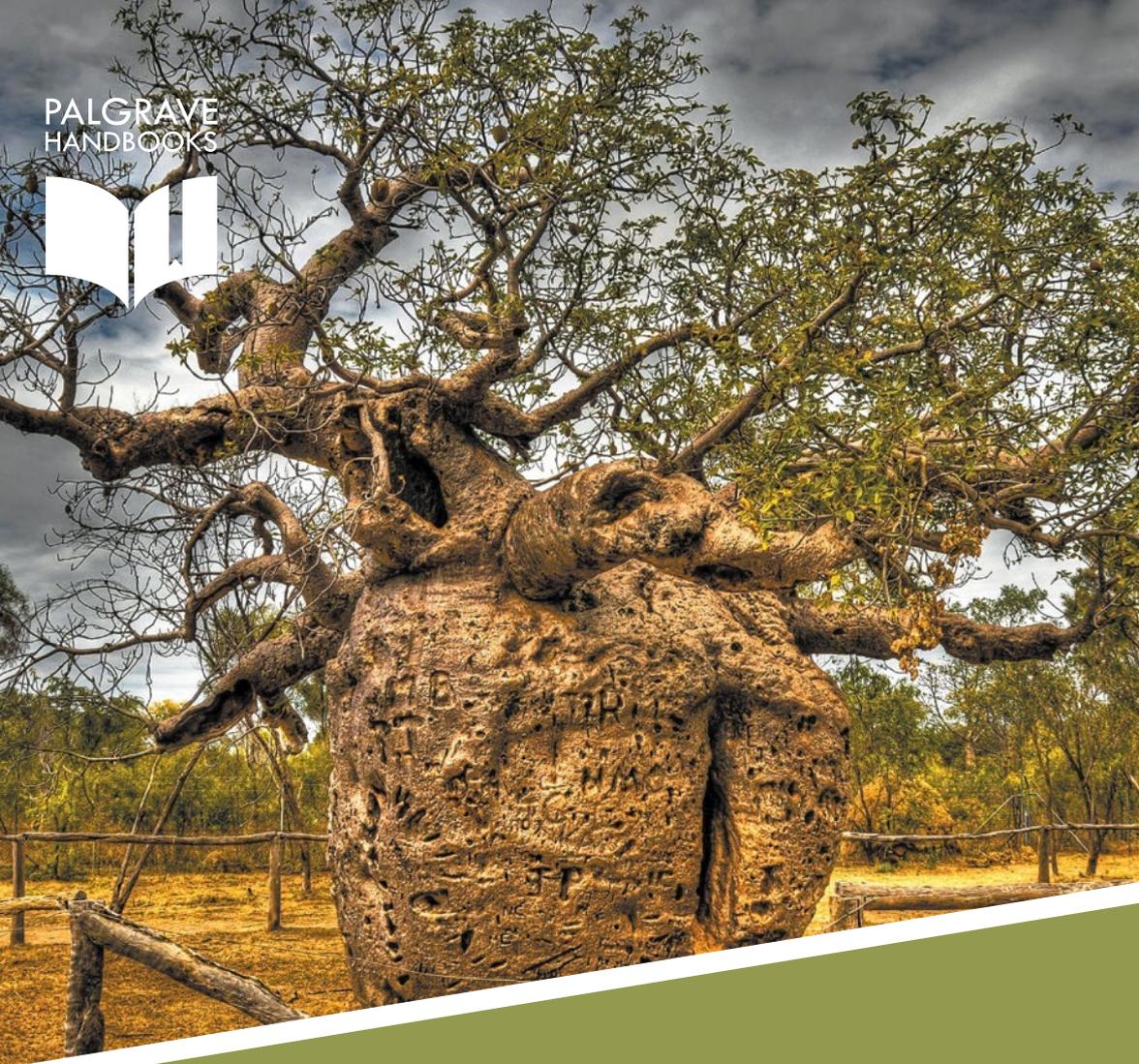


PALGRAVE  
HANDBOOKS



# THE PALGRAVE HANDBOOK OF CRIMINOLOGY AND THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Edited by Kerry Carrington,  
Russell Hogg, John Scott and Máximo Sozzo



