

# 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 10, 2017**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	(p. 3)	Editorial
II.	(p. 4)	Mathiesen: Cadenza – excerpts from chap. 6: The House of a Thousand Faces, and chap. 8: Children of Our Time
III.	(p. 19)	Statement to urge Colombian environmental authorities to apply the law and defend biodiversity and collective rights
IV.	(p. 22)	Petition for the release of Spain’s political prisoners and for fair elections in Catalonia on December 21st
V.	(p. 25 )	Call for Papers EG Journal: Special Edition: Minorities, Crime and (In)justice
VI.	(p. 25 )	News from Europe and Around the World

Front page photo: Thomas Mathiesen as a young boy feeding rabbits in the 1930s-

## I. *Editorial*

We are very happy in this newsletter to include passages from Thomas Mathiesen's autobiography *Cadenza. A professional autobiography* which was recently published by EG Press.

The book covers the time span from the late 1930s until today, giving a personal account of Thomas' life and career. As he puts it in the introduction:

*In this book, I am the soloist. The orchestra has gone silent and the conductor is no longer conducting. My own professional questions and struggles are focused on, and I account for them* (Mathiesen 2017: i).

For readers of Thomas' books - such as *Prison on Trial* and *The Politics of Abolition* - this is a must read! The excerpts chosen from the book provides new insight for an international audience into both *KROM- The Norwegian Association for Penal Reform*, as well as some of the influences shaping Thomas action research.

We would also strongly recommend to check out the other new publications from the EG Press. Both Thomas' book and other new releases can be purchased [directly from EG Press](#).

Moving on to another subject; we still need help to update our webpages, and also help with continuing maintenance and publications on the web. We need a web-editor! Do you have the expertise and would like to volunteer to be the EG group's new Web-editor, please do not hesitate to contact us by e-mail: [europiangroupcoordinator@gmail.com](mailto:europiangroupcoordinator@gmail.com).

In solidarity,  
Ida and Per

## II. *Cadenza – Thomas Mathiesen*

### From chapter 6: The House of a Thousand Faces

#### **KROM – The Norwegian Association for Penal Reform**

KROM (The Norwegian Association for Penal Reform) was, as noted earlier, founded in May 1968, – as a criminal policy support group for prisoners. The organization itself was largely made possible thanks to the efforts of persons not directly associated with Institute for Sociology of Law. Various researchers, social workers and lawyers had an early influence, being dissatisfied with the state of Norwegian criminal and prison politics – the *juridical focus* of KROM's formative years was significant, and posed as a sort of precursor to the later Norwegian Association for Penal Reform. I was likely the only one from the Institute for Sociology of Law/Institute for Social Research who actively participated in the formation of KROM. Tove Stang Dahl, at that time residing at Institute for Criminology and Penal Law, was also active for a while. The idea of KROM was certainly inspired by many major political events of the day, including the demonstrations in Paris in the spring of 1968 (more on this in Chapter 8). However, it was by and large the backdrop of our *villa* that gave the organization shelter, sympathetic support and academic backing at its inception. I distinctly recall the warm, sunny summer evening in 1968 when we first conceived the idea to view this as *action research*. As to myself, I served as chairman of KROM for the first five years, until 1973, and have remained engaged in the organization ever since.

Action research requires a tricky amount of balance, as it poses ethical questions both with regards to the research and the action in question. Science and research may vanish in the process, as the action – and politics – gathers all attention (the reverse is also possible). We experienced this, and were unable to always maintain an ideal balance. On the other hand, we could *rewrite* and *analyze* our experiences at any length deemed necessary – which, after all, qualifies as action research in and of itself – resulting in an abundance of books and articles.

I cannot over-emphasize how important the villa truly was to us in this context. The large living room, as well as the sizable attic with the four office doors, made it inevitable that researchers would drop by the house to attend the numerous KROM-activities taking place there. This gave birth to a collective understanding between us, and undoubtedly inspired new ideas. For a long period, KROM had its office amidst this “no-man’s land” which our attic floor represented, being inevitably influenced by the many researchers who came to visit our place.

Other than KROM, there was another kind of action research project materializing at this time which perhaps depended even more on the distinct character of our villa – namely the activity which ultimately led to a revision of the Norwegian Vagrancy Act in 1970. With this, criminalization of public intoxication and forced labor (§§ 16 and 18) were abolished unanimously by the Norwegian Parliament. A lengthy political development had occurred in the preceding years. KROM had participated in favor of an abolition from the beginning – the organization strove to funnel the heavy academic criticism of the Vagrancy Act which had increased since the 1950s, through the efforts of a wide spectrum of criminologists (notably Nils Christie’s early work on forced labor, alcoholism and special measures<sup>1</sup>), lawyers (Anders Bratholm<sup>2</sup>), doctors, social workers and others.

The revision of the Vagrancy Act was a huge triumph, from our perspective – but our optimism quickly ceased. Whereas vagrants had been nearly absent from the main streets of Oslo prior to 1970, their sudden emergence made poverty of our city visible in a way it had not been for decades – and so an outcry ensued. The press, which up to that time had been mostly sympathetic to the vagrants, suddenly switched sides. To say that vagrants were harassed is no exaggeration – and a tense atmosphere thus unfolded (arguably resembling attitudes towards Romani people in Europe today). The revision of the Vagrancy Act had been a mistake after all, it was said – at KROM we feared that this moral panic would result in a revalidation of the Act.

Thus, we were quite taken aback – with relief – when *an action group for vagrants* materialized. Sudden though its inception appeared, it had in fact been carried forward by a number of social workers and others, many of whom resided at the Social Services office of the time (known as “Kladden”) – as well as by many of the vagrants themselves. Anne Marit Thorsrud, a social worker who was active in KROM, played a major role in originating this action group.

“The Action Group For Vagrants,” as it named itself, kept a decidedly flat structure, much more so than KROM – though formally the group had been founded at one of KROM’s membership meetings. Vagrants led the group with assistance from social workers. Hans Brubak, an eloquent and charismatic vagrant, served as a driving force. To my knowledge, no one really thought of the group as an example of *action research* at first – it was rather a case of plain self-defense, as it ensured certain basic necessities

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<sup>1</sup> Christie, Nils (1960): *Tvangsarbeid og alkoholbruk* (“Forced Labor and Alcohol Use”), Universitetsforlaget; Christie, Nils (1962): “Noen kriminalpolitiske særforholdsreglers sosiologi” (“The sociology of some special measures in criminal policy”), *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*, 1962 (revised edition of preview lecture for philosophical dissertation, 1960), pp. 28-48.

<sup>2</sup> Bratholm, Anders (1964): *En sosial-statistisk analyse av klientelet på Oppstad tvangsarbeidshus* (“A Social Statistical Analysis of the Clientele at Oppstad Forced Labor Institution”).

for vagrants, including shelter (as opposed to the dreaded possibility of resuming the Forced Labor Institution at Oppstad). But even the “plainest” of actions may inspire new thinking. It was only natural for others than the social workers and vagrants also to become involved in this new project – more on the sideline, perhaps – and collect these experiences.

