

EUROPEAN GROUP

FOR THE STUDY OF DEVIANCE & SOCIAL CONTROL

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

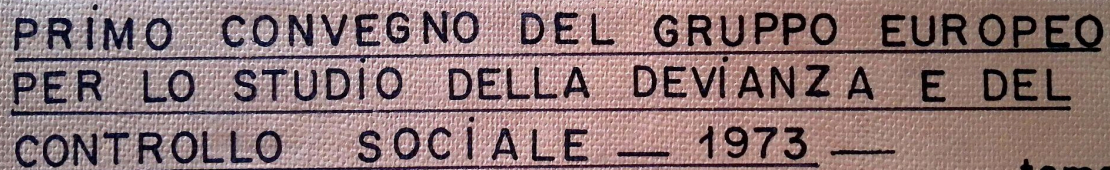
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Coordination team :

Aitor Jiménez González, Gillian McNaull, Javiera Farias, Shaïn Morisse



PRIMO CONVEGNO DEL GRUPPO EUROPEO
PER LO STUDIO DELLA DEVIANZA E DEL
CONTROLLO SOCIALE — 1973 —

tome I

NEWSLETTER | 2025 July-December

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Welcome

Welcome to this latest edition of the European Group newsletter. May it find you in good health in these uncertain times.

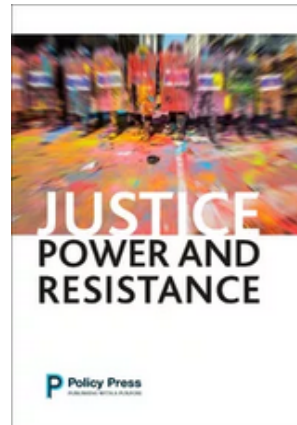
In this newsletter you will find the introductory letter of the new co-ordinators, various calls for papers, interventions from members, new papers and publications, and all the information for the upcoming 2026 European Group conference in Vitoria and British/Irish section conference in Cork.

The Newsletter is the long standing model of communication and solidarity utilised by the group and serves to share member news, interventions, calls for papers and publications. Please share your updates including upcoming PhD defense and graduations. We are currently accepting submissions for the March Newsletter - please submit by **February 16th 2026**.

Upcoming EG conference!

The 54th annual conference of the European Group will be held in **Gasteiz–Vitoria (Euskal Herria) from September 1-4, 2026**.

Contributions welcome!



Justice, Power and Resistance, the journal initiated by the EG and dedicated to the critical analysis of justice, power, social harms, and resistance accepts articles, interventions and book reviews.

Contributions from EG members are very welcome! More information inside. [Call for submissions](#)

New Coordination Team & General Assembly 18/12

We are **Aitor, Gillian, Javiera** and **Shain**, the **new coordinators** of the European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control. We were elected at the last assembly held in **Malmö** this past August, and we take on this responsibility with great enthusiasm and with the social commitment that defines our horizontal and critical organization. See more on the new team below.

Our aim is not to lead, but to facilitate coordination among the different collectives and working groups active across Europe and beyond – within the shifting and increasingly blurred epistemic boundaries connected to themes such as social justice, resistance to social control, and critical criminology, sociology and zemiology.

In this spirit, together with the Steering Committee, we will follow on from the work of previous co-ordinators to produce a flow of information via the working groups and the newsletter, support the preparation of the next conference, and – new this term – energize three priority areas of research and activism.

What does this mean?

During the last conference, the critical mission that has long characterized our diverse collective expressed itself clearly through **three main lines of action**:

Abolitionism; environmental struggle; Palestinian solidarity & repression of resistance

Thus, the fight against punitive culture, the defense of nature and the environment, and internationalist solidarity will hold a **strategic place of priority** for the remainder of our term.

How will this be carried out?

This is a **collective task** that we must build together.

We understand that we currently live in a world in flames, besieged on many fronts – by racism, fascism, and environmental devastation. Yet, at the same time, **peoples and movements across the globe are showing remarkable capacity for organization**. Within academia, too, we have witnessed growing solidarity with Palestine; indeed, our network finds itself in a **vibrant and emergent moment**.

With this in mind, we will hold a series of assemblies throughout the year to work together developing connectivity and solidarity across these pressing issues. The first assembly was held on 18th December. In it, we thanked the previous co-ordinators, Simone and Marya, and commended Simone for the work he did over the last year when he carried much of the group's labour alone. We discussed the mechanics of the group organizational structure and developed three actions: increase the representative nature of the group; enhance the

dynamic nature of the working groups and increase work streams to allow more representation of members' work; update the national representative structure. We followed up on the conference's Palestine motion and Dani provided an update on the work done to operationalise solidarity. Thank-you to everyone that attended!

The **next general assembly** will take place on Wednesday 25th March 7pm (CET).

In solidarity,

Aitor Jiménez González, Gillian McNaull, Javiera Farias, Shaïn Morisse

Javiera Farías is a PhD researcher in Law at the Universitat de Barcelona. She is also a member of the *Fear and Looting in the Peripheries* EG Working Group.

Aitor Jiménez is a Ramón y Cajal Researcher at the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU). He is also an Honorary Fellow in the Department of Criminology at the University of Melbourne and a member of the *Fear and Looting in the Peripheries* EG Working Group.

Gillian McNaull is a Lecturer in Criminology in the School of Applied Social and Policy Sciences at Ulster University. She is also a member of the British/Irish Section of the European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control and the *Prisons, Punishment and Power Working Group*.

Shaïn Morisse is a PhD researcher in Political Science at the University of Paris-Saclay, CESDIP, and the Centre Marc Bloch (Berlin).

53rd European Group Conference Report

Situated Struggles: Amplifying Abolitionist Practices

Malmö 27-29 August 2025

Ida Nafstad, Hanna Scott, Andrew M. Jefferson (AJ) - September 2025

The 53rd annual conference of the EG featured 3 plenary sessions, 3 roundtables, 3 workshops and 26 panels (containing no less than 105 presentations). Over 150 people participated, ensuring an intense and lively series of interactions.

In this brief ‘personal’ report we share a few reflections based on our experience of planning and enabling the conference.

We set out to amplify abolitionist practices by focusing attention on situated struggles in the sphere of activism and ideas. Resisting binary thinking – between theory and practice; individual and society; north and south; self and other etc. – we aimed to foreground contemporary struggles to rethink and transform social and political practice in ways that build on the interconnectedness of experience while acknowledging diversity and embracing pluralities. We hoped participation in the conference might inspire transformations of academic and activist communities, forms of thought and practice, and modes of relating, acknowledging the pernicious influence of dominant ideologies (racism, sexism, classism, transphobia, ableism and hierarchy-based entitlement) even on avowedly critical practices.

From the beginning, we were confident we comprised a team whose competencies were complimentary. In contrast to the presumptions of several EG group members who reached out with encouragement and reassurance at various stages, organizing the conference was experienced less as hassle and frustration and more as a pleasure. This is not to romanticize or say there were no anxieties along the way – about a funding application we put in, about finding a venue, about whether people would show interest and register in time, about payment modalities, about arrangements for food, about squeezing all the presentations in, about how to involve activist groups etc. – but all in all what felt like a labour of love was rewarded with a sense of mutual support in a rather fulfilling way.

This is also not to say that we did not appreciate EG members reaching out with encouragement and acknowledging that not everything would be straightforward. We also appreciated the autonomy we were granted by the EG and Working Group Co-ordinators. We thank them for their trust.

From the beginning we sought to frame the conference around a theme that was central to EG values, spoke to contemporary global concerns, and implicated activists as much as scholars. The framing also reflected our own particular interests, for example in struggles around

critical pedagogy, aesthetics of resistance, alternative futures and abolitionist thought and practice of different kinds. Based on abstracts submitted, the framing seemed to resonate well with participants. Our sense is that the programme, while heterogenous, was coherent and relatively cohesive. That is, papers were not jutting in all directions but spoke in different ways to relatively common themes.

We deliberately began the conference with a quite extensive scene setting session designed to set a tone, introduce new attendees to the vibe of the EG, and to generate a sense of commonality among participants. Seen from the perspective of where we sat, the success of this initiative was strikingly demonstrated when we invited attendees to stand and turn and greet someone they did not know. The response was instantaneous, and noise levels shot through the roof. Rather than a half-expected awkwardness there was clearly an appetite for getting to know one another.

We co-facilitated the scene-setting, though we sought explicitly to decenter ourselves. Ida shared some opening remarks illustrating the connection between local and global situated struggles with reference to recent fieldwork conduct amongst activists in northern Norway. Hanna presented Malmö as an activist city. And AJ shared some aspirational principles aimed at guiding participants according to a spirit of non-hierarchical co-presence. AJ also spent some time unpacking the conference call to remind participants of our original appeal and its rationale.

Besides the scene setting session the other two plenary sessions were focused on border harms and abolition and solidarity and commitment to Palestine and featured a facilitated conversation between scholars and activists from Denmark and Sweden active in these struggles. In relation to Palestine, a series of action points were later agreed including recommitting the group to principles of the BDS movement, and initiating a study of self-censorship in academia.

EG Working Groups sought to reanimate the work they do between conferences with specific sessions of different kinds. For example, the Fear & Looting in the Periphery WG organised a panel; the Prisons and Punishment WG organised a workshop together with the Forum for Prison Abolition; and the Critical Pedagogy WG ran a roundtable. There was also a film screening about Palestine solidarity student organizing and a book session featuring authors of three new books in dialogue with one another.

Our impression, and that shared by several attendees, was that panels were of a consistently high quality and generally well-attended, including the sessions on the morning after the conference dinner.

The venue exceeded our expectations and the weather goddesses smiled on us such that the outdoor spaces could be well utilized. We are also proud that we could deliver a fully Vegan conference and we encourage future conference organizers to take inspiration from this. Warmest thanks to Julio who was responsible for making all the delicious vegan food at the conference dinner. And, of course, to Maria who took on the role of DJ at Plan B.

We were perhaps overly ambitious with the social programme. We had hoped to give participants the chance to get a feel for 2 local action-oriented initiatives as well as offering a walking tour of an activist-oriented city, and a chance for activists (from inside the conference and outside) to meet through an exercise called ‘activist speed-dating’ facilitated by the Forum for Prison Abolition, Copenhagen and Txago, Basque Country. Placed at the end of a long first day enthusiasm was a bit low and one of the initiatives had to be cancelled. The other three were well attended and went well.

We were gratified to have many early career researchers presenting papers and our sense is that there was also a greater and more well-integrated representation of activists.

If the conference ran smoothly, it was only down to the commitment and dedication of six eminent student volunteers from Sociology of Law at Lund University. Tirelessly and without complaint, they trouble-shot tech and logistical issues and took care of us and the participants. Our heartfelt thanks go to Caroline, Cheela, Kotryna, Maud, Riho & Robin.

Regarding the conferences’ economy we benefited from some grants that combined with fees received means there is actually some excess available to offer the organizers of the next conference. The higher fee paid by people with institutional backing offset successfully the lower fees paid by activists and non-affiliated people. For those with an interest the rough distribution was as follows: 53 X 260EUR; 31 X 100EUR; 37 X 50EUR.

We are pleased to report that a range of great abstracts have been submitted for a post-conference Special Issue of *Justice, Power and Resistance* and that a recent issue of *Artikel 14*, a Swedish language journal, featured three articles about the conference.

