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From the Chair

It has been quite a whirlwind since the November meeting! As many of you may recall, at the 2011 meeting, Robert Agnew indicated a desire to increase engagement across the divisions. The executive committee has answered that call. We have volunteered to serve on various ASC committees, including: the Sellin-Glueck Awards, Nominations, Membership, the Minority Fellowship, and Teaching. In addition, we are excited about the possibility of pairing our Author Meets Critics panels with other divisions.

We are focused on efforts to increase both the visibility and outreach of the Division. Several bits of good news: The new table banner has been ordered. We are investigating the possibility of ordering mugs and water bottles. Shortly, you will see a request to identify division panels to be highlighted in the program. Carrie Buist is working on a triangle mentorship program that I hope you all will participate in. Our Division website (critcrim.org) has several new postings, most notably a free ebook by Herman and Julia Schwendinger, Big Brother is Looking At You Kid. Also, take a minute to check out Critical Criminology on Facebook. It has turned into a valuable teaching tool.

The Division awards committee has been formed and will begin actively seeking nominations soon. Many thanks to Walter DeKeseredy, David Brotherton, Michael Coyle, Kate Henne, and Avi Brisman for agreeing to take on this important task.

Finally, look for changes to the 2012 meeting schedule that will necessitate changes to our Division meeting and the social. They may take place on Thursday night. Of course, I will keep you all posted.

Donna Selman
From the Editors

Special Issue
‘Occupy’ and Its Discontents

We are enthused to present this special issue to the DCC membership. As editors, we are happy to deliver on one of our goals for the Newsletter early on in our tenure: to showcase original critical criminological analyses in an open-access format.

Our lead article by David Brotherton opens up this issue with a thoughtful call to arms that we are confident will resonate with readers as they proceed through the newsletter. The Critical Commentaries tackle a range of topics and concerns related to the Occupy movement: transnational linkages across various resistance movements, structural tensions undergirding student activism, questions of law, pedagogical insights from teaching about Occupy Wall Street (OWS), and a reflection on politics on the ground.

We cannot thank you enough for the thoughtful contributions we received. It was a great experience for us to read and engage the authors. We also send our thanks to those members who expressed their appreciation for the special issue prior to its release. We hope it provides stimulating ideas for you, your students, colleagues, and anyone else with whom you share it.

In solidarity,

Emily, Travis, and Kate
Co-Editors, The Critical Criminologist

Critical Commentaries

‘This is Our Time’
by David C. Brotherton

“We do plenty!” she whispers. “We can vandalize the machines, we can work badly, work slowly, we can tear down their posters and put up others where we tell people the truth about how they are being cheated and lied to.” She drops her voice further: “but the main thing is that we remain different from them, that we never allow ourselves to be made into them, or start thinking as they do. Even if they conquer the whole world, we must refuse to become Nazis.” (Fallada 2010: 32)

These words of resistance spoken by the young female character, Trudel, in Hans Fallada’s extraordinary novel, Every Man Dies Alone, speaks to the ability of ordinary people to counter oppressive social and cultural orders under what often appears to be the most inauspicious of circumstances. Yet, it is precisely these little acts of defiance that usually get overlooked when the final breach in that wall of exclusion and social control is recorded, or when the Mario
Savio’s of our time stand aloft (in stockinged feet) to urge us to throw our “bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and... make it stop.” Part of the genius of such resistance movements as OWS lies precisely in its unpredictability, both in terms of its form and timing, not to mention its short- and long-term consequences and its culture. In the brief comments that follow, I want to focus on these questions and the meanings of resistance behavior as we have experienced them under specific conditions of the capitalist crisis, drawing on my observations of the movement in New York City and beyond. Thereafter, I offer some lessons we might draw for the practice of critical criminology.

**When the Dam Breaks Heads Will Fall**

As has often been stated, the social and subcultural movements that made up the historic rupture in Zuccotti Square (followed by the re-appropriation of 300 plus spaces throughout the United States) owe their inspiration to the courage and self-sacrifice of a previously little known 26-year old Tunisian vegetable seller named Mohammed Bouazizi. On December 17, 2010, Mr. Bouazizi made the ultimate sacrifice through self-immolation to express and symbolize his frustration at a society with limited opportunities, little regard for democratic rights, and a growing class divide. A few weeks after his desperate act of defiance, this is how *Time* described his action and the tumultuous results:

... on Dec. 17 his livelihood was threatened when a policewoman confiscated his unlicensed vegetable cart and its goods. It wasn't the first time it had happened, but it would be the last. Not satisfied with accepting the 10-dinar fine that Bouazizi tried to pay ($7, the equivalent of a good day's earnings), the policewoman allegedly slapped the scrawny young man, spat in his face and insulted his dead father.

*Humiliated and dejected, Bouazizi, the breadwinner for his family of eight, went to the provincial headquarters, hoping to complain to local municipality officials, but they refused to see him. At 11:30 a.m., less than an hour after the confrontation with the policewoman and without telling his family, Bouazizi returned to the elegant double-story white building with arched azure shutters, poured fuel over himself and set himself on fire. He did not die right away but lingered in the hospital till Jan. 4. There was so much outrage over his ordeal that even President Zine el Abidine Ben Ali, the dictator, visited Bouazizi on Dec. 28 to try to blunt the anger. But the outcry could not be suppressed and, on Jan. 14, just 10 days after Bouazizi died, Ben Ali’s 23-year rule of Tunisia was over.*

(Abouzeid 2011)

Perhaps in the past the suffering he experienced and the resistance he showed might have been kept private, within the confines of the local community, but the longer it went on the more it would resonate with the broader population, attracting widespread empathy and symbolizing the constant practice of disdain and authoritarian control that characterized that decrepit regime. In time, the diverse “meanings” of his action were communicated to an unlimited audience, who felt and sympathized on a broader terrain, the news permeating into unending contexts throughout the world via the Internet. Tragically, his act has now been repeated by dozens of...

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1 Mario Savio, a leader of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, made this famous speech on the roof of a police car in Sproul Plaza on the UC Berkeley campus on December 2, 1964. His action essentially heralded the tactic of direct action against the administration.
others of equally frustrated and hopeless young people, driven to despair by the lack of
democratic progress in the post-revolutionary period.

Nonetheless, his act went far beyond his intentions and became one of the matches that ignited
the Arab Spring, first in Egypt’s Tahrir Square and then in Libya, Syria, Bahrain and Yemen.
“Somehow,” the dominant narrative goes, the tinder spread to Spain, Greece, Italy, England and
eventually to New York City—from the developing to the developed world, from the periphery
to the center. I mention this simply to underscore that few saw it coming. The revolts’ size,
connectivity, innovation and speed produced another wonderful moment of politico-cultural lag
in our consciousnesses, just like we experienced the shock of the Free Speech Movement, the
Civil Rights Movement, and the various revolts of ’68 from France, Germany, and Italy to
Mexico. All of them seeming to emerge and erupt (often with celebrated instigators) in short
order and then to take on lives and cultures of their own, which the dominant social order—
through wealth, stealth and threat—finally brought under control. Or so the story goes.²

Of course, none were more surprised than the elites themselves in countries where all the spies,
provocateurs, and stooges at their disposal failed in their ultimate mission to terrorize and
threaten the masses into inaction and submission. As J. Edgar Hoover found out to his chagrin,
there are issues of political principle and public morality that cannot be bullied out of existence.
There are times when the impulse to reform, reconfigure, and reimagine the everyday cannot be
put on hold. Thus, dominant classes and their agents across the world have been repeatedly
exposed as men without ideas, without scruples, and without wits. Many of them, the most
salacious of emperors, have lost their clothes (if not their heads) entirely. As events overtook
them, they were abandoned by the mechanisms and accoutrements of power—as in the political
cover of sham congresses and elections, the buffer zones of state filled with bureaucratic flunkies
and careerists, and the critical support of international power brokers chief among which are the
imperial nations of the West. In such cases, where the autocrats fell, their narcissistic life-styles
and penchant for tasteless possessions fell with them. In no time, their demise was universally
broadcast, made into public spectacles of private overconsumption, evidence of egregious theft
and exposés of the systematic hoarding of a country’s wealth. These representations also became
social occasions to expel our individual and collective fear while expressing our loathing under
conditions in which the state, as Engels noted, was reduced to little more than bodies of armed
men (sic).

After first responding with brutish, illegitimate force, these tired, washed-up “has beens”
retreated behind a smoke screen of desperate political and legal maneuvers that no longer
worked. In short order, these erstwhile strong men suddenly became members of an international
club of illegitimate ones, succeeding only momentarily in delaying their departure³ as they
conceded broader democratic powers to the have-nots, those men, women and youth of hope,
and to the citizens of the future. History, you see, was not on their side, and the unofficial
transcripts from below could no longer be suppressed in the same old way. In the process of

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² It should be remembered that the social movements of the day came a lot closer to the revolutions they promised
than we have been led to believe.