The group’s founding meeting was held at the living room of our villa. Never have I witnessed such an assembly of openly intoxicated people, at a Research Institute or anywhere else, gathered for a political conversation. Though incredibly jumbled at first, the debate eventually became more structured as we approached the essential demands. From this experience came the recognition that discussion with even the most downtrodden of people is possible, as long as conditions are properly facilitated. Indeed, our villa was aptly suited for this; thanks to its frail appearance, any smudge or spillage mattered none – while the academic context of the Institute gave the meeting a streak of seriousness at the same time. Contact with vagrants on an individual basis also evolved. The office personnel in the house were frequently visited by persons connected to the group – and so was my own office, thanks to the spread of a (quite truthful) rumor that I would hand a coin to vagrants dropping by. I eventually had to put a halt to this practice as the lines of vagrants escalated, however – after all I was not a qualified social worker. But the presence of vagrants in the house made its mark in many regards. Aud Korbøl writes:

One morning at eight the entire building [of Fuglehauggt. 6] smelled of fish. Hjalmar, an old sailor and vagrant, had forgotten about the stove on the kitchen oven – he was sound asleep beneath a desk. He had been handed some fish while at the docks, and had no other place to cook it. Hjalmar probably belonged to the Action Group for Vagrants [...]<sup>3</sup>

“The doors were open,” she adds.

The political aspects of our activities were generally prioritized. The level of engagement in the group had its highs and lows, of course – but it maintained a largely influential status throughout the 1970s. One time, in the spring of 1972, a delegation of vagrants appeared outside the office building of the Social Councilman of Oslo, expressing disdain with the hostels to which they were confined – whereupon a slip of paper soared to the ground, inquiring: “What do you pay in taxes?” In fairness, the Social Councilman himself was not responsible for this, and he eventually stepped outside the entryway to be surrendered by twenty vagrants demanding a solution. 20

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<sup>3</sup> From Korbøl, Aud (2000): “‘Verdens ellers’. Glimt fra innvandringsforskningens barndom 1970 – 73” («‘The World at Large’. Glimpses from the Childhood History of Immigration Research 1970-73»). In Engelstad op.cit.

000 flyers had been passed out in the city just a few days prior, and the crowd had brought along a petition signed by 600 vagrants or thereabouts. The Social Councilman promised to make changes for the better. A few months later the group organized yet another petition of protest among the vagrants, as the Law Bus had been denied permission to provide legal aid at the hostels. The denial was partly revised after this.

One political turning point included the interpellation of the City Council in the spring of 1973, which set up to deal with the problem of the “environmental disturbances” in the city. “Environmental disturbances” were presumably caused by the vagrants, who had now appeared in town. Only four vagrants showed up at the first meeting, so the case was postponed – and while participation was larger at the next session, with a total of forty vagrants. These were also ordered to leave as the police had to attend another demonstration. But by the third meeting the case was finally handled; with over a hundred vagrants listening to the debate at the City Council Gallery, almost all fully sober, managed by social worker Anne Marit Thorsrud and others. The reactions from the Gallery led to a debate quite different from what had been anticipated; little time was spent on the so-called “environmental disturbances,” but rather on practical concerns – how to acquire living quarters, small apartments where you could live in peace, to have keys of your own to the door, in general help. It all resulted in very large headlines on the following day in the main Norwegian newspaper *Aftenposten* (The Evening Mail), and clearly, in the end, had a restraining effect on the moral outcry which might otherwise have occurred.

Where was the *research* in all this? One important factor was that the academic critique of the Vagrancy Act had been so substantial that it appeared only natural for professionals to remain committed once it was feared that the Law might get revoked. Researchers cannot restrict themselves to solely proposing reforms; they are also obliged to ensure that the reforms materialize and are properly implemented. Beyond this there were still other important experiences worthy of mention and analysis. An extensive summary of my own experiences on the activities surrounding the Vagrancy Act may be found in my book *Løsgjengerkrigen* (The Vagrancy War).<sup>4</sup> There were also written several main articles on the topic.

Were one to characterize our *villa* in a nutshell, Aud Korbøl’s remark seems proper: this was an *open house*. Never before or since have I happened upon such an open research center. It would hardly be too bold to claim that our villa roomed a unique place for social research. Today most institutes are more or less locked areas – usually requiring cards and codes for entrance, and often using guards.

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<sup>4</sup> Sosionomen Forlag, 1975

All good things must come to an end, the saying goes. This was also true of our villa. It had been a long era – nigh on twenty years. But by the late 1970s a burst of economic difficulties surfaced at the Institute for Social Research. As private supplies shrunk, the dependence on public support increased – and so did competition from other institutes. Demolition of our villa – or the “Katanga,” as it had become known by this time, after the province of Katanga which had famously tried to break away from Congo in the 1960s – was finally declared unavoidable. A serious conflict emanated; while some argued that the old house provided the institutes located there with qualities that were now likely to get lost, others argued it had run its course. There was also some talk of an exterior renovation instead – but these efforts were in vain. Fundamentally I believe the disagreement to have been about *the character of research*, and how this was to be cultivated, as well as the boundaries between science and politics.

The Institute for Sociology of Law had to find new quarters – most of us were filled with grief as we exited the villa for the last time. We were informally invited to return to the upcoming building which was to take its place on the plot, but declined. I made the old house one more visit before the full demolition occurred, along with my friend Arne Heli (central member of KROM for decades) – it was empty and already largely dismantled. Sprawled out on the staircase, in fittingly symbolic fashion, was a pile of copies of a magister’s dissertation – one of many written in the house. This one was a study of reported drunk driving of 1963, authored by Anne Margrethe Kaltenborn; we brought a copy with us.

[...]

## **From chapter 8: Children of Our Time**

After passing the doctorate, a little time passed by. I finished another and smaller study of prisons which I also had been working on, which dealt with communication between institution in the criminal policy area rather than with communication patterns within institutions.<sup>5</sup>

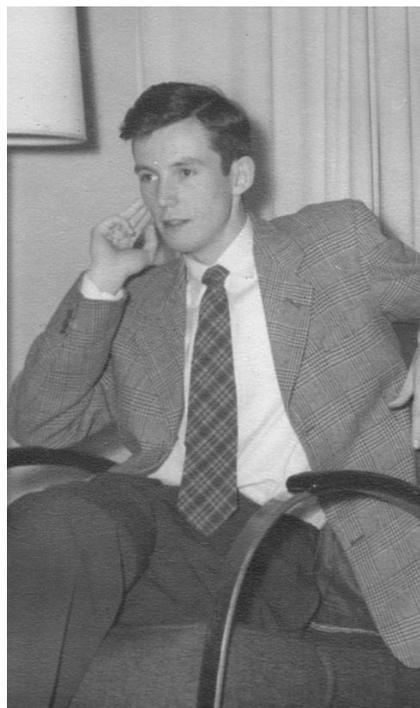
### **Still another US Visit**

At this time, I undertook my third visit to the US, as visiting (for a term) assistant professor in sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara campus (actually, this was my fourth visit to the US, because I had also briefly attended a world conference in sociology and given a paper in Washington D.C. a few years earlier).