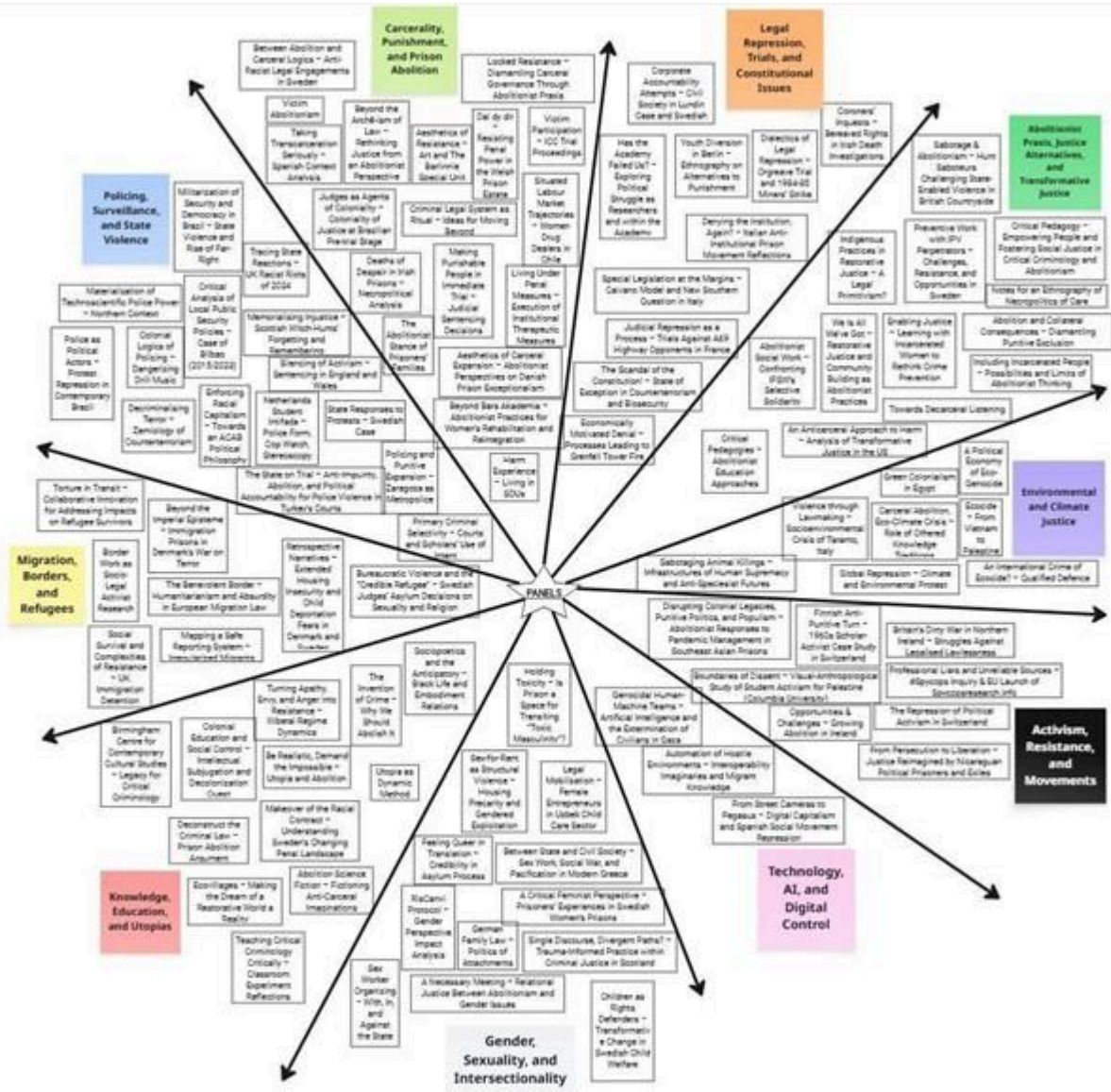
The conference was also an opportunity to thank the outgoing co-ordinators of EG Simone Santorso and Maryja Šupa and welcome a new co-ordinating team comprising Gillian McNaull (Ulster University), Shaïn Morisse (Université Paris-Saclay / CESDIP), Javiera Farías Pereira (University of Barcelona) & Aitor Jiménez (Basque Country University).

Thanks also to all who participated.

Next year’s conference will take place in Euskal Herria (the Basque Country) at Vitoria-Gasteiz, organised by Maria Sarasola, Basque Country University, Nicole Rughetti, Salhaketa Araba, Marta Aldanondo, Salhaketa Araba, Alicia Alonso, Sin Poli, Lorena Alemán, Public University of Navarre/ Salhaketa Nafarroa, Aitor Jiménez, Basque Country University.

Graphic representation of the range and scope of the Malmo conference!

Credit: Robin Aitken



Cfp - 54th European Group Conference: Alternatives to Punitive Security Culture: Organising for Social Liberation. Vitoria-Gasteiz 1–4 September 2026

Shared by Fear and looting in the periphery: Approaching global crime and harm in (and from) the south(s)

Alternatives to Punitive Security Culture: Organising for Social Liberation (CFP). Vitoria-Gasteiz 1–4 September 2026. (Beherago euskaraz, más abajo en castellano)

In 2025, dozens of activists and academics gathered at the 53rd European Group Conference in Malmö to speak, debate, learn and, ultimately, breathe collectively around a question with infinite ramifications: abolitionist practice. The meeting sought to break with the dichotomy between theory and practice, the street and the university, in order to address in a horizontal and committed way the dismantling of oppressive and punitive structures. It was not an abstract debate but a thoughtful reflection of something shaking the world, from Los Angeles to Gaza, from Buenos Aires to Johannesburg: the need and desire to abolish the repressive institutions that generate multiple forms of oppression and exploitation.

A group of militants and academics from Euskal Herria has taken up the task of organising the next edition of this event, which will take place in Vitoria-Gasteiz from 1 to 4 September 2026 (among others Salhaketa Nafarroa, Salhaketa Araba, Fear and Looting in the Periphery EG, WG). **We share the abolitionist and transformative spirit that inspired the 2025 event. We inhabit a world in flames, undergoing an accelerated process of fascistisation, intensifying policing and environmental devastation. Today, more than ever, it is essential to abolish the conditions that make this destruction possible.** We believe it is necessary to keep moving forward. For this reason, we want to invite you to collectively think about, imagine and activate alternatives. Collective alternatives to practices of domination such as the police, prisons, migrant centres and mass surveillance. Alternatives to the infrastructural systems of control and resource management that submit us to a way of life that is as infamous as it is unviable. Alternatives for the construction of an extensive, community-managed network of care. Alternatives, in short, to the punitive-security culture that permeates and contaminates our societies and our relationships.

The territory

Vitoria-Gasteiz is the capital of Araba, one of the seven provinces of Euskal Herria, a nation crossed by the borders of the French and Spanish states and which has been fighting for its independence for centuries. Vitoria-Gasteiz is a city with an active social fabric and numerous self-managed spaces where the population organises and resists fascistisation, touristification, gentrification, exclusion, poverty, racism, lack of access to housing, and the misogynistic turn in large parts of society. Our intention with this event is to generate a space

where both the collectives of Euskal Herria, particularly those of Araba, and the guests from other regions of the world can feel comfortable discussing and putting into practice alternatives to punitive, capitalist, patriarchal, colonial and exploitative models. We want this to be a space for reflection, action and learning that goes beyond the merely academic.

To this end, half of the organising committee is made up of social collectives involved in different abolitionist, anti-punitive and ecological causes. The event itself will have a dual structure: it will take place in an academic context during the mornings (Basque Country University, Faculty of Labour Relations and Social Work at Vitoria-Gasteiz), and in community spaces during the afternoons. With this, we are not proposing a thematic division but an organisation that allows us to inhabit different spaces which are nonetheless united by the same political intention.

That said, we want to invite all those individuals and collectives who, driven by the vocation for social transformation and academic, political and community commitment, wish to contribute to the collective production of alternatives. Proposals that allow us to learn about the lessons, findings and conclusions arising from social conflicts and emancipatory practices will be especially welcome. Likewise, proposals for workshops, roundtables, panels and presentations by activists, researchers and collectives on the following topics will be very welcome:

Suggested sub-themes

- Depolicing and alternatives to the police
- Alternatives to prisons: Beyond the walls, social responsibility
- Community justice: Conflict resolution beyond state apparatuses
- Reclaiming security (environmental, energy, food, economic, affective)
- Watching the watcher: Anti-infiltration, documentation of police violence, dissemination of knowledge on state vigilantism
- Punitivism and psychiatry
- Abolitionist transfeminisms
- From victimisation to survival
- ACAB FLOWS: Art against batons and prisons
- Caring for our movements: Circular workshop—tools, knowledge and experiences in mediation and conflict resolution in social movements and grassroot organisations
- Crimes of the powerful: What to do? How to do it?

Submit your abstract (200–250 words in English, Basque and/or Castilian) by filling [this form](#) by **23 March 2026**. Please indicate which of the above themes or which of the EG's working groups your abstract matches best.

You can contact us through egconference2026@protonmail.com for any doubts.

[EUS]

Kultura punitibo-sekretarioari alternatibak: Askapen sozialerako antolakuntza

54. European Group Kongresua, Gasteiz, 2026ko irailaren 1etik 4ra

2025ean, dozenaka aktibista eta akademiko elkartu ziren Malmö-n ospatutako 53. European Group Kongresuan, hitz egiteko, eztabaidatzeko, ikasteko eta, azken finean, arnagune kolektibo bat sortzeko askotariko ikuspegietatik landu daitekeen gai baten inguruan: praktika abolizionista. Topaketak teoria eta praktika, kalea eta unibertsitatea bereizten dituen dikotomiari eten bat eman nahi izan zion, egitura zapaltzaile eta punitiboen desmuntaketa modu horizontal eta konprometituan lantzeko. Ez zen eztabaida abstraktu bat, baizik eta mundua astintzen ari den zerbaiten inguruko gogoeta arduratsua, Los Angelesetik Gazara, Buenos Airesetik Johannesburgora: zapalkuntza eta esplotazio forma anitz sortzen dituzten erakunde errepresiboak abolitzeko beharra eta nahia.

Euskal Herriko militante eta akademiko talde batek hartu du ekitaldiaren hurrengo edizioa antolatzeko ardura (besteak beste Salhaketa Nafarroa, Salhaketa Araba, European Groupeko Fear and Looting in the Periphery lantaldea); Gasteizen izango da, 2026ko irailaren 1etik 4ra. 2025eko ekitaldia gidatu zuen espiritu abolizionista eta eraldatzailea partekatzen dugu. **Sutan dagoen mundu batean bizi gara, faxistizazio prozesu bizkortuan, polizien presentzia areagotzean eta ingurumen-suntsipenean sakontzen ari den munduan. Gaur, inoiz baino gehiago, ezinbestekoa da suntsipen hori posible egiten duten baldintzak abolitzeko lan egitea.** Aurrera jarraitzea beharrezkotzat jotzen dugu. Horregatik, gonbidatu nahi zaituztegu kolektiboki alternatibak pentsatzera, irudikatuzera eta aktibatuzera. Alternatiba kolektiboak dominazio-praktiken aurrean, hala nola polizia, espetxeak, migratuentzakoak eta zelatatze masiboa. Kontrol eta baliabideen kudeaketarako sistema infrastrukturen aurreko alternatibak, bizi-modu anker eta bideraezin batera kondenatzen gaituztenak. Zaintza-sare zabal eta komunitario baten eraikuntzarako alternatibak. Azken finean, gure gizarteak eta harremanak kutsatzen dituen kultura punitibo-sekretarioari alternatibak.

Lurraldea

Gasteiz Arabako hiriburua da, Euskal Herriko zazpi lurraldeetako bat; Frantziako eta Espainiako estatuen mugak zeharkatzen dituen herria, mendeetan bere independentziaren alde borrokatu dena. Gasteiz hiri bizia da, ehun sozial aktiboa eta autogestionatutako gune ugari dituena. Bertako biztanleek faxistizazioaren, turistifikazioaren, gentrifikazioaren, bazterkeriaren, pobrezia-egoeren, arrazakeriaren, etxebizitzarako sarbide faltaren eta gizartearen zati handi batean ematen ari den joera misoginoaren aurrean erresistitzeko antolatzen dira. Ekitaldi honekin gure asmoa da espazio bat sortzea Euskal Herriko kolektiboak, bereziki Arabakoak, eta munduko beste eskualde batzuetatik datozen gonbidatuak eroso senti daitezen, kultura punitibo, kapitalista, patriarkal, kolonial eta esplotatzaileen aurkako alternatibak eztabaidatu eta praktikan jartzeko. Gogoetarako, ekintzarako eta ikaskuntzarako espazio bat izatea nahi dugu, dimentsio akademikoa gaindituko duena.

Horretarako, antolakuntza-batzordean kolektibo sozial abolizionista, antipunitibista eta ekologistek parte hartzen dute. Ekitaldiak egitura bikoitza izango du: goizez testuinguru akademikoan egingo da (Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, Lan Harremanak eta Gizarte Langintza Fakultatea, Gasteiz), eta arratsaldean espazio komunitarioetan. Ez dugu banaketa tematikoa proposatzen, baizik eta espazio desberdinak modu bateratuan, asmo politiko berarekin bizitzeko aukera eskainiko digun antolaketa.