³ Syria’s Assad cannot be far behind I would assume but surely the ruling clans and dynasties of Saudi Arabia,
United Arab Emirates and Morocco cannot be sleeping peacefully.
revolution, however, these conquests are but one stage, albeit an initial and highly important one. Henceforth begins the struggle of struggles that must address the most fundamental question facing all of us in the 99%: what to do about social systems based on unequal socio-economic relations? Even the good members of the Davos Forum, that annual think tank of the chosen few, have understood this pressing order of the day.4

Youthful Signs of Convergence: Building New Societies in the Old

Naturally, in all the countries where this loose amalgam of workers, students, and disenchanted members of the middle-classes have shown their willingness to challenge the status quo, there are long histories of organized and overt political struggle for democratic change and the right to be free and responsible citizens (as well as everyday acts of spontaneous social defiance) that were sometimes evaluated for purposes of risk assessment but mostly dismissed and ignored by intransigent hierarchies intoxicated with their own hubris and deaf to the cries of the "little people." But, what are the common threads that tie these revolts together? This report from the corporate Bloomberg Newsweek published a year ago after the uprisings in the Middle East attempts an answer:

In Tunisia, the young people who helped bring down a dictator are called hittistes—French-Arabic slang for those who lean against the wall. Their counterparts in Egypt, who on Feb. 1 forced President Hosni Mubarak to say he won't seek reelection, are the shabab atileen, unemployed youths. The hittistes and shabab have brothers and sisters across the globe. In Britain, they are NEETs—"not in education, employment, or training." In Japan, they are freeters: an amalgam of the English word freelance and the German word Arbeiter, or worker. Spaniards call them mileuristas, meaning they earn no more than 1,000 euros a month. In the U.S., they're "boomerang" kids who move back home after college because they can't find work. Even fast-growing China, where labor shortages are more common than surpluses, has its "ant tribe"—recent college graduates who crowd together in cheap flats on the fringes of big cities because they can't find well-paying work.

In each of these nations, an economy that can't generate enough jobs to absorb its young people has created a lost generation of the disaffected, unemployed, or underemployed—including growing numbers of recent college graduates for whom the post-crash economy has little to offer. Tunisia's Jasmine Revolution was not the first time these alienated men and women have made themselves heard. Last year, British students outraged by proposed tuition increases—at a moment when a college education is no guarantee of prosperity—attacked the Conservative Party's headquarters in London and pummeled a limousine carrying Prince Charles and his wife, Camilla Bowles. Scuffles with police have repeatedly broken out at student demonstrations across Continental Europe. And last March in Oakland, Calif., students protesting tuition hikes walked onto Interstate 880, shutting it down for an hour in both directions. (Coy 2011)

4 Perhaps Libya is the exception but it seems clear that without NATO intervention and Libya's ownership of large oil deposits the so-called "Libyan revolution" against the Ghadaffi family autocracy would have stalled. But were these revolts all so surprising?
Youth, in particular, are generally identified as victims turned activists in this current stage of the global social crisis, which sits atop and within capitalism’s latest unraveling. From Christine LaGarde (newly appointed first female head of the IMF) to Robert Zoellick (Bush-nominated President of the World Bank) to George Soros (billionaire currency trader and major philanthropist of liberal causes), all warn of the grim future ahead if we don’t do something to avoid planting the “seeds of dystopia.” What kind of adults are we to sit by and watch as conditions are created, quite willfully, to ensure a “lost generation”? The current rates of youth unemployment (16-24 years of age) are truly staggering and would seem to bear out Soros’ prognosis that if “we” do not move from the Age of Reason to the Age of Fallibility (i.e., end the hegemonic belief that markets are self-correcting and dispense with the notion that they are the most efficient means to distribute resources and organize production) then we must expect riots in our U.S. streets by the Spring, the uprisings in England being simply a precursor.5

It is in this somewhat apocalyptical context that this admixture of youthful foreboding—vis-à-vis unemployment, rising debt loads, spreading architecture of white collar and corporate criminality, unsustainable military-security complexes, and growing illegitimacy of the political process and its implicated classes—so thankfully saw its expression in the collective resistances and signifiers of Zucotti Park, Puerta del Sol, Plaza Catalunya, Tahrir Square, OccupyLSX St. Paul’s, Syntagma Square, 15M, OWS and so forth. For Soros, they are the canaries in the mine, that bit of society ready to risk it all, go out on a limb and transgress in a bid to focus our sights on what we can truly accomplish for the social good and not the privatized self. “We are realists but we dream the impossible,” said Che. It was in that spirit of socially necessary idealism, even though many participants would probably eschew such ideological connotations, that prompted these extraordinary responses to the irrational horrors of the contemporary world order.

Thus, in all of these rhizomes of solidarity and subcultures of liberation, the participants went about their business of restoring social and cultural meanings to their lives, finally doing what they had been educated and socialized to do but had rarely had the chance. They exercised their rights as citizens and as denizens, building societies of the imagination. They did it with candor, humor, humility, courage, sacrifice, and technological innovation. They sought, like England’s Winstanley, to construct a new kind of world within the old. Inevitably, of course, the usual stolid protectors of private property and deputized arbiters of public decorum were sent in to carry out the necessary behavioral adjustment. Doing their job of wanton destruction, norm restoration, intimidation and harassment, they practiced a version of “zero tolerance” which they had rehearsed for years on the “dangerous classes” of the city’s barrios and ghettos. The military did it in Cairo, the white shirts did it in New York City and the Mossos did it in Barcelona. You might call them “cogs in a wheel” or true believers in the virtues of a special type of social order, but they are a more threatening force than that, more emotionally invested and more up for the fight. Rather, they are likely to be the vindictive ones (in Jock Young’s description), those who feel the need to act out their frustrations, assuage their ressentiment and compensate for their ontological misgivings.

In a confusing, liquid and winner-loser world made more punitive, Manichean and fearful than at almost any time in the last three decades, these men and women of the organization are now

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5 Youth unemployment rates are approximately as follows: Spain 51.4%; Greece 46.6%; Portugal 30.7%; Italy 28%; UK 21%, Egypt 25%, Tunisia 30%, Ireland 29%, U.S.A 21%.
found in all walks of lower and middle-class life ready to lend a hand. If the majority of the youth in Zucotti Park had come from the South Bronx or Harlem, I wonder how long the city’s finest would have controlled their zeal for democratic purity.

Critical Criminologists Adelante!

The beauty of the collapse of the dominant order’s political-economic, social, and ideological nervous system is that those of us with different ideas about how to organize and think about the present, the future, and the past start to be taken more and more seriously. Despite the efforts at obfuscation and denial by agents and supporters of a regime well past its shelf life, the crisis simply doesn’t go into remission. It should not be surprising. However, it does take some getting used to seeing our work exercise all kinds of folk, as both academic and non-academic institutions are forced to deal with our somewhat contrarian analyses and positions. The last thing we are interested in is reproducing cultures of control and conformity wherever we work and/or study.

Our job traditionally is to provoke and stir debate, push the boundaries of limited discourses, enable the voiceless to be heard, strike a blow against the multiple logics of exploitation, and, when necessary, stand with the ghost of Mario and jam those gears. It is we who have a history of standing firm on the indivisibility of social and criminal justice. It is we who have always averred that laws are never above society but reflect, both directly and indirectly, the asymmetries of power within that society. And it is we who reject scientistic representations that turn “deviants” into ahistorical, decontextualized things and behavior into numerological truths devoid of theory and bereft of moral purpose.

Consequently, we embrace the unpredictability of the moment and inject it with possibility. Rather than constructing a societal imaginary complete with fixed categories, unquestioned definitions, easily observed lines of transmission, and cause/effect linkages, we view life as messy, contradictory, inherently unstable, and full of both intended and unintended consequences. Hence, we consciously situate our work in societies of massive social and cultural complexity, among populations with shifting identities, and in communities with fluid norms. We are cognizant that many of the suppositions and vocabularies of modernity retain dubious validity, and we treat them accordingly with skepticism and rigor, as subjects in need of critical revision. How does one understand strain theory, for example, in the epoch of collapsing U.S. political economic hegemony where rates of social mobility are the worst in the “developed” world? What do we make of re-entryism for populations who have been excluded at birth? How can we take seriously studies of terrorism without a thought given to the history of U.S. foreign policy intervention, the concept of blowbacks, or the training manuals of the CIA? How do we study lower class gangs “discovered” in communities of social disorganization without reference to the social impact of upper-class gangs and the indirect violence of deliberately concentrated poverty and domestic orientalism? How do we think about collective efficacy as an upside of immigration flows without considering the state crimes of mass deportation and the misnamed program of “safe communities” all occurring in the same neighborhoods?

It is precisely in this upside-down world, this Alice through the looking-class world, in which irrational power from above is increasingly challenged and made unworkable by those below, that newly emerging publics and energized communities will seek and require our explanations,
research, advice and solidarity. We should be on hand at all times to provide them with that praxis. This is our time.

References


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‘Just the Facts’: Student Occupations, Police Repression, and ‘Protest Management’ in California

by Véronique Fortin and Aaron Roussell

Subject: Bittersweet
While arm-linked to other students today and standing in front of a line of riot cops, I was close enough to say to one UCPD [University of California Police Department] officer, “I am so sorry you are in this position. I know you do not want to hurt us. You do not have to be here. I can't imagine how hard this is for you.” And tears started to roll down his face.

On November 9, 2011, this email circulated through a statewide listserv of activists across the University of California (UC). The letter was from Aaron Platt, a graduate student at UC Berkeley on the front lines of the OCCUPY CAL protest. The officer may have wept, but students were beaten that day.2

In this article, we want to give some background on the administrative repression of student protests that occurred throughout the UC at the height of the 2011 Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement. We criticize the decision to appoint former NYPD and LAPD police chief William Bratton, chairman of Kroll Security Group, to head the independent fact-finding report of the iconic November 24th UC Davis pepper-spraying scandal. We suggest that finding “the facts” is a misplaced priority, as a myopic “factual” examination, to the exclusion of larger free speech and governance issues, distracts from a worthwhile assessment of the repression of protest across the UC system. In light of the systematic police violence against those protesting for the protection of the public system, we conclude by questioning the existence of truly public spaces on UC campuses.

