

The background of the cover is a photograph showing a line of soldiers in silhouette, moving along a road or path. The scene is set during a low sun, creating a hazy, orange and yellow glow in the sky and on the ground. Several white, triangular road barriers are visible on the right side of the path. The overall mood is somber and evocative of conflict.

# **CRIMINOLOGY AND WAR**

## **TRANSGRESSING THE BORDERS**

EDITED BY  
**SANDRA WALKLATE  
AND ROSS MCGARRY**

# **Criminology and War**

Transgressing the borders

**Edited by**  
**Sandra Walklate and Ross McGarry**

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A set of original essays by original thinkers on crime and war. This insightful volume takes a large new step toward establishing the study of war as a field that increasingly attracts many of the best of the next generation of criminologists.

John Braithwaite, *Distinguished Professor,*  
*Australian National University, Australia.*

Walklate and McGarry have produced a wide-ranging and inclusive collection of essays on criminology and war. This book is necessary reading for anyone interested in the study of war, resistance, state violence, and criminology.

David Kauzlarich, *Professor,*  
*Southern Illinois University Edwardsville, USA.*

# Criminology and War

It is widely observed that the study of war has been paid limited attention within criminology. This is intellectually curious given that acts of war have occurred persistently throughout history and perpetuate criminal acts, victimisation and human rights violations on a scale unprecedented relative to domestic levels of crime. However, there are authoritative voices within criminology who have been studying war from the borders of the discipline.

This book contains a selection of criminological authors who have been authoritatively engaged in studying criminology and war. Following an introduction that 'places war within criminology', the collection is arranged across three themed sections including: *Theorising War, Law and Crime*; *Linking War and Criminal Justice*; and *War, Sexual Violence and Visual Trauma*. Each chapter takes substantive topics within criminology and victimology (i.e. corporate crime, history, imprisonment, criminal justice, sexual violence, trauma, security and crime control to name but a few) and invites the reader to engage in critical discussions relating to wars both past and present.

The chapters within this collection are theoretically rich and empirically diverse, and come together to create the first authoritative published collection of original essays specifically dedicated to criminology and war. Students and researchers alike interested in war, critical criminology and victimology will find this an accessible study companion that centres the disparate criminological attention to war into one comprehensive collection.

**Sandra Walklate** is Eleanor Rathbone Chair of Sociology at the University of Liverpool and is internationally recognised for her work in and around criminal victimisation, particularly the fear of crime. She has written extensively with Ross McGarry and Gabe Mythen on risk, resilience and cultural victimology and in 2014 received the British Society of Criminology's award for outstanding achievement.

**Ross McGarry** is Lecturer in Criminology within the Department of Sociology, Social Policy and Criminology at the University of Liverpool. He has previously conducted research with British soldiers from the war in Iraq and is currently engaged in research on British military repatriations. He is the author and co-author (with Sandra Walklate) of other forthcoming texts, including *Victims: Trauma, Testimony and Justice* from Routledge and the *Palgrave Handbook on Criminology and War*.

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Transgressing the borders

*Edited by Sandra Walklate and Ross McGarry*

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**Barry Godfrey** has over 20 years of experience in researching comparative criminology and international crime history. His latest co- or sole-authored books include *Policing the Factory*; *Crime in England 1880–1945*; and *Crime and Justice, 1750 to the Present* (all published in 2014). He currently leads a large Arts & Humanities Research Council-funded project ([www.digitalpanopticon.com](http://www.digitalpanopticon.com)).

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**Sandra Walklate** is Eleanor Rathbone Chair of Sociology at the University of Liverpool and is internationally recognised for her work in and around criminal victimisation, particularly the fear of crime. She has written extensively with Ross McGarry and Gabe Mythen on risk, resilience and cultural victimology and in 2014 received the British Society of Criminology's award for outstanding achievement.

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# Preface and acknowledgements

This edited collection brings together for the first time a selection of original essays specifically dedicated to the academic study of criminology and war. For those involved in writing and researching within this area, the suitability of criminology to engage with the subject matter of war and conflict is self-evident. However, over the years, experience has shown that, when attempting to publish work of this nature, the borders of the discipline present themselves sharply. Admittedly this has led to many frustrated conversations regarding the short-sightedness of the intellectual endeavours of criminology, the difficulties of publishing our ideas, forcing us to battle with the nuances of other disciplines. With the centenary of the First World War fast approaching we had both felt compelled to draw criminological attention to this event to ensure that the discipline made a critical mark on this significant point in history. This collection originally took the form of a proposal for a Special Issue of an international journal. We were disappointed when the proposal was rejected. Part of the feedback from the journal suggested an edited collection as an alternative avenue. On reflection we are thankful for this and the rejection since this merely made us more determined to ensure that our efforts and those of our contributors bore fruit. So if we had not found ourselves at the borders of the discipline, this book would not have come into being. However, there is more to be thankful for than the stubbornness of mainstream criminology.