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<sup>5</sup> Mathiesen, Thomas (1969): *Across the Boundaris of organizations*, Glendessary Press.

I was offered a permanent post in Santa Barbara but said no thanks, recent experiences during this visit to the United States, meant it was no longer my beloved land. Due to the one-sided support which the United States gave to Israel during the Six Days War between 5 and 10 June 1967, it was now further away from being my beloved land. The Six Days War took place while I was at Santa Barbara. This was a conflict between Israel on the one hand and Egypt, Jordan and Syria (and other countries) on the other. Egypt wanted to crush Israel, but this led to a victory for Israel in a brief but crushing incidence on 5 June 1967, and in a longer perspective an occupation of the Golan area, Gaza, The West Banks and so on. It was a rather heavy blow for me to understand that absolutely all Americans whom I came in touch with during this period gave their wholehearted support to Israel. I did not meet anyone I knew on campus who saw any problems in this. It was the same way in Oslo at this time. Even I was no unqualified opponent to Israel; the opposition came later. But the fact that *all* Americans I met, supported Israel (there were of course other Americans who didn't support Israel), made me wonder a little.<sup>6</sup>



A young Thomas Mathiesen

I met - personally or through reading - some interesting people, "ethnomethodologists" like Aaron Cicourel (*The Social Organization of Juvenile justice*, 1995) and Harold Garfinkel (1917-2011, *Studies in Ethnomethodology*, 1967) - and more

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<sup>6</sup> The first person who made me see the complications in this, was Supreme Court Attorney and early KROM- Activist Ole Jakob Bae, who got a new view of this by visiting the area, and who told us about this at a seminar in sociology of law which I later gave in Oslo.

at a distance David Sudnow (*Passing on. The Social Organization of Dying*, 1967) and Harvey Sacks (1935-75, *Searching for help. No-one to turn to*, essay 1967). They were regarded by many as slightly arrogant people who lacked an understanding of others, and who had a slogan to the effect that “norms do not exist, only ‘deep rules,’” whatever that means. Following Garfinkel one could understand this through “breaching experiments” – that is, by breaking through peoples’ usual expectations in a situation. For instance, if you meet a person on the street who says, “How do you do?” or just “Howdy!”, you may ask what he or she actually means by this, and continue with such questions until the person impatiently will break through this and say, “you know damned well what I mean!” At that point, you are facing “the deep rules” for inter-human communication. Harvey Sacks, who had been in Santa Barbara a little before me, was apparently all the time wandering around saying that “sociology begins with Harvey Sacks”. But it is easier to make fun of people than trying to understand them. Sudnow’s *Passing on. The Social Organization of Dying*, and Sack’s essay in “No One to Turn to”, are brilliant pieces of work.<sup>7</sup>

In Santa Barbara, I also encountered the beginnings of the “hippie movement,” which was in the making at that time. There was a connection between the ethnomethodologists’ interest in the “deep rules” of social life and the hippie movement’s alternative way of thinking. The mystical features of outsider society were something central to both parties, though clearest with the hippies. After a while it turned into an important movement which would move away from middle class American society.

I got a new publisher in Santa Barbara to publish one of Herbert Spencer’s (1820-1903) writings. I had a copy which, from what I remember, I gave to them. The publisher in question disappeared shortly after, without Spencer’s essay being the cause.<sup>8</sup>

When I came back to Norway in the summer of 1967, there was a great deal of resentment in intellectual, academic circles and among social workers concerning *the conditions in the prisons*. Through 1967 and during the winter and spring of 1968, several groups had in fact been working with plans of a critical reform association. There was also a connection between this and the anti-bourgeoisie alternative hippie movement, even if that connection disappeared rather fast, and I quickly became preoccupied with it. A few details may be of some interest.

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<sup>7</sup> An attempt to understand aspects of ethnomethodology may be found in Norwegian in Mathiesen, Thomas (1975): *Rett og samfunn (Law and Society)*, Pax Publishers.

<sup>8</sup> Spencer, Herbert (1968): *Reasons for Dissenting from the Philosophy of Auguste Comte*, Glendessary Press.

[...]



A young Mathiesen returning to Norway by boat from the USA

### May 27, 1968

On May 27, 1968, a little over 160 persons had gathered in the large Auditorium of the Munch Museum in Oslo, to establish the association.<sup>9</sup> Hans Nestius, the above-mentioned Swedish representative of a Swedish organization called KRUM, The Association for the Humanization of Criminal Justice, was also there.<sup>10</sup> He and I gave the opening talks. Swedish KRUM was established in 1966, but after a short-lived but hectic time, it faced many problems and was dissolved towards the end of the 1970s.<sup>11</sup> I emphasized the feeling of powerlessness, degradation and insecurity which follows a period in prison. After a general discussion where 14 people participated, KROM was established. At the meeting 162 persons signed up as members, and a collection raised 624 crowns towards the running of the organization.

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<sup>9</sup> Tove Stang Dahl's mother, Ragna Thiis Stang, was director of Oslo Municipal Art Collections, including the newly built Munch Museum, at the time. That's how we got in.

<sup>10</sup> Actually, "humaniseringen av kriminalvården". Kriminalvård" means "crime care" in Swedish, which is not used here because it gives entirely wrong associations.

<sup>11</sup> See Mathiesen, Thomas (2015): *The Politics of Abolition Revisited*. Routledge.

Swedish KRUM of 1966 was a shortening of the *humanization* of criminal justice. But there was also a Danish KRIM association (of 1967) emphasizing *criminal policy*, and a Finnish association emphasizing the same (there was, in addition, still another Finnish association of a more general and radical type called *Novemberrørelsen* ("The November Movement"). We had to invent still another name which resembled but was not entirely like the others, and invented KROM, which was actually not a shortening for anything.

### **Bjørneboe Again**

To repeat, Jens Bjørneboe was largely an anarchist with considerable authority. He had an influence on KROM by being able to speak loudly and by being very clearly against those in power. These elements in him were brought out at a seminar on Bjørneboe's authorship by the author Tore Rem (on March 17, 2010). The 1960s and 1970s were "the experts'" great period in the area of policy and crime. Centrally located lawyers and medical doctors apparently knew most of what a crime policy should look like (later, in the 1970s, the power to decide left the hands of the experts, and the politicians took over - a democratization which was not necessarily an improvement<sup>12</sup>). Bjørneboe's courage to stand upright while talking squarely against the authorities had a strong influence on those of us who were beginning to run KROM. With Bjørneboe, a dam fell tumbling down and was overcome. But his unpredictability could easily have led to internal conflicts, and I hardly dare to think about how the newspapers would have described such internal conflicts. They could easily have caused the death of the organization, which was a delicate plant at that time.

