

British Society of Criminology Newsletter

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Inside

Historical Criminology

Contributions from: David Churchill, Vicky Nagy, Zoe Alker, Alana Piper, Paul Bleakley, Thomas Guiney, Mike Guerzino, Esmorie Miller, Helen Johnston and Jessamy Carlson. Plus various other items from the BSC

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Editorial

Editorial Summer 2021

Lizzie Seal

This edition of the newsletter contains six articles resulting from a joint online event held by the British Society of Criminology's Historical Criminology Network (HCNet) and the Australia-New Zealand Historical Criminology Network on 14 and 15 July 2021. Rather than holding conventional panels, the event was designed to be an opportunity for members to discuss and explore ideas across different themes and issues: PGR/ECR support; Digital data methods; Researching more recent histories; Decolonisation and Indigenisation; Criminalisation and policing of women; and Vulnerabilities of victims in the criminal justice system.

In their article, David Churchill and Vicky Nagy explain how the event came about and its aims. Zoe Alker and Alana Piper reflect on the session on digital data methods, Paul Bleakley and Thomas Guiney examine the study of the recent past, Esmorie Miller (the incoming HCNet Chair) and Mike Guerzino discuss decolonisation and Indigenisation, Helen Johnston and Vicky Nagy recount the session on the policing and criminalisation of women and finally Jessamy Carlson reflects on the event from the perspective of being a participant.

The BSC's 2021 conference 'Crime and Harm: Challenges of Social and Global Justice' was organised by a team from the Open University and took place online 7-9 July. It featured an innovative mix of plenary sessions, panels and social events. The Outstanding Achievement Award was presented to Professor Mike Hough for his impressive body of work that brings academic and policy research together. The BSC held its AGM on 14 July, followed a by special (Zoom) event featuring the past presidents of the BSC in conversation about the history and future of criminology.

The newsletter also contains obituaries for two eminent criminologists, Hans Toch and Shani D'Cruze.

The logo for the British Society of Criminology (BSC) consists of the letters 'BSC' in a white, serif font, set against a dark blue square background.The text 'British Society of Criminology' is written in a dark blue, serif font on a light purple rectangular background.

Papers from the British Criminology Conference 2021

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If you presented a paper at the online 2021 conference, the British Society of Criminology would welcome submissions to the 2021 edition of the online journal based on your conference presentation. We welcome contributions from Plenary Papers, Panel Papers and Postgraduate Papers. All submissions are peer-reviewed. The final deadline for submissions is two months after the end of the conference - 7 September 2021. The journal will be published in December 2021.

The journal is available free at: <http://www.britsoccrim.org/publications/pbcc/>

Please submit your paper via email to info@britsoccrim.org

The small print

Only papers presented at this year's British Society of Criminology annual conference will be accepted for review. Please indicate the category of paper (plenary, panel, or postgraduate paper). Papers must be written in English and will not have been published already, nor will they be under consideration elsewhere. All papers are reviewed anonymously by at least two referees. Each paper should come with a separate cover sheet containing: the title of the paper; word count; author's full name; affiliation; email address; institutional address; telephone and fax number; an abstract of 100-150 words; up to 5 key words; and a brief biographical note of 25-50 words. The maximum length is 6000 words, including notes and references. Articles must be submitted electronically to the BSC in Microsoft Word (or compatible format), typed in double spacing throughout, and with generous margins on all sides. All pages should be numbered. A maximum of three orders of heading can be used. Essential notes should be kept to a minimum. These should be indicated by superscript numbers in the text and presented at the end of the text. Lengthy quotations should be kept to a minimum. If over 40 words these should be indented, with shorter quotes kept within the body of the text indicated by quotation marks. Where possible, the page number for each quote should be indicated. Tables and Figures should be clearly presented and labelled. Sources and explanatory notes should be included if appropriate. Poor quality artwork will be rejected. Papers should be carefully checked for errors before submission. Authors are responsible to the accuracy of quotations and references, and for obtaining permissions and copyright clearances if appropriate. The Harvard-style referencing system is used within the text – for example, (Hughes, 2007) – with an alphabetical "References" list at the end (typed and double-spaced).

Themed articles

International Dialogues in Historical Criminology

David Churchill (University of Leeds) and Vicky Nagy (University of Tasmania)

There is nothing new about historical research in criminology. Historical studies of crime and criminal justice have contributed materially to the field throughout its history. Yet, in recent times, a growing community of scholars has emerged across various parts of the world, which has breathed new life into historical approaches to crime and control. This community has found institutional expression in a set of networks in historical criminology, organised under the auspices of the leading scholarly societies in criminology, which have served to bring scholars together and to foster new collaborations within their respective locales.

One challenge, though, has been how to connect these various networks together across considerable distances to support international exchange of ideas and approaches in historical criminology. The increased familiarity with virtual communications during the COVID-19 pandemic certainly presents an opportunity, but after more than a year of Zoom meetings and conferences, few of us are hungry for another lengthy Zoom conference stretching the window between different time zones to breaking point. What many were missing was the chance to meet people with similar interests in an informal setting and to rebuild personal support networks fractured or fragmented by the effects of the pandemic.

For these reasons, we decided to organise the first joint event between the British Society of Criminology Historical Criminology Network (established in 2018) and the Australian and New Zealand Historical Criminology Network (founded the following year). Taking place over two days on 14-15 July 2021, the purpose of this event was to open up discussions concerning broad topics of mutual interest between the networks, rather than for the usual format of paper presentations and respectful silence. The event was structured around short, themed sessions, which aimed to

enable participants to meet others with similar research interests from across multiple time-zones.

Each session was convened jointly by members of both networks, helping to combine perspectives from distinct research cultures and contexts. As such, the event would not have been possible without the commitment of an excellent group of scholars who variously designed and led these sessions: Zoe Alker (University of Liverpool); Paul Bleakley (Middlesex University); Barry Godfrey (University of Liverpool); Michael Guerzoni (Indigenous Fellow, University of Tasmania); Thomas Guiney (Oxford Brookes University); Helen Johnston (University of Hull); Natalie Maystorovich Chulio (University of Sydney); Esmorie Miller (London South Bank University); Alana Piper (University of Technology Sydney); and Rob White (University of Tasmania). We are enormously grateful to each of these scholars for their support and participation.