1 Aaron generously authorized us to print this email and use his name for which we are grateful.

2 Hass (2011). Several videos are available: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kNHXuf6qJas
November in the UC

OCCUPY CAL was born in the wake of the larger OWS movement that spread throughout American cities during the fall of 2011. The “CAL” in OCCUPY CAL refers directly to the UC Berkeley campus, a school with a tradition of student protest. Since 2009, students and faculty all over California have protested budget cuts, fee hikes, and the general privatization of the UC system (Newfield and Lye 2011).³ November 9th had been designated by the Refund California coalition⁴ as a national day of action to defend public education, and OCCUPY CAL decided to participate. The 2011-2012 budget was a symbolic turning point in which, for the first time in history, funding through student tuition surpassed state funding for the UC (Hemmila 2011).⁵ Moreover, inflation-adjusted tuition more than doubled since 2000, and a current proposal before the UC Regents prescribes another 81% increase over the next four years.⁶

Beginning on November 9th, Refund California organized a week of actions to promote the refunding of public education and to make banks pay for the financial crisis caused in part by their mismanagement. “The growing Occupy Wall Street movement has shown that there is another alternative. Corporate profits and taxes on the super-rich, including those who sit on our schools’ and universities’ boards, could pay for refunding public education in order to restore accessibility and quality,” said an email sent to several UCI students and faculty members. The underlying point of these protests was not only to highlight the underfunding and privatization of the UC, but to direct attention to the corporate influence behind it.

Hence, on November 9th at UC Berkeley, about a thousand people gathered for a rally before marching on Bank of America’s Telegraph Avenue branch. Protesters held a general assembly on the steps in front of Sproul Hall and set up tents to occupy the space. Occupation is a historically pedigreed tactic used in such protests as the Bonus Army movements of 1932-1933 and the Indians of All Tribes occupation of Alcatraz (Zinn 2005). It has been recently revitalized as a protest tactic through the student occupation movement of 2009, the occupation of central plazas in North Africa and Spain during the 2011 “Arab Spring” and Indignados’ 15-M movements, OWS, and even foreclosed home occupations (see Aragorn! 2012).

When officers from the UCPD tried to dismantle the Berkeley encampment, protesters engaged in civil disobedience, linking arms to peacefully protect their encampment. “After issuing a dispersal order around 3:30 p.m., police used batons against [student and faculty] protesters who began moving into their barricade, resulting in seven arrests, as well as injuries to protesters’ arms, heads and stomachs” (Trivedi 2011). Demonstrators and police clashed again at night, bringing the arrest total to 39.

This ruthless repression provoked outrage across the UC system. A week later, a similar group of protesters at UC Davis set up tents on their quad, protesting not only educational cuts, but also

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³ One website maintained by student activists in California also provides a chronology of the struggles surrounding its fight for public education: http://occupyca.wordpress.com/timeline/.

⁴ See the coalition’s website, http://www.makebankspaycalifornia.com/.

⁵ California’s prison spending also now outpaces its spending on higher education (Harris 2007).

⁶ This proposal has been successfully postponed partly because of student protests.
the treatment of Berkeley students and faculty by UCPD. When Davis Chancellor Katehi ordered the removal of the encampment, students peacefully sat down cross-legged and linked arms in symbolic protection of their camp. Their subsequent pepper spraying by UCPD became national and global news.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California (ACLUNC) responded to these incidents with public statements questioning the constitutionality of police violence against peaceful protesting. In a letter to Chancellor Birgeneau, ACLUNC attorney Linda Lye expressed “grave concerns about the conduct of the University of California Police Department,” noting that “video recordings raise numerous questions about UCPD’s oversight and handling of these events, including whether law enforcement were truly required to beat protesters with batons.” Similarly, ACLUNC attorney Michael Risher expressed alarm over the discharge of pepper spray into the faces of seated students: “It has been clear for a decade that using pepper spray on protestors who have merely linked arms and refused to move violates the Fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution,” going on to quote a 2002 Ninth Circuit case ruling the use of pepper spray against nonviolent protestors to be “excessive.” Even Kamran Loghman, an expert who helped develop weapons-grade pepper spray, weighed in, saying that in the Davis incident, its “use was just absolutely out of ordinary, and it was not in accordance with any training or policy of any department that I know of.”

Ex-Police Chief William Bratton and the Investigation Task Force

These responses, together with national and global media attention, forced the UC administration to react. On November 22nd, UC President Mark Yudof announced that William Bratton, former NYPD and LAPD chief and current chairman of Kroll Security Group, would spearhead an independent fact-finding investigation into the UC Davis pepper spray incident. Bratton’s report would be submitted to a task force composed of “a cross-section of students, faculty, staff and other UC community members” and presided over by former California Supreme Court justice Cruz Reynoso. Reynoso clarified the relationship between Bratton/Kroll and the task force in a letter to Yudof: “The Kroll inquiry is not a process independent of the task force, but rather is an instrument of the task force. Its findings in regard to policies, procedures, and use of force will be incorporated into the final task force report.” While it is not clear how much the task force will rely on Bratton’s report, the weight that the task force gives it may call into

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7 For an account of what happened at Davis on November 18, see http://occupyucdavis.org/page/7/.  
8 See Headwaters Forest Defense v. County of Humboldt, 276 F. 3d 1125 (9th Cir. 2002).  
9 Kamran Loghman being interviewed on Democracy Now, November 29, 2011.  
10 In the aftermath of the 2011 London riots, there were also discussions to appoint Bratton as a special advisor to the Metropolitan Police Service (Newton-Small 2011).  
12 In the same letter, President Yudof announced that UC General Counsel Charles Robinson and UC Berkeley School of Law Dean Christopher Edley Jr. would lead a system-wide examination of police protocols and policies in relation to protests. They are now on a “listening tour,” holding town hall meetings on various UC campuses, and are expected to produce a set of recommendations in March.  
question the watchdog status of the task force itself, which we demonstrate below. The expected publication of the task force report is the end of February—just as this article goes to press.

Regardless of the task force’s forthcoming conclusions, the positioning of Bratton as fact finder raises concerns for public university freedom of speech as well as the larger Occupy movement. We begin by stating the obvious: Police investigating fellow police officers in such a manner is absurd and is precisely the reasoning behind civilian investigatory commissions in the first place.

But, this is just the beginning. William Bratton became famous in the 1990s as Mayor Rudolph Giuliani’s New York Police Department Commissioner, where he implemented zero tolerance policing practices. Bratton’s philosophy is grounded in the infamous “broken windows” theory, which argues that civil disorders, like unrepaired broken windows, signal relaxed community control and invite more serious crimes (Wilson and Kelling 1982). Together, Bratton and Giuliani set out to “reclaim the public spaces of New York” and increase “[NYPD] authority to respond to an array of disorderly conditions; [and] advance a quality of life legislative agenda to enhance the police department’s ability to respond effectively to disorderly conditions and low-grade criminal activity that increase public fear” (see Bratton 1995). Responses to “disorder” to prevent “public fear” comprised repression of those loitering, squeegeeing, drinking in public, and obstructing “public spaces” (Kelling and Coles 1996). Bratton, the “latter-day prophet of the religion of zero tolerance” (Wacquant 2003: 198), did not change his mind on what constitutes disorder and proper behavior in public spaces as police chief of Los Angeles from 2002 to 2009 (Le Duff 2002). One can only imagine how chalking, chanting, and peaceful disruption could engender “public fear.”

Moreover, the choice of Bratton has expressly political implications for what one might call “protest management.” He has already touted his handling of an immigration amnesty rally in Los Angeles as the model he will follow for the Davis investigation. Looking back to May Day 2007, it is not hard to recall how the LAPD used batons, rubber bullets, and beanbags in a response to alleged bottle and rock throwing, resulting in almost 50 injuries. Bratton, in his report to LA City Council, characterized the rally response as “a command and control breakdown… [which] began at the planning stages and dominoed throughout the event.”

In other words, he attributed the effects to a failure of police to be sufficiently authoritarian resulted in violent anarchy, rather than racist police brutality resulting in widespread injury. Meanwhile, the city of Los Angeles had to pay a $13 million settlement to the victims, and LAPD was forced to submit to even more federal court oversight in addition to the federal consent decree stemming from the late 1990’s Rampart scandal (Reston and Rubin 2009).

After the May Day violence, then-Chief Bratton signed a second 5-year LAPD contract but elected to leave early to become chairman of Kroll, Inc. According to Council of UC Faculty Associations President Robert Meister, this firm has contracted with the UC system since at least 2008, assessing threats from online sources and public protest. Surpassing the problem of police-investigating-police, this becomes textbook conflict of interest. To quote at length from Meister’s open letter to President Yudof:


15 Beginning in 2001, Kroll also oversaw the implementation of the federal consent decree for LAPD that resulted from the Rampart scandal.
By deepening UC’s links to Kroll, you would be illustrating the kinds of connection between public higher education and Wall Street that the Occupy UC movement is protesting. Kroll’s parent company, Altegrity, provides data-mining, intelligence and on-the-ground security to financial institutions and governments seeking to head off and defeat both private sabotage and public protest.…

We already know that Kroll has provided security services to at least three UC campuses for the past several years. This in itself would disqualify Mr. Bratton from participating in the investigation you propose, even if the role of Kroll and its affiliated companies in defending the financial sector against OWS did not raise further questions about its pro-Wall Street and pro-privatization bias. (Meister 2011)

To suggest that this appointment is an exercise in “protest management” is no idle conspiracy theory. After the pepper spraying, UC Davis spent about $100,000 on a crisis communications consultant to assist in image maintenance after its sudden notoriety. This company, Marsh Risk Consulting, which specializes partly in risk and crisis management for higher education institutions, was until 2010 owned by the same company as Kroll, Inc: Marsh & McLennan Companies Inc (Golden 2012). Thus, the leader of the independent investigation regarding police brutality on a UC campus has corporate connections to the consulting firm that packages the message UC Davis presents to protect its reputation. A fox may safely guard a henhouse, but we may never know if another fox is counting the chickens.