There is also reason to ask whether the ideas which Bjørneboe had, came to be important during the first period of our association. The thoughts about *the bench* and all the other ideas were important but hardly standing there as complete truths. This was a time of a general uprising - the 1968 revolt in Europe and for that matter in large parts of the world. In addition, I believe the ideas from Sweden were directly motivating the Norwegians to act, triggering us to establish an association for prison change and reform, even if Bjørneboe's demasking of prisons undoubtedly had importance as a general background and as something which served as a general sounding board and something which somewhat changed people's opinion. I will now go a little further into this.

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<sup>12</sup> This was brought forth in professor Kjersti Ericsson's talk at the Rem seminar.

## The Swedish experiences

In our grouping we had, to repeat, brought in Hans Nestius, who was the leader of Swedish KRUM, to the first meeting around Tove Stang Dahl's kitchen table, and next to the general meeting to establish Norwegian KROM. Tove Stang Dahl was early in placing on our agenda both Swedish KRUM and Kumla – the new large prison in Sweden which had become controversial due to the early activities of Swedish KRUM. A broad unrest became noticeable among many Swedish prisoners in many Swedish prisons, and widespread prisoners' strikes were in the making and would soon take place. And Hans Nestius could explain what was going on.

I am more uncertain as to what was directly motivating action in the other grouping mentioned above, but I have reason to believe that the Swedish experiences also were important there: Drafts of invitations to the above-mentioned common establishment meeting in November 1967, but which was postponed due to Bjørneboe's talk, were addressed to Tove Stang Dahl from one of the initiators in the other grouping, under the headline "Att. Association for a humane criminal policy (Norwegian KRUM)". To organize a "Norwegian KRUM" had come rather far in this grouping (to differentiate we might call it "Bjørneboe's grouping"), because the meeting was planned to have an agenda consisting of a "draft of rules", "proposals to advertisement text", and so on. In a draft of the invitation, written by (someone) in this grouping which said that "Norwegian KRUM. Proposal for an 'Invitation'". Ideas concerning speakers were Hans Nestius and Svend Rønning,<sup>13</sup> and Swedish KRUM was part of the thinking in both groupings.

First of all, the events in Sweden – the establishment of a large Swedish organization, widespread prisoners' strikes, negotiations with the prison authorities, and much else – were important and ignited a fire in us.

I emphasize these points because there are still some who view Jens Bjørneboe as the original architect of KROM. In a sense, it is true that we were standing "on the shoulders of giants" – the main giant being Bjørneboe. In another sense, it was also wrong. Hans Fredrik Dahl, the husband of the late Tove Stang Dahl who was at several of our meetings prior to the establishment of KROM, has put it this way: "The care for the weak, the criticism of the police and the prison system, were in order. When KROM - The Norwegian Association for Penal Reform, came in 1968, we stood on the shoulders of Jens Bjørneboe." Fredrik Wandrup has formulated it this way:

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<sup>13</sup> The fact that I and not Rønning became central figures in Norwegian KROM (see above), was indirectly commented on later by Rønning, who wrote a pleasant letter in which he found that Norwegian KROM was doing very fine, and how good our work was doing. It appeared as if he wanted to say "no hard feelings" for his not having ended up in such a central place in Norwegian KROM as planned.

Bjørneboe “was shooting with sharp bullets (*rettet hard skyts mot*) against the legal authorities of the country. The criticism of the prison system was an important forerunner for the work to improve the prisoners’ conditions, which later was carried out by both KROM and Amnesty”. I view it this way:

It is of course difficult to differentiate clearly between giving nourishment to new attitudes and one who inspires to concrete action, and as I have said before, I believe Jens Bjørneboe was also inspired to concrete action by his great ability to talk quite bluntly to the authorities’ face. But from the summer of 1968 we did not, in my opinion and according to my memory, find Jens Bjørneboe’s opinions and ideas so useful. His opinions and ideas were focused on particular people with authority and their individual errors, and less on the systems and system forces. We, on the other hand, were more engaged in the consequences of system forces. By “system forces” we largely thought of the heavy discipline which came from the culture of the legal system, the minute structural features of the prison system, and so on. In my talk at the establishment meeting in May 1968, I emphasized the qualities of prisoners’ experiences which I had identified in my initial research work at Ila, as well as in the literature which existed at that time, experiences of powerlessness, degradation and insecurity. In my talk, I said:

Here I wish to make more precise that we think it is the prison as a system, and thereby the buildings, the structure and the central place of the criminal justice system which bring the prisoner into powerlessness, lack of honor and uncertainty; it is not the persons who are employed by the system. ...They work under very difficult conditions, and they are to a great extent themselves prisoners of the system; in their daily work they are confronted by a number of practical conditions, so that changes are very difficult to carry out. I am saying this to underline that it is the *system* we are preoccupied with.

To some extent this was probably said for strategic reasons, to soften negative reactions against our initiative to create an organization, but I was entirely serious, with sociology as my professional background. Personally, I must confess, though I do not view it as calmly today, that I more or less *forgot* Bjørneboe, though he was certainly a problem in the initial phase – enthusiastic as I was regarding everything that took place in terms of criminal policy of the day, very upsetting as it was for “the system”, in Sweden. Bjørneboe’s person-oriented view and my/our “system-oriented” view were actually widely apart.

[...]

### **In summary**

What would start KROM, were – as I view it – angry and morally indignant men and women, in a political period which for the most part turned the world upside down, and an unacceptable divide between a presumably perfect welfare state and far from perfect prison treatment. It concerned *persons*, within a particular political *culture*, supplemented by a deep structural *contrast* (or even antagonism) within the state which after a while became intolerable. Separately, the three conditions were necessary, but not sufficient. Together they were necessary and sufficient.

What made KROM continue over time, has been something else – the presence of a *professional home* unlike the environment around you, the *prisoners' participation* which has led to a maintenance and an increase of important information and experience, an *ascetic style of organization* which has made us trust our own powers, and a *moral community* around and in the organization, built and continued through the years. Individually I think these four conditions probably were necessary, but hardly sufficient, for continuation over time. Together they have supplemented each other, and therefore have been sufficient.

This chapter has not presented data which has made it possible to compare systematically and in full detail the associations in the various Nordic countries. But you can imagine a comparison between KROM in Norway and the other comparable associations as a possible “natural experiment”. In all the Nordic countries, there were conditions which were important for creating an initiative *to start* KROM, KRUM, KRIM (and Novemberrørelsen). There were indeed very angry men and women to be found in all countries; 1968 was a fertile ground in these societies, and there was an experienced intolerable divide between the picture of a perfect welfare state and the lives of the prisoners in all of them.