We would first like to offer our thanks and appreciation to each of the contributors of this edited collection who have produced chapters that are both theoretically rich and empirically diverse. Although working independently of one another, each has managed to make contributions that are complementary and sit side by side coherently. All authors have had to work to tight deadlines, but particular thanks go to John Lea and Emma Murray, who each stepped in at the last minute to produce excellent individual chapters at very short notice. We would of course like to acknowledge the work of another of our authors, Ruth Jamieson, whose intellectual insights first coined the phrase the 'criminology of war' back in 1998. Ruth has recently published

an excellent selection of earlier works in the long awaited *Criminology of War* from Ashgate. We thank Ruth for setting the groundwork within the discipline and we consider ourselves privileged to have her make a contribution here.

It is also fitting to acknowledge the sad passing of Jock Young in late 2013. Both Jock and his partner Jayne Mooney were due to make a co-authored contribution to this edited collection, but for obvious reasons this was no longer possible. Rest assured that Jock's intellectual influences are still to be found within this collection, as they can in every corner of the discipline.

The ideas for this book have, however, not been created in a vacuum. We offer our gratitude to both Tom Sutton and Heidi Lee at Routledge. Tom provided the opportunity for this book to be commissioned and Heidi has worked tirelessly to ensure it has been delivered on time. During this process we have affectionately come to refer to Heidi as 'the one who wears the stripes' for her 'military' precision and organisation: the irony of this when preparing a book of this nature is not lost on us. We would also specifically like to thank our colleague and good friend Gabe Mythen for his encouragement and intellectual input in the broader development of our criminological interests with war, security, resilience and the military, which began long before this book came into print. Gabe: we are pleased to say that there are indeed 'at least two papers here'!

Thanks also go to Expac, Seesyu Press, Daniel Heyman, an artist collective from Pakistan and the USA, the Ghetto Fighters' House Museum, The Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and Pam Feil, the Museum of Jewish Heritage, Emanuel Ringelblum Jewish Historical Institute and Anvil Press Poetry for allowing us to reproduce various materials in this book.

Finally we would like to offer thanks to our friend and colleague Stuart Griffiths ([www.stuartgriffiths.net](http://www.stuartgriffiths.net)) who has been kind enough to allow us to use his photography of British soldiers and military repatriations at Royal Wootton Bassett in other work we have published. Stuart has once again generously allowed us to use his photography in Chapter 9, but more importantly he has provided the mesmerising cover image of this book. The photograph is of the silhouetted shapes of British Parachute Regiment soldiers training in the UK for a deployment to Afghanistan. To finish, we would like to offer some thoughts on why we have chosen this particular image and what it should encourage us to consider in the context of criminology and war.

Taking the soldier as our muse, war is nothing but destructive to all involved, and the overtones of this image connect wars past and present. In the context of the 'war against terror' we have come to learn of the vulnerabilities of soldiers deployed to distant lands, returning with myriad physical, psychological and social problems. However the presence of the Parachute Regiment in this image also stand to remind us of the brutality of war and the atrocities which this can bring to civilian populations, notably experienced at the behest of the British military on the streets of Northern Ireland during Bloody Sunday. You will notice that the soldiers in this image are not

individually identifiable, but their silhouettes are instantly recognisable. As such they represent both the presence and the absence of the state at war. Those who leave families and loved ones behind to bloody their uniforms at close quarters are quite different from those who bloody their suits orchestrating violence at a distance. Criminological attention to war has frequently defaulted to studying soldiers and their crimes, represented by the silhouetted soldiers scattered throughout this image in the foreground and the distance. Soldiers do indeed appear in chapters throughout this book, but if we wish to move criminological knowledge forward, we need to leave some well trodden issues behind and carry some imaginative ideas along with us: taking steps down an intellectual path flanked by the conventional in order to transgress the borders of criminology and war.