# The Palgrave Handbook of Criminology and the Global South

Kerry Carrington • Russell Hogg  
John Scott • Máximo Sozzo  
Editors

# The Palgrave Handbook of Criminology and the Global South

Foreword by Raewyn Connell

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*Editors*

Kerry Carrington  
Queensland University of Technology  
Brisbane, QLD, Australia

Russell Hogg  
Queensland University of Technology  
Brisbane, QLD, Australia

John Scott  
Queensland University of Technology  
Brisbane, QLD, Australia

Máximo Sozzo  
National University of Litoral  
Santa Fe, Santa Fe, Argentina

ISBN 978-3-319-65020-3      ISBN 978-3-319-65021-0 (eBook)  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65021-0>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017964484

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Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature  
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG  
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

The original version of this book was revised. An erratum to the Frontmatter can be found at DOI [10.1007/978-3-319-65021-0\\_51](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-65021-0_51)

# Foreword

This *Handbook* embodies for criminology a revolutionary change that is influencing and challenging all the social sciences.

It is a well-known fact that in the research-based knowledge system, the dominant place is occupied by the global North. The elite universities and research institutes of Western Europe and the USA sit at the top of global league tables, publish or edit the most prestigious journals, produce the most widely influential theories, and set the paradigms of method across the natural and social sciences and the humanities.

By contrast, the great majority of the world's population live in regions that are somehow marginalized in the world's main system of knowledge. Other forms of knowledge, especially those developed in the societies of the global periphery, are marginalized in academic life or disrespected as traditional, superstitious or unscientific.

This dramatic imbalance, which has a long and complex history, is now under critique from several directions. The worldwide movement of indigenous peoples to recover dignity and power includes a re-valuing of indigenous knowledges, including their empirical content. Movements for change in postcolonial Africa have asserted the importance of Afro-centric knowledge. The decolonial school, reflecting on the experience of central and south America, has argued that modernity has been constructed on the basis of colonialism and embeds racial and cultural hierarchy at a deep level. Other authors have shown the significance of Islamic science, Asian discourses or Southern perspectives more generally, for the social sciences.

From these debates, and from research on intellectual workers and their patterns of communication, a new picture has emerged of the dominant knowledge formation itself.

The colonized and postcolonial world is not irrelevant to this knowledge system. Indeed it is essential, but it has been assigned a specific role in a worldwide division of labour going back to colonial times. This role is to be a vast data mine, a source of raw information. Data about colonized societies and cultures have been collected and streamed to the imperial centre by many generations of colonists, missionaries, travellers, military officers, civil officials and researchers. In the imperial centre, these data were accumulated in libraries, archives and museums, and formed an important basis for the social sciences as these developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In this division of labour, the institutions of the metropole, the global North, also have a specific role. It is to assemble information from the periphery, combine it with local information, and process it. The metropole is the principal site of theory, methodology, and the development of applied sciences. Completing the circuit, knowledge in packaged form is then exported back to the periphery, to become the basis of professional practices, state policies and higher education curricula around the world.

This global structure has survived into the knowledge economy of the postcolonial world. We see it in the hierarchies of university league tables, citation patterns and funding mechanisms. We see it in the everyday patterns of intellectual life. Researchers in the periphery must orient themselves to the authority of the metropole: learn the methods, use the concepts and seek recognition there. It is most prestigious to have a degree from an elite university in the USA or Western Europe, to be published in elite journals in the metropole, to be accepted into the invisible colleges there. Researchers in the metropole, by contrast, are under no obligation to study intellectual work from the periphery; there is a deep asymmetry in this system.

Once we understand the main structure of this economy of knowledge, we begin to see its damaging effects. Social science concepts, methods and patterns of explanation have largely been constructed out of the social experience of the metropole (including its role as imperial centre). Obligated to read all social experience through such lenses, the social sciences give a deeply distorted account of the societies of the periphery—marginalizing, or simply forgetting, the dynamics of colonization and its construction of racial hierarchies.

Once we recognize those problems, we need research and theorizing of the kind gathered in this *Handbook*. This is work that prioritizes the experience of colonized and postcolonial societies, and values the intellectual work done in the periphery. It does not abandon ideas and methods developed in the global North, but sets them in a different logic of knowledge-making. It calls their universality into question and combines them with very different

agendas and perspectives. Once this process is set in motion, a vast terrain opens up.