In Norway there also existed the background necessary for its continuation. I will here sketch a comparison with Sweden, where I closely observed the early KRUM activities as well as “the burial” of KRUM in the late 1970s. In Sweden, I could not find the same *professional home*: Criminology in Sweden was in the 1960s and 1970s with some exceptions rather cut off from the KRUM activity.<sup>14</sup> Sociology of law did not exist in Stockholm. In Sweden, there was to be sure, and secondly, a very *strong and impressive prisoners' participation* in the activity of the association. The prisoners helped organize a labor strike which involved 50% of the prison population, and elected representatives from the various prison regions enthusiastically took part in in so-

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<sup>14</sup> A lot of information on Swedish KRUM exists in Adamson, Monica *et all* (2004): *När botten stack upp. Om de utslagnas kamp för frihet och människovärde* (When the Bottom Appeared. About the Underdogs' Struggle for Freedom and Human Dignity). Eget forlag.

called negotiations with the prison authorities. In fact, they did that twice.<sup>15</sup> But life in the association was *far from ascetic* – in fact, rather on the contrary. Things got out of hand at several large house-warming parties. Thirdly one's *own powers* were not to be trusted; rather, the state's money seemed trustworthy. But the state's money did not last for long, and soon disappeared. An exception to this was Henrik Tham, who later was made professor of criminology. He was an active participant in Swedish KRUM to the bitter end. I remember him well from meetings in the final period. But this was long before he entered university circles at Stockholm University and could be a link or a go-between. Furthermore, it must be said that the criminology context in general at the University at that time was weak, as opposed to the situation later on and today. The *moral community* as far as KRUM goes was probably there, but certainly as I saw it, much weaker than in Norway. There were strong internal political frictions in KRUM between different factions on the far-left as well as between central actors who appeared to have important likes and dislikes, and there were – perhaps above of all – internal conflicts concerning criminal policy. People did not take the time necessary to get such disagreements out of the way and to find compromises. Several, if not all, of the four conditions for continuation that existed in Norway were in other words absent in Sweden.

We should certainly not forget that other conditions also were partly contributing to Swedish KRUM's downfall. Another element which contributed would be, I think, a *pressure of expectations*. Those who worked in KRUM early on had great expectations that the prisoners through their strike actions simply could *win* the struggle with the prison system. For one thing, it was a bit unclear what "to win" implied. There was a certain degree of ambiguity as to the concept itself. Secondly, and most importantly, the first Swedish country-wide prison strikes were in fact quite successful. They took the prison authorities by surprise. What the prison authorities actually thought, is still partly a secret, but it was a fact that they did very little to prepare for a possible strike, and must have optimistically thought that things would just even out by themselves, among other things due to differences of opinion and even conflicts between prisoners and prison groups. This increased the expectations. But then came the resistance. Laborers in a factory may threaten to withdraw a contribution from the factory; they may threaten to withdraw their labor, which in the long run is indispensable for the company. The company is dependent on the workers' labor. The prisoners in a prison, however, does not have any such built-in contribution which they can threaten to withdraw. Certainly, they can periodically make life quite difficult for their captors, and in typical labor prisons they can threaten withdrawal of their labor input to the contractor operating in the prison, but the prison has on its side undemocratic

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<sup>15</sup> For details on the strikes, see Mathiesen, Thomas (2015): *The Politics of Abolition Revisited*. Routledge pp. 156-199.

methods to repress such protests, such as individual or mass isolation. Isolation was used on a mass basis in the subsequent phases of the strikes in Sweden.<sup>16</sup>

Psychologically, the disappointment of defeat was so great in Swedish KRUM that many gave up, and concentrated on other things than prisons. Instead of believing that one could *win* in relation to the system, the strikes should have been seen as *signals to the public scene* that prisons were unacceptable. The point should have been to engage in *short hunger strikes with a signaling effect and a short-term limit*, rather than long indeterminate actions. Even such short-term hunger strikes with signaling goal would be dependent on a “favorable” public sphere around the prison, but such a public sphere<sup>17</sup> was present in Sweden in the beginning of the 1970s. Some of us advised Swedish KRUM to think this way, but we were not heard. Perhaps it is also very difficult to think this way when you stand in the middle of an action.

What I have said here does not prevent the establishment of Swedish KRUM from being a sensational and quite new turning point in the theory of crime and punishment. With Swedish KRUM the prisoners for the first time received a face, and a right to make their opinions known. The significance of this cannot be overestimated. As I have pointed out, the association was, during its early formative years, also a truly important source of inspiration for Norwegian KROM.

The end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s were also a time when other traditional “outsiders” internationally demanded their place as political actors, often together with academics. Not the least, this was an eye-opening trait in the US, where I saw what happened at close quarters in Santa Barbara in 1967 and later in Berkeley in 1975. The California environment was boiling, and it is possible to view the forthcoming of KROM and the other Scandinavian prisoners’ associations as a part of a general movement. But at the same time, it is apparent that KROM was a model for several prison movements at least in Europe, specifically in Germany and England. It is also interesting to see that they died out after a while, while KROM in Norway seemed to continue.<sup>18</sup>

[...]

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<sup>16</sup> See again Mathiesen, Thomas (2015): *The Politics of Abolition Revisited*, Routledge pp. 156 and on.

<sup>17</sup> See also Mathiesen, Thomas (1992): “KRUM – KROM – KRIM”, *Apropå*, Stockholm. I developed the theory of “a lack of a contribution” in my Norwegian doctors’ degree in 1965. See Chapter 7.

<sup>18</sup> See Papendorf, Knut (1985): *Gesellschaft ohne Gitter* (Society without Bars) AJZ Verlag.

### **The Conference in Florence.**

This conference took place in 1973, and I did not learn much from the very intensive Marxism which was presented by the American delegation there. Tony Platt was the leader of the delegation. A sensation among at least some of the Europeans present seemed to be that now the Americans again would come with their colonization – now the Europeans were to learn from Marx. Wasn't he really a European? It seemed a bit confusing, and slightly offensive. I remember very well the then university lecturer (later professor of women's law) Tove Stang Dahl from Norway, who took the floor and criticized the Americans rather severely for coming to Europe and for being teachers of Marxism for Europeans! It made a strong impression, and it was indeed a teaching lesson in itself. The Norwegian association KROM was a kind of role model for the other European participants – we had brought along a very articulate and clever ex-prisoner who gave a lengthy speech to the assembly, simultaneously translated into English by me, and there was considerable enthusiasm around the several prison organizations which were in the making. I also experienced the Americans as being rather embarrassed by the criticism.