In the following pages, you will read from some of the convenors about the issues raised in their respective sessions. Participants covered a very wide range of topics and questions over the course of the two days. The first session centred on support for PhD students and early career academics, touching on expectations of senior colleagues and mentors, the importance of building effective support networks for academic or non-academic careers, and the challenges of navigating these issues in the midst of a pandemic. The second session covered digital data methods, highlighting the growing wealth of digital archival documents available to scholars from Australia and the UK. The third session explored the challenges and opportunities of researching more recent histories, touching recurrently upon questions of the ethics of historical research involving living subjects or their immediate descendants and upon complex interactions between the archival record and social memory. The fourth session focused on decolonising and indigenising historical criminology research, including means of pursuing this in historic research contexts. The fifth session, on the criminalisation and policing of women, involved lively discussions of the intersections between gender and historical criminology research, including the competing analytic priorities of longitudinal analysis and critical junctures of change. The final session examined how historical research in criminology (and criminological research more generally) has approached victims

and victimisation, including questions of the ethics of working on victims' histories and related histories of troubled pasts.

These discussions confirmed that there is a real appetite for international collaboration in historical criminology, separated though scholars may be by some 15,000km. Follow-on discussions arising out of the event are underway, not just about shared research interests, but also about supporting one another during an extremely testing time for health, wellbeing and for sustainable scholarship. We hope that these discussions will contribute, in due course, further to internationalising historical criminology as a flourishing area of criminological enquiry.

Digital data methods and historical criminology: with the increased digitisation of archival records, how do digital data methods interact with historical criminology?

Dr Zoe Alker, University of Liverpool **and Dr Alana Piper**, University of Technology, Sydney.

Digital technology has fundamentally changed the ways we approach academic, archival and public histories of crime and historical criminology. Digitisation alters the ways that we locate, analyse and present research, and teach upcoming scholars, a process of transformation that continues to unfold. As part of BSC's Historical Criminology network [#HCNet], scholars from the UK and Australasia met to discuss the capabilities and constraints of using digital data methodologies for historical criminology. The group firstly mapped out the existing landscape of digitised historic crime and justice data before drawing out the possibilities and challenges to future developments and international research collaborations.

Digital resources for crime history and historic criminology have multiplied since the publication of Old Bailey Online in 2003. From projects which aimed to recover hidden criminal lives [<https://www.digitalpanopticon.org/>; <https://www.londonlives.org/>; <https://ourcriminalancestors.org/>; <https://cockatooconvicts.wordpress.com/>; <https://criminalcharacters.com/>; <https://foundersandsurvivors.com/>] to projects which sought to expose the problematic machinery of criminal justice [<http://convictvoyages.org/>; <https://prosecutionproject.griffith.edu.au/>; <https://www.traffickingpast.uk/>; <http://esrcvictims.org/>], a wealth of social and criminal records from the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries are now available to historians, criminologists and the wider public. Once we add to the mix the vast amount of online social and economic records, including newspapers and parliamentary papers, it is clear that historical criminologists are dealing with an abundance, rather than scarcity, of

material. The collection of online records facilitates a rich variety of enquiries – including analyses of social representations of crime, investigations of trial outcomes, and studies of life courses – to name but a few.

But, while this landscape of material initially appears to paint a picture of abundance in historic crime and criminal justice data [at least in the Western context], there are barriers to being able to use digital resources to respond to the shared critical values and research enquiries of historians and criminologists. While the diversity of digitised records has certainly illuminated a range of historical enquiries, what about those who stand in the shadows of digitisation? Digitising non-elite, non-Western resources is essential to capturing the histories of the marginalised and exposing the intricacies of power embedded within the criminal justice system. The under-representation of BAME and Indigenous groups in digital crime history – and criminology more broadly – invites a political commitment to working with communities, activists and archivists to recover previously hidden histories of Indigenous and BAME groups (for example, see projects including Real Face of White Australia). In turn, digitisation of material produced by the colonial criminal justice system risks the potential objectification of vulnerable groups – be they Indigenous peoples, juveniles or offenders generally. It is essential that researchers challenge systemic biases by providing audiences with contextual information that makes explicit how colonial violence is embedded within the records now so easily accessible, and by increasing accessibility further through multi-lingual OCR software translation. Roberto Catello (Liverpool Hope University) brought up the lack of ethical frameworks in digitisation in relation to Indigenous persons. In many instances researchers working with historical materials are not required to fill out ethics applications, but making ethics applications a standard component of historical studies would foster more ethical and inclusive approaches to digitising and presenting historic crime and justice data. It is crucial that researchers, communities and archivists centralise their shared political aim of exposing the elite bias and white privilege inherent in the criminal justice system – past and present.

The vast public interest in family history has led to a widespread commercialisation of social data including birth, marriage and death records, the census (in UK), and other records useful to historians of crime and justice, particularly newspapers. The

commercialisation of data has brought as many constraints as possibilities. Susanne Karstedt (Griffith University) pointed out that often crime historians will not just be working with crime data, but want access to other forms of socio-economic data (e.g. BMD records). While large-scale funded projects such as Digital Panopticon have synthesised social, legal and personal records, other forms of data useful to crime historians and criminologists are often restricted by paywalls implemented by sites such as Ancestry, British Library Newspapers Online and British Newspaper Archive. This brings together inter-related issues; putting publicly-owned archival data behind paywalls limits accessibility through access and affordability, but also impacts on functionality and useability. Commercial datasets often hide their digitisation processes and workflows behind user-friendly interfaces, and the poor quality of OCR and transcriptions on commercial sites means that online archives are often useful for family researchers who rely upon individual queries, but are not so practical for academic researchers who want to conduct large-scale queries or analyse the material in detail and with accuracy.

The group highlighted problems with interoperability, in particular, the ability to share and synthesise criminal justice and social records across international borders. Integrating criminal records requires expert knowledge in developing coding frameworks that are replicable and reusable across project, such as the streamlining of offence categories. HISCO's development of an international standardisation of occupational classification has been hugely influential in fostering international, comparative enquiries, and discussions commenced at the 2018 European Social Science History conference about the feasibility of a similar system of offence classifications to study the criminal justice system across international and jurisdictional boundaries. There is a need to make datasets open, freely accessible and transparent to further facilitate international collaborations. Some projects, including the Prosecution Project and Digital Panopticon, are already making use of research tools and repositories, including DataVerse and Figshare, to enable the publication and sharing of criminal justice datasets, but programming codes should also be shared, like Shoemaker and Alker's Convict Tattoos project codes, through sites such as GitHub, for the benefit of other researchers and to make research workflows transparent. Online archive repositories such as UK Data Service and Australia's Dataverse offer potential for storage and sustainability and the sharing of

materials, but existing funding models don't support long-term storage or ongoing administration of successful digital projects. More low-level, sustained funding that supports the ongoing maintenance of datasets and tools would be useful in ensuring projects' sustainability.