This *Handbook* shows quite dramatically the range of issues, and the wealth of resources, that are opened. We have chapters here that offer new perspectives on gender-based violence and patriarchal gender relations, environmental issues, corruption, and trafficking in humans. We have accounts of genocide and femicide. We have discussions from new perspectives of policing, incarceration—questioning recent Northern accounts that have become almost an orthodoxy—and crime control policies. Deeper in the background for criminology, we have new perspectives on migration, recent economic change and the ambiguous role of the state.

These are tough, uncomfortable issues. But Southern perspectives also open up new agendas of change and possibilities for peace and reconciliation. This *Handbook* also includes contributions on indigenous justice, transitional justice and community responses to crime, and many reflections on the possibilities for a global democratization of criminology as a knowledge discipline.

The idea of “South” is essential, but complex. It is useful to recognize simple geographical remoteness from the global metropole, which shapes the lives of knowledge workers in material ways. But “Southern” in this *Handbook* is mainly a social concept: it refers to marginality or subordination in a global structure of social relations. This structure is complex, having economic, geopolitical, cultural, linguistic and technological dimensions. And while organized around the historical relations of colonization and postcolonial power, a Southern criminology does not produce simple categories. Both “North” and “South” name multiple and changing social formations. These complexities are well represented in this *Handbook*, ranging across affluent settler-colonial countries to poor developing countries, emerging economic powers and the offshore transnational corporations that have increasingly replaced states as the centres of global capitalism.

Any Southern criminology must call into question familiar concepts and understandings. An important theme in this *Handbook* is the role of the state, conventionally seen as the source of law and embodiment of justice. Many of the contributions here recognize the pervasiveness of state violence and injustice in the making of global empire. They have a concern with how postcolonial states specifically engage in social control, and a concern with the continuing, often militarized, interventions of Northern states and their agencies in the affairs of the global South.

Developing Southern perspectives in criminology will not be easy. It takes time and effort to break away from deeply-embedded practices that have the status of common sense, and the effort will often meet opposition. There are

massive differences in the resources available to intellectual workforces in different parts of the world, reflected for instance in unequal attendance at international conferences. There are deep conceptual problems to be faced: if we challenge the universality of concepts or methods from the North, what forms of reasoning and learning do we offer instead? How do we learn from other cultures and other histories, and how do we speak across the differences?

Yet Southern approaches also offer important new resources for the social sciences. There are extensive archives, written and oral, of the process of conquest and the struggles that created postcolonial societies. There are, further, the resources of those other knowledge formations marginalized from the mainstream. They include indigenous knowledge systems, such as those of Aboriginal Australia and the Maori communities of Aotearoa New Zealand. They include alternative universalisms—for instance, Islamic jurisprudence, *fiqh*, is itself a complex knowledge resource embracing multiple schools of thought. There are local knowledges constantly being generated by research in many disciplines in the global South.

There is also what I call “Southern theory”, that is, the knowledge about society produced by the intellectuals of colonized and postcolonial societies, reflecting on the colonial encounter, colonial society and postcolonial social struggles. This includes social analysis as powerful and original as anything that has come out of the global North. Thinkers working in colonial and postcolonial contexts around the world have addressed issues ranging from religion, education and gender to race, global capitalism and the dynamics of social change. Their work is gradually, but irresistibly, becoming more widely known.

This *Handbook* has significance beyond its contribution to criminology and our understanding of the specifics of crime, policing and violence. It contributes to a major transformation of our knowledge of social processes in general. There are rich resources here, multiple points of view, a wealth of information and re-thinking. I thank the authors and editors, and I hope their work travels widely into the world.

University of Sydney  
Australia

Professor Emerita Raewyn Connell

# Acknowledgements

First and foremost, we thank the contributors to this handbook for the innovation and enthusiasm in producing their chapters. The compilation of an edited collection of 50 chapters could not have been achieved within the tight time frame for publication without the outstanding professional editorial assistance provided by Jess Rodgers, and for this, we give our heartfelt thanks. We acknowledge the generous support of the Crime and Justice Research Centre, Queensland University of Technology, for funding this assistance and the Director of the Centre, Professor Reece Walters, for his passionate commitment to this ambitious project. We also acknowledge the editorial support from the Palgrave Macmillan team and especially Julia Willan, Josie Taylor and Stephanie Carey. We owe an immense intellectual debt to Raewyn Connell and take the opportunity to express to her our deep gratitude. Her pioneering work on Southern theory provided the initial inspiration for the collection. Her generosity in supporting this project in so many ways is also gratefully acknowledged. Each of us thank our respective families and colleagues for the emotional and intellectual support they provide that sustains our collective vision for a better world—and one where the arc of history moves towards cognitive justice as well as social and economic justice.