Subsequently, *The European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control*, which was established at that time in Florence in 1973, has grown large and strong. On one of the days of the conference, on September 11, the socialist leader in Chile, president Salvador Allende, was killed in a *coup d'état* led by General Pinochet. The news of this was a great shock to everybody at the European Group conference and Italians in Florence, and hours after the news of the *coup* was known, people (Communists) in the thousands were marching in the streets of the city.

Today, in 2016, the *European Group* has started a new Criminological journal and even a Publisher of its own, *EG Press*. They have a number of people as sympathizers and members, and have actually created a "school" of their own with advanced ethical principles and teachings. Every year since 1973 they have organized a professional critical conference. They have been and are "anti-positivists," which opposed and opposes the professional meetings of the time, not the least in England (see the section in Chapter 9 on Leon Razdinovic). They have set important agendas in several contexts. Stanley Cohen was until his untimely death in 2013 (1942-2013) a main person in the "school," with many important books to his credit; so was Barbara Hudson who also died in 2013. Today David Scott, Emma Bell, Vincenzo Ruggiero and many others – as well as persons and circles at the European Continent – are active in the movement. Norwegian post doctor Ida Nafstad is coordinator, and adviser Per Jørgen Ystehede (also from Norway) is its secretary ...

*The book can be ordered from EG Press*

<http://www.egpress.org/content/cadenza-professional-autobiography>

### **III. Statement to urge Colombian environmental authorities to apply the law and defend biodiversity and collective rights**

The abuse and exploitation of night monkeys in the Colombian Amazon rainforest continues, and it has the blessing of the governmental authorities. These monkeys are used for a fruitless and scientifically doubtful research against malaria. Therefore, I hereby invite you to sign a petition addressed to the Colombian environmental authorities, requesting to apply the law and protect both the monkeys and the forest. More details about the case are found in the petition.

To access and sign the petition follow this link:

[https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gg\\_8yjWeO5SrK0k1UHeT752FeM0-OmRZDv6wnfyUSbI/edit](https://docs.google.com/document/d/1gg_8yjWeO5SrK0k1UHeT752FeM0-OmRZDv6wnfyUSbI/edit)

#### **Comité de Especies Amenazadas**

Mr. Cesar Augusto Rey Angel – Ministry of Environment,  
CRey@minambiente.gov.co

Dr. Brigitte Baptiste – Director von Humboldt Institute,  
brigittebaptiste@humboldt.org.co

Dr. Luz Marina Mantilla – Director SINCHI Institute, luzmarmantilla@sinchi.org.co

Dr. Jaime Aguirre Ceballos – UNAL jaguirrec@unal.edu.co

Dr. Francisco Armando Arias Isaza – Director INVEMAR,  
francisco.arias@invemar.org.co

Mr. William Klinger Brahan – Director IIAP wklinger@iiap.org.co

Mr. Luis Alexander Mejia – Corpoamazonia,  
correspondencia@corpoamazonia.gov.co

We the undersigned – members of the international academic community and civil society organisations – hereby express our alarm about the lack of accountability demanded by environmental authorities in Colombia regarding the use of night monkeys for malaria research. For over 30 years, wild populations of *Aotus vociferans* have been taken from the Amazonian forests and used in experimentation for malaria research, and then subsequently released back into the wild. These populations have been decimated to the point that, in some areas, they have been extirpated despite their wide distribution. On August 12<sup>th</sup>, 2016 the Colombian environmental authority “Corpoamazonia”, granted Resolution 0993, a permit for trapping wild night monkeys for malaria research, to the Fundación Instituto de Inmunología de Colombia (FIDIC). This permit allowed the trapping of 1,463 wild night monkeys over

a period of 566 days, including *Aotus vociferans* and an additional species, *Aotus nancymaae*. On September 8<sup>th</sup>, 2017 Corpoamazonia extended this permit for 180 days further, allowing the extraction of another 247 night monkeys, including from areas previously prohibited for extraction ([Resolution 1209, 2017](#)). Currently, FIDIC is applying for a new permit for the extraction of 4.000 night monkeys for a five year period.

*Aotus nancymaae* is classified by the IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature) as “Vulnerable”[1], bearing in mind the increasing threats facing them and their reduced geographic distribution within just 625 km<sup>2</sup> in Colombia. The Colombian Primatological Association informed the Ministry of Environment and Corpoamazonia of the upgrading of this species from Lower Risk to Vulnerable. However, up to now no actions have been taken by environmental authorities. This species was recently described as being found in Colombia by a study carried out by the Colombian CITES Authorities ([FONAM, 2012](#)), where they stated that it is not possible to determine exact quotas of night monkeys for extraction for biomedical research ([SINCHI, 2014](#)).

One of the main concerns of Colombian conservationists is not only the threat that extraction of wild primates for malaria research poses for their populations, but also the destructive trapping methods. The methods used by indigenous trappers to capture monkeys are extremely damaging to the forest: the trees in which the monkeys are nesting are isolated by clear cutting surrounding trees. This process leads to deforestation, with an average 30 m radius of forest destroyed around the nesting trees.

In order to meet international standards for the use of primates in biomedical research, FIDIC must obtain animals from an established captive breeding facility, instead of trapping wild animals. Colombian conservationists and primatologists would also like to stress that the use of wild monkeys as experimental models is in all likelihood scientifically invalid, due to the impacts on the monkeys’ physiology of the stress of capture and invasive biomedical procedures. It is currently unknown how contact with humans, adaptation to changes and the animal’s response to the stress of capture affects research. What is clear however is that FIDIC has been violating international protocols for the use of non-human primates in research for over three decades.

The lack of transparency and accountability of environmental authorities in the issuing and supervision of research permits granted to FIDIC for malaria research, is encouraging civil society to seek out support at an international level and request scrutiny of International agreements such as CITES, IUCN, the EU-Colombia Free

Trade Agreement (with specific provisions on biodiversity conservation and sustainable development), among others. The lack of accountability leaves civil society unprotected and environmental legislation completely overlooked, threatening biodiversity.

We respectfully urge that the **Comité de Especies Amenazadas** includes the species *Aotus nancymaae* in the Colombian list of threatened species. In addition, we request that Corpoamazonia decline the permit requested by FIDIC until population density data is available to determine if the genus *Aotus* can withstand an extraction of 4.000 animals over a five-year period. Lastly, we request that FIDIC adheres to the *Principles* of the 3Rs (Replacement, Reduction and Refinement) and to the international protocols for the use of non-human primates and discloses the results of its research to Colombian civil society.

We appreciate your consideration and positive response on this very important matter that is of significance not only to Colombian conservationists and civil society but to the wider international academic community as well.