Hala, gizarte-eraldaketarako bokazioak eta konpromiso akademiko, politiko eta komunitarioak bultzatutako norbanako eta kolektibo guztiak gonbidatu nahi ditugu alternatiba kolektiboen ekoizpenari ekarpena egitera. Bereziki ongi etorriak izango dira gatazka sozialen eta praktika emantzipatzaileen bidez sortutako ikaspen, aurkikuntza eta ondorioak partekatzeko aukera emango duten proposamenak. Halaber, aktibisten, ikerlarien eta kolektiboen tailer, mahai-inguru, panel eta aurkezpen-proposamenak ere pozik jasoko ditugu, honako hauen inguruan:

Azpi-gai proposamenak

- Despoliziazioa eta poliziari alternatibak
- Espetxei alternatibak: Harresietatik haratago, erantzukizun soziala
- Justizia komunitarioa: gatazken konponketa estatu-mekanismotik haratago
- Segurtasuna berreskuratzea (ingurumenekoa, energetikoa, elikadura-arlokoa, ekonomikoa, afektiboa)
- Zelataria zelatatzea: infiltrazioen aurka, polizia indarkeriaren dokumentazioa, estatuaren bigilantismoari buruzko ezagutzaren hedapena
- Punitibismoa eta psikiatria
- Transfeminismo abolizionistak
- Biktimizaziotik biziraupenera
- ACAB korronteak: Borra eta espetxeen aurkako artea
- Mugimenduen zaintza: Mugimenduen gatazken eraldaketa tresnak, ezagutza eta esperientziak
- Boteretsuen krimenak: Zer egin? Nola egin?

Bidali zure laburpena (200–250 hitz ingelesez, euskaraz eta/edo gaztelaniaz) [formulario hau](#) betez **2026ko martxoaren 23a baino lehen**. Mesedez adierazi zein azpi-gai edo zein EG lan-taldearekin lotzen den zure proposamena.

Edozein zalantza izanez gero idatzi egconference2026@protonmail.com helbidera.

[CAS]

Alternativas a la cultura punitiva-securitaria: Organización para la liberación social

54 European Group Conference Vitoria-Gasteiz, 1 al 4 de septiembre del 2026.

En el año 2025 decenas de activistas y académicas se encontraron en la 53 European Group Conference en Malmö, para hablar, discutir, aprender, y, en definitiva, respirar colectivamente en torno a una cuestión con infinitas ramificaciones: la práctica abolicionista. El encuentro buscaba romper con la dicotomía entre teoría y práctica, calle y universidad para abordar de una manera horizontal y comprometida el desmantelamiento de las estructuras opresivas y punitivas. No era un debate abstracto sino el reflejo meditado de algo que estaba sacudiendo el mundo, desde Los Ángeles a Gaza, de Buenos Aires a Johannesburgo: la necesidad y el deseo por abolir las instituciones represivas que generan múltiples formas de opresión y explotación.

Un grupo de militantes y docentes de Euskal Herria(k), han tomado el relevo para la organización de la siguiente edición de este evento, que tendrá lugar en Vitoria-Gasteiz del 1 al 4 de septiembre del 2026. **Compartimos el espíritu abolicionista y transformador que inspiró el evento del 2025. Habitamos un mundo en llamas que experimenta un acelerado proceso de fascistización, policialización y devastación ambiental. Hoy, más que nunca, es imprescindible abolir las condiciones que hacen posible esta destrucción.** Consideramos que es preciso seguir avanzando. Por ello, queremos invitaros a pensar, imaginar y activar colectivamente las alternativas. Alternativas colectivas a las prácticas de dominación como la policía, las cárceles, los centros de migrantes y la vigilancia masiva. Alternativas al sistema de control infraestructural y de los recursos que nos somete a un modo de vida tan infame como inviable. Alternativas para la construcción de una red de cuidados extensa y de gestión comunitaria. Alternativas, en definitiva, a la cultura punitivo-securitaria que impregna y contamina nuestras sociedades y nuestros vínculos.

El territorio

Vitoria-Gasteiz es la capital de Araba – una de las 7 provincias de Euskal Herria. Una nación atravesada por las fronteras de los estados francés y español y que lleva siglos luchando por su independencia. Vitoria-Gasteiz es una ciudad con un tejido social activo y numerosos espacios autogestionados donde la población se organiza y resiste a la fascistización, turistificación, gentrificación, exclusión, pobreza, racismo, falta de acceso a la vivienda... y viraje machista de buena parte de la sociedad. Nuestra firme intención con este evento es generar un espacio donde tanto los colectivos de Euskal Herria y muy particularmente de Araba como lxs invitadxs de otras regiones del mundo, puedan sentirse cómodas para la discusión y puesta en práctica de alternativas al modelo punitivista, capitalista, machista, colonial y explotador. Queremos que este sea un espacio tanto de reflexión como de acción y aprendizaje que atraviese lo meramente académico.

A este efecto, la mitad del comité organizador está compuesto por colectivos sociales implicados en diferentes causas abolicionistas, antipunitivistas y ecologistas. El evento en sí tendrá una doble articulación, desarrollándose en un contexto académico por las mañanas y teniendo lugar en espacios comunitarios por las tardes. Con ello, no proponemos una división temática sino una organización que nos permita habitar diferentes espacios; unidos, sin embargo, por una misma intencionalidad política.

Dicho esto, queremos invitar a todas aquellas personas y colectivos que movidas por la vocación de transformación social y compromiso académico, político y comunitario quieran contribuir a la producción colectiva de alternativas. Serán especialmente bienvenidas propuestas que nos permitan conocer los aprendizajes, hallazgos y conclusiones emanados de conflictos sociales y de prácticas emancipatorias. Asimismo, serán muy bienvenidas propuestas paraE para talleres, mesas redondas, paneles y ponencias de activistas, investigadoras y colectivos acerca de los siguientes temas:

Sugerencia de sub-temas

- Despolicialización y alternativas a la policía
- Alternativas a las prisiones: Más allá de los muros, responsabilidad social
- Justicia comunitaria: Resolución de conflictos más allá de los aparatos del Estado
- Reapropiación de la seguridad (ambiental, energética, alimentaria, económica, afectiva)
- Vigilar al vigilante: Anti-infiltración, documentación de la violencia policial, difusión de saberes sobre el vigilantismo estatal
- Punitivismo y psiquiatría
- Transfeminismos abolicionistas
- De la victimización a la supervivencia
- ACAB FLOWS: Arte contra las porras y las prisiones
- Cuidar nuestros movimientos: Taller circular — herramientas, saberes y experiencias en mediación y resolución de conflictos en movimientos sociales y organizaciones de base
- Crímenes de los poderosos: ¿Qué hacer? ¿Cómo hacer?

Envía tu resumen (200-250 palabras en inglés, euskera y/o castellano) rellenando [este formulario](#) **antes del 23 de marzo de 2026**. Indica cuál de los temas anteriores o cuál de los grupos de trabajo del EG se ajusta mejor a su resumen.

Si tienes alguna duda, puedes ponerte en contacto con nosotrxs a través de egconference2026@protonmail.com.

Cfp - EG Conference – British/Irish section

(Cork, 16-17/04/2026)

Cork, Ireland - April 16th and 17th 2026

A gathering and symposium of the British/Irish section of the European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control- announcement and call for papers:

“Abolitionist struggles and critical engagements with penal and other problematic normative systems and doxa: historical continuities and current emergencies”

The British/Irish Section of The European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control is pleased to announce that it will be holding a gathering and symposium in **Cork**, Ireland from **16th to the 17th of April 2026**. This event will be supported by [the Hulsman Foundation](#) which was established in 2009 to preserve the legacy of Louk Hulsman’s work by making accessible publications, possible networks and initiatives that promote, support, or have realised ways to deal with problematic situations in society without the involvement of the criminal justice system.

It is a special honour to hold our event in Cork city as it is a place to which a variety of abolitionists, amongst them the well-known American abolitionist, suffragist and former slave Frederick Douglass have a connection. Douglass travelled to Cork in 1845 as he had to flee America for fear of recapture. Cork had a **strong abolitionist community** at that time; and Cork, specifically University College Cork, is also the place where the [Irish Penal Abolition Network](#) was formed in 2024, continuing this radical and important tradition.

In: “An Abolitionist View of Restorative Justice” (2011) our much-missed friend and comrade Vincenzo Ruggiero stated that: “Penal abolitionism is not merely a decarceration programme, but also an approach, a perspective, a methodology, and most of all a way of seeing.”(Ruggiero 2011:1) This way of seeing is one that is specifically focused on the many ways in which harms are generated and re-produced. Abolitionist engagement, activism and analysis is therefore sensitive to the fact that current systems of domination and of state violence (both physical and symbolic) are deeply grounded and anchored in the histories and continuing realities of slavery, of colonialism, of imperialism, of patriarchal heteronormativity and of speciesism.

“The abstract character of the public perception of prisons militates against an engagement with the real issues afflicting the communities from which prisoners are drawn in such disproportionate numbers. This is the ideological work that the prison [and the ‘small boats’ discourse by media and politicians; comment by authors] performs - it relieves us of the

responsibility of seriously engaging with the problems of late capitalism, of transnational capitalism. The naturalisation of Black people [and of people moving between borders on small boats]as criminals thus also erects ideological barriers to an understanding of the connections between late-twentieth century structural racism and the globalisation of capital [and the total destruction of our planet; comment of authors].” (Davis 2024 :84). Exploring the socio-political construction and organisation of ‘nature’ Moore (2015) echoes these arguments and expands on them to the separation and destruction of ‘nature’ from our lives in ‘Capitalism in the web of life’. Moore thinks about capitalism as a “world-ecology” comprised of wealth, power, and of ‘nature’ constructed as an ever-ready resource and demonstrates ‘its’ profoundly destructive consequences.

The European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control works to dismantle such oppressive systems by transforming the associated contexts that allow them to persist. As such as this work and vision can be understood as a vehicle of education and of exchange. To Angela Davis genuine education is a powerful instrument for change, be it political, cultural, societal, philosophical. Let us use this powerful instrument of transformation and on this occasion in a truly historic space for abolitionism, to critically explore **themes** such as:

- How do the ‘prison industrial complex’ and the ‘Higher Education industrial complex’ complement each other in late capitalist societies?
- Angela Davis’ body of work is fundamentally grounded in and invites reflection on our roles and our behaviour within a problematic web of ‘realities’. How are we as tutors, facilitators, activists and artists engaging in / reflecting on our engagement in these realities?
- The eco-feminist Leah Thomas and others have emphasised the crucial importance of engaging with forms of intersectional analysis especially in the context of global and local environmental destruction. How can we imagine abolitionist and/or critical criminological engagements with ‘earth-justice’?
- Critically exploring the interconnectedness and crucial relevance of genuine inclusiveness and collective struggles. How can critical pedagogy and abolitionist pedagogy and praxis, inform, enrich and learn from/through each other?
- Building upon the principles of Freire’s radical imagination, Love (2018) suggests that historically abolitionists’ imaginations fuelled resistance and that we should “freedom dream”: “Freedom dreaming gives teachers a collective space to methodically tear down the educational survival complex and collectively rebuild a school system” (Love 102). Let us develop ideas to ‘freedom dream’ together.
- Exploring histories, narratives and understandings of abolitionism. What does abolitionist theory and practice look like in different contexts and communities? What can we learn from each other today? And from the struggles and achievements of the past, which is never quite past?

- How do and should we understand domination? What are new and emerging sites of struggle, resistance and alternative praxis? What can we learn from engagement with other histories of struggle?

Presentations, workshops, displays and art that relate/s to the above and that might include but are/is not limited to: Genocides, historical and continuing projects of purification; Crimes of the powerful and the harms of AI and other technologies of ‘progress’; The criminalisation of protest and resistance and the increasing powers and brutality of the state ***are especially welcome***

We are inviting individual and collective papers, posters, panels, art works and performances that address (in the broadest possible way) the themes of our symposium. Papers can include works in progress, completed research, theoretical, comparative, or policy focused papers and we welcome both individual and team contributions.

Please send all abstracts (maximum of 250 words) to both **Andrea Beckmann** (abeckmann94@outlook.com) and **Liz Kiely** (e.kiely@ucc.ie) before the closing date for papers on 31.01.2026

For further details and information about the symposium please contact either Andrea Beckmann (abeckmann94@outlook.com) or Liz Kiely (e.kiely@ucc.ie).