The meeting was extremely productive in bringing together crime historians and historical criminologists to share their experiences and highlight critical values and concerns. The Chairs thank the delegates for their contributions and hope that this will be the start of many future conversations and collaborations between the UK and Australasia.

Dr Zoe Alker (University of Liverpool) and Dr Alana Piper (University of Technology, Sydney)

Are we all contemporary historians now?

Reflections on criminology and the study of the recent past

Paul Bleakley, Middlesex University and Thomas Guiney, Oxford Brookes University

“The aim of contemporary history is to conceptualise, contextualise and historicise – to explain – some aspect of the recent past or to provide a historical understanding of current trends or developments.” (Kandiah 2008)

The promise and perils of contemporary history...

Contemporary historians have always occupied an uncertain position at the intersection between the past and present. At once too close to the action to allow for the careful and considered work of historians, but too far removed from present-day concerns to capture the attention of social scientists.

As Michael Kandiah notes in the passage above, this focus on the recent past and its relationship to a dynamic and ever-changing present is central to understanding the distinctive contribution of contemporary historical scholarship. On the one hand, there is, and can never be, a universally agreed definition of contemporary history and work within this tradition typically lacks the clear and bounded research focus found in neighbouring fields of study, such as modern or twentieth century history. The focus of contemporary history varies considerably from country-to-country and timescales are inexorably bound up with questions of statehood, cultural norms of remembering and forgetting, and those collective events - armed conflicts, natural disasters, and economic shocks - that help to compartmentalise history into discreet phases of development.

However, this ambiguity is also key to understanding the unique appeal of contemporary history as an inter-disciplinary field of study, and an initial staging post for observers seeking to conceptualise, contextualise and historicise current events.

To take just one example, the broad social, economic, and political shifts that transformed many advanced liberal democratic states in the final decades of the twentieth century have been the subject of intense scholarly attention and are frequently cited to explain a wide spectrum of criminological developments including: the aetiological crises of rising (and declining) crime rates, mass incarceration, desistance from crime and the social harms perpetrated by global business interests.

In our view, the contemporary history of crime and criminal justice plays a central role in mainstream criminological scholarship, but this distinctive contribution frequently goes unrecognised or is treated as a preliminary contextualising device to prepare the ground for the substantive analysis that follows. This is to be regretted. Done well, contemporary histories of crime and criminal justice can make a rich and varied contribution to the burgeoning field of historical criminology.

Towards a more reflexive contemporary history of crime and criminal justice....

As part of the recent workshop, jointly hosted by the British and Australian-New Zealand Historical Criminology Networks, we began to think about the challenges and opportunities associated with contemporary history. In the discussion that followed the participants identified four themes that all criminologists with an interest in contemporary history should consider in their work:

1. Ethics and the law

The need for greater dialogue between historically minded criminologists and the broader discipline have been well discussed, but in our experience the study of contemporary history can bring these methodological, ethical, and disciplinary issues into sharp relief.

A key challenge raised by participants in the HCNet and ANZHCN discussion was the sensitivity involved in handling recent history where, in many cases, the subjects being written about may still be alive. Here we stumble across an issue that is less common in historical criminology, but that our contemporarily focused peers face on a relatively routine basis. There are several implications to this, the first being the potential that writing about the recent past may have legal repercussions, such as defamation claims. This risk is not entirely new: as De Baets (2002: 346) observes, historians have often found themselves facing court as “people critically portrayed in

works of history may come to think their reputation was tarnished” and seek redress in court.

To a historical criminologist, often used to dealing with subjects who passed away long ago, a sensitivity to these issues is essential. This understanding is not just important from a legal perspective, but also an ethical one. Even where a subject has recently died, and a researcher may not be as vulnerable to legal action, there remains an obligation to consider the impact that our work has on the family, friends, and other survivors of that person.

2. Co-production

Just as our discussion covered the challenges of working in the recent past and, particularly, on topics where the subjects of historical research are still living, they also noted that this provides a unique opportunity as well. When working on the recent past, participants noted the potential (even need) to engage in co-production, wherein researchers work directly with the subjects of their study to produce work that reflects not just the perspective of the outside observer, but the lived experience as well (McGeachan et al., 2012).

While there has been increased uptake of co-production in mainstream criminology (especially in emerging subfields like convict criminology), the opportunities for historical criminologists have been less obvious — it is, after all, a quite insurmountable feat to co-produce work on Victorian era rookeries more than 100 years later, with no direct access to the people who lived in them. Typically, historical criminologists (and historians more generally) have overcome this challenge by drawing on archival material beyond the ‘official record’ like diaries, letters and other personal documents in order to piece together historical lives from their own perspective, as much as possible. In researching the recent past, though, the opportunity exists for more direct and traditional forms of co-production that have otherwise eluded historians researching more distant timeframes, such as the use of oral histories, witness seminars and, in more serious circumstances, truth and reconciliation commissions.

3. Access

Obtaining access to archival material is part of all historians’ craft, but there is a particular paradox when it comes to the relationship researchers in the field of recent

history have with the archive. At first look, the contemporary historian is advantaged by the scale of primary sources available, not just in state-operated archives but in the possession of those who experienced the events under examination — even better, the contemporary historian has access to oral history in a way that proves elusive to those working in the more distant past.

Indeed, this may be one of the chief responsibilities of historical criminologists working in the more recent past: to bridge the gap between the past and present, engaging in a co-production of research with those who were direct participants (or otherwise impacted by) historical events. We too often lament the gaps in the archival record that render marginalised populations voiceless and underrepresented (Carter, 2006; von Munchow, 2018). By committing to co-production of historical criminology research, it is possible to ensure that such gaps are minimised in future via work that builds on the oral record while it still exists and reasserts the primacy of lived experience to our areas of study.