What Will Be Solved by Firing a Cop?

It may be clear that we are appalled—but not surprised—by the appointment of ex-police chief William Bratton as the fact finder in the UC Davis incident. That a “supercop” (Newton-Small 2011) with multiple levels of ties to the very objects of his in inquiry is leading this investigation is problematic, but the fact that this occurred with very little outcry is much more worrisome. Furthermore, as formulated by UC professors Michael Meranze and Rei Terada (2011), “The appointment of Bratton as lead investigator … casts the UC incidents as problems of policing technique rather than problems of civil rights.” The very idea that somehow this moment of speech repression can be reduced to a collection of “facts,” one that can be resolved through the demotion or firing of an officer or by tweaking policing techniques, does violence to the greater question brought forth by the campus tuition movements and the larger Occupy movement: Is there still space for public dissent?

Such an expedition in “fact-finding” leads us down the myopic rabbit-hole of examining trees instead of forests. A good example of this obsession over minutiae can be found in Fox News’ characterization of pepper spray as a harmless food product. Relevant questions should not include, “Does pepper spray burn?” Or, “Why use pepper spray in the first place?” Rather, the political question should be at the forefront: “How did the free speech of peaceful students become a security threat prompting violent repression?” Rebutting absurdities, such as the condiment value of pepper spray, is to have already lost the battle.

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16 See Fox News clip on youtube: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qrx6DDgTH_w
This kind of procedural parsing is not new, though. Defense attorneys in the LAPD officers’ first trial of the Rodney King beating led jurors through repeated viewings and frame-by-frame enhancements of “facts,” yielding the conclusion that a semi-conscious prone figure was a threat requiring near-lethal suppression (Stuart 2011). Another instance of “fact-finding” may render linking arms at the OCCUPY CAL protest as an act of violence, thereby justifying violent repression through “reasonable” use of force. UC police Captain Margo Bennett has already publicly articulated this conclusion. It already seems clear that any and all speech criticizing corporate and governmental power structures runs the risk of being labeled violent, whatever the medium.

That said, moments of extreme violence in political protest can be watershed moments to increased mobilization and radicalization of a movement (see Randewich 2011). But, these surges in momentum tend not to last long, and there is likely a chilling effect on movement growth, as people who fear arrest stay away. Even when they believe that protest itself is a constitutional right, permanent police presence can be enough to deter potential student protesters, regardless of their grievances.

In a literal sense, moments like these demonstrate that how the power of free speech indexes repression: To the extent that free speech can be a meaningful force for change, it will be met with institutional violence. This point illuminates the importance of the student movement for the larger Occupy movement, as well as the importance of Occupy for social justice writ large. The degree to which police brutality and the trampling of rights shock white, middle-class Occupy and student protesters is itself a measure of their disconnect from the issues of disadvantaged communities of color. These communities know all too well the violence of police brutality and public disinvestment. California spends more on its prisons, which contain disproportionately more Latino and African Americans, than it does on its public universities, which contain disproportionately fewer poor people of color. In the meantime, higher education becomes more and more the province of the rich.

All of these issues are caught up in the brutal repression of dissent within the UC system. It is no wonder that the UC administration attempts to silence student protests against Wall Street: The administration is itself increasingly a corporate entity. Against this backdrop, any conclusions an “independent fact-finder” might make threaten to do serious violence to notions of “independence” or “justice.”

But, perhaps that very violence represents a moment that we can seize—as we sit, aghast at the violence inflicted by police “protecting” students for an administration that charges those same students ever more money for the privilege of being beaten. Perhaps this is the moment where we can come to terms with the contradictions that we must wrestle with if we are to refund public education and reinvest in people and not corporate profit. When framed that way, the “fact” of student protest looms very large indeed.

**Epilogue**

The whole UC system is gearing up for another week of actions in March and major mobilizations are planned for March 1st and March 5th, 2012. Visit the Occupy Education website at [http://occupyeducationca.org/wordpress/](http://occupyeducationca.org/wordpress/) for more details… and join the struggles if you can!
References


What Zuccotti Park Tells Us about Law and Class Voices

by Brad Palmer

For the past two months, residents of lower Manhattan, other New Yorkers, and the international media have watched as thousands of unique individuals have marched, protested and otherwise occupied Zuccotti Park, a public/private property residing only a few blocks north of the world’s financial epicenter—Wall Street. Home to the New York Stock Exchange and a host of other multi-billion dollar investment firms, Wall Street represents what many protesters see as the primary reason for the country’s worst economic climate since the Great Depression and a striking disparity of wealth between the richest and poorest Americans. However, as political pressure and general frustration from the elite mounted after two months of hard-line protests, the powers of state government officially struck out against the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement in November 2011 with a ruling from the New York Supreme Court issuing all permanent residences occupying the park be removed.1 As Laura Batchelor, Brian Vitagliano and others reported for CNN, this decision from the intermediate state court of New York affected protestors and their message significantly as police raided what served as the unofficial headquarters for a movement that has swept the nation and other parts of the globe.

Here, I examine the ruling and attempt to analyze the decision through a lens of Marxist legal theory. I describe the impact of the ruling in relation to the power structure in the United States

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1 Protestors were later allowed to return to the site, but not until after the Judge Stallman upheld the constitutionality of the police actions.
today and what this verdict tells us about current class relationships in the country with specific regards to protest and civil disobedience.

While the court may have sided with the City of New York and ultimately removed the ability of protesters to occupy Zuccotti Park continuously, the case was brought to the attention of our legal authorities by the protesters themselves. Angered by the threats and maltreatment by city officials, protesters sought to find a legal remedy through their courts, hoping a judge would grant a temporary restraining order against the city as to continue the movement’s twenty-four hour protests. However, their wish for protection was shot down, their claim to occupy Zuccotti effectively nullified on November 15th after Justice Michael D. Stallman ruled the protesters’ right to free speech did not include the right to prevent others from using the park, noting that their continuous occupation of the site excluded those who might otherwise utilize the space. Here lies the unique quality of legal concerns within the OWS movement. Opponents to the OWS movement in lower Manhattan often cite city and state law when providing reason to remove or otherwise silence the protesters. However, OWS and the court decisions regarding its protesters live in a world governed by a high standard of law: the constitution. This distinction is an important quality to consider. If we look closer, this case serves as a good example of the layers of law in our modern legal world, offering a potential model of legal pluralism despite only one court ruling thus far pertaining to OWS in New York.

Because Justice Stallman’s ruling, one that comes from the New York Judiciary’s lowest level, remains the de facto law, it is the only application of formal legality that one can examine when discussing the issues of class and power structure. Due to this restriction, any possibilities of appeal or counter decision made in the future remains outside the realm of this analysis, at least for the moment. However, because Justice Stallman relies on past federal case law in his decision, connections between the Marxist implications of his decision in the State of New York can be applied more broadly to a national model of law and policy that play to the economically privileged and more powerful within our society. Stallman’s ruling was not made in a legal vacuum, and despite the ruling’s infancy, it still is deeply rooted in a history of the American justice system.

Stallman bases his decision in much part as according to case law regarding the Time, Place and Manner (TPM) test, a principal governing public forum and protest that states that government legislation against public speech must:

1. Be content neutral
2. Be narrowly tailored
3. Serve a significant governmental interest
4. Leave open ample alternative channels for communication

Stallman’s ruling, however, fails to consider the political aspect of “occupy,” and by preventing protesters from occupying the same location continuously Justice Stallman eliminates possibly

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2 See Matter of Waller v. City of New York
3 For more information about this test, see UMKC School of Law’s overview: http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/conlaw/timeplacemanner.html
the most unique and controversial aspect of the entire OWS protests: continuous voice and continuous presence. By doing this, Stallman not only perpetuates the long history of silencing the less powerful within our society but also arguably challenges the legal rule itself: Can the decision be truly “content neutral” if it seeks to silence the only thing unique to the OWS movement?

Stallman’s decision follows a long line of court rulings that disallow protest and furthers government control over speech in the public realm. It arguably strips the OWS movement of their first amendment rights and reaffirms the right of the government to maintain the ‘status quo’ by allowing state officials to crack down on what they perceive as threatening to the current power structure. Herein lies a fundamental issue with our current standard of acceptable protest in the United States. The TPM test serves as a tool for our judiciary to determine the constitutionality of a citizen’s speech. This test, at its very core, speaks to the Marxist criticism of a powerful elite seeking to silence the “lower classes.” Despite constitutional protections, the government can now create “free speech zones” where people are allowed to protest. Deceiving in intent, the creation of speech zones only serves as mechanisms of censorship. By telling people that they cannot protest at a certain time, place or by through a certain median, the government can control the protesters’ message, as Stallman did with his OWS ruling. Constitutional protections or not, this rule creates a litmus test for protesting in the United States. If you want to file grievance with your government, you are now forced to do so through a specific system created and controlled by the powers that be. Because OWS relies almost entirely on the notion of continuous occupation as a tool of speech, the TPM rule as issued by Stallman effectively eliminates an entire aspect of political speech from the movement. No new forums of protest are accepted through rules like TPM, and any shift to the bourgeois approved protest paradigm is seen as an attack on the establishment and unacceptable. True organic political disagreement and open forum no longer exist in a world governed by time, place and manner restrictions.

