing](#) and – the focus of this legal action – immigration detention.

The UK operates a vast network of immigration detention centres, [one of the largest in Europe](#), with a dozen long- and short- term centres across our cities and towns. They are effective ‘black holes’ where basic legal, civil and human rights are

deliberately placed out of reach. Over 30,000 people are locked up in prison-like conditions every year, with no time limit on how long they can be held (the longest a person has been held is [over 5 years and counting](#)). This is purely because they do not (yet) have the correct immigration papers. The negative impact on people's [mental & physical health](#) can be long term, while at the same time the Home Office [systematically ignores medical advice to keep mentally ill immigrants in detention](#). Last year saw ten detainees die in different centres, often by suicide, making it the [deadliest year on record](#). As with 27 year old [Marcin Gwozdziński](#), who took his own life last September, there was no previous mental health issues before being detained. 59 of his fellow detainees signed a statement unequivocally blaming the death of Gwozdziński on the authorities, citing how they ignored his repeated attempts to get psychiatric help.

In addition to the 'legal' abuses, there are widespread accounts – [from ex- and current detainees](#), [undercover reporting](#), and [the United Nations](#) – about the kinds of physical and sexual abuse that occurs. Late last year the [BBC's Panorama went undercover in Brookhouse](#), run by G4S, and uncovered harrowing abuse by guards, including

“the maltreatment of detainees by staff, a widespread culture of disrespect and the falsification of incident reports in order to cover up misconduct.” (BID)

A key whistleblower and ex-employee of Brookhouse has received continued harassment, such as [threatening letters and slashed tires](#). Now BID are seeking to have a legal ruling that would designate G4S a 'High Risk' strategic supplier. They state this would “make it harder for the government to award G4S future contracts and, ultimately, help prevent the future maltreatment of detainees.” The charity's director Celia Clarke highlights how

“That people are subjected to immigration detention at all is abhorrent. That they are subjected to physical and verbal abuse while incarcerated is utterly unacceptable.[...] The mounting list of scandals must be seen as systemic failings by the government, not one-off incidents.”

Holding our government ultimately responsible chimes with the response by Shadow Home Secretary [Diane Abbot](#) to the Brookhouse revelations:

“It may have been G4S guards carrying out the brutal acts, but it is this government that is ultimately responsible.”

BID are fundraising the costs of this legal action, and have already raised almost 50% in the last few days. Donate [here](#)

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## **“Automated Justice”**

You are cordially invited to the Conference “Automated Justice” that will take place on the 20th April 2018 at the Collegium Helveticum (joint institute of the ETH Zürich, University of Zürich and HDK) in Zürich. For your information, the programme of the conference is available online and hereby attached.

The event is free of charge, but registration is required. Should you wish to attend, please register by sending e-mail at:

<[reservation@collegium.ethz.ch](mailto:reservation@collegium.ethz.ch)>

### Speakers include:

Jeff Larson, ProPublica, New York

Prof. Dr. Mark Andrejevic, Pomona College, Claremont

Prof. Dr. Dean Wilson, University of Sussex, Brighton

We look forward to welcoming you at the Collegium Helveticum!

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## **CfP: The Non-Death of Neoliberalism**

York St. John University, Friday 25<sup>th</sup> May 2018

Building on the inaugural Crime, Culture and Social Harm conference at York St. John University last year, the ‘Non-Death of Neoliberalism’ conference invites papers that explore the impact of neoliberalism on social, cultural and political harm. The aim of the conference is to facilitate a range of interdisciplinary antagonisms that push back against nascent forms of neoliberalism – that is, those adapted/adapting manifestations borne of the decade-old financial crisis – and the variety of increasingly destructive problems these approaches create: this might involve new and terrifying financial realities, neoliberal designs on the imagined future of post-Brexit Britain, or tactical interventions that seek to dismantle damaging ideological frameworks. Either way, the intention is to develop a network and space for conversations with critical practitioners and scholars of zemiology, and encourage future collaborative projects stemming from the conference.

We are especially keen to welcome early career researchers who deal with, amongst other things, the following indicative topics:

- Power and political economy
- Government policy, democracy and austerity
- War and technology

- Debt and gambling
- Brexit and freedom
- Public services, the NHS and education
- Gentrification and housing
- The decline of the academy
- The military-industrial-entertainment complex
- Cultural articulations of neoliberal doctrine
- Public Ownership/ Carillion

Submission of abstracts:

Abstracts of no more than 250 words should be submitted – alongside a biography of no more than 100 words – to [r.smith7@yorks.ac.uk](mailto:r.smith7@yorks.ac.uk). Proposed papers can take a variety of forms: we encourage creative thinking around this.

Due to recent strike action we have extended the **deadline for submissions to March 30<sup>th</sup>**. Successful speakers will be contacted the following week.



Photo: Ljubljana Dragon (Wiki commons)

**Please feel free to contribute to this newsletter by sending any information that you think might be of interest to the Group to Ida/Per at:**

**[europengroupcoordinator@gmail.com](mailto:europengroupcoordinator@gmail.com)**

**Also feel free to contribute with discussions or comments on the published material in the newsletter**

**Please submit before the 25<sup>th</sup> of each month if you wish to have it included in the following month's newsletter, and provide a web link (wherever possible).**

**If you want to subscribe to the newsletter, do not hesitate to send an email to [europengroupcoordinator@gmail.com](mailto:europengroupcoordinator@gmail.com)**