With the opportunities of recency come other complications, however: with so much of the traditional archival record firmly under state control, contemporary historians often find themselves at the mercy of statutory access restrictions that prevent records being opened to the public for a designated period of time, often 30 or even 100+ years. While there are legitimate reasons for these restrictions, this is nevertheless a frustration that contemporary historical criminologists are forced to reckon with. Researchers are torn between two opposing pressures: on the one hand, the urgency of conducting research before the oral history is lost forever and, on the other, governed by restrictions on access that complicate the study of the recent past.

4. Politics

The closer in time we are - chronologically speaking - to recent events, the greater the political sensitivities are likely to be. This is also true when considering the public consumption of (and response to) our research: historical criminology is intrinsically tied to political factors and, as recognised by our discussion participants, exploration of contentious issues may prompt adverse reactions from those who see that history as a “threat” to their own ideological perspective on global events (Palmowski and Readman, 2011). For a historical criminologist working on Bloody Code era England, this reaction may not be quite as pronounced as for those working in the more recent

past, where historical debates continue to inform present-day policy, politics and animosities. In spite of these often-confronting challenges, historical criminologists cannot shy away from the task of producing quality research that may inform the discourse — however, there is much that can be learned from contemporary criminologists who have experienced the cut-and-thrust of these debates far more frequently.

What next...?

We may all be contemporary historians now (even if we do not identify as such), but the discussions summarised here suggest that there is still a long way to go if we are to develop a more systematic and reflexive study of crime and criminal justice.

It is essential that a stronger ethical (and legal) understanding of our research's implications is necessary to assist contemporary historical criminologists to deal with the unique challenge of working in the recent past. We must also develop responses to the political pressures that often accompany this research, especially in areas of history that remain ideologically contested. While we must naturally contend with archival restrictions when working on the recent past, we need to also recognise the opportunities such subject matter offers in relation to co-production, and drawing on oral history while it is still available. Finally, we must acknowledge the key role that contemporary historical criminology has to play in bridging the gap between mainstream and historical criminology more broadly, offering clear values on both ends of the spectrum.

What the ANZHCN/HCNet discussion revealed more than anything else was the clear enthusiasm for contemporary historical criminology that currently exists among researchers. Whether we are looking to the recent past for its historical significance or for its ability to elucidate our current state of affairs, research into the recent past has the potential to offer much to criminology.

Further reading

Carter, Rodney G. S. (2006) 'Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence', *Archivaria* 61: 213-233.

De Baets, Antoon (2002) 'Defamation cases against historians', *History and Theory* 41, iss. 3: 346-366.

Kandiah, Michael (2008) *Contemporary History. Making History: The Changing Face of the profession in Britain*. Website: https://archives.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/contemporary_history.html

Lawrence, Paul (2019) 'Historical Criminology and the Explanatory Power of the Past', *Criminology and Criminal Justice* 19, no. 4: 493-511.

McGeachan, Cheryl, Isla Forsyth and William Hasty (2012) 'Certain subjects? Working with biography and life-writing in historical geography', *Historical Geography* 40: 169-185.

Palmowski, Jan and Kristina Spohr Readman (2011) 'Speaking truth to power: Contemporary history in the twenty-first century', *Journal of Contemporary History* 46, no. 3: 485-505.

Von Munchow, Patricia (2018) 'Theoretical and Methodological Challenges in Identifying Meaningful Absences in Discourse,' in Melani Schroter and Charlotte Taylor, eds., *Exploring Silence and Absence in Discourse: Empirical Approaches*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

The Role of Decolonization and Indigenization in Historical Criminology

Dr Mike Guerzino, University of Tasmania and Dr Esmorie Miller, London South Bank University

A chief concern of historical criminology has been with identifying how decolonization and Indigenization activism can translate to both research and classroom practice, in higher education (HE). Indeed, these questions stood among the main themes addressed in the July 2021 joint United Kingdom (UK) and Australian-New Zealand (ANZ) Historical Criminology Network summer online workshop. There are two points worth noting here: first, the specific pairing of decolonisation and Indigenization explored in this piece has its origins in this UK/ANZ collaborative efforts bringing together the networks in which the authors are involved. Second, decolonization and Indigenization is an apt pairing, which as noted below, represent modes by which epistemic equalization can unfold. These timely concerns correspond with wider, contemporary narratives in HE (globally), addressing both decolonization (Smith, 1999) and Indigenization (Rigney 2017; Louie et al. 2017), respectively. Indeed, an important consideration in placing these efforts side by side is to offer insight into the various ways deeply embedded forms of colonial continuities can be both challenged and dismantled. These efforts, first and foremost, urge the importance of thinking historically, as a starting point for both research and teaching.

Ideas and activism around decolonization proffer the deconstruction of knowledge, starting with the logics scholars and practitioners have been required to develop and disseminate as neutral, over time (Smith, 1999). According to the deconstruction logic, knowledge is steeped in colonial continuities of exploitation and oppression which sustains the marginalization and oppression of racialized peoples, globally (Blagg and Anthony, 2019; Smith, 1999). Moreover, contemporary institutions—from education to criminal justice, to health and social care and beyond—are the key purveyors of said continuities (Blagg and Anthony, 2019). Ideas on indigenization,

meanwhile, take on a corresponding task. Indigenisation may be broadly defined as a holistic initiative seeking to instigate change within HE, to increase and improve the presence, representation and involvement of Indigenous people within the life, leadership and learning undertaken at universities (see Rigney 2017: 45; Louie et al. 2017; Mihesuah and Wilson 2004). As such, Indigenisation may be distinguished from de-colonisation in its focus on addition rather than the removal or dismantling of previous knowledge, infrastructure, and practice.

The article is organized in two brief parts, between decolonization and indigenization. The discussion takes the position that historical criminological aims to transform both research and pedagogical practice, in HE, has key historical lineages which can prove essential in contemporary decolonization and indigenization efforts. Importantly, the discussion draws from a cross section of extant scholarly traditions—taking advantage of the multidisciplinary logics currently tasked with epistemological equalization, for research and pedagogical practice in HE. While not strictly a historiography of decolonization and indigenization, the article exploits the developmental format.

DECOLONIZATION: KEY ANTECEDENT LINEAGES FOR HISTORICAL CRIMINOLOGICAL PURSUITS

Among the antecedent narratives on which historical criminology can base decolonization practice are foundational scholarships concerned with deconstructing the fallacies which have sustained orthodox renderings of modernity as progressive and enlightened. Critical Fanonism (1967, 1963), for instance, has long established such a task. In his seminal work *The wretched of the earth* (1963: 36) Franz Fanon notes that:

Decolonization, which sets out to change the order of the world, is, obviously, a program of complete disorder. But it cannot come as a result of magical practices, nor of a natural shock, nor of a friendly understanding.