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# **Part I**

## **Theoretical Debates and Key Concepts Using Southern Criminology**

# 1

## Criminology, Southern Theory and Cognitive Justice

Kerry Carrington, Russell Hogg, John Scott,  
and Máximo Sozzo

### Introduction

At present, the production of knowledge in the social sciences, including criminology, is heavily skewed towards a select number of global North countries, and especially English-speaking countries, whose journals, conferences, publishers and universities dominate the intellectual landscape (Connell 2007; Hogg et al. 2017; Graham et al. 2011; and see Faraldo-Cabana in this volume). This is not simply a question of quantitative output but also of cultural and intellectual hegemony. Raewyn Connell argues that the theories and methods of the social sciences, while rooted in the experiences and concerns particular to the North Atlantic world and its path to modernity, represent themselves and have generally been accepted as being of universal validity and applicability (Connell 2007). Yet, as Connell reminds us, theory, research agendas and innovations can be generated from the specific experiences of the global South, and Northern thinking can be cross-fertilized by it in a way that enhances global epistemology (Connell 2014). Our main purpose in assembling this collection is to promote the global South as a space for the production

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K. Carrington (✉) • R. Hogg • J. Scott  
Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane, QLD, Australia

M. Sozzo  
National University of Litoral Santa Fe, Santa Fe, Argentina

of knowledge and a source of innovative research and theory on crime and justice. It is hoped that it will contribute to the bridging of global divides and inequities which exist as much in the realms of knowledge as in those of economic and geopolitical relations. As de Sousa Santos remarks, ‘there is no global justice without cognitive justice’ (de Sousa Santos 2014: viii). This chapter introduces readers to Southern theory and how it has informed our re-framing of criminology as an epistemological and political project.

## Southern Theory and Criminology

In *Southern Theory* (2007) Raewyn Connell argues that a structural imbalance in the economy of knowledge has produced a hegemony of social scientific thought based on the experience of a small number of societies in the global North, namely, the countries of Western Europe (including Britain) and the USA. The conventional (Northern) account depicts the rise of social science as a response to the profound problems—of social dislocation, urban change, migration, industrial conflict and moral anomie—experienced by these societies as they underwent the processes of rapid industrialization, urbanization and modernization in the nineteenth century. In this narrative the global North, comprising countries depicted as *leading* the way to capitalist modernity, is treated as the normative benchmark for the economic, political and social development of other countries seeking to modernize. The social sciences produced from the experience of these Northern societies afford, it is assumed, a sure guide to understanding and confronting processes and problems common to all societies undergoing modernization. Thus, Connell argues, social science succeeded in representing itself, and being widely accepted, as universal, timeless and placeless. According to this logic, social phenomena in the ‘periphery’ would be investigated from the standpoint of universal theories and laws of development generated in ‘modern’ or ‘Western’ societies of the global North. The South could be mined for data, as for other raw materials, and empirical studies might be conducted in Southern settings applying imported (Northern) theory, but little in the way of novel ideas or theoretical insights of anything more than local interest would be yielded by the social scientific enterprise in the South. Connell calls this ‘metropolitan’ thinking (Connell 2007: 215). We suggest that Connell’s argument applies with equal force to the field of criminology.

Metropolitan thinking rests on a linear, panoramic, unifying and modernist standpoint in which space and geopolitical and social differences are erased in the imperial narrative of time. In this worldview, North Atlantic global