Cfp - for the 3rd SOS4Democracy Conference: Resilience, Resistance, Renewal: Rethinking Democratic Politics in Times of War and Emergency

Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, 24-26/06/2026

Abstract submission deadline: 15 February 2026

While scholars disagree on whether the current moment constitutes a global wave of autocratization, there is little doubt that democratic politics is undergoing one of its deepest crises in decades. Across regions, states are experiencing democratic erosion, illiberal turns, and, in some cases, full-scale democratic breakdowns. The proliferation of new forms of securitization, criminalization, and emergency governance across democracies, visible in the repression of pro-Palestine protests, labor and feminist struggles, climate activism, migrants, and other vulnerable groups as well as assaults on university autonomy and academic freedoms, reveals that this crisis puts into question the long-established assumptions about the strength and consolidation of democratic politics. They also show that the current crisis of democracy is deeply entangled with multiple global emergencies: the genocide in Gaza, the war in Ukraine, the climate crisis, inequalities and contradictions of global capitalism, and a rapidly escalating landscape of geopolitical rivalry, militarization, and deteriorating international law. A critical dimension of these transformations lies in the ambivalent role of law. Legal frameworks and institutions have increasingly become instruments for producing, legitimizing, and normalizing autocratization through emergency decrees, constitutional change, and the weaponization of legality. Strong states have exploited the cracks in the international legal architecture or blatantly disregarded it to wage wars and anti-minority violence with virtual impunity. Yet, law also remains a site of contestation and resistance, mobilized by civil society, opposition parties, and transnational actors to challenge authoritarian encroachments, defend fundamental rights, struggle for justice and peace, and envision new democratic horizons.

This conference seeks to explore how democracy can be sustained, reimagined, and renewed amid these overlapping crises, authoritarian assaults, and resurging international violence. What forms of democratic resilience and resistance are emerging in response to these challenges and what are their possibilities as geopolitical interests marginalize democratic norms and human rights in international politics more than ever? Which actors, institutions, and conditions foster resilience and enable resistance and what role law plays in these processes? How can these efforts be channeled into a politics of democratic renewal and transformation? What role do collective memories of war, repression, struggle, and liberation play in shaping new democratic imaginaries? And how might global solidarity and international institutions contribute to defending democracy amid the breakdown of international law and human rights in the wake of Gaza, Ukraine, and beyond?

We invite contributions from across disciplines and regions that address these and other questions through empirical, theoretical, and historical perspectives. Possible themes include:

- Autocratization, democratic backsliding, and the uses of emergency rule
- Law's role in enabling and constraining authoritarian power
- Democracy under remilitarization and geopolitical competition: war, security, and global
- power realignments
- Repression, securitization, and criminalization of dissent
- Democratic resistance and civil mobilization across regime types
- Actors, institutions, and mechanisms of democratic resilience
- Role of opposition parties and electoral alliances in resisting and reversing
- autocratization
- Subnational politics of democratization and autocratization
- International law and human rights politics after Gaza
- Memory politics and the legacies of violence in shaping democratic imaginaries
- Universities under authoritarian assault
- Illiberalism, populism, and polarization
- Global capitalism, oligarchization, and democratic erosion
- New visions of democratic politics beyond the liberal framework

The conference welcomes researchers from social sciences and humanities, practitioners, activists, students, and others engaged in research and advocacy on the rule of law, human rights, and fundamental freedoms in contemporary democracies.

Venue & accessibility:

The conference will take place over three full days from 24 to 26 June 2026 at the Boğaziçi University, Istanbul. This will be an entirely in-person meeting with no option for virtual attendance or presentation.

General guidelines for abstract submissions:

1. For individual paper presentations, submissions to the conference should include an abstract of a maximum of 300 words (please state the name of the author(s), the title, the objectives, the research question, methodology, and results).
2. Submissions should also include a short biography (maximum 100 words) of the author(s) of the paper.
3. Please submit your abstract and short biography by 15 February 2026 to the e-mail address sos4democracy@inst-krim.si (please use "Call for abstracts – SOS4democracy conference" as the subject line of your e-mail).
4. Abstracts (and papers) must relate to the conference's general themes. All abstracts (and papers) must be in English.
5. All submissions will be peer-reviewed. Submissions will be reviewed on a rolling basis with notifications sent out regularly. Applicants will be notified about the acceptance of

abstracts by **1 April 2026** at the latest. **Should you not receive a notification by this day, please contact us as soon as possible at sos4democracy@inst-krim.si**
6. The final program of the conference will be available by 1 June 2026.

There will be no registration fee for participating at the conference.

The organizers of the conference cannot provide any funding for travel and accommodation.

If you have any questions about the conference, please do not hesitate to contact us at this e-mail address: sos4democracy@inst-krim.si

Cfp - EASA Anthropology of Confinement Network

Poznan, 21-24/07/2026

Abstract submission deadline: January 26th 2026

Diego Ruedas Torres (UNED, Spain) and Ana Ballesteros-Pena (University of A Coruña, Spain) wanted to share the following panels that prepared for the the EASA Congress of Anthropology that will take place from 21th to 24th july in Poznan.

The call for papers (instructions available here) closes on January 26th, 2026 and they hope to receive proposals from you.

Abolitionist perspectives on carcerality and criminalization

Short Abstract

The panel examines carcerality, understood as the racial capitalist politics and practices that restrict freedom, rights, and access to resources, and explores continuities between past and present configurations of imprisonment, coerced labor, deportation and forms of resistance.

Abstract

Abolitionist scholarship and activism use the notion of carcerality to understand the racial capitalist politics and practices that restrict freedom, rights, and access to resources. Carcerality, in this sense, is not confined to prisons—it is an effect produced by a range of practices, institutions, and infrastructures that entrench the unequal distribution of life chances and expand realms of unfreedom. Criminalization operates across diverse fields of law, society and culture to justify the deprivation of rights and freedoms for groups of people. It serves both as a practical gateway to carcerality and as its rationalization. These two connected concepts help us critically understand the expansion of prisons, asylum camps, and detention centres, as well as diverse forms of coerced labour, pervasive surveillance, and the policing and deportation of workers, marginalized populations, and dissent—even genocide. How can anthropology address and challenge the current expansion of criminalization and carcerality? Thinking beyond binaries such as public–private, state–corporate, citizenship–non-citizenship, and economic–political, this panel invites contributions that trace the connections between various forms of confinement, coercive social control, and the production of (disposable) labour. Prisons, workhouses, factories, and plantations share an entangled history. How can we conceptualize forms of unfreedom, coerced, or surplus labour across institutions, spaces, and practices usually considered separate? What kinds of resistance and imaginaries have emerged to challenge carcerality and criminalization as both practice and effect? How do criminalization and carcerality operate within the current authoritarian turn? We welcome papers that address contemporary practices or adopt a longer historical perspective.

Panel convenors

Annika Lindberg (University of Gothenburg)

Aino Korvensyrjä (University of Helsinki)

Amin Parsa (Halmstad University)

Transnational Perspectives on Carceral Technologies: Power, Resistance, and the Politics of Control

Short abstract:

We invite contributions that explore the interaction of different logics and technologies of governance and control in carceral settings

Abstract

Over the last decades, a growing body of scholarship across disciplines has explored the emergence of new logics and technologies of governance and control over detained populations. Researchers have examined transformations in the governance of prisoners, immigration detainees, and related groups. More specifically, they have analysed the mechanisms of subjectivation and control that emerge through new risk technologies; the forms of accountability implied by dynamic security models; the informal practices that regulate the everyday order of prisons; and technologies of control extending beyond detention settings, such as so-called alternatives to incarceration. Many of these transformations rely on new technological devices (applications, electronic ankle bracelets, etc.) or socio-legal assemblages (NGOs and service providers) and are permeated by intersectional inequalities based on nationality, gender, race, and ethnicity. In analyzing these technologies, scholars have identified paradoxical connections emerging from practices that combine humanitarianism and security, care and control, punishment and protection, often operating as a continuum that needs to be untangled. However, much of this scholarship relies on conceptual frameworks developed in a limited set of Western contexts and often transferred elsewhere without sufficient critical engagement. Thus, frequently these analyses overlook the interactions of new technologies with the set of social, political, historical, and colonial conditions that have traditionally shaped each country's punitive practices.

This panel seeks to bring together contributions that examine the specific assemblages of logics and technologies of governance and control operating in diverse carceral settings across the globe, and to discuss the tensions, ambiguities, and resistances that emerge from them.

Panel convenors:

Diego Ruedas Torres (UNED, Spain)

Ana Ballesteros-Pena (University of A Coruña, Spain)

Cfp - Crime and the Media

21-22 May 2026 - University of Warwick

We are pleased to invite submissions for the “**Crime and the Media**” stream at the [Midlands Conference in Critical Thought \(MCCT\) 2026](#), taking place at the University of Warwick on **21-22 May 2026**.

This [stream](#) explores the intersections between crime and media, including how news, documentaries, social media, film, and other platforms shape public perceptions of crime, justice and the legal system. We welcome contributions from researchers, activists, and artists on topics such as (but not limited to): activism against media narratives that stigmatise specific groups as the perpetrators of crime, reflections on pieces of media that advance critical, reformist and/or abolitionist narratives, the role of media in abolitionist organising, or reflections on media representations of ‘lived experience’ of victimisation and criminalisation.

Submission Guidelines:

- Abstracts: up to **500 words**
- Deadline: **21 January 2026**
- Please submit as a Word document to: midlandscritical@gmail.com

The MCCT is a free, non-hierarchical, peer-led conference with no plenary sessions, designed to foster collaborative and critical discussion.

Please feel free to share this call with your contacts.

We look forward to receiving your proposals and welcoming you to Warwick in May!

Cfp - Criminological Perspectives on Palestine: Legal Responses and Academic Complicity in Times of Genocide

9-10 April 2026 - Ljubljana, Slovenia: Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana

Organisers: Institute of Criminology at the Faculty of Law in Ljubljana and the Faculty of Law, University of Ljubljana.

The Israeli military assault in Gaza and the broader Palestinian territories over the last two years present a continuing oppression of Israel against the Palestinians, and have resulted in unprecedented levels of civilian harm and societal devastation. To this day, mass killings and mutilations of civilians, the deliberate starvation of an entire population, widespread displacement, and a near-total destruction of infrastructure continue. These acts are crimes and constitute serious violations of international humanitarian, human rights, and international criminal law. Importantly, such violations do not occur in isolation; they are shaped and sustained by the political, financial, technical, and diplomatic involvement of a range of international actors and institutions, who (in)directly support Israel, contributing to the conditions in which crimes and harms persist. All major international, Palestinian, and Israeli human rights organisations, as well as numerous UN institutions and experts, consider Israel's assault on Gaza a genocide. Still, many UN member states ignore the obligations under the Genocide Convention as well as those identified by the International Court of Justice ruling, according to which they must “[c]ancel or suspend economic relationships, trade agreements, and academic relations with Israel that may contribute to its unlawful presence and apartheid regime in the occupied Palestinian territory”.

However, states are not alone in failing to fulfil their obligations. Universities are among the institutions that have been criticised for their inadequate responses to allegations of genocide and other atrocity crimes committed by Israel. In many academic settings, research and advocacy addressing these issues remain silenced, marginalised, or actively suppressed, even as financially and politically beneficial partnerships with Israeli institutions continue. Numerous scholars have exposed and examined the complicity of their own institutions and professional networks in enabling or normalising such violations, calling upon universities, research centres, and disciplinary associations to suspend cooperation with Israeli institutions implicated in practices that contravene international law and undermine Palestinian rights. Academic collectives—including Global Sociologists for Palestine, Archaeologists Against Apartheid and Genocide, and Criminologists for Palestine—have mobilised to advocate for the exclusion of implicated Israeli institutions from scholarly conferences and professional bodies. While many higher-education institutions have remained silent, some have adopted measures aimed at limiting or ending forms of academic complicity, whereas others have responded to such calls for accountability with disciplinary actions or other forms of repression directed at scholars and students.