While the court’s decision as to the legality of an occupational protest in Zuccotti may provide for many issues regarding the government’s role in censoring its citizens, it also serves as an example of the government’s preferential treatment of rich individuals and powerful organizations in terms of property ownership. Created ironically in what was once called Liberty Plaza, Zuccotti Park is a privately owned plaza open to the public. Through a deal with the City of New York to open more property dealings in the area, Brookfield Properties constructed the space with the understanding the area would be open to the public 24 hours a day (Scola 2011). This understanding actually provided protesters with a safeguard against city officials during the beginning of the OWS movement as police and other city workers could not enforce city park curfews on the protesters. However, this advantage evaporated when Brookfield threatened to remove the protesters themselves for “clean up” and “sanitation” issues (Batchelor, Vitagliano, and Landis 2011). And, thus, the promise to the public to create a place open to the public was effectively neutralized when Brookfield, in collusion with the city government worked to displace the protesters, all this despite Brookfield retaining the special zoning privileges they had received since the creation of the park. Though thought of as a public space to the people of New York and the protesters who occupied the plaza for two months, Zuccotti Park, according to the powers that be, cannot be used in a manner unbecoming of the establishment.
Occupy Wall Street at its very core is a populist political movement strives to address the problems associated with concentrated wealth and income disparity. By preventing protestors from sharing their voice and squashing their unique forum of expression at Zuccotti through legal censorship and property law, the political and economic establishment in the United States continues to uphold a system of inequality. Such a deprivation of voice and empowerment in our democratic state illustrate a longstanding trend of a privileged elite who retain their influence and might by creating a system of legal decisions and rules that prevent true civil discourse. Amos Fisher tells CNN: “It's hard to expect much else. The rules are slanted in favor of money.” Without a conversation, our country looks to continue a frightening trend of government censorship and control over its citizen’s political, social and economic voice in the public sphere.

References


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**Teaching Occupation: Some Reflections**

*by Avi Brisman*

Both of my parents are college English professors who specialize in Romantic poetry and Victorian literature. My sister is a Northern Renaissance art historian and an expert on Albrecht Dürer. When asked why I did not follow the family tradition of studying the poetry, prose, and art of (mostly) dead white men, I am careful not to suggest that a course in criminology has greater relevance to students’ day-to-day lives. Rather, I typically respond that while I appreciate the timeless beauty of lines from a Samuel Taylor Coleridge poem, a Charles Dickens novel, or in a Dürer engraving, I prefer to teach courses whose subject matter (crime) is very real to students. If pressed, I acknowledge the enduring significance of the themes in William Wordsworth’s poetry, the satire of William Thackeray’s historical novels, and the morals in Hieronymus Bosch’s paintings, but offer the professorial version of the middle-school excuse “the dog ate my homework”—that if my aging German Shepherd were to destroy my lecture notes, I could pick of a copy of the local newspaper on my way to class and still cover the day’s lessons. In other words, I like teaching material that everyone knows something (or has an opinion) about and that is always in the news: crime, law, and social change.
When the Occupy Wall Street (OWS) movement/phenomena began this past fall, I was excited on a number of levels. While I felt a responsibility as a teacher to provide an avenue for discussing OWS by incorporating it into our class’s examination of criminological theory—especially given that Zuccotti Park is located a short distance from the John Jay College of Criminal Justice’s campus—I also felt a pedagogical duty not to use my classroom as a platform for promoting a particular political viewpoint. As Christopher L. Doyle writes in a recent article in *American Educator*, “College has become so expensive, and seemingly so much rides on it, that [many] students view political activism as a luxury few can afford” (2011-12: 20). I wanted to find a way to encourage my students to think about OWS, its promise, its potential pitfalls, its relevance to their lives, its connection to criminological theory, without advertising my perspective or turning them off political activism entirely.

At the same time, I was worried about how OWS would be portrayed in the media, especially in the media most readily available to the students: *Daily News*, the *New York Post*, *The New York Times*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. I feared that many of the nuances of this fledgling movement/phenomena would be lost in the media and would irreparably taint my students’ emotional and intellectual responses. Thus, for the first time in my teaching career, I told my students not to read the papers. Instead, I told them to go down to Zuccotti Park and see for themselves how, why, and what was transpiring.

I did not require students to go. It was early in my first term teaching at John Jay, and I had already learned that students holding a “bake sale” were not permitted to sell homemade goodies. (When solicited, I gave the student group some pocket change, but declined their Duncan Hines® cookies.) If baking brownies in the dormitories for a fundraiser is prohibited, who knows what wrath I might unleash by assigning students to attend an extramural socio-political protest/event. So, instead, and in an effort to demonstrate that not all “profits” and “dividends” go to the 1%, I offered the students the option to earn extra credit.

Before I had even distributed the handout describing the project, students asked, “How much is this worth?” and “What happens if we get arrested?”

To the first, I responded, “How much would you like it to be worth?”

One student, deviating from his normal somnolence, flippantly yelled out, “One test grade!”

“You got it,” I replied, and the matter was settled.

Another student asked, “Do we get extra-extra credit if we get arrested?”

“No,” I told them. “This is not a course in how to break the law. Most of you could figure this out without my instruction, if you haven’t already.”

This elicited laughs.

“Look,” I said. “You do run a risk of getting arrested by going down to Zuccotti Park.” I then talked a little bit about police tactics in New York City during the 2004 Republican National Convention when a number of non-participating people, including two of my friends on bicycles, were swept up in the mass arrests of protestors. “But you also run the risk of getting arrested when you go out every Friday night—or Monday night,” I continued, looking at one student who had seen better mornings. (My class met at 12:15pm on Tuesdays.)
“You will not categorically receive more points or fewer points if you get arrested,” I said. “Your arrest could be a blatant violation of your First Amendment rights or entirely justified. Use your discretion. Don’t be a dumbass. But, by all means, if you do get arrested, write about it!” This then offered me an opportunity to talk about the prison writings of Antonio Gramsci, Mumia Abu-Jamal, and, to a much lesser extent, Amanda Knox.

With that, I turned to the assignment.

First, I told my students that while they might encounter other, smaller demonstrations in New York City that might be easier to attend. They had to go to Zuccotti Park, and they would probably need to spend at least an hour at the site. This was not an assignment that one could complete quickly on the way to or from school.

Second, I explained to my students that while information about and descriptions and representations of the demonstrations could be gleaned from the newspapers, television, or online, they would be required to answer all of the following questions based on their participant observation:

2. What do the protestors want?
3. How clear is the protestors’ message? Is the message unified or are there numerous messages? If the latter, are these numerous messages related? How so?
4. What “crimes” or “harms” do you see or hear about?
   a. By the police?
   b. By the protestors?
   c. By corporations or government?
5. What is your opinion of the demonstrations? The protestors? The response?

I permitted students to visit http://occupywallst.org/ in order to find out when it might be a good time for them to attend, but that they should not conduct any secondary research for the assignment.

Third, I indicated to my students that they must accompany their written answers with photographs that they had taken. While I would accept photographs in a variety of different formats (e.g., hard copy prints, email attachments, links to online photo-sharing websites), the images had to be their own. The purpose in taking pictures, I explained, was not so that I could verify whether they had actually gone to Zuccotti Park, but to give them another means of experiencing OWS. I also suggested that by taking photographs and consulting them later when answering the questions, they might discover something in their images that they had not noticed before. And with that, I encouraged students to watch Michaelangelo Antonioni’s 1966 film, Blow-Up.

Finally, I informed my students that I would accept their assignment at any time up until the day of the final examination. “If you go to Zuccotti Park earlier in the term,” I told my students, “your likelihood of being able to answer the assignment’s questions is higher than if you go later in the term, for there is no indication as to how long the ‘occupation’ will go on…. That said,” I
cautioned them, “if you save the assignment for the end of the term, you may be in a better position to provide more thorough answers to the questions, but there is no guarantee that anyone will still be at Zuccotti Park. So the ball’s in your court…”

Over the course of the term, assignments trickled in, and I frequently asked those students who had turned in assignments to spend a few minutes telling the class what they had observed—both as a reminder to the rest of the class about the ongoing assignment and as a way of linking OWS to the course material for the day. Much to my delight, I found that some of my more quiet students who had attended OWS were all of a sudden more emboldened to speak in general in class. It was as if they suddenly thought, “Well, if I can attend a protest, how intimidating could it be to talk in Brisman’s class?”

Responses to my questions varied. Some students readily saw connections between the critical criminological indictment of capitalism and the assertions and claims of OWS. As one student wrote, “laws are made to protect those in power…. These corporations are the root cause of the recession and [have] received billions of dollars in bailouts, while contributing to inequality. This is not a crime in the U.S., but the law is twisted to serve those in power.”

Others, especially those with aspirations of joining law enforcement, found confirmation in their perception of mistreatment by police: “I think the NYPD is doing a great job defending the rights of these protestors; they keep their composure and professionalism despite the rude actions of the protestors. The protestors at one point when I was there kept yelling ‘F**k the Police.’ The police are trained to handle being threatened; it’s not police brutality, it’s brutality against the police…. I believe that this protest is just an excuse to go down somewhere and smoke weed and do other drugs. It’s like a big party using illegal drugs; I would guarantee that the population around Wall Street is predominantly intoxicated or high. It’s sickening to think that these people are all clumped together and living like pigs in the street just to try and get a misguided message across.”