Decolonization, as we know, is a historical process: that is to say it cannot be understood, it cannot become intelligible nor clear to itself except in the exact measure that we can discern the movements which give it historical form and content.

A premier point to emphasize is that ideas about decolonization reflect a historic scholarly trajectory, presaging contemporary engagement. Corresponding with Fanon, historical criminology is currently tasked with 'discern[ing] the movements which give [contemporary decolonization goals] historical form and content' (Fanon, 1963: 36). Fanon cleared a path for challenging the legitimacy of the modern project towards universal equality, particularly the knowledge production processes which sustain narratives prophesizing equality as a realistic, universal experience. Such an approach is instructive for contemporary efforts, including historical criminologists, intent on contributing to the transformation of both the gatekeeping and knowledge production processes, on which HE relies. This includes contemporary concerns about the Whiteness of curriculums (Phillips et al., 2019), the under representation of educators of colour (Peters, 2015), and intersections of gendered and other cultural concerns (Shomanah and Dube, 2012), in the UK and beyond.

Other extant lineages, proffering the deconstruction of systematized epistemes supporting continuities of colonial exploitation and oppression, remain relevant for contemporary criminological efforts. Consider, for instance, the scholarship chronicling historic Pan African activism, from C.L.R James (1969 [2012]) to Hakim Abdi (2018). These histories prophesized the need for active opposition to the paradoxical entrenchment of anti-African racism, exploitation and oppression running parallel to the modern expansion of universal rights. Consider also Edward Said's contribution in *Orientalism* (1978; see also 1993), challenging the essential distortion and hyper-representation of Oriental peoples and culture, including but necessarily limited to the Middle East. Foundational works like these exemplify the risk acknowledged in extant scholarships, that contemporary decolonization efforts privilege the global north, furthering the distortion and invisibility of voices and narratives from the global south, remarkably crucial to the epistemic transformation and equalization decolonization ultimate seeks (Moosavi, 2020; Tuck and Yang, 2012).

A final point on what historical criminology can glean from looking backwards, is the ability to conceptualize and integrate with what Said (1993) describes as the all-encompassing tentacles of modern imperialism, into both research and thinking practice. In this scenario, criminologists must necessarily engage with a

historiography of colonial development, foregrounding a chronology of the evolution of how colonialism has manifested, over time. This has been noted as a move from the conquest of 'the physical spaces and bodies of the colonised...[to] the colonisation of the mind through disciplines, such as education, science, economics and law' (Odora-Hoppers & Richards, 2011: 7). The tentacles Said references are recognizable in the more sanitized guises, particularly education, in which these continuities have sustained themselves. This includes the ways notions of epistemic neutrality have resisted classification as oppressive and have more readily masqueraded as modern and progressive.

INDIGENIZATION: A GIFT OFFERED TO HISTORICAL CRIMINOLOGY

A correlate to decolonization, indigenization is seen across nations formerly colonised by the British Empire, including but not limited to, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States of America. Presently the concept is more specifically used in respect to curriculum development (viz. Indigenising the Curriculum), which can be understood as the inclusion of Indigenous content and knowledge (viz. epistemes) within individual units of study, and across university degrees as a whole (le Grange 2018; Marlene Brant Castellano 2014; Walter and Guerzoni 2020). In terms of teaching, put simply, curricula Indigenisation involves amending units so that students are 'learning from' Indigenous people, and not simply 'learning about' them (Hart et al. 2012:717; Harvey and Russell-Mundine 2019: 800-801).

Indigenisation is also present within research, both in respect to method and methodology, ethical practice in research, and in the custodianship and use of research data. Scholars have called attention to, and given examples of how, Indigenous people, knowledge and practice may be involved and incorporated into research within the health, behavioural and social sciences, both for quantitative and qualitative research (Walter and Anderson 2013; Lambert 2014; Bessarab and Ng'andu 2010; Walker, Fredericks and Anderson 2012). Furthermore of interest to Criminology, in being a discipline frequently commenting on negative statistics relating to Indigenous people (viz. incarceration rates), a body of literature that seeks to address issues pertaining to the use and ownership of data on Indigenous people, known as 'Indigenous Data Sovereignty', is presently emerging (Kukutai and Taylor 2016; Walter et al. 2020). In previous years the scholarly resources and

infrastructure can be said to have been absent, thus impeding its utilisation with the academy, though this is now no longer the case.

Understandably the question remains as to why one should Indigenise their research and curricula, and what it would entail. There are many reasons that cannot be exhaustively detailed here, but to draw from the words of Sámi scholar Professor Rauna Kuokkanen (2007: 3), Indigenous epistemes are a 'gift' to the academy, deepening its 'understanding of knowledge and the world'. It is not simply academically fashionable to Indigenise as some may contend, rather, it is beneficial for academy, and by extension Western society, to do so; albeit one with, understandably, accompanying obligations (see Kuokkanen 2007). In the context of historical criminology, receiving Indigenous knowledge and perspectives on subjects pertaining to country and other areas of historical inquiry may complement and deepen our understanding of that previously acquired from colonial sources. Hearing from Indigenous people may result in identification of omissions within previously acquired accounts (as we are finding here in Tasmania, Australia). Partnering with Indigenous academics and knowledge holders, we submit, will widen the scope of, and enrich, our research. Over time it is hoped that Indigenisation will be taken up by criminology as a discipline, and that the fruits of this process will be received by Indigenous and non-Indigenous people alike.

CONCLUSION

Higher Education across nations formerly colonised by the British Empire, including but not limited to, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States of America continue to seek ways to translate decolonization and indigenization activism, to both research and classroom practice. Motivating these concerns has been the recognition of colonial continuities of power which have continuously undermined the epistemic equalization. This equalization is necessary to both challenge and dismantle these same continuities of exploitation and oppression sustaining the marginalization and oppression of racialized peoples, globally. Our inaugural July 2021 joint United Kingdom (UK) and Australian-New Zealand (ANZ) Historical Criminology Network summer online workshop allowed the authors to explore ways these themes could be embedded in teaching and practice. A unifying theme which emerged is the usefulness of historical legacies of scholarship which have long exhorted recognition of, and the need for, challenging and transforming continuities

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The policing and criminalisation of women

Chaired by **Helen Johnston** (University of Hull) and **Vicky Nagy** (University of Tasmania)

Colleagues from the BSC HCnet# and the AusNZ Historical Criminology Network met to share their research interests and experience under the broader theme of policing and criminalisation of women. Attendees were also at various stages of their careers making this a fabulous opportunity for people to come together, hear from, and support one another.