This conference seeks to explore the ways in which criminologists can—and should—address state criminality; to consider how criminological scholarship may contribute critical analyses of violations committed by Israel in Palestine, including genocide; and to examine how the discipline might engage with ongoing debates concerning academic complicity and calls to boycott institutions implicated in such violations. Recent developments, such as the European Society of Criminology’s (ESC) silence on these matters and its decision to prevent a democratic vote on measures aimed at addressing institutional complicity in atrocity crimes, highlight the need for an academic forum in which these issues can be critically and openly examined. We therefore invite participants to join this space, dedicated both to analysing Israel’s crimes in Palestine and to reflecting more broadly on the responsibilities and potential of criminology in confronting atrocity crimes and other serious human rights violations.

When submitting a paper proposal, authors should indicate their preference to participate in one of the following two streams.

1 Palestine: Criminological Perspectives

We invite contributions to themes addressing criminological perspectives on state crime against the Palestinians and beyond:

- **Criminological perspectives on atrocity crimes committed by Israel**

We invite authors to explore criminological perspectives on crimes committed by Israel within the broader framework of international (criminal) law. Contributors are also encouraged to examine legal action addressing international crimes, such as procedures before international courts, the legal obligations of states, and efforts to pursue accountability within the framework of national legislation, as exemplified by the work of the Hind Rajab Foundation.

- **Critical criminology, state and corporate crime**

Through the history of our discipline, some criminologists have challenged harmful state actions and the devastating effects of criminalisation on individuals and communities. On the other hand, Criminology has also helped reproduce power inequalities and further marginalisation of some vulnerable communities. While critical criminology has dealt extensively with state crime, corporate crime, and crimes of the powerful, it has recently failed to grasp all the harmful implications of Israeli settler-colonialism, which is not merely implemented by the state. In her report “From economy of occupation to economy of genocide”, UN Special Rapporteur Francesca Albanese, for example, describes the complicity of private companies in the Gaza genocide. We thus invite authors to critically explore state and corporate criminality, as well as the harmful acts of private institutions more generally and in the context of genocide

- **Critical perspectives on Israeli criminology**

We invite authors to critically examine Israeli criminological research, particularly its ethical frameworks and institutional affiliations. This includes, for example, research conducted in the Occupied Palestinian Territories and studies carried out in cooperation with Israeli

security institutions – such as the development of the field of “counterterror policing” in collaboration with the Israeli police (Wind, 2024). We also welcome critical analyses of narratives and power relations within Israeli criminological scholarship and the exclusion and discrimination against Palestinian scholars.

2 Academic complicity

We invite contributions to themes addressing academic engagement and responsibility in Israel’s atrocity crimes and more generally:

- **The future of academic responsibility and resistance tactics in criminology and beyond**

Learning from the attempts to silence and criminalise academic solidarity and resistance regarding Palestine, we invite authors to consider how to resist atrocities, refuse their normalisation, and reclaim Palestinian and academic spaces in the future. We are interested in critical theoretical and practical debates about the ways in which academic solidarity and resistance should be ‘done’, also paying special attention to cooptation efforts framed as academic freedom. Contributions can entail theoretical projections of liberation from oppression and/or practical tactics of decolonisation, university/campus autonomy, and deplatforming criminological scholarship.

- **Academic boycott and its practices**

We invite authors to explore what an academic boycott is, how it operates, and why it has become a crucial tool for collective action. It encourages researchers to examine how universities and research institutions are complicit in war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, and to consider the history of academic boycotts as a means of promoting accountability and solidarity. Papers may also offer practical guidance for conference organisers and scholars seeking to align their work with the principles of academic boycott.

- **Criminalizing solidarity and academic resistance**

We invite authors to examine the criminalisation of solidarity and academic resistance, including the policing and surveillance of student protests, the censoring of academic publications, and the disciplining of pro-Palestinian academics. We further invite contributions that critically engage with the topic of anti-Semitism and its myriad definitions, including how its misuses limit action and advocacy on Palestinian rights. This theme also invites contributions that explore strategies and the recent history of organising within universities or scientific organisations to support academic boycott initiatives.

We welcome contributions from scholars across all disciplines, with a particular interest in work from the fields of criminology, law, and sociology. We especially encourage early-career researchers who have not yet had the opportunity to engage with the above topics to submit proposals and share their emerging or preliminary research.

Contributions can be single or multi-authored. For all paper presentations, please submit an abstract of up to 250 words through the [online form](#). The abstract should include the title, objectives, research questions, and, if applicable, methodology and/or preliminary results. We invite theoretical, methodological, and future-looking paper presentations.

There is no conference registration fee.

Participants who do not have any institutional funding and are unable to cover travel or accommodation expenses are invited to contact the organising committee using the email below to discuss possible support. Travel expenses can only be supported within Europe or from the Mediterranean region. The possibility of funding will depend on the number of applications and will be available to participants whose abstracts are accepted for the conference and who provide a brief explanation of why they are unable to obtain institutional funding for this event. In case of a high number of applications, the evaluation will be based on justified need and diversity.

Deadline for abstract submission: 31 January 2026

Deadline for registration: 28 February 2026

Abstracts should be submitted using the [online form](#).

Contact: palestine.conference@inst-krim.si

Organising committee: Živa Šketa, Alina Bezlaj, Jasmina Arnež, Nina Žnidaršič, Kristina Krajnc, Andrej Kapun

Scientific committee: Lior Volinz, Brunilda Pali, Tilen Štajnpihler Božič, Iva Ramuš Cvetkovič, Vasja Badalič, Amy Cortvriend

People's Tribunal on Complicity with the Palestinian Genocide in the Spanish State

Shared by “Fear and looting in the periphery” working group

On 28 and 29 November 2025 was held in Madrid (Spain) the public hearing of the People's Tribunal on Complicity with the Palestinian Genocide in the Spanish State (TPCGP-25). This is a court of opinion, organised by the University Network for Palestine, which publicly presented the evidence that the network, with the collaboration of various organisations, research centres, solidarity groups, campaigns and platforms, has been systematically gathering on the links of complicity or institutional and corporate collaboration that, from within the Spanish State, have contributed to the commission of this crime against the Palestinian people.

We reproduce below the tribunal's final resolution, issued after the sessions ended.

TPCGP-25

People's Tribunal on Complicity with the Palestinian Genocide in the Spanish State

FINAL RESOLUTION

Presiding: Rabab Abdulhadi, Luz Gómez and Raji Sourani

Secretary: Pablo Gutiérrez Vega

FINAL RESOLUTION: "MADRID DECLARATION" OF 29.11.2025

I. Nature and Mandate of the Tribunal

1. The the People's Tribunal on Complicity with the Palestinian Genocide within the Spanish State (TPCGP-25) is a tribunal of conscience, composed of figures from the legal, academic, cultural and human rights fields, convened by the University Network for Palestine (RUxP) and civil society organisations with the aim of examining, from the perspective of international law and public ethics, the conduct of state and non-state actors in their links to the occupation, apartheid and genocide of the Palestinian people.

2. This Tribunal does not have state jurisdictional authority, nor does it aspire to it. It follows the tradition of the Russell I and II Tribunals, internationally recognized for their contribution to denouncing massive human rights violations and strengthening universal moral conscience. Its objective is to study, understand and mobilise Spanish civil society.

3. The Tribunal examines the possible responsibility, by action or omission, of the Spanish State and the companies, organisations and institutions under its jurisdiction that contribute to and/or benefit from serious violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law in the aforementioned context, including their possible failure to fulfil their duty to prevent international crimes such as war crimes, crimes against humanity or genocide.

II. Material Jurisdiction and Regulatory Framework

4. The Tribunal examines the facts in light of the principles and norms recognised by:

- * The Charter of the United Nations.
- * The 1949 Geneva Conventions and their Additional Protocols.
- * The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948).
- * The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, as a codified expression of international criminal law.
- * The body of international human rights law and the general principles of law recognised by the community of nations.
- * The United Nations Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights to "protect, respect and remedy" (Resolution 17/4 2011)
- * The doctrine consolidated by the Russell Tribunal and the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal on the rights of peoples, self-determination and indirect responsibility or complicity.

III. On the Facts and Evidence Considered

Following the investigations, analysis and evaluation of the reports presented by the working groups of the seven thematic panels, the Tribunal considers the facts presented to be proven and issues the following conclusions:

5. It has been demonstrated and documented that the Spanish State has been collaborating for decades with the occupation, apartheid and ongoing Nakba and, ultimately, with genocide, in violation of international law and, with it, the prohibition on third states aiding or assisting another in the commission of international crimes. The Spanish government was and is fully aware of the illegalities and war crimes committed by the Israeli state, yet this information has not led to the corresponding measures being taken to suspend economic and diplomatic relations or to impose the sanctions required by numerous international resolutions.

6. A case of particular relevance is that of the Global Sumud Flotilla, attacked by Israeli occupation forces, who kidnapped, mistreated and deported 49 people with Spanish passports. The government "acted" by abandoning its legal obligation to take the necessary measures to protect the rights of its citizens.

7. The expansion of the military-police-security industry, together with Zionist lobbying practices, fuels the web of business, social and political interests that shape the agendas of the actors involved. This web of interests is sustained and reinforced by a "state-corporate symbiosis" in which the public administrations of complicit states such as Spain act as instrumental appendages of the markets, especially corporations dedicated to the production of harm and death.

8. A network of state, national and international companies actively participates in the business of genocide, providing services, manufacturing products, feeding the economic and logistical machinery of the occupation and reinforcing its logic of spatial capture and systematic oppression.

9. Over the last two years, Spanish ports have become crucial enclaves on the routes that supply weapons and energy to Israel's genocidal regime. These ports, public infrastructures financed with collective resources, have become logistical hubs for a genocidal machinery that sustains the occupation, apartheid and systematic destruction of Palestine. Routes and stopovers are repeated regularly, with the ports of Algeciras, Valencia, Barcelona, Cartagena and the naval base at Rota playing different roles in the same network. Spanish ports are part of an integrated genocidal logistics system.

10. The evidence presented shows that the Armed Bank has played a crucial role in the production and use of weapons used in Gaza. Santander and BBVA banks, followed by Caixabank, Ibercaja, Banca March, etc., are both beneficiaries and essential facilitators of the extermination of the Palestinian people.

11. It has been documented that companies in the civil engineering and infrastructure sector have benefited from the occupation and apartheid, as they have collaborated and participated in projects developed in the occupied territories that violate the principles of the rights of the Palestinian population. Spanish construction companies are associated with energy and road or rail infrastructure projects.

12. It has been documented that there are Israeli extractive multinational corporations with subsidiaries in Spain that are directly complicit in the genocide. It has been found that public, academic and financial entities operate in an intertwined manner and maintain relationships with these companies, turning a blind eye to their human rights violations.

13. It has been documented that Spanish and Israeli companies make significant profits in areas that are fundamental to the survival of the Palestinian people, such as water, energy and basic goods and services.

14. The connection between real estate capital, investment funds and certain Spanish institutions with Israeli and US investment funds responsible for the violation of Palestinian rights has been proven, with numerous subsidiaries of Israeli companies operating in Spanish territory. The tourism sector is one of the most lucrative areas of business for both parties.

15. It has been documented that the cybersecurity market in Spain is dominated by Israeli technology, directly and indirectly – through US companies linked to Israeli capital – in the public and private sectors, and that technology companies are key players in the perpetration of the Palestinian genocide, as well as in the pre-existing apartheid regime.

16. It is argued that the media are not spectators but structural actors in the genocide: they select, frame, silence or amplify messages that whitewash Zionism and dehumanise the Palestinian resistance. Media coverage of Gaza in 2023–2025 shows approaches and political positions of complicity with genocide that are often presented as 'neutral'.

17. Incitement to genocide occurs through the dissemination by the mass media of discourses that dehumanise the Palestinian people and empower or justify Israel's actions.

18. Israel is carrying out a cultural genocide that seeks to dismantle collective memory, break intergenerational transmission and destroy the national identity of the Palestinian people. The Spanish State participates in legitimising the Israeli occupation, apartheid and genocide through cultural promotion, projecting a distorted and favourable image of Israel. Cultural collaboration thus takes on a strategic character.

19. It has been documented that Israel's influence in cultural spaces contributes to the social acceptance of illegal policies and the invisibility of crimes committed against Palestinians. A cultural network of complicity integrates the economic, symbolic and media fields under a strategy of effective and structural legitimisation.