dominance and leadership was a matter of historical precedence (Connell 2007: 38). It submerges the fundamental historical reality that the processes of Western industrialization, modernization and dominance were not endogenous to a few, particularly innovative or fortunate countries that led in some notional race, but depended critically upon their imperial reach and power, the conquest and colonization of much of the rest of the world by North Atlantic powers in the period from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries which provided them with the resources, labor, markets and often know-how essential to their economic development. As dependency and world-systems theorists have argued over many years, capitalist modernity was global from the outset. Being 'underdeveloped' or economically 'backward' was not the 'normal' or 'natural' condition of particular countries so labelled but commonly a consequence of their subordinate place in the global economic order (Frank 1970; Beckert 2014; Gregory 2004). Likewise, social scientific knowledge and many of its key categories and concepts were not simply a product of efforts to confront the problems associated with modernization in countries of the global North, but were crucially shaped by the imperial context; they 'embodied an intellectual response to the colonised world' (Connell 2007: 9). Theories and concepts that grounded criminology's early claims to being a scientific endeavor, like 'atavism' and the 'born criminal', were even more obviously beholding to the traffic in ideas and artifacts between imperial metropole and periphery (Carrington and Hogg 2017).

## **(Re)conceptualizing the South in Criminology**

It is important to ask at this point just what is meant by the global South. As David Fonseca in his contribution to this collection points out, there are various ways of conceiving the South and North/South global relationships. The more conventional view depicts it in essentially geographical and binary terms as the division between the rich and poor countries of the world. The rich comprise the old imperial states of Europe and certain of their wealthy settler spin-offs like the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (although the latter two are geographically located in the Asia-Pacific). The poor are the rest. A successor to the older 'developed/developing' discourse, the currency of North/South rose with the establishment and reports of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues in the 1970s and 1980s, perhaps more well-known as the Brandt Commission, after its chairperson, Willy Brandt, former chancellor of West Germany (Independent Commission on International Development Issues 1980, 1983). Understood in these

terms, the global South comprises three continents (Asia, Africa and Central and South America) and parts of Oceania and is home to roughly 85 percent of the world's population and most of those living in extreme poverty. These include the parts of the world most severely torn by violent conflict, the rapacious depletion of natural resources, environmental degradation, population dislocation and by political corruption and poor, often autocratic, governance. This ensemble of mutually reinforcing threats to human security dwarfs the crime problems that preoccupy most criminologists in the global North. Issues of vital criminological research and policy significance therefore abound in the global South. Although manifestly destructive to the lives and life chances of 'the bottom billion' in the global population (Collier 2007), they are, in a shrinking world with increasingly porous national borders, also highly consequential for South/North relations and global security and justice.

The conventional, geographical, rich/poor dichotomous image of North/South is helpful for throwing some of these issues into stark relief, but it is complicated by a range of factors with which Southern theory and Southern criminology seek to grapple. There is the fundamental point already made that the global South, and its forms of economic and political life, does not exist apart from the historical, highly unequal pattern of relationships with imperial countries of the global North. Also, it should not be forgotten that lines on maps, national borders and geographical boundaries are contingent constructions in worlds, both past and present, where the powerful are often enabled to draw them to suit their own economic and geopolitical interests, to create their own social and geographical realities on the ground and erase those of weaker, more vulnerable peoples.

This power is a defining feature of the colonial project, but its effects have perhaps been most profound in settler colonial societies whether classified as North or South: the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Israel, South Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Kenya, Algeria and the countries of South America. Settler colonialism was one only of the forms taken by European expansion, but it did, as James Belich (2011: 23) observes, 'reach further and last longer than empire'. These then are not *postcolonial* societies: independence did not deliver sovereignty into the hands of the first nations of these lands but into those of their white settler populations. And the struggles of these settler populations for national independence invariably rested on vigorous assertions of white identity and white supremacy as well as racist immigration policies aimed at further 'whitening' the population (Gott 2007; Belich 2011). This legitimized the expropriation, exploitation and marginalization of indigenous populations. At the same time, settlement in what were

often harsh environments and climates inhospitable to the 'white man' ('The White Man in the Tropics' being a recurrent subject of imperial medical discourse) frequently necessitated that labor be forcibly extracted from the native population or that slaves or bonded labor be imported to meet labor needs.

These patterns of expropriation, exploitation and forced migration have left enduring imprints on colonial settler societies, whether they happen to be in the North or the South and whether they are gross domestic production-rich or not. In the USA, slavery, convict leasing, Jim Crow segregation laws and the mass incarceration of African Americans (Alexander 2010) are all evidence of the South within the North (also see chapter by Currie in this volume). In other colonial settler states, extreme poverty, serious levels of violence and massively disproportionate incarceration rates are commonly found in indigenous populations (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2009; and see chapter by Cunneen). Australia sits year in year out near the top of the UN Human Development Index (HDI), but the HDI of its indigenous peoples is roughly the same as that of Cape Verde and El Salvador, about one hundred and third in the world (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2009: 23). This has led some to compare conditions in remote parts of the country where indigenous people live in disproportionate numbers to 'failed states' (Dillon and Westbury 2007: 45–47).