Some students were inspired by their trip to Zuccotti Park. As one student joyously exclaimed, “I believe that the OWS movement is great, and that it is something that the U.S. needed… I hope that more people join the movement and that something turns out for the better.” Others, such as one female student who was called a “chocolate cupcake” by a protestor, were turned off.

I had expected that responses to my questions would vary, although I was a little taken aback by the sexual harassment that some of my female students encountered. But what proved to be particularly illuminating and unexpected was the way in which the students’ responses to Question #3 revealed different conceptions of what constitutes “unified.”

For some students, the diverse messages—“Serve the people, not billionaires!” “Wall Street invented Class Warfare!” “Even a Hamster Must Get off the Wheel,” “Gas companies are stealing your water,” “Fox News: Rich people paying Rich people to tell Middle Class people to blame Poor people,” “Obama, I Want My Change Back!!!”—represented a lack of cohesiveness. As one student explained, “I saw many different opinions and messages written on signs and being yelled throughout the group. It seemed to me that there was no one unanimous message amongst this group. Everyone seemed to be there on their own behalf, each with their own concerns and message.” Similarly, another student asserted: “No two messages were the same. Just because they were all united together in one place, does not mean the message was unified.”
Other students acknowledged differences in the language of the diverse messages, but found unity in the spirit of OWS. As one student described, “None of the messages are unified, there were numerous different messages. But all the messages indicate that the system is wrong and that we have to change the system in order to get things straight.” Another student observed, “The messages were numerous, but all directed towards the same thing. It seems the common ground is the hit that Americans are taking with the recession.” A third student explained, “Although there were different people talking about different viewpoints, it all meshed with one ideology. Americans are literally united at this protest. For instance, there are people who came from California, Colorado, Texas and even Hawaii to come and support the protest. All the people want is a clear explanation as to why the economic, social and political situation has worsened over time…. They have lost faith in the government.” And, finally, one student remarked, “I asked a variety of people of both genders and spanning the age spectrum what they are here for and what message they want people to take from this movement only to find that no two answers were the same. This leads me to believe that the message isn’t too unified at all. That’s not to say the movement isn’t unified. Although it seemed like everyone was there with their own agenda, they all still wanted some sort of change and that was enough to unify them as a strong movement that seems like it can go the distance.”

In hindsight, I realized that I could have—and, perhaps, should have—phrased Question #3 differently. But the various ways that the students interpreted and responded to my question, including the distinctions that some of them drew between unity in purpose and spirit and diversity in wording on signs and in chants, left me excited about devoting more attention to the meanings and implications of words like “cohesion,” “shared,” and “unified” when discussing such topics as broken windows, collective efficacy, conflict perspectives, Durkheim, and social disorganization in future criminology classes.

The Zuccotti Park demonstrations have (been) disbanded. Not everyone lives in New York City (or a major metropolitan area, for that matter). Who knows what will happen next in New York or elsewhere, although many may hope that “what’s past is prologue,” to quote Antonio in Shakespeare’s The Tempest. Given that Time magazine made “The Protestor” its person of the year (Anderson 2011/2012; Stengel 2011/2012) and that “occupy” emerges as one of the top buzzwords of 2011 (Steinmetz and Townsend 2011/2012), it may be hard to offer students an assignment that asks them to eschew media influences in favor of participant observation. Where, then, does this leave critical criminologists wishing to integrate OWS and its related “occupy” phenomena into their curricula?

My sense is that while it is important to encourage students to keep abreast of current events, something that many claim is difficult when balancing studies, social life, and work requirements, it is also important to inspire students to take advantage of opportunities to conduct research and engage in (critical) thinking outside the classroom—something that OWS can (hopefully continue to) offer, irrespective of one’s political beliefs. Doing so may provide the added bonus of leading students to the realization that something may be “rotten” in the United States (to borrow and tweak a phrase from Hamlet), but that “Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie, Which we ascribe to Heaven” (to appropriate a line from All’s Well That Ends Well).
References


Avi Brisman is an Adjunct Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University of New York. He is completing his PhD in Anthropology at Emory University and will join the faculty of Eastern Kentucky University as an Assistant Professor of Criminal Justice this summer.

2011 DCC Award Recipients

Please join us in congratulating our DCC Award recipients and their outstanding accomplishments! Our 2011 winners are:

**Lifetime Achievement Award:** Michael Lynch (University of South Florida)
**Critical Criminologist of the Year:** David Brotherton (John Jay College – CUNY)
**Graduate Student Paper:** Victoria E. Collins (Old Dominion University)
**Undergraduate Student Paper:** Leigh Dickey (University of Tennessee)

The Lifetime Achievement Award honors an individual’s sustained and distinguished scholarship, teaching, and/or service in the field of critical criminology.

The Critical Criminologist of the Year Award honors a person for distinguished accomplishments that have symbolized the spirit of the Division in some form of scholarship, teaching, and/or service in a recent year or years.

The Graduate Student Paper Award recognizes and honors outstanding theoretical or empirical critical criminological scholarship by graduate students.

The Undergraduate Student Paper Award recognizes and honors outstanding theoretical or empirical critical criminological scholarship by undergraduate students.

All photographs are courtesy of the Rita Photography. More images of the DCC Social are available at:
http://www.flickr.com/photos/mushroomrs/sets/72157628240901939/with/6439254999/
**Lifetime Achievement Award: Michael Lynch** (University of South Florida)  
by Paul Stretsky

I believe Michael Lynch’s research, teaching, and service demonstrates his contribution and commitment to the field. Professor Lynch has been a prolific scholar who has produced nearly 150 publications. This includes 14 books, 60 articles, 35 book chapters, and nearly 4 dozen encyclopedia entries, newsletter pieces, book reviews and editorial columns. His articles have appeared in journals representing several disciplines including: criminology/criminal justice, anthropology, geography, Black Studies, medicine, public health, environmental sciences, and sociology. In terms of teaching, Professor Lynch has made an enormous contribution to critical criminology, having supervised approximately fifteen completed doctoral dissertations and ten theses. Without Mike many his students would not have found the academic space to pursue and develop their various interests in critical criminology within the more conservative discipline of criminology and criminal justice. As you are probably well aware, critical criminologists are underrepresented in most programs, and most of us believe that without Professor Lynch our careers would have likely developed differently in a much more difficult fashion.

Professor Lynch has also contributed to the Division on Critical Criminology. In the early 1990s, he served as head of the editorial collected of the Division’s newsletter. In that role he obtained funding to publish the newsletter without cost to the Division. This allowed the Division to accumulate the funds necessary to start its journal, *Critical Criminology*. During that period he also sat on the Board of Directors of the Division, and chaired the election and recruitment committees. Professor Lynch has also taken an active role as the Division’s ASC and ACJS liaisons on several occasions, and even facilitated the first appearance of “Convict Criminology” panels at ASC.

Professor Lynch moved from Florida State University to University of South Florida in 1997 and become the founding director of that school’s Ph.D. program in criminology. He held that position for 6 years. In that role, he was further able to establish the credibility of radical scholars within the discipline as educational facilitators.

As evidence of his standing in the field, Professor Lynch has served on eight journal editorial boards and has been a member of the *Crime, Law and Social Change* editorial board since 1994.
He reviews manuscripts for a variety of journals in several disciplines, including those outside of the social sciences (medicine, environmental studies, environmental justice, geophysics, epidemiology, toxicology). He has also played an active role in community and University services and written, gratis, a report for the State of Florida Supreme Court on racial bias in bail processes, and a series of eight papers for the non-faculty union at USF on union rights, history and economic conditions.

I am certain that the field of radical/critical criminology would be much different without Professor Michael Lynch’s contributions.

For more information regarding Dr. Lynch’s work and longstanding commitments, please go to his personal website at http://jcj.cbcs.usf.edu/.

**Critical Criminologist of the Year: David Brotherton** (John Jay College – CUNY)  
*by Keith Hayward*

It is hard to summarize Dr. David Brotherton’s achievements, as he has been so successful both as a scholar and as an activist. Indeed, it is this symbiotic relationship between critical scholarship and political activism that marks David’s work out from the crowd. He is, in my humble opinion, the very embodiment of a politically aware, critical criminologist.

I wish to stress two themes that I believe attest his critical criminological credentials:

First, he has done more than perhaps any other contemporary scholar to understand and promulgate the relationship that now exists between street gangs and globalization. Stated simply, his work critiques the ‘hermetic concept’ of the gang so typical of much empirical U.S. (“Chicago school” style) gang research. Instead he insists we must challenge old definitions of gangs linked to the industrial world, and replace them with more flexible, contemporary definitions more suited to a fluid, post-industrial or de-industrial society. In other words, we must no longer accept the inherent tautology associated with the “police science of gangs” (which too often simply finds only what it wants to find). Instead, our goal as critical criminologists must be to stress the complex set of cultural, global dynamics that turn around the axis of the gang.

Second, whilst my original nomination was for David, it was also a nomination by proxy for his long time collaborator Luis Barrios. In 2009 Professor Barrios was arrested and imprisoned for opposing the continued operation of the School of the Americas. Dr. Brotherton led a national and international campaign for his defence and release during a time of increased harassment of
civil rights and anti-war demonstrators under the Bush regime. Thanks to the efforts of David (and many others) the treatment of Luis received widespread national and international attention with articles in the London Guardian, Huffington Post and the Nation magazine and later reports in the New York Times, NPR and the academic journal Crime, Media, Culture. The victimization of Luis, a well-known left-wing academic and Episcopalian priest, demonstrated the narrowing space for protest and civil liberties in the post-9/11 United States.