20. Israel's presence in the Spanish sporting context can be seen in a multitude of areas. These include Israeli and/or Zionist capital investment in clubs such as Atlético de Madrid and Movistar Team, the broadcasting of sporting events by companies close to Netanyahu, such as DAZN, and the purchase of Israeli technology by Spanish organisations such as La Liga and FC Barcelona. In Spain, numerous clubs and sporting events have sponsors linked to Israel's genocidal practices, illegal occupation and apartheid in Palestine. Alongside private sponsorship, the participation of public bodies, municipal corporations and regional governments demonstrates their collaboration in the violation of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people.

21. In the healthcare market, it has been documented that, despite repeated statements by healthcare personnel and public health experts about the atrocities committed against the civilian population in Gaza, the vast majority of academies, associations and scientific societies in medicine, nursing and pharmacy, as well as professional health organisations, have remained silent and completely ignored the obligations imposed by their codes of ethics. In material terms, complicity with genocide in the medical field is best exemplified by the pharmaceutical giant TEVA.

22. A significant number of universities in Spain continue to participate in research consortia, maintaining collaboration agreements, chairs and mobility programmes with Israeli

universities and research institutions. It is documented that some of these collaborations involve research for the development of dual-use technology.

23. Likewise, the extensive collaboration of Spanish universities and research centres with companies present in the occupied territories or participating in the economy of apartheid and genocide has been documented.

24. Educational centres and universities in Spain replicate the logic of colonial elimination implemented in Gaza and Palestine through censorship disguised as impartiality.

IV. Final Consideration

25. The Tribunal declares that this Resolution is issued with the conviction that the voice of collective conscience is an indispensable instrument in the face of impunity, especially when formal institutional mechanisms are insufficient or slow to respond to the gravity of the facts.

The current phase of genocide compels us to continue this work of documentation, denunciation, and remembrance. We urge all participants and collaborators in this Tribunal to continue the work that has been begun.

In Madrid,

Faculty of Political Science and Sociology of the UCM,

29th November 2025

Silent Night: A People's Tribunal against silence and genocidal censorship

Shared by (Spanish) University Network for Palestine (RUxP)

State-genocidal violence shamelessly exposes what it does, producing the uninhabitable, but its internal machinery feeds on secrecy to make that explicit violence possible. Secrecy is woven through complicities that seek opacity. In response, this Tribunal constructs a counternarrative to secrecy, reveals opacity, confronts us with our violent undercurrents, and maps our cruelty. (Peoples' Tribunal on the Complicity within the Spanish state with the Genocide in Palestine (PTCGP-25), Session 2, Conclusions, point 26).

We met in Algiers to proclaim that all the peoples of the world have the equal right to liberty, the right to free themselves from any foreign interference and to choose their own government, the right if they are under subjection, to fight for their liberation, and the right to benefit from other peoples' assistance in their struggle. (Universal Declaration of the Rights of Peoples, 1976).

On complicities, indignities and illegalities (Part One)

Rabab Abdulhadi (founding director and senior scholar of the Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diaspora Studies Program at San Francisco State University) explained it this way during her speech as co-Chair of the PTCGP-25 at the closing session:

The Tribunal's work is the result of a cumulative effort. This is exactly the kind of work we need. We must ask ourselves: how are we going to decolonize the discourse of complicity in our countries, spaces, and contexts? How are we going to fight against censorship and repression in our states?

The Palestinian people want liberation. It is from here we must ask ourselves what position we are going to take. We are producers of knowledge, and we produce it for justice. We know that whoever defends the production of "neutral" knowledge is lying. Neutrality reproduces the status quo, injustice. The hard work and all the Tribunal's research form part of the struggle for narrative and the story of liberation, against denial and Zionist discourse. We must be able to recover the stories, songs, archives, the voices of the bones and bodies that are buried under the rubble, that bear witness to the truth.

We want to reclaim our spaces in schools, universities, in the public sphere, to be able to speak for ourselves, to open debates that allow us to identify the possibility of revolutionary optimism.

This is the type of knowledge production that shows truth to power, knowledge that interpellates us all, building a different kind of world. A knowledge production that gives us hope, life and possibilities in the union of struggles, building together other worlds, without Zionism, without supremacism nor fascism.

On November 28 and 29, the first edition of the [Peoples' Tribunal on the Complicity within the Spanish state of the Genocide in Palestine](#) (PTCGP-25) took place at the Complutense University of Madrid, an academic event organized by the [Spanish University Network for Palestine \(RUxP\)](#), open to all of society and with participants from different generations, professional and institutional backgrounds, denunciation campaigns, solidarity groups, or human rights organizations, professors, health care workers, journalists, lawyers, students, activists and an *et cetera* that includes a Relator of the United Nations.

Precisely because it is an academic event, the PTCGP-25 is committed to working based on the principles that define the best possible version of a university worthy of that name. The first principle reminds us that knowledge production always is, by definition, a collective process and not the result of “eureka’s”, individual epiphanies nor meritocratic hallucinations of individualism. The second, that the academy’s (social!) function requires a constant back and forth journey through its contents, discussions, reflections and conclusions –a journey that tears down its walls of elitist, managerial and commercialized/ing *mystery*. The third is that the two beforementioned principles should be accompanied by extreme respect for notions such as rigor, dignity and justice, a respect that has nothing to do with the liturgies that often disguise that academic *mystery*. [No intellectual work can be neutral nor impartial in its demands for rigor, dignity, and justice.](#) *You can't be neutral on a moving train*, Howard Zinn said. There is no impartiality in the face of an occupation, a colonial project, a genocide. There is no view that respects these cited requirements while circumventing *the question*: the history that [embeds genocide as a social practice in the Western European identity.](#)

The six pages of the Tribunal’s final resolution (see the [Declaration of Madrid of 11.29.25](#)) apply those principles in four main lines:

1. Focusing on complicity, understood beyond the strictly legal meaning of the term, of a complicit society in the jurisdiction of a complicit state, its first edition held at the facilities of a complicit institution.
2. Taking into account all areas and levels of such complicity, [starting with the academic institutions and those who govern, inhabit and sustain them.](#)

3. Pointing to the power of the Zionist machinery and its profound political (state) and entrepreneurial (market) embeddedness in the spaces of power of one of the *geo-economic provinces* of the European motherland, trying to put names, links and numbers to the relations that flow through the networks that have been woven during the last four decades in the *province of Spain*, networks of pro-apartheid propaganda and necropolitical collusion that must be known and reported.

4. Based on an indisputable legal and analytical framework. Hence the attacks that attempted to prevent its celebration, with the same objective that seeks the political-media black-out that, since the beginning of the “[genocidal] peace process”, has tried to turn off lights, screens, speakers and keyboards, stop public denunciation and reduce mobilization to a minimum –we will come back to this point in the second part of the text.

Thus, the first edition of the PTCGP has exposed and documented that *the Spanish state has been collaborating for decades with the occupation, apartheid and ongoing Nakba and with genocide as the ultimate outcome, violating international law, and, with it, the prohibition to third states to help or assist another in the committing of international crimes. The Spanish government had, and has, full knowledge of the illegalities and war crimes committed by the Israeli state, but this information has not motivated any measures to suspend economic or diplomatic relations, nor to impose any sanctions mandated by numerous international resolutions*(point 5 of the PTCGP-25’s final resolution).

Hopefully there are many of you who read this resolution and the hundreds of pages of the Tribunal’s documentation, to share it, disseminate it, review it, expand it, contact ruxp@tribunaldelospueblos.org, join the effort, contribute information and reports...The information generated by the PTCGP’s first edition is being published at <https://tribunaldelospueblos.org/>. Here you can find a small summary of the conclusions gathered by each of the Tribunal’s thematic analysis sessions:

Panel 1 (*R&D+Science, universities and education*). Even after their governing councils issued statements in support of Palestine saying that they would suspend relations with Israeli institutions, more than half of the universities within the Spanish state continue today to participate in research consortia with Israeli universities, institutions and companies. The vast majority collaborates with entities and companies that participate in and/or benefit from the occupation, apartheid and genocide – through agreements, professorships, contracts and financial relations – in blatant violation of the obligations imposed on all states by inviolable norms of international law. University governing bodies thus participate in the extensive international structure of complicity with the scholasticide and epistemicide in Palestine.

Panel 2 (*Arms industry, commerce and banks financing the arms industry*). A network of state and international corporations and companies actively participates in the genocide business, by rendering services, manufacturing products, nurturing the economic and logistics

machinery of occupation, and reinforcing its logics of space capture and systematic oppression. The presence of this network of entrepreneurial interests within the Spanish state is evident, as well as the chain of complicities that sustains the occupation and genocide. During the last two years, Spanish ports have become crucial enclaves on the routes that supply the genocidal regime of Israel with weapons and energy. Banks involved in the arms industry have played a crucial role in the production and use of weapons employed in Gaza. Banco Santander, BBVA, Caixabank, Ibercaja Banca March and others are both beneficiaries and essential facilitators of the extermination of the Palestinian people.

Panel 3 (*Media*). The mass media are not mere spectators but structural actors of genocide: they select, frame, silence or amplify Zionist whitewashing messages. *Informicide* manifests itself in the murder of journalists, the elimination of Palestinian testimonials and the criminalization of Gazan journalists and is accompanied by defamation campaigns that exercise a double-condition violence: on the Palestinian people and on journalism, for telling the truth. Informicide is spreading as a form of “narrative control and silencing of the voices that denounce the genocide”. This control legitimizes the violence under the guise of informational neutrality: “it presents Israel as a civilized people, dehumanizing the Palestinians as barbarians”. The dissemination of information about the genocide to the public follows three different trends: the securitarian-justifying framework, the humanitarian-compassionate one and the supportive-decolonial frame. Few state media outlets adhere to the third information frame, rigorously linked to the historical process of colonialism and occupation. The relationships between prominent business and/or political figures with international Zionism and the defence of Israel significantly influence the Spanish media ecosystem. During the genocide, the hasbara (Israeli propaganda) has multiplied its accusations of anti-Semitism in all directions to silence any critical discourse but is has utterly failed both locally and internationally. Palestinians have managed to inform the rest of the world despite genocide and informicide.

Panel 4 (*Health care system/market*). Most scientific societies in the medical field that claim to be committed to social justice have remained silent about the destruction of the Palestinian healthcare system and the atrocities committed against their colleagues until well into the genocide, and still many remain silent. Many doctors have continued to accept payments (“value transfers”) of the Israeli pharmaceutical giant TEVA, and the scientific collaboration with Israel has continued, even with the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice in force. Currently there are 101 health-related projects with European funding and Spanish and Israeli participation in the execution phase.

Panel 5 (*Companies and business sectors: energy, housing, security, etc.*): The PTCGP-25 has analysed and documented the links, contracts, investments, commerce and forms of cooperation between public and private companies, entities and organizations that operate in the Spanish economic environment and that collaborate and benefit from colonialism,

apartheid and genocide in Palestine, in construction and civil works, water and energy, real estate and finance services and investments, tourism, technology and communications, consumer and agroindustry goods and services, evidencing the implication of all these companies – CAF, ACS, SEMI, INECO, OSSA, Abengoa, Tysa, Intecsa, TSK, ICL Group, ICL Iberia, Nordex Energy Spain, Banco de Sabadell, ACCIONA, Naturgy, Solaer, Resolar, Ellomay, Enlight Renewable Energy, SolarEdge, Volta Solar, KKR, Blackstone, FITUR, eDreams, ODIGEO, IBERIA, Globick, Leonardo Hotels, NSO Group, TKH, IBM, Microsoft, Amazon, Palantir, Oracle Corporation, Apple Inc., Nvidia, Hewlett Packard, Hikvision, Fortinet, Check Point, Palo Alto Networks, Ex Libris...

Panel 6 (*Culture and sports*): Alongside the ongoing actions of appropriation, destruction and denial of Palestinian history, culture and identity, paramount to bolster the Zionist imaginary, the Israeli presence in the world of culture and sports in Spain takes on diverse forms in key scenarios for whitewashing the occupation and normalizing of genocide. In this way, we can find religious programs that include specific discourse about identity, security and legitimacy, foundations that make it possible to identify the Zionist state with the Sephardic historical and cultural tradition, networks of sponsorship, grant and institutional exchanges, and a broad and growing presence of investment funds in music festivals. The internationalist narrative of neutrality in sport cannot hide a tension that undermines the founding values of sporting practice and favours the construction of a positive image of Israel, often supported by media collaboration. Although various sporting events have allowed citizens to express their rejection of genocide in recent months, the recourse to centralizing decision-making power in international organizations, the co-optation of these decisions within the organizations and the business dynamics that accompany much of the sporting activity make it possible for sport to continue being part of the machinery of Zionist normalization and whitewashing in Spain.