Conventional North/South discourse also tends to be 'top-down, national, and "terra-centric"' (Christopher et al. 2007: 1). It is un-reflexive in relation to 'cartographic structures of power' and 'scales of value which privilege large landmasses as uniquely important for human history' (Samson 2011: 244). Oceans appear as no more than 'big empty spaces' on maps, neglected as 'connector, facilitator and challenger' for those living on, with and around them (Samson 2011: 249). This may be particularly so of the vast Pacific region stretching from Asia to the East coast of the Americas and comprising numerous island states (on island justice, see chapters by Pratt and Melei; Morton and Scott). Samson suggests that perhaps climate change along with space travel 'will challenge the old prejudices, showing us images of the planet which do not respect our Eurocentric "up" and "down" orientations, and reminding us that all living things are dependent on Pacific weather systems' (Samson 2011: 249). More urgently, rising sea waters caused by climate change threaten many of the island states of the Pacific with extinction. The Carteret Islanders of Papua New Guinea have already suffered this fate, being forced to relocate to Bougainville, itself an island that has recently experienced the traumas of decolonization and civil war (Beldi 2016). Climate-induced conflict, human dislocation and an emerging 'climate apartheid' (see chapter by Brisman, South and Walters) are among the many pressing issues attracting the attention

of green criminologists influenced by a Southern perspective and Southern epistemologies (chapters by Goyes; White).

Criminology has been highly urban-centric as well as 'terra-centric'. It has tended to maintain a highly selective focus on crime and justice in large population centers to the exclusion of the many more spaces and places that lie beyond them (chapter by Donnermeyer). The rural has often been treated as a naturally cohesive space, an exemplar of stable community prior to the disruptive impacts of industrialization and urbanization. From the standpoint of the colonial periphery, however, it was not the domestic urban context that was the primary site of world-shattering, frequently violent, social change, but the global countryside (Beckert 2014). Moreover, contemporary economic, social and technological change is intensifying the divides between city and country across both North and South, giving rise to novel crime problems and posing challenging questions in relation to the delivery of justice in rural and remote communities (Donnermeyer and DeKeseredy 2013; Barclay et al. 2007; Hogg and Carrington 2006). At the same time, marginalized and neglected spaces often afford opportunities for innovation in justice strategy and, equally, for rethinking received concepts and the role of traditional legal institutions (like that of the coronial inquest, as examined in the chapter by Bray, Carpenter and Barnes).

Finally, the criminological gaze has to an overwhelming extent been narrowly focused on crimes and crime control within the boundaries of pacified nation-states (Barberet 2014: 16), whose paradigmatic form is traceable to the democratic capitalist states in the global North. Criminology has in large part been a peacetime endeavor, albeit with a rising number of exceptions (Aas 2011; Bowling 2011; Barberet 2014; Hogg 2002; Walklate and McGarry 2015; Braithwaite and Wardak 2013; Green and Ward 2004; Hagan 2003; Hagan and Rymond-Richmond 2008). It has had little to say about the violence of state and nation building, of empire and settler colonialism, of the expropriation of indigenous peoples (Cunneen 2001) and of enslavement and other forms of forced labor migration. William Faulkner said, 'The past is never dead. It is not even past'. The impacts of colonization live on in contemporary patterns of armed conflict, organized crime, gang wars and violence against women and children in settings where state agencies are often too weak, indifferent or corrupt to provide security for their citizens or, worse, are themselves directly complicit in genocidal violence, extrajudicial killings and other systematic human rights abuses. Many of the following chapters explore these issues in general and/or in particular global South settings (see chapters by Berents and ten Have; Uddin; Atkinson-Sheppard; Ceccato, Melo and Kahn; Azaola; Mutongwizo; Barberet and Carrington; Miedema and Fulu;

Dekeseredy and Hall-Sanchez; Fragoso; Bahar). Chapters also critically interrogate the Northern constructions of certain forms of Southern violence and crime (Mayeda, Vijaykuma and Chesney-Lind; Bunei and Rono; Coomber, Moyle and Pavlidis) and theory and practice relating to criminal justice policy transfer from North to South (Blaustein, Pino and Ellison; Walklate and Fitzgibbon; Watson and Kerrigan). As many of the above chapters and others also show, local populations are not passive in the face of outside interventions, state abuses and the violence that often circumscribes their daily lives. Resistance, innovation and adaptation are also vital features of life lived in adversity from which others more fortune can learn.