More information regarding Dr. Brotherton’s career is available at http://www.jjay.cuny.edu/departments/sociology/faculty.php?key=%5Bemail%5D='dbrotherton@jjay.cuny.edu'

Graduate Student Paper: Victoria E. Collins
(Old Dominion University)

Victoria Ellen Collins is currently a PhD candidate at Old Dominion University in the Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice with an expected graduation date of May 2013. She holds a Bachelor of Law degree from the Open University in Milton Keynes, England, as well as a Bachelor’s of Science degree in Criminal Justice and a Master of Arts in Applied Sociology from Old Dominion University. She has also received two certificates of successful completion of Postgraduate Courses on Victimology.

Victoria’s dissertation analyzes the processes by which policy, law-making, and controls on maritime piracy in Somalia are generated, implemented, and subsequently acted on by taking into consideration the role of the international political community, the political economy, and the inter-relations between the two. This is hypothesized to facilitate the identification of piracy as a problem and subsequent overly militarized controls, while ignoring structural conditions within Somalia.

Ms. Collins’ research and teaching interests include crimes of the state, white collar and transnational crimes, victimology as well as issues related to violence against women. To date, Victoria is the author or co-author of several peer-reviewed publications appearing in journals such as International Criminal Justice Review, The Australian New Zealand Journal of Criminology and Contemporary Justice Review. She has also been awarded several honors including the Old Dominion University Department of Sociology and Criminal Justice Outstanding PhD Research Award. Her extended academic interests and future projects include conducting research on the elevated rates of sexual violence perpetrated against women in Haiti since the 2010 earthquake and analyzing the phenomenon of increased rates of civilian-perpetrated rapes in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Her full curriculum vitae is available at: http://al.odu.edu/sociology/Students/collins.shtml
Undergraduate Student Paper:
Leigh Dickey (University of Tennessee)

Leigh Dickey completed her undergraduate honors thesis under the supervision of Dr. Lois Presser, Associate Professor of Sociology at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. It is entitled, “Citizens' Engagement with Torture: An Analysis of Neutralizations.” Ms. Dickey’s thesis can be digitally shared or downloaded through Trace, the Tennessee Research and Creative Exchange digital repository of the University of Tennessee. It is directly accessible through the following link: http://trace.tennessee.edu/utk_chanhonoproj/1467/

Critical Images

Occupy: The Harrisburg Edition
by Rita Shah

This photo essay is an outgrowth of my involvement in Occupy Harrisburg (OH), which began a month after the Occupy Wall Street in October 2011. Here, I reflect on dynamics on the ground, some of which are points of internal tension, and provide a commentary alongside these photographs. I offer it as an example of how internal struggles as well as external pressures can hinder collective organizing and even prevent more important forms of mobilization.

The group began to occupy the steps of the state Capitol on October 15th, a date designated as a Global Day of Protest. In solidarity with the Occupy movement, its goal was to build a cadre of activists aimed at questioning the U.S. political system and pushing for economic and social justice.

In a city of just under 50,000 residents, OH has attempted to build a community of dedicated volunteers, protestors, and occupiers with the aim of growing beyond its physical presence at the Capitol.
The initial 24-hour occupation of the Capitol steps was intended as a kick-off event. The participation and enthusiasm of the first day was palpable as the protestors carried signs, led chants and drum circles, and marched to a local Wells Fargo bank branch in order to protest outside its doors. It is estimated that the crowd reached over 200 at several points throughout the day (Thomas 2011). At the General Assembly (GA) held that evening, members voted to continue the occupation for an additional 24 hours. This vote continued daily for roughly a month, which resulted in some uncertainty as to the continuation and permanence of their presence, but kept to its democratic goals.

Early on, however, seeds of organizational conflict were planted, undermining the larger goals of inclusion and direct democracy in favor of short-term gains.

To explain: As the daily extensions continued, multiple conversations—both during GA meetings and among the occupiers—occurred regarding the need to establish a more permanent base and to draw supporters from a broader range of local communities. Despite being in a “majority-minority” city, with over 50% of residents being African-American, the movement consisted primarily of white protestors.

These conversations highlighted the difficulty in maintaining a large-scale community movement based on consensus. In fact, the majority of the workload fell upon a handful of volunteers who stepped up to complete certain tasks in order to move the occupation forward. For example, one individual, Tom,1 began reaching out to local organizations to gain support for a long-term and permanent encampment. His efforts seemed successful as he was close to reaching an agreement with a local Quaker-affiliated Friends’ Meeting House. Although some issues needed to be ironed out, particularly the Quakers’ requirement that military-sounding names for working groups be removed, Tom informed the occupiers that we had every reason to believe this would be a successful partnership, but only if they could reach a general consensus.

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1 Names have been changed to ensure anonymity.
At the same time, members received emails through the main Google group account regarding an important GA. At the meeting, there an announcement made that a group had decided to set-up tents at a park located along the Susquehanna River roughly 3 blocks from the Capitol Steps, and they wanted support.

Despite seemingly having consensus for the encampment, several emails followed, expressing anger and frustration that the meeting did not follow the necessary process. Several argued that the methods used were not transparent and that it was a group of individuals “do[ing] whatever they please” rather than a democratic decision. At least one individual argued that this seemed to be a coup d’état by a small group of occupiers. Regardless, the camp was established.

Much of the anger over the encampment, at least within my working group, stemmed from what appeared to be differential treatment. According to one group member, “There is, in my view, a double standard about transparency. Public relations was scolded for not bringing every little thing to the group. And today, mere hours before one of the largest actions OH will take, this encampment was sprung on the group.” By contrast, a week or two before the encampment began, there was a vote and agreement that all press releases had to obtain consensus.

Many individuals questioned when transparency was needed and when it was not. By extension, they also questioned whether hierarchy was acceptable in some forms, but not others. The conversation revealed tensions brewing beneath the consensus-based model
and the splintering of smaller groups. It also raised questions about whether OH was in fact “leaderless.” Although several organizers were getting things done, were they doing so as s/he deemed fit—regardless the larger movement’s desires? Were they seeking approval after the fact in order to maintain an appearance of consensus and leaderlessness? More importantly, what about the issue of outreach to other communities (of color) in the city? With ideals of justice and the realities of dwindling numbers, why was such outreach sporadic and only attempted by small groups of people? Why did it not emerge as priority or action item for all involved?

Instead, business carried on. Although concerns that the encampers had “torpedoed” Tom’s efforts, the relationship with the Friends’ Meeting House moved forward, and OH conducts weekly GAs there in a dedicated space. While the River Front Park encampment was quickly dismantled by the police, several tents are now located on the sidewalk across the street from the capitol streets. And, at a time when other cities were suffering from violent encounters with the police, OH seemed to have a rather congenial relationship with Capitol Police. Furthermore, the occupiers—while smaller in numbers—continue to be involved with a variety of local issues, including helping a local farm stave off foreclosure, maintaining an “Occupy your Mind” lecture series, and reacting to a variety of legislative bills being discussed inside the Capitol.

Despite the small OH core (1-2 people at the Capitol steps, a handful of tents, and approximately 20 occupiers at the weekly GAs), the city has released letters calling for the eviction of the occupiers. At the time of publication, the occupiers—with the help of a local ACLU lawyer—have prevented eviction, but it is not a permanent resolution.
OH has surpassed 100 days, making it one of the longest running occupations. There are questions, however, as to its continued inclusiveness and effectiveness. Information sharing (especially GA minutes) appears limited to a handful of individuals and the Facebook page rarely seems to be updated. Only time will tell if the movement will continue, both in Harrisburg and elsewhere, but if the issues discussed above are not addressed, the impact of the movement as a whole risks becoming nothing more than a new means by which to maintain the existing system. The marginalized still remain disenfranchised and the “democratic” voices ineffective.

References


*Rita Shah is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Elizabethtown College. Her research focuses primarily on parole, post-release supervision, and the reentry process of former prisoners.*

News and Announcements

Calls for Papers

*State Crime: Journal of the International State Crime Initiative*
Editors in Chief
Professor Penny Green (King’s College London)
Dr Tony Ward (University of Hull)
Dr Kristian Lasslett (University of Ulster)
Book Reviews Editor: Elizabeth Stanley (Victoria University, Wellington, NZ)

We are delighted to announce the arrival of the first peer-reviewed journal dedicated to state crime scholarship. The journal is interdisciplinary and international and seeks to develop deeper understandings of state crime and institutional deviance. Topics on which articles are invited include: torture; genocide and other forms of government and politically organized mass killing; war crimes; state-corporate crime; state-organized crime; natural disasters exacerbated by government (in)action; asylum and refugee policy and practice; state terror; political and economic corruption; and resistance to state violence and corruption. The journal is keen to feature both empirical and theoretical studies.

The journal will be published twice yearly by Pluto Press from April 2012. Details of the editorial and peer review arrangements can be found on the website of the International State Crime Initiative (www.statecrime.org). Articles should normally be limited to 8,000 words (although longer articles will be considered) and should be written and submitted in accordance with the guidelines for authors available on the website.