Panel 7 (*Repression, diplomatic support and Zionist lobby*): The Spanish government and an extensive list of state institutions maintain relations of assistance and recognition with a systematic violator of international law, who has been immersed for two years in a genocidal campaign broadcasted live, 24 hours a day and seven days a week. As any other government, the Spanish government had and has full knowledge of the illegality of the blockade and of the large list of crimes committed by Israel –in Gaza and the whole of Palestine– without anything preventing it from maintaining economic and political relations, omitting sanction measures and avoiding a single decision subject to the legal framework in the face of direct aggression to its nationals.

Zionism and its lobby campaigns seek to raise the definition of anti-Semitism proposed by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) to the condition of “legally binding” in the criminal legal system, resorting to the criminal offense of “hate crime”, in order to prosecute any report of Israel’s crimes. Criticism of the colonial regime works in the

IHRA prospectus as one of the “active ingredients” of anti-Semitism. By the way, the majority of Zionists in the world are not Jewish, and a growing proportion of the world’s Jewish population –especially the younger they are– oppose Zionism. Could that far-right Zionist group that points the finger at us with false accusations clarify whether anti-Zionist Jews are also “anti-Semites”?

To ride or to bark. On denunciations, gag orders and silences (Part Two)

To nobody’s surprise after 27 months, the first edition of the PTCGP-25 provoked sufficient “discomfort” to have to overcome two major obstacles.

The first one, more concrete and explicit, was the attack carried out by the core group of the Hispanic Zionist political-media apparatus with barely two days’ notice – although information about the program, the participations, the chairpersonships and the location of the Tribunal had been published two months earlier. The attempt at censorship failed, because its accusations against Masar Badil and Samidoun –reproduced by the Minister for Universities of the Autonomous Community of Madrid, transmitted by the UCM rectorate and expanded by media channels– lacked the minimum legal basis. Thanks to the generosity of the aforementioned organizations, the PTCGP-25 –that “anti-Semite witches’ meeting” (*“akelarre antisemita”*), nothing less– was able to take place. Much of what that attack was intended to censor is already available in video format, in the reports of the seven thematic panel sessions, in their respective resolutions, in the legal documents of reference or in the Tribunal’s final resolution, in the [YouTube channel of the RUxP](#) and on the [Tribunal’s website](#). The rest will be made public very soon. [Other texts resulting from the work carried out within the Tribunal’s framework](#) will also be published in the coming weeks.

The following explanatory note is relevant here: in response to [the proverbial hyperactivity of the Zionist propaganda and lawfare machines](#), we must remind our central, autonomous, municipal and academic authorities of something important: when one or various states censor, cancel, repress, sanction, imprison or legalize those who defend the rights of the Palestinians kidnapped by the occupying regime of Israel, or those who engage in politics outside of the institutions, or those who protest against a genocide, occupation, apartheid regime and the complicity of its institutions in all of it, when all this happens, the duty of the other states is not to follow in its footsteps but the opposite. Unless, of course, the intention is to become like the United Kingdom, Germany, USA... and end up cracking the skulls of our “terrorist grandmothers” for holding a sign with the slogan “We are all Palestine Action” or singing “From the River to the Sea, Palestine will be free”.

The second obstacle, even more worrying, is the silence that is politically imposed and deployed by virtually all traditional media outlets, a manoeuvre in addition to Israel’s

multi-million investment in cyber hasbara –or whoever covers the expense, which we could very well be paying part of. This genocidal silence has declared “peace”. In the particular case of the Spanish state, “if in September you liked *There goes the European government most committed to human rights*, in December you will like *There goes the government that announces an arms embargo decree with exception clauses that allow it to ensure the ‘business as usual’ of genocide*”. The propaganda, censor and cease-fire campaign, the umpteenth version –the goriest one to date– from the classic saga of “peace processes”, has accelerated land grabbing, killed hundreds of people in Gaza, multiplied the colonies in the West Bank, cut off water, electricity, communication of what remains of UNRWA in Palestine, expels 37 humanitarian aid organizations, from Doctors without Borders to Caritas, and broadcasts live the celebrated confessions of genocidal masters at a press conference. In reality, they revel in their sense of impunity and confidently boast of their absolute ability to kill and lie.

The “Silent Night” declared by the axis of genocide is the most horrible of all that have been. Three months later, two years later, nearly eight decades later, it wants us in the dark to carry out the extermination. Four months ago, street protests forced the government to feign understanding and empathy with the practice of civil disobedience. Since October 10, *three months worse*, Europe is silencing the genocide while discussing the electoral rise of the far-right “as a threat to liberal democracy” and not as its logic outcome. Nobody questions the point of speaking in those terms from historical-political places that have genocide *embedded in its identity*, that is why we speak of “threats to our liberal democracies” after years of genocide, sponsored, legitimized and participated in by those same liberal democracies. This abominable paradox is also embedded in *our* identity. It is *our problem*. Fascism does not solve it; it only sublimates it. The necessary condition to any solution is called *decolonization* and consist of dismantling the structures of oppression. European governments have, *once again*, taken the oppression to its (genocidal) limit, with universities as the focus of its supremacist rationalization, laying out the red carpet *once again* for the fascist monster that every aggressor nation carries within. That boomerang...

Here and now, censorship and silence are two tools –by the way, not very “democratic” for the liberal theory– that encapsulate various centuries of racial capitalism, colonial genocides, sieges, blockades, invasions, concentration camps, forced labour, extermination... and accumulation by dispossession. This is the primary source of harm facing the Palestinian people and all of humanity: The imperialist inertia of a criminal economic regime that produces profitable death to multiply the concentration of wealth in the hands of the *owners* of said regime.

In the case of the PTCGP-25, the reasons for censorship and silence have become clear, with pretexts that are equally crude in both cases. Silence celebrates: *peace!* Censorship accuses: *anti-Semite!* We respond first that all peace requires justice and, second, that we are exactly

as anti-Semitic as (mind you, it does not mean the same thing) Judeophobic: not at all. What we are, however, is that we are both anti-fascist and anti-Zionist, given (here yes) the intimate equivalence between both terms. We are also growing in number and walking with greater conviction: The “Israel” paradigm is expanding. In the current imperialist hegemony, the West is becoming *Israelized* while the rest of the world is becoming *Palestinianized*.

That is why the *intifada*, the protest that *shakes, agitates, stirs up*...is becoming globalized.

Hence the new *punitive striptease* to which the reason of (market-)state feels obliged.

There is no longer any *hasbara* that can hide so much infamy.

Just us (John Moore)



At demonstrations protesting police killings and deaths in state custody the slogan “No Justice, No Peace” is a recurring chant. Those protesting the violence and brutality of the state and its agents repeatedly cry out for justice, an appeal, by implication, to the very same state’s justice system. The call for justice is in one sense obvious. Isn’t justice associated with concepts such as fairness, equal treatment, proportionality and impartiality? Even when these are not the reality of our society, or its law, they remain our aspiration. However, are such aspirations – for justice – consistent with the history of justice as a concept?

As well as its aspirational meaning the noun justice today tends to refer to two things. Firstly, the existing state’s justice system. Justice is something that is obtained through the court system. It is the word that literally sits at the very centre of the Criminal Justice System. Secondly, it refers to the concept of social justice, the creation of a more just, fair, equal society. This article starts by exploring how the English criminal justice system actually works, highlighting how it is in practice characterised by unfairness, how it treats people unequally, and seeks resolution through the infliction of blame and pain. If we judge it by the attributes people associate with the word justice, it is an abject failure. To attempt to explain this the next section explores the origin of justice as a concept. Firstly, its emergence in Ancient Greece, asking: how was justice understood in Athens; who was it available to; who was excluded from it and what was its relationship with other disciplinary regimes?

Secondly, what was the king’s justice system that emerged in the Middle Ages in England? The medieval institutions of the king’s justice remain largely intact in today’s justice system. Initially created to establish and sustain the sovereignty of the feudal monarchy, they were not designed to promote fairness, equal treatment, impartiality or proportionality but to facilitate domination. The institutions of the king’s justice have survived beyond feudalism because they have had great utility to capitalism, colonialism and the associated modern state that have subsequently emerged. The article then looks at a more recent development, the concept of social justice before reaching some tentative conclusions of the potential and limitations of the concept of justice.

Justice or Punishment?

To understand any system, we need to see what it produces. At the conclusion of the criminal justice system's (CJS) process are two potential outcomes. Either, in response to a particular conflict or harm, an individual (or group of individuals) is/are found to be to blame (guilty) and have pain inflicted on them (punishment) or alternatively, no one is to blame (not-guilty) and nothing is done. Criminal justice is a system whose outcomes are limited to either: blame and pain; or, nothing.

For victims, those hurt or harmed, it offers only the possibility of others being blamed and hurt, failing otherwise to respond to their needs. It resolutely refuses to address (or even acknowledge) the underlying social problems that cause so much conflict and harm. It displays a high level of sensitivity to power, consistently enabling the powerful to escape sanction while repeatedly inflicting pain on the poorest and most marginal communities in our societies. It focuses our attention on a narrow range of predominantly minor harms, deflecting attention away from many other more serious harms. Anyone familiar with the operation of the CJS will see little, if any evidence, of those characteristics we associate with the concept of justice: fairness, equal treatment, proportionality and impartiality. Its output is blame and pain, it would be more accurate to rename it (as I will do in the remainder of the article) the Criminal Punishment System.

But is this actually inconsistent with the historic origins of the concept of justice?

Birth of a concept – The slave societies of Ancient Greece

In Euro-America, politicians and philosophers talking about justice often reference Ancient Athens as the origin story of the concept of justice. Many of the ideas we associate with justice today can be found applied to the Greek polis or political society, economic fairness, procedural fairness, social harmony, all attributes linked to the goddess Themis and her daughter Dike. Dike was even represented as carrying a balanced scale (but without a blindfold – that was added in the 16th century). In fact, these ideas were not original but can be traced back to the Ancient Egyptian goddess Maat in 2300 BCE.

There were significant differences in exactly how justice was understood between Ancient Greece and in Euro-America today, but we can see a clear link between the modern legal and philosophical understandings of today and how justice was perceived in the Greek polis. But what is often conveniently excluded from such comparisons is that the concept of justice was exclusively reserved for members of the polis – citizens – an elite group which excluded women, citizens' children, foreigners and, most significantly, the enslaved. The individual status of those excluded from the polis obviously varied, but they were all considered as members of a citizen's household (oikos). Whilst the citizen could expect justice in his regulation by the political community and in resolving disputes with other citizens, within the household his subjects enjoyed no such right. Governance of the household required no justice, 'there can be no injustice', Aristotle argued, 'towards things that are one's own'. The extent to which justice was attained within the elite Polis is open to debate, but it was as a concept exclusively an aspiration for citizens, an aspiration that excluded the vast majority of the population. If this is the foundation for the concept of justice relied on by philosophers

and politicians today it is a justice reserved for the elite few and which excludes the many. It is a justice, that in Antiquity, not only tolerated slavery but operated to maintain it.

The King's Justice, the King's Peace

Justice as a concept reemerges in English history in the Middle Ages with the imposition of the King's justice. Initially Anglo-Saxon England had a dual system of conflict resolution. In a society comprising largely of isolated homesteads consisted of an extended family and servants and slaves, the social order was maintained by firstly, a mechanism to resolve disputes between households – feuding and more often compensation – and secondly by the imposed order that the head/father imposed within their household. Again, like in Antiquity, we see two disciplinary spheres, resolution between freemen and the arbitrary discipline of the rest by those freemen. As the Middle Ages progressed the emergence of strong men saw them impose the order of their household on others through a process where the lord offered their protection to the vassal in return for their loyalty and service. This led over time to the formation of kingdoms, with these being unified into the kingdom of England in AD 927, a process which acknowledged the supremacy of the king and his household. Disputes would be brought to the king's court for settlement. The king would also summon to his court those from whom he wanted to extract money or to discipline. It was in the king's personal court, which often travelled around the country, that justice was done. By the end of the 11th century the word justice had entered the English language meaning the power to administer the law and the power to inflict punishment. Justice was a mechanism for maintaining, by violence, the order of feudal England.