Ross McGarry and Sandra Walklate  
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University of Liverpool, May 2014

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# Introduction

## Placing war within criminology

*Ross McGarry and Sandra Walklate*

### Introduction

There is something to be said for the timing of this book: 2014 was the centenary year of the First World War. The social and cultural significance of this is to be marked until 2018 by the First World War Centenary Programme (see [www.1914.org](http://www.1914.org)) in a series of global events to remember the loss of over 16 million people. Alongside events to remember the deaths of 5 million Allied forces there will also no doubt be gestures to commemorate the deaths of the 7 million civilians who lost their lives during the war. For the popular imagination this centenary not only serves to 'mark, commemorate and remember' the sacrifices that were made during this period (as the First World War Centenary Programme suggests), but it also urges us to be reflective of the impact that this war has had in shaping the contemporary social world.

Since 1918 the world has remained tainted by violence through warfare in a variety of contexts that have touched every continent. Marked most significantly by the atrocities of the Holocaust, further wars have followed with varying public expediency, (in)coherent political narratives and (questionable) justifications for their purpose. Some wars have had fractious and ambiguous relationships with the public. There have been wars that have been allowed to lapse in and out of the public consciousness. There have also been genocidal conflicts from which powerful nations have conveniently remained absent. Contemporarily, arguably one of the most significant acts of war in the twenty-first century occurred in the protracted US-led war in Iraq lasting almost 7 years. This war became a key focal point carved into the aftermath of the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York on 11 September 2001 (9/11), with post-war 2013 marked as the most violent year for civilian deaths since sectarian and political violence reached its peak there in 2008. Across the Middle East subsequent wars in Syria and Libya erupted as part of the centrifuge of the Arab Spring, seeing chemical weapons deployed against civilians and public executions conducted as a proxy for summary justice. Elsewhere, Russia has experienced acts of violence influenced by Islamic Fundamentalism from the former war-torn Caucasus territory, a region implicated in the only other terrorist attack in North America since 9/11,

exemplifying for Young (2007) the confluence between terrorism and war. As 2013 drew to a close, ethnic murders began to emerge in tribal and religious clashes in the Central African Republic reminiscent of the Rwandan and Kosovan Genocides; political-ethnic violence erupted in the world's newest state, South Sudan; and sectarian violence loomed large once again in Iraq, with Fallujah coming under the control of militant groups for the first time since US forces withdrew from the country in 2011. Stepping into the present day, as we write this introduction Russian forces have deployed military personnel into Ukraine against the advice of the international community. Moreover, the centenary of the First World War incongruously charts the withdrawal of Western military forces from Afghanistan, having participated in over a decade of fighting in the 'War on Terrorism'. Taken collectively, we would suggest that pausing to observe the focal point of the First World War should instead urge us – as criminologists and victimologists – to employ our sociological imaginations (Mills, 1959): to see a violent past firmly reflected in the present and instead recognise the First World War as marking the end of a long, ambiguous and bloody period of the twenty-first century. Within this book we do not look to provide a comprehensive overview of war, nor do we lay claim to providing an expert social, cultural or historical analysis of warfare. Instead we look to remove some inertia noted by Ruth Jamieson (2014) as being present within the discipline of criminology; to pay fuller attention to war as one of the 'ten ironies' of a critical criminology (Young, 2011).

## **Starting at the borders**

Despite emerging against a backcloth of the First and Second World Wars, criminology, and indeed its sub-discipline victimology, have yet to address war in the substantive ways demonstrated by other disciplines. This is intellectually curious given that criminology is widely concerned with subject matter that addresses violence, crime and victimisation, all of which are consistent features of war-fighting and war-making (Jamieson, 1998). Within mainstream criminology, the unreflexive approaches of positivist and 'administrative criminology', concerned with promoting effective methods of crime control and measuring and reducing 'street crime', have long since been put to use by state criminal justice institutions for the purposes of bolstering social control and maintaining social order (Hudson, 1997). These 'footprints in the sand' were outlined some time ago by Stan Cohen (1981) mapping the contours and boundaries of the academic discipline of British criminology in particular within both state and university institutions. It is the interstitial space between the state and the academy that draws our attention in this introduction, encouraging us to look for where war is addressed within criminology and to identify a space to situate it more firmly.

In recognition of the colonial impacts of war both past and present, and in looking to identify borders for us to transgress, we acknowledge that although 'The expansion of criminology in Britain has been especially striking ... it is