Discussion started with what had led participants to signing up to the session and what they hoped to gain from it. A range of interests were reflecting in the group, those interested in women and social control in the broadest sense and those approaching the theme from a more policing perspective. All historical research and interests reflected a wide period from the 14th century onwards from within the UK and Australia. Intersectionality and the ways in which womanhood or femininity is refracted by other identities (for example, age, transgender, ethnicity, class, sexualities) was the first area of convergence in the current and previous work of several colleagues to emerge from the discussion.

Very quickly, the importance of comparative perspectives and in general the lack of them and the tendency toward research that is bound by a particular geographical area was identified as a talking point for attendees. Here discussion highlighted how collaboration might inform us as a group on understanding a longer view about women's criminalisation and offending (for example, helpful to meet those working on early or later periods) but also considered trying to understand and collaborate on locally specific issues and the possible connections or divergence across different contexts. The sharing of research papers or the creation of a reading group was one suggestion put forward here.

The discussion finished on with a debate about how historical research might inform criminology today or indeed policy today. Can that be achieved? How? Is this necessary? What are the dangers or pitfalls of this approach in terms of 'it has all happened before' and 'nothing changes'? What can or could contemporary criminology take from historical research? This discussion developed more fully into

one about the importance of longitudinal approach and thinking about when and where change happened at critical junctures and how this might raise difficulties for policy implications. But that perhaps the important area to consider was change and looking for explanations for that change. Certainly, these are big topics to contend with not only in this group, but for criminologists in the UK, Australia and New Zealand.

Overall, the group felt that the network was an important opportunity for comparative historical research through international collaboration. We do welcome anyone else who is interested in being part of these discussions in the future to get in touch with the Network convenors to be kept up-to-date about future opportunities.

Reflections on attending the BSC HNet and AusNZ Historical Criminology Network Joint Event

Jessamy Carlson, University of Essex

It would be difficult to begin any kind of reflection without observing that it has been, at best, a strange eighteenth months for everyone and the academic world is no different. There have been some significant shifts in practice, and for me, one of the good things that has come out of the pandemic has been a shift in approaches to learning, including a leap to online events. And as a part-time student who is to all intents and purposes a distance learning student, and one who works full time, conferences can often be difficult to access. Of course, conferences in person can be great – but a two day internationally lead event normally requires a considerable amount of time and expense across the board. From accommodation to travel to childcare to time off work, costs add up. Being able to access a conference online, through a platform which is free at point of use, and which can be accessed anywhere has been an absolute game changer for many.

The networking event run by HNet in July 2021 was definitely one of the highlights of this period of time. From the comms in advance, to the timekeeping, to the contents in terms of both speakers and topics, it was excellent, and combined a plethora of interesting and useful discussion. Collaboration with colleagues in Australia and New Zealand ensured a diverse and dynamic series of discussions, and from my perspective, seeing research allied with my own in other times and places was really valuable. The sessions I attended had clearly been thoughtfully prepared, and although the time allowed for was stuck to precisely, it felt (like the best of conferences) as though the conversations were only just beginning.

I was particularly inspired by the ‘Researching More Recent Histories’ session, which began to unpick some of the nuances of researching within living memory. A number of central themes emerged, not least balancing access with a right to privacy, the

significance of oral history and the counter-balance of contemporary statistical studies and the politics of it all. My own research focuses on the mid-twentieth century but a number of the issues discussed in the context of much more recent studies are nonetheless applicable. There is great scope for exploring the time period where living memory overlaps with historical study, and how that is interwoven with criminological theory, and I look forward to further discussion around this.

The 'Criminalisation and Policing of Women' session was also of great use, drawing together a diverse crowd of people with a variety of research interests. Events such as these, when as well chaired as this session was, are brilliant networking opportunities. I genuinely think this format delivers better online – the threat of being muted by the chair is very real and achievable in comparison to in-person events. It is often valuable to learn about overlapping and co-existing pieces of work, and this event was no exception. Already, the rewards of this session have begun to be reaped, and I hope further conversations will ensue once the term begins in the early autumn.

Finally, as an archivist as well as a historian, I was intrigued to hear more in the 'Digital Data Methods' session, particularly in terms of perspectives on digital resources for historical criminology. A number of sources discussed are of considerable longstanding, such as the Old Bailey Online, but it was useful to discuss newer and less frequented sources, and gain further understanding of how other academics are identifying and examining archival documents. There is great potential for further collaboration between archives and historians and criminologists, and in my view, there is an opportunity here to develop conversations between the professions.

I'd like to thank the organisers for drawing together such a varied set of sessions, and chairing them with such clarity and good humour. This was an excellent event, and I hope that, as academic life begins to return with in-person activities, events such as this will continue to happen. Many thanks in particular to David Churchill and Vicky Nagy for all their hard work in making this happen; your endeavours are very much appreciated.

Professor Hans Toch (1930-2021)

Distinguished Professor Emeritus in the School of Criminal Justice at the University at Albany, SUNY.

Criminology has lost a giant figure with the passing of Hans Toch at age 91. One of the founding faculty of the University at Albany's ground-breaking School of Criminal Justice in 1967, Toch was the author of over 30 books, widely admired for their readability, wit, and insight.

Toch's formal education began with a psychology degree from Brooklyn College in 1952 and a Ph.D. from Princeton in social psychology in 1955, where he was once accused of "trouble-making masquerading as research" when he proposed to study a student protest against the wearing of academic gowns in the dining halls. In his early career, he wrote an important book on *The Social Psychology of Social Movements* (1965) that included an interrogation of the Nazi movement, lynch mobs and cults. That work led to stints as a Fulbright Fellow in Norway and a Visiting Lecturer in the Department of Social Relations at Harvard in the 1960s. However, it was the chance occurrence of being asked to teach a course on legal and criminal psychology while at Michigan State University in the 1960s that led to his lifetime passion for criminal justice reform.