In around 1290 a new term can be found in England, felony. It had a specific meaning; it was an offence against the King's peace and as such against the king himself. As such it was tantamount to treason, and warranted, in all cases, the death penalty and the forfeiture, to the king, of the felon's property. What constituted a felony developed over time but by the turn of the fourteenth century it included murder, rape, arson, robbery and larceny (any theft whose value exceeded 12d, 12d in 1300 is roughly equivalent to £550 in 2024 prices). Matters which had previously been seen as needing resolution, either by the participants (or their respective lords), or by the local lord or the head of household, now became the king's property. Felony was a useful tool. Its core purpose was how it legitimised, through the concept of the king's justice, the maintenance of the king's peace. What was deemed to be felony, was essentially, behaviours that threatened the established social order. To understand what it encompassed – what warranted execution – it is necessary to see how it sustained a social order structured for the benefit, firstly of the king, and secondly for the nobility and to a lesser extent the gentry and commercial classes.

Whilst the king's justice could be used against everyone (even in Henry VIII's case his wives) it was predominately deployed against those at the bottom of society who posed the greatest threat to the king's order. For example, by the end of the Middle Ages, vagrancy, to be jobless and/or homeless, a condition likely to have been generated by the social order, was considered a threat to that order. Masterless people, particularly men, not fixed within the social structure of an estate were therefore increasingly targeted by late medieval and early modern justice. Liable to be being whipped from village to village as they were returned to their home parish, branded with a V, and for subsequent offences hanged. And hanged they were. Whilst the claims that Henry VIII hung 70,000 rogues may be an overestimate, it is

clear that by the 16 th century justice had been established as summary, violent, brutal and a ruthless mechanism for maintaining the king's desired social order.

Built for punishment not justice

In an article Rebecca Roberts and I wrote in 2016 we included a section entitled 'Criminal justice as failure and criminal justice as success'. We highlighted the limitations of criminal justice detailed above but argued there were senses in which, at least for the powerful, criminal justice could be deemed a success. Whilst reformers see its failure to address the needs of victims or hold the powerful to account as evidence of malfunction, the history of its origins shows that the CJS was designed to help establish and maintain the inherently unequal medieval social order. In England today a police officer swears to uphold the king's peace, courts administer the king's justice, and people are incarcerated in His Majesty's Prisons. In all of Britain's former colonies, almost identical arrangements, imposed by the British, remain largely intact. Of course, despite their name in England, these do not enforce the king's individual sovereignty. These systems have adapted to changes in the social structure of England and the British empire and now, sometimes in the king's name and sometimes in the people's name, they facilitate the domination of other interests. However, the criminal justice systems capacity to serve the interests of capitalism and colonialism, as well as feudalism, shows it was a model of justice designed for inequality and domination. It was not built to be fair, equal or impartial.

Social Justice

In critiquing the criminal punishment system many people, including me, have advocated for alternative models based around the concept of social justice. Social justice has been defined as advocating 'the fair treatment and equitable status of all individuals and social groups within a state or society'. As a concept it is a relatively recent use of the concept of justice, it was first used in the 1840s by the conservative Jesuit scholar Luigi Taparelli, and adopted by the Catholic church as offering a third way alternative to laissez-faire capitalism and socialism. It has since been more broadly applied and although the right still lays claim to the term it is widely used by the left and abolitionists have laid claim to the term by adopting the slogan "Social Justice not Criminal Justice". This history and its apparent utility across a broad political spectrum to denote many, often contradictory things, means it is not unproblematic. It also risks legitimising an ahistorical understanding of justice which implies that justice has always meant something fair and equal. There is an urgent need to find a conceptual framework for the things we understand as justice that not only goes beyond criminal justice but is also less open to the different interpretations that social justice is subject to.

In recent years, particular here in Britain we have seen a shift in understandings of abolitionism. Whereas the abolitionism of the twentieth century was principally focus on the abolition (or at least the shrinking) of specific institutions, most particularly the prison, in the current century abolitionist have both targeted a much wider range of institutions (for example, borders) and been more explicit that a central part of abolitionist praxis is the creation of alternative ways of living. This was most clearly articulated by Aviah Sarah Day

& Shanice Octavia McBean in their brilliant book *Abolition Revolution*. This more radical understanding of both abolition and justice recognises that meaningful change requires revolutionary change in our society. The inherent inequality of contemporary society inevitably shapes its justice system. If we want a more equal and fairer justice system, we have to change how our society is structured. As the abolitionist and organizer Mariame Kaba has argued: “abolition is two things: It’s the complete and utter dismantling of prisons, policing, and surveillance as they currently exist within our culture. And it’s also the building up of new ways of ... relating with each other.” If this is our project, and I think it should be, we need a term that goes beyond social justice.

Beyond social justice because social justice implies for many people, including the person who coined the term, Luigi Taparelli, something that is achievable within the broad framework of our existing unequal society. All too often it is incorporated into a reform agenda that aspires to sustain existing social structures. We require more than that. My initial thought is to utilise the concept of “Abolition Democracy” coined by WEB Du Bois and more recently developed by Angela Davis. For Du Bois the abolition of slavery was by itself totally inadequate, what was needed was a society that offered everyone the “economic, political, and social capital to live as equal members.” The abolition of oppressive institutions was only one half of the struggle, the other half being the building of new, just arrangements. For the legal scholar Allegra M. McLeod this means ‘a conception of justice that not only attends carefully to the actual outcomes of processes that claim to administer justice, but also seeks to distribute resources and opportunities more equitably’. Abolition democracy remains almost exclusively a United States concept and we need to do more work developing it as a framework to use in Europe and in particular recognising the particular histories of enslavement and colonialism that are central to the development of European states and capitalism.

No Justice, Just Us

The musician D’Angelo opens verse three of the song *Devil’s Pie* with the line ‘Ain’t no justice, its just us’, echoing an old refrain of graffiti artists. For me the first half of this slogan, ‘No Justice’ provides a warning of the dangerous temptation of believing in a justice that can be provided for us through the courts or governments more generally. Those structures were not created for our benefit, but were fabricated by those with power to operate for their benefit. They only offer false hope. True hope comes from the second half of that slogan, ‘Just Us’, in recognising that the potential for change that lies in us collectively. It is not justice, with its dubious history, that we need, but abolition democracy. What that would look like will only be determined by the journey towards it. We may not achieve something that is totally just, abolition is always unfinished, but we can build a better world.

IPAN Strategy Discussion Series

Resisting Prison Expansion in Wales - Dr Emily-Louise Hart & Dr Rob Jones

Shared by Gillian McNaull

On 13th November 2025, IPAN (Irish Penal Abolition Network) held the first session of their Strategy Discussion Series. Emily-Louise Hart (Leeds Beckett University) and Rob Jones (Cardiff University) met with the group to discuss their efforts to resist prison expansion in Wales. This conversation outlined strategies to challenge and resist Welsh carceral expansion, including North Wales Anti Prison Campaign and CAPE (Community Action on Prison Expansion). Emily and Rob outlined some of the challenges they faced regarding the building of HMP Berwyn in Wrexham, North Wales, including fighting localised discourse on the benefits prison would bring to the area, political agendas and media bias. They outlined some strategies utilised including collaborative working with pre-existing activist campaigns, community events and information sessions, social media campaigns, and direct actions including lock-ons, blockades and demonstrations.

The session was very useful for IPAN who are currently working against expansion in the Irish region. Ireland currently stands on the precipice of widespread prison expansion as the Irish government commits to expand prison capacity in response to ‘overcrowding’ issues. Keith Adams of IPAN provided a snapshot of Irish prisons, including a prison population of 5,706 – 1,004 people over capacity - lack of beds and an increasingly high use of custodial remand. The Irish government is responding to these issues with a commitment to build 1,595 new prison spaces by 2031. The first step of this expansion programme is the development of a new building in the former Cork Prison site. Learning from the strategies utilised in Wales can inform resistance in Ireland, particularly the immediate campaign to Stop Cork Prison Expansion.

IPAN are keen to connect with activists fighting carceral expansion across jurisdictions. If you would like to link up for the IPAN Strategy Discussion Series, please email: irishpenalabolitionnetwork@gmail.com

Publications

- Aguerri, Jesús C., Fernando Miró-Llinares, and David Vila-Viñas. "When social media feeds classic punitivism on media: The coverage of the glorification of terrorism on XXI." *Criminology & Criminal Justice* 25, no. 2 (2025): 315-334.
- Avila, Fernando, and Andrew M. Jefferson. "Expanding global conversations: prisons and punishment in Latin America." *Justice, Power and Resistance* 8, no. 3 (2025): 250-257.
- Brock, Andrea, and Nathan Stephens-Griffin. "Policing Ecocide." *Towards Anti-policing: Prefiguring Possibilities beyond the Thin Blue Line* (2024): 57.
- Davanna, Tracey. "The under-criminalisation of the Hunting Act 2004 and the intersection of criminal selectivity, policing and classism." *Justice, Power and Resistance* 8, no. 1 (2025): 22-39.
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- Durance, Antoine. "La désobéissance civile en procès: une uniformité des stratégies de défense dans les procès de militant· es écologistes français· es?." In *Congrès de l'Association Française de Sociologie*. 2025.
- Hanieh, Adam, Robert Knox, and Rafeef Ziadah. *Resisting Erasure: Capital, Imperialism and Race in Palestine*. Verso Books, 2025.
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- Kinna, Ruth, Jon Burnett, Harry Blagg, Joy James, Micheal Dellwing, Johannes Feest, Viviane-Salah Hannah et al. *Abolitionist Voices*. Policy Press, 2025.
- McNaull, Gillian, Shadd Maruna, Mark Johnson, and Dan Hutt. "Peer Support During the Pandemic: Views from the Inside." In *Handbook on Lived Experience in the Justice System*, pp. 102-116. Routledge, 2025.
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- Ruedas Torres, Diego, and Cara Jardine. "Punishment and citizenship: Families facing prison social work." *Probation Journal* 72, no. 4 (2025): 406-424.
- Sargin, A. (2025). Green energy crimes and resistance in the Global South. In R.P. Cavalcanti, D.S. Fonseca, V. Vegh Weis, K. Carrington, R. Hogg, & J. Scott (Eds.), *The Palgrave*

handbook of criminology and the Global South (2nd ed.). Palgrave Macmillan.
http://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-74932-2_98-1

Santorso, Simone. "Harm and governance of prisons' systemic overcrowding." *Oñati Socio-Legal Series* (2025).

PhD Defense

. **Merethe Riggelsen Gjørding** successfully defended her PhD, “What could have been? Exploring incarcerated women’s experiences and speculative visions for prevention in Denmark” (Monday, October 27), with Iram Khawaja, Ann-Karina Henriksen, and Justin Piché serving as examiners.

-> For the next newsletters, please feel free to share your doctoral defences or other information of this kind to inform our community! (europengroupcoordinator@gmail.com)

Justice, Power and Resistance

Justice, Power and Resistance is an international, peer-reviewed journal grounded in the critical traditions of the European Group for the Study of Deviance and Social Control. The journal publishes work that critically interrogates power, justice, and resistance, with particular attention to those most affected by social harm and structural inequality.

We welcome contributions from academics, practitioners, and activists whose work engages with real-world struggles and possibilities for social change.

Research articles of 6,000 - 8,000 words (including references, notes, tables and figures)

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Recent early view articles are now available to read [here](#), offering insight into the journal's current directions and debates. We encourage members and readers to explore the latest issue and consider how *Justice, Power and Resistance* might inform and support their own critical work.

If you would like to discuss a potential article or special issue informally, please contact the co-editors, [Ida Nafstad](#) and [Nasrul Ismail](#). We particularly welcome submissions from early career researchers, postgraduate students, advocates, practitioners, and scholars based in the Global South.

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Authors: We would like to remind you to send your contributions for the next issue of the journal of the European Group: *Justice, Power and Resistance*, you can submit your next article for consideration to <https://www.editorialmanager.com/jprj/default1.aspx>. We welcome research articles, intervention pieces and book reviews.

Please contact the Editors Ida Nafstad and Nasrul Ismail at jprjournal@outlook.com if you want more information.

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