Sincerely,  
David Rodríguez Goyes, PhD Candidate, University of Oslo,

Dr. Silvia Rodríguez Cervantez, Profesora Emérita, Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica

Dr. Núria Querol Viñas, MD, MS, BSc, Ass. Professor and Researcher, Universitat de Barcelona

Danni Parks, Deputy Director, Whitley Fund for Nature

Mario Alejandro Pérez, Professor, Universidad del Valle

Dr. Angela Maldonado, Director, Fundacion Entropika

Dr Jennifer Maher, Senior Lecturer, University of South Wales

Dr Gary Potter, Senior Lecturer, Lancaster University, UK

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[1]<http://www.iucnredlist.org/details/41540/0>

## IV. Petition for the release of Spain's political prisoners and for fair elections in Catalonia on December 21st

We are an international group of academics who are appalled by the recent events in Spain. Over the last few weeks, basic human, civil and democratic rights have been repeatedly violated in Catalonia. We kindly ask academics, public intellectuals and politicians to join us in our petition to the UN and the EU for Spain to release all political prisoners and to carry out fair and honest elections on December 21st.

To sign this petition, please send an email to [sign@democracy.cat](mailto:sign@democracy.cat) with your name, award/distinction, title, affiliation.

We request that you share this call for action far and wide amongst your networks.  
#Democracy Catalonia #FreePoliticalPrisoners

In solidarity,  
Petition Organizers.  
@CAT\_Democracy

Addressed to:

**The United Nations**, Mr. António Guterres, Secretary-General of the United Nations  
**The European Council**, Mr. Donald Tusk, President of the European Council  
**The European Commission**, Mr. Jean-Claude Juncker, President of the European Commission

In the wake of the Referendum on Independence and the subsequent Catalan Parliament's proclamation of independence, the Spanish government dissolved the Catalan Parliament, deposed the Catalan government, and arrested eight members of the cabinet, including the vice-president. Although Spain has tried to extradite Catalonia's president and the remaining four ministers, who are currently in Belgium in an effort to ensure a fair hearing, it has been so far unsuccessful. The Spanish prosecutor's comparison of the October 1st referendum on Catalan independence with an "armed coup d'état" reveals Spain's untenable position.

The Spanish government's appeal to the rule of law cannot disguise a political persecution of an extent and intensity not seen since the Franco dictatorship. The government's obvious goal is to not only instill fear in the Catalan people by censorship, arrests and threats before the referendum, but also by the overwhelming brutal police violence that was visited upon peaceful voters on October 1st itself.

Furthermore, this has continued since the referendum, by extending judicial persecution to civil servants, mayors, teachers, journalists, and any person who voices opinions on behalf of the citizens' peaceful exercise of their democratic right.

Spanish president Mariano Rajoy has called for snap elections in Catalonia on December 21st, while prominent members of his government and of the Senate have simultaneously declared their intention to ignore any victory of pro-independence parties or whether some parties should even be allowed to run at all. Even without the incarceration of prominent political leaders and would-be candidates, their mistreatment in custody, and persistent far-right violence against journalists and citizens, is hardly creating a climate in which fair and free elections can be held properly.

Because Catalans insist on a democratic solution to this conflict, they are willing to once again decide this matter through the ballot box. However, in order for those elections to be an honest arbiter, certain conditions must be met, and thus the undersigned hereby call on the UN, the European Council and the European Commission to:

- Stop condoning Spain's undemocratic behaviour, including its misuse of the courts, its takeover of Catalan government institutions, its police violence, and its turning of a blind eye toward the more than one hundred incidents of far-right violence that have appeared after every unionist march.
- Guarantee Catalans' civil and political rights as European citizens, including the freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, and freedom of political expression, which are currently being violated with impunity by the Spanish State.
- Demand that Spain release the ten political prisoners currently in Spanish jails, whose summary judgement hearings, and subsequent preventative 'custody' in prison cells is a travesty of European democracy, and whose participation in the election cannot be fairly executed from jail.
- Guarantee that no person or party will be prohibited from participating in the elections in Catalonia, and that Spain will not dictate what electoral programs are acceptable.
- Provide accredited international observers to ensure that the imposed December 21st elections in Catalonia can be carried out fairly and honestly.

The only peaceful solution to the conflict between Spain and Catalonia is a democratic one. It is time for the European and International communities to assert their influence in insisting that Catalan citizens be given the chance to express their opinion over the future of their country freely and democratically without fear of retribution in the courts, by police, or by far-right extremists.

**Two important meetings on Catalonia in London next week:**

**November 14<sup>th</sup> What Future for Catalonia?, SOAS 7pm,** with Costas Lapavitsas, Elisenda Alamany (Catalunya en Comú), Eulàlia Reguant (CUP Catalonia) and Joan Giner (PODEMOS Catalonia) <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/what-future-for-catalonia-tickets-39509010514>

**November 15<sup>th</sup>, All Party Parliamentary Group on Catalonia meeting, 6pm, Room U, Portcullis House. Palace of Westminster.** Eulàlia Reguant (CUP Catalonia), and UK MPs.

## V. CALL FOR PAPERS: Special Edition: Minorities, Crime and (In)justice



### Justice, Power & Resistance The Journal of the European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control

Within the contemporary moment, we detect the (re)emergence of official narratives that serve to situate social problems within a logic of pathological, maladjusted and/or culturally unassimilable minority groups to legitimise state-enabled (and sanctioned) violence.

Simultaneously, across the globe, the oft-communicated advance of right-wing populism necessitates political reactions, often exerted through penal apparatus, which disproportionately affect, yet paradoxically legitimise, the state's harmful incursion into the lives of minorities. Emergent processes of criminalisation are deliberately concealed, hidden away and perennially denied. Moreover, the recent intensification of systemic state-enabled violence against LGBTQ, racialised and religiously defined bodies are now met with an academic 'strategic silence' (Matheisen, 2004) or are empirically argued away (Harris 2009, Cohen 2001). This silence is now giving way to 'dangerous criminologies' located within the criminogenic and pathologising tendencies of realist(s) interpretations which uncritically serve to reaffirm the cultural and societal incompatibility of minority groups as (an)other.

Despite the advances of critical counter-narratives to assuage such tendencies, we are again in the midst of State orchestrated and hegemonic narratives which serve to attribute contemporary social problems to the non-citizen and failed-citizen (Anderson 2013). This issue of the European Group journal welcomes papers and articles that reposition and centralise the 'crime' and criminal justice concerns of minority individuals, groups and 'communities' back onto the political and activist agenda. Furthermore, we also welcome contributions which appraise and challenge contemporary theoretical and conceptual thinking which simplistically serves to 'other' and impede minority perspectives (Phillips and Bowling, 2003).

Completed contributions, in English, should be submitted to one of the editors: Monish Bhatia ([m.bhatia@abertay.ac.uk](mailto:m.bhatia@abertay.ac.uk)) or Patrick Williams ([p.williams@mmu.ac.uk](mailto:p.williams@mmu.ac.uk)) by the deadline which is **15 November 2017**. In the meantime, potential contributors are welcome to contact the editors to discuss potential papers.