There were broadly three strands to this research (although these strands frequently and fruitfully entwined) including: the social psychology of violence as in his classic book *Violent Men*, the lived experience of incarceration as in *Men in Crisis: Human Breakdowns in Prison*, and the reform of policing in books like *Police as Problem Solvers*. In all of this work, there is a common theme of "change through participation" which he developed in his last great work, summarising a lifetime of work: *Organizational Change Through Individual Empowerment*. In short, Toch had an unshakable belief in the idea of bottom-up reform, involving staff and 'clients' in the process of organisational change. He had searing disdain for elite experts and what he would call 'hoity toity' theory. He believed in ordinary people and the value of democratic participation to create genuine change. In an authoritarian field based around control and restraint, Toch also stood out as a believer in humanistic approaches to corrections. He saw "handcuffs or tight supervision" as "a superfluous management tool as well as an obstacle to effective performance."

His greatest achievement, he would say, was the bestselling book *Violent Men*, first published in 1969, released numerous times since, including a recent anniversary edition with American Psychological Association Books. In this incredibly readable work (among the first popular academic books on the subject of violence), Toch pioneered the, now fashionable, method of participatory peer research, utilising peer researchers (prisoners, ex-prisoners and ex-police officers) in both the data collection and data analysis processes in an attempt "to blur the line between the observer and the observed."

On a personal level, Hans was not a fan of memoirs, although he read many written by friends and contemporaries. "I might as well record that my private life has been

conventional and my inner life is overwhelmingly pedestrian. My job has consisted of teaching at the university level. Some of my students claim that in doing this I have come across as intimidating, but I am in fact a pussycat.”

With his ever-present cigars, beard and thick Austrian accent, Hans bore a passing resemblance to Sigmund Freud and was not averse to playing up the associations, although his relationship to psychoanalytic theory was an appropriately ambivalent one. He once wrote: “if you want to become a well-rounded psychologist, a smidgen of psychoanalysis is good for you,” and among his first ever publications was a 1956 psychoanalysis of “eccentric mail sent to the United Nations.”

As an immigrant who escaped the horrors of the Holocaust, first to Cuba and then to the United States, Toch was a fiercely patriotic American, inordinately proud of his military service in the Navy defending San Diego during the Korean War. However, he also had a deep love of Scotland and all things Scottish, especially single malt scotch. He did important work for the Scottish Prison System and became lifelong pen pals with some of the long-term residents of that system. He even had a room in one of the Scottish prisons named after him.

Toch was particularly fascinated by the Barlinnie Special Unit, of course, but also HMP Grendon, where he had a memorable visit following one of his many lectures in the UK. At a conference in his honour at the University of Cambridge on the Effects of Imprisonment, timed with his 75th birthday, Toch sat with the legendary convict criminologist John Irwin (one year his senior). Both of them were going deaf by then and the two of them engaged in a loud running commentary during the lectures (“What is this kid trying to say?” “No idea but I wish he would get on with it”). All of the participants at that meeting (which led to the edited book *The Effects of Imprisonment*, by Liebling and Maruna) remember them fondly as the picture of the balcony-seated muppets Statler and Waldorf.

Shadd Maruna, Queen’s University Belfast



Dr Shani D’Cruze (1954-2021)

It is with great sadness that the BSC acknowledges the passing of a dear friend and colleague alongside celebrating her life and career as a feminist crime historian. As she herself has said (D’Cruze 2011: 23), she first found herself researching the history of sexual violence in an academic department which was 99 per cent male and where she was a junior researcher. Her ideas on this did not go very far at that time but she did in the end publish her monograph ‘Crimes of Outrage: Sex, Violence and Victorian Women (UCL Press 1998). Indeed, the range and significance of her contribution to women’s history has been wonderfully documented here in this free to access overview and celebration of her work.

<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/09612025.2021.1910199>

Helen Jones and I had the delightful pleasure of working with Shani during her time at MMU. I can still see the mischievous glint in her eyes as she asked pointed and insightful questions of colleagues in the way that only she could do and still ensure everyone in the room was smiling. Such mischievousness was borne out of a great willingness to meet challenges head on, as her expedition to Mongolia (with Helen Jones) is just one example. There they met and worked with women’s groups, government departments and criminal justice agencies, wanting to move the violence against women’s agenda forward. This was especially brave since the trip proved to be a dietary challenge as well as an intellectual and practical one. Even a trip out to buy apples one day meant braving -25°C and a frozen river! All of this (and more) was dealt with in the kind of good humour I looked forward to sharing with her on a daily basis then.

To use her words again, she ‘ran away’ to Greece in the mid 2000s from where she continued to combine her academic work with rural Cretan life. She and I continued to correspond with each other after we had both moved on from MMU and for myself I shall always remember her as a woman who would not be pigeon-holed by anyone: a class act impossible to follow.

Sandra Walklate

Regional and Network Events

BSC Green Criminology Research Network

Green Criminology in a Changing World

January 2021

Due to unprecedented circumstances the last 12 months have seen many environmental issues garner less and less attention in social, political and media circles. However, this has diminished neither their presence nor importance, and has instead raised important questions about their occurrence against a background of wider contextual fractures. For instance, how have the transitions seen since the start of 2020 influenced environmental harms and those who choose to study them? Why should those with an eye on these rapid social and political transformations still be mindful of environmental crimes and harms that continue to occur over the same period? This Twitter conference attempted to answer these questions, among others, to understand how environmental issues in the non-human world intersect with those occurring in their human counterpart. The legacies of these transformations are likely to be with us for some time, and accounting for the ways in which they entwine with one another is going to be of increasing importance.

<https://sway.office.com/YLb1Yb4BB3d1uzYJ?ref=Link&loc=play>

Public Criminology Through Public Education

March 29, 2021 9.30-12.30

The event focused on the role of Public Criminology from a Public Education viewpoint, more specifically:

- Higher Education's role in facilitating desistance from offending.
- The potential of co-production between academics and young people engaged in education to reduce future offending
- The impact of public education programmes in bringing about change to policy and practice

The presentations provided practical examples of teaching practice in Public Education, with speakers sharing how they have reconceptualised Public

Criminology. As such, the event appealed to those interested in the role of Criminology and its ability, through learning and teaching, to make a difference to individuals and society. The event was a collaborative one, supported by the British Society of Criminology Learning and Teaching Network and the Welsh Branch of the British Society of Criminology, hosted by Swansea University's Hillary Rodham Clinton School of Law.