It is clear then that Southern criminology must develop a more complex, dynamic conceptualization of the South and North/South relationships if the intellectual biases we have been discussing are to be corrected. Rather than a conceptualization based on a fixed geographical or economic binary, a more productive approach may (as Fonseca argues in his chapter) deploy 'the South' as metaphor for the 'rupture with a static view of the international order'. In this usage, South references not only (or primarily) geographical regions, land masses, nations and sharply drawn lines on a map of the globe, but seeks to capture the flows and interrelationships—of force, influence, unequal exchange, domination—that connect peoples and practices across the globe. The approach would broaden knowledge and understanding and serve as a salve for what we argue is the insularity of metropolitan thinking in which hegemonizing theoretical generalization is rooted in partial and limited experiences and views of the world.

## **North/South and Global Convergence in the Digital Era: The New Crime and Security Landscape**

There is also the consideration that while modernity, and indeed the world that preceded it, was always in some sense global, the global changes afoot today are affecting North/South relations in novel ways. There is talk of the 'rise of the South' and 'epochal global rebalancing' (United Nations Development Programme 2013), a dramatic shift in economic power away from the West and the North, as growth has taken off in the so-called BRICs, the expanding bloc of traditionally low- to middle-income countries represented by the big four (Brazil, Russia, India and China) (O'Neill 2013). As a result, quite massive strides have also been taken in the reduction of global

poverty which has also brought about a decline in global inequality. On the other hand, while inequality between countries has fallen, inequality *within* them has increased just about everywhere (Bourguignon 2016). The incomes of wealthy elites in the South have been rocketing ahead of advances by the poor and others. The same is true in the heartlands of the North, where working and middle classes are facing the impacts of deindustrialization and offshoring. Corporations have increasingly outsourced operations to low wage/low tax/lax regulatory jurisdictions leading to weakened trade unions, increased job insecurity, high long-term youth unemployment and stagnant incomes. The divides between rich and poor—economic, social, spatial—thus remain in the South and have greatly sharpened across the North (most dramatically so in the USA, Britain and the Eurozone). This appearance of ‘a South’ within the North is seeing countries and regions with huge and growing problems of unemployment and poverty (Southern Europe, the industrial wastelands of England’s North and the rust belt in the USA) increasingly pitted against political, corporate and financial elites intent on advancing their own interests while imposing austerity on others (on the crisis in the Eurozone and the impact on Greece, see Varoufakis 2016). There is too a deeply disturbing revival of racist extremism, a backlash against immigrants and other visible minorities, clarion calls to restore ‘law and order’ and growing government recourse to authoritarianism (see chapters by Hoang; Bessa and Garcia; Warren and Palmer).

The technological, economic and other forces driving these shifts also reflect a profound transformation in the ways power is projected in the contemporary world. No longer a matter simply of territorial control or expansion by states, practices of rule are increasingly embodied in information and knowledge-based economic and financial circuits, often presided over by placeless elites who owe fidelity to no nation. Digital technologies permit the organization and coordination of economic, political and cultural life without reference to national borders or the jurisdictional boundaries of legal systems. One effect has been to unleash new policing and surveillance strategies (chapter by Mann and Warren). At the same time, the costs of organizing crime and violence on an extraterritorial scale are also much reduced, producing criminal activities in new forms with amplified harmful effects: cybercrimes, online frauds, terrorism, people trafficking and so on (chapters by Lee; Cross; Sandy).

This is also facilitating a convergence of illicit with licit practices: reputable international banks aided by corps of professional lawyers and accountants provide the ‘financial getaway vehicles’ needed to successfully execute all manner of crimes, from money laundering for drug cartels to the corporate bribery of foreign governments to global tax evasion by corporations and