## VI. News from Europe and Around the World

### Belgium

*Belgian National Prison Days, from 18 to 28 November:*

*What about the family?*

Journées Nationales de la Prison/Nationale Dagen van de Gevangenis: Détenu, gedetineerd : et la famille, en de familie ?

Les Journées Nationales de la Prison veulent contribuer à une prise de conscience collective de la situation carcérale belge afin de faire évoluer les politiques pénale et pénitentiaire pour qu'elles soient plus respectueuses des droits des personnes et plus cohérentes par rapport à l'implication sociale de l'incarcération.

Cette année les JNP s'intéressent aux familles et proches de personnes incarcérées, trop souvent négligées lorsqu'une peine est décidée.

Égarées et sans repères, isolées et peu informées ou ne maîtrisant pas le langage de la justice, un nombre considérable de familles sont entraînées dans la tourmente, et trop peu de choses sont faites pour leur venir en aide.

Organisation : Ligue des droits de l'homme, Liga voor mensenrechten, Réseau Art et Prison, Concertation des associations actives en prison (CAAP), Observatoire international des prisons – Section belge (OIP), et beaucoup d'autres

Bilingual website : <http://www.jnp-ndg.be/index.php/fr/> avec programme bilingue

### Iceland

#### **The Ministry of Justice**

#### **Action Plan on procedure of sexual offences for review**

A consultative group on the procedure of sexual offenses within the justice system has submitted an action plan to the Minister of Justice. The draft is now available on the Ministry of Justice website, and it is possible to send the Ministry a review of the program. Work on the program has taken place over the course of the last year, but the consultative group was appointed by the Minister of Internal Affairs in March 2016. The group was handed the task to put forward proposals for actions with the aim of ensuring an elaborate, effective and fair procedure for investigating cases in this area and increasing trust in the justice system. Read the news release and find the draft bill [here](#).

## **The National Commissioner of the Icelandic Police Report on organized criminality in Iceland published**

The National Commissioner has published a strategic analysis report on future threats of organized criminality in Iceland. The report is based on information gathered from all police districts in Iceland. Organized crime is on the rise and prostitution and human trafficking is a growing problem in Iceland, according to the report. The report can be found [here](#).

## **The Reykjavík Metropolitan Police RMP crime statistics for 2016**

The 2016 annual crime statistics for the capital have been published. The total number of penal code offences decreased from the previous year. Thefts continued to decrease as they have done for the past decade or so. The report can be found [here](#).

## **Monthly crime statistics**

Crime statistics for September 2017 have been published for the capital area. The number of thefts increased for the second month running, primarily due to reports of shoplifting. The report can be found [here](#).

## **Court cases**

### **Icelandic woman stands trial for production of cannabis oil in Denmark**

An Icelandic woman, along with four others, is a defendant in one of Denmark's most talked about drug cases which involves the production and sale of cannabis oil for medicinal purposes. She claims to have participated in the production as a pain relief for cancer patients following her father being diagnosed. The news story can be found [here](#).

## **University of Iceland**

### **Two Criminology session in Conference in Social Sciences**

The annual conference in social sciences was held in The University of Iceland on November 3rd. Two Criminology sessions were held by the office for criminological research in the conference offering a variety of topics. In the first session Guðbjörg S. Bergsdóttir og Guðrún Sesselja Baldursdóttir presented a mapping of the trend and nature of major violent offences in police data, Sædís Jana Jónsdóttir, Jónas Orri Jónasson og Rannveig Þórisdóttir presented finding from a recent survey on the factors influencing fear of crime and the sense of safety in the city center and Snorri Örn Árnason and Jónas Orri Jónasson discussed crime trends in an ever changing society and the explanations for the decrease in thefts for the past ten years. In the second session Nína Jacqueline Becker, Ágúst Mogensen og Helgi Gunnlaugsson presented the results of a study on the experience of prisoners on their social reality and safety in prison, Guðmundur Oddsson, Andrew Paul Hill og Þóroddur Bjarnason presented the preliminary findings of an extensive study on the police in rural areas in Iceland and Helgi Gunnlaugsson analysed [findings from surveys on use of cannabis in Iceland](#).

**UK**

Vincenzo Ruggiero, Middlesex University, London (UK), has just published:

**'The Radicalization of Democracy: Conflict, Social Movements and Terrorism'**.

The article is published online by *Critical Criminology*,  
(<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10612-017-9373-8>)

**Abstract**

The idea of democracy is being championed across the world, with some fifty new countries embracing this type of political system between 1974 and 2011 (Freedom House, 2016). Simultaneously, however, dissatisfaction has grown due to the perceived incapacity of democracy to deal with collective problems, hence the necessity to reconfigure it and redraw some of its principles. This paper links the analysis of the recent evolution of democratic systems with the trajectory of socio-political conflicts and the changing features of contemporary terrorism. It examines, therefore, two intertwined phenomena, namely the radicalization of democracy and the radicalization of the other. It concludes by stressing that encouraging dissent and heeding contentious claims made by social movements may be one way of mitigating both types of radicalization. Embedded in the tradition of critical criminology, this paper attempts to demonstrate that only by outflanking conventional categories of analysis can the criminological community aspire to grasp such thorny contemporary phenomena.

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Department of Social Policy, Sociology and Criminology Lecture Series  
**Grenfell: from social harm to social murder?**

**Professor Steve Tombs, Open University**

**Wednesday 6<sup>th</sup> December, 4.00-6.00pm**

**Room 714/15, 7<sup>th</sup> Floor, Muirhead Tower, University of Birmingham**

We can of course agree that Grenfell was, remains and will continue to be a tragedy of immense proportions. But what does it mean to say this? I intend, in this paper, to examine this question via a social harm perspective. The paper focusses on the aftermaths and consequences of the fire; but in so doing, many of the factors it reveals also help to explain the presence and character of the factors which, in combination, helped to produce a fire which could have such devastating effects. The paper seeks to delineate the various, discrete ways in which distinct types of harms – physical,

emotional/psychological, cultural/relational, financial and economic – have been and will continue to be produced by the fire. Some of these are readily apparent, others of these are opaque and obscured. On the basis of these explorations of the range of social harms produced by the fire at Grenfell Tower, I conclude by showing how failures to mitigate these constitutes one manifestation of the more general phenomenon named by Engels as ‘social murder’.

This event is free, open to all and will be followed by a wine reception, but to secure your place, please register via Eventbrite here:

<https://www.eventbrite.com/e/grenfell-from-social-harm-to-social-murder-professor-steve-tombs-tickets-39510898160>



Thomas Mathiesen at the EG conference in Oslo in 2013. Photo taken more than 70 years after the photo on the front cover. This time no rabbits in sight. (Photo: Astrid Renland).

**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).**

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