BSC Early Career Researchers Network – Meet Up!

A series of events, held via Zoom, have been held (mostly recently in February and May 2021). Presentations include Dr Sarah Charman from University of Portsmouth who provided a personal perspective of her experience as Editor-in-Chief of the International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice. She reflected on her role, and gave some tips, from her own personal experience, on submitting to a journal.

The next meeting is scheduled for Wednesday September 22, 2021 5pm-6.15pm when Professor Barry Godfrey (<https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/sociology-social-policy-and-criminology/staff/barry-godfrey/>) will discuss the uses of external funding, using examples from past and present ESRC projects.

Please register here: <https://www.eventbrite.co.uk/e/bsc-early-career-researchers-network-meet-up-tickets-164836742133>

Contact Jayne Price for further information: jayne.price@chester.ac.uk

BSC Hate Crime Network

The network's most recent event was in August, 2021 when Emily Wertans spoke on 'The forgotten victims of hate crime: How can hate scholars engage with homeless victims?' As a group that stands outside of the formal protected characteristics of hate crime, homeless people are scarcely recognised as victims of prejudice within the UK. However, there are numerous accounts of targeted hostility directed towards

people on the basis of their perceived homeless status. Nonetheless, hate scholars, victimisation researchers and politicians have not attempted to meaningfully engage with this group to better understand their experiences and needs. This presentation and the research that underpins it aimed to address what we know about targeted hostility against the homeless, why there is so little attention on it and how can research be conducted to bridge this gap.

The Network held an event in June 2021 entitled 'Hate Crime in Football'. Sport and sporting events can often be the context within which hate crimes happen. Incidents of hate crime connected to 287 football matches in England and Wales were reported in 2019-20, according to Home Office figures. Of those incidents, 75% related to race (214 matches), while 27% related to sexual orientation (78 matches). Compared to the previous season, arrests for racist or indecent chanting more than doubled from 14 to 35, despite hundreds of matches being cancelled or played without fans because of the covid-19 pandemic. The aim of this conference was to discuss the scope of the problem and to identify best strategies to tackle hate crime in football.

Another event from the Hate Crime Network also took place in June, 2021 – Dr David Wilkin: From Town to Gown: Are we purely academics? He asked why do we want to be researchers? For personal kudos, for money, perhaps to achieve social change? Whatever our motivation, at some point we must settle on a research question to ask. We commit to solving a problem and in doing so, we set a course for the rest of our lives. For years we dedicate ourselves to be completely taken over by that topic, it becomes our friend, our enemy and our challenge. Eventually, we become subject matter experts. We move from the questioner to the questioned, we provide knowledge and inspire change. We move from learner to teacher. People look to us for leadership, for help and hope. But what duty do we owe? Did we merely visit our topic, collect the prize, and move out – or do we owe a duty to society? Are we more than just research tourists? In this session, David discussed our positions of privilege and what we can give back to society.

BSC Historical Criminology Network

International Networking Event, July 2021

Hosted jointly by the BSC Historical Criminology Network and the Australian and New Zealand Historical Criminology Network.

Over two short meetings on 14 and 15 July, we brought together scholars for an opportunity to meet others with similar research interests in historical criminology. This allowed us to discuss how we might think and work differently, to discuss research in progress or in the pipeline, and to connect with colleagues from the UK, Australia, New Zealand and beyond. Sessions included:

PhD and ECR support

Digital data methods and historical criminology

Researching recent histories

Decolonisation and indigenisation

Criminalisation and policing of women

Vulnerabilities of victims in the criminal justice system

Organisers: David Churchill (d.churchill@leeds.ac.uk) and Vicky Nagy (Vicky.Nagy@utas.edu.au)

BSC Learning and Teaching Network

'Public Criminology Through Public Education' March, 2021 – This was recorded and is available via YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vd36AbJGkI0>

This interdisciplinary event brought together academics from Criminology, Arts & Humanities, Education, and practitioners from the Criminal Justice System to share innovation in learning and teaching. The event was joint-funded by the British Society of Criminology Learning and Teaching Network and the Welsh Branch of the British Society of Criminology, and hosted by Swansea University's Hillary Rodham Clinton School of Law.

BSC Prison Research Network

National Research Council (NRC) on Ethical Approval for Prison Research, May, 2021

This event included short talks from people within the NRC, where they discussed how to navigate the process of applying for ethical approval for research and also their current strategy for research for HMPPS.

BSC Vulnerability Research Network

Vulnerability Flash Talks, July, 2021

This event offered a means for discussion, critical analysis, and knowledge sharing among diverse and dispersed members of the British Society of Criminology and others. The network seeks to advance understandings and stimulate debate on vulnerability across the spheres of research, policy and practice and foster opportunities for collaboration and knowledge exchange. This event comprised flash talks for people interested in sharing their interests/ideas and keen to collaborate. Members/followers gave 3-minute lightning talks and took part in discussions.

BSC Women Crime and Criminal Justice Network

Critical Conversations in Gender and Criminology: Criminological Identities / Identity Criminologies

Wednesday 8th December 2021, 2 – 6pm

Online Symposium

Interrogations and explorations of identity in criminology have yielded a great depth of insight and understanding through analyses of identity (re)formation among (ex)offenders; explorations of identity-based victimisation; variable policing practices and identity bias; and disciplinary debates between 'identity politics' versus a 'politics of identity'. These issues, coupled with a growth in researchers' own reflective assessments of how their power, politics, and positionality influences their perspectives, illustrate how criminology is currently replete with considerations not only of identity, but also its influence and its importance.

Building on these discussions, this event explores the presence and place of identity in criminology more broadly. Taking a reflective and reflexive approach, we aim to examine how identity shapes criminological research and teaching in overt and covert manners. In seeking to better understand how a focus on identity can inform and sustain disciplinary diversity, we invite members to share their thoughts, research, insights, and experiences to help us the explore the nuances of identity and criminology.

The event will comprise of two main segments: an invited plenary speaker session followed by an innovative, interactive session in which WCCJN members are warmly invited to present a short, 'pitch-like' presentation in the style of a Pecha Kucha.

The Network has also conducted a series of 'Connecting Criminologists' Interviews: <https://www.britsoccrim.org/wccjn/#Media>

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