The deadline for submissions to volume 1, issue (2), which will appear in or about October 2012, is 15 April 2012. All queries should be directed to the editorial board at journal@statecrime.org.
Irish Journal of Applied Social Studies: Special Issue on Criminology in Ireland

Guest Editor: Liam Leonard (Institute of Technology, Sligo)

Context: Ireland has undergone many socio-cultural changes in the initial years of the 21st century, including a prevailing perception that serious crime and criminality is on the increase. Nonetheless, the Central Statistics Office (CSO) statistics on crime published in July 2011 indicate a downward trend in criminal activity in many categories. These dichotomous perspectives provide a contested platform for Irish criminologists who wish to research the salient issues surrounding crime in Ireland. Papers with a focus on wider criminological debates will also be considered from national or international contributors.

Call for Papers: The Irish Journal of Applied Social Studies (IJASS) is issuing a call for papers for researchers whose work will provide further understandings of relevant themes including criminological theories, deviance, criminal justice and law, criminal justice policies, policing, imprisonment and penal reform, probation, alternatives to prison and post release programmes, crime and media, terrorism and security issues. Book reviews on criminological publications relevant to Ireland will also be accepted.

Publishing Schedule: The call for papers is now open. The deadline for submissions of abstracts is March 31, 2012. Completed papers should be submitted by June 11, 2012. Provisional publication date is September 2012.

Notes for contributors: IJASS Style Guide: All papers will be peer-reviewed, with final decision on publication of papers from Dr. Kevin Lalor, IJASS Editor.


IJASS website: http://arrow.dit.ie/ijass/
Email: liam_leonard@yahoo.com leonard.liam@itsligo.ie

SAGE Encyclopedia of White-Collar and Corporate Crime 2nd Edition
Since the first edition of the SAGE Encyclopedia of White-Collar & Corporate Crime was produced in 2003, the number and severity of these crimes have risen to the level of calamity: Many experts attribute the near-Depression of 2008 to white-collar malfeasance, namely crimes of greed and excess by bankers and financial institutions. In the 8 years since the first edition was produced we have also seen the largest Ponzi scheme in history (Maddoff), an ecological disaster caused by British Petroleum and its subcontractors (Gulf Oil Spill), and U.S. Defense
Department contractors operating like vigilantes in Iraq (Blackwater). Indeed, white-collar criminals have been busy and the second edition of this encyclopedia captures what has been going on in the news and behind the scenes with approximately 100 new articles and updates to the previous edition. In a thorough reappraisal of the white-collar and corporate crime scene, the second edition builds on the first edition to complete the criminal narrative in an outstanding reference ready for publication late 2013.

This comprehensive project will be published by SAGE Reference and will be marketed to academic and public libraries as a print and digital product available to students via the library’s electronic services. The General Editor, who will be reviewing each submission to the project, is Dr. Lawrence M. Salinger, Associate Professor of Criminology/Sociology at Arkansas State University.

We are making assignments with a submission deadline of May 18, 2012. If you are interested in contributing to this cutting-edge reference, it is a unique opportunity to contribute to the contemporary literature, redefining criminal and sociological issues in today’s terms. Moreover, it can be a notable publication addition to your CV/resume and broaden your publishing credits. SAGE Publications offers an honorarium ranging from SAGE book credits for smaller articles up to a free set of the printed product or access to the online product for contributions totaling 10,000 words or more.

The list of available articles is already prepared, and as a next step we will e-mail you the Article List (Excel file) from which you can select topics that best fit your expertise and interests. Additionally, Style and Submission Guidelines will be provided that detail article specifications.

If you would like to contribute to building a truly outstanding reference with the second edition of the Encyclopedia of White-Collar and Corporate Crime, please contact me by the e-mail information below. Please provide a copy of your CV to Susan Moskowitz, Author Manager at: white-collar@golsonmedia.com

**Critical Examination of Race/Ethnicity in (and around) the Prison System**

Authors are being sought to contribute to a new 2-volume book series that will examine historical and contemporary issues surrounding the formal and informal detention / incarceration of racial and ethnic minorities in the United States, as well as critical policy-based factors that influence racial/ethnic incarceration rates. Specifically, the goal of the series is to examine these issues from a critical perspective – unique, intellectually challenging book chapters are encouraged.

Although there are several texts addressing the prison system, there a few that not only examine racial / ethnic “interactions” with the prison system, while including varying groups and incorporating larger social issues. Below, you will find the remaining chapters for which authors are being sought (the titles are designed to present the topics and can be changed according to the author):
Volume 1 - Historiographic and Contemporary Prison Issues

3. Lynchings and the (mis)Use of the Prison System
7. Race/Ethnicity, Historiographic Private Prisons, and Labor Punishment
8. The Early Incarceration of Native Americans
9. Early (and/or) Southwestern Incarceration of Hispanic Inmates
10. The Birth of Federal Imprisonment: Racial/Ethnic Implications
11. Eugenics and the Construction of Racial/Ethnic Prisoner Identification
12. Prison Gangs (conflict amongst races)
14. Asian Prisoners v. the Model Minority
15. Native American Jurisdiction and American Prisons
17. Race/Ethnicity and Rule Infractions in Prison

Volume 2 Public Policy Influence(s)

3. Diversity of Staff and the Effects on Racial/Ethnic Prison Interactions
4. Counseling, Treatment, and Culture in Prison: One Size Fits All?
5. Race, Ethnicity and The War on Drugs
6. Prison Privatization: Making Money from Racial/Ethnic Inequality
7. Mandatory Minimum Sentencing
8. Three Strikes Legislation
10. Immigration and the Effects of Hispanic Incarceration
11. The Death Penalty and Racial/Ethnic Incarceration
12. Re-entry, Revocation, Recidivism, and Race/Ethnicity
13. Racial/Ethnic Imprisonment and the Larger Community Effects
14. Terrorism, Enemy Combatants, and Middle Eastern Imprisonment
15. Death Before McKleskey: Race/Ethnicity and Capital Punishment for Non-lethal Offenses

We are now seeking authors with a submission deadline of July 1, 2011 and chapters can include up to two authors. The project will be published by ABC-CLIO /Greenwood Press and will be marketed to academic and public libraries. For participating in the project, a small monetary honorarium and a copy of the completed text will be provided. If you are interested in contributing to this critical examination of the prison system, please contact Dr. Scott Wm. Bowman (project editor) at scott.bowman@txstate.edu or (512) 245-3584 and include a CV and your first choice of chapter (and second choice, if applicable). Upon receipt, the availability of the chapter will be confirmed and the appropriate contractual paperwork will be provided.

Thank you for considering participating in this exciting project!
CALLING ALL CRIMINOLOGY AUTHORS...

New Directions in Critical Criminology

Routledge is on the lookout for fresh and innovative ideas and submissions for a new series, *New Directions in Critical Criminology*, edited by Walter S. DeKeseredy of University of Ontario Institute of Technology.

It is hoped that each book will provide a short original contribution to a major contemporary issue of central concern to critical criminologists around the world, consider new areas of empirical and theoretical inquiry and set out an agenda for progressive ways of thinking critically about crime, law, and social control.

If you would like to discuss your ideas or how to submit a proposal then please contact Walter S. DeKeseredy (Walter.DeKeseredy@uoit.ca) or the Commissioning Editor for Criminology at Routlege, Tom Sutton (Thomas.sutton@tandf.co.uk).

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Routledge Handbook of Critical Criminology

Edited by Walter S. DeKeseredy, Molly Dragiewicz

The *Routledge Handbook of Critical Criminology* is a collection of original essays specifically designed to offer students, faculty, policy makers, and others an in-depth overview of the most up-to-date empirical, theoretical, and political contributions made by critical criminologists around the world. Special attention is devoted to new theoretical directions in the field, such as cultural criminology, masculinities studies, and feminist criminologies.

Its diverse essays not only cover the history of critical criminology and cutting edge theories, but also the variety of research methods used by leading scholars in the field and the rich data generated by their rigorous empirical work. In addition, some of the chapters suggest innovative and realistic short- and long-term policy proposals that are typically ignored by mainstream criminology. These progressive strategies address some of the most pressing social problems facing contemporary society today and that generate much pain and suffering for socially and economically disenfranchised people.

The *Handbook* explores up-to-date empirical, theoretical, and political contributions, and is specifically designed to be a comprehensive resource for undergraduate and post-graduate students, researchers, and policy makers.

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Other Important Announcements

Professional Development Funding for Doctoral Students
The Association of Doctoral Programs in Criminology and Criminal Justice announces support for professional development for doctoral students. Eligible applicants must have completed all coursework and be enrolled in a doctoral program represented in the ADPCCJ. Awards of up to $3,000 will be made to one or more applicants. Applicants are asked to submit a letter that details the professional development activities and describes how participation will enhance their professional development. Examples of professional development include: participation in an ICPSR workshop, attendance at a specialized workshop that focuses on a particular kind of software or statistical analysis, acquisition of and training in a data set or a similar activity. Travel for research and/or data collection expenses for a dissertation project are also allowed. A vita and a detailed budget must accompany the application. The applicant is also asked to submit a supporting letter from the dissertation advisor. The letter of support should include a statement that indicates that university or departmental funds are not available to support such activities. Applications must be received by April 16, 2012. Please send an electronic application to Dr. Beth Huebner, huebnerb@umsl.edu

Anthropologies of Crime Collaborative Research Network
A group of scholars have established an emergent collaborative research network to foster collaboration and dialogue among researchers working at the intersections of anthropology and cultural criminology. Beyond “crime”, members study criminal justice institutions, social justice movements, and criminological enterprises across a range of sites and localities. To date, the group has organized panels at the American Anthropological Association and American Society of Criminology annual meetings. Future panels for 2012 are in progress, as is an cross-conference meeting and edited book. If interested in collaborating or keeping up to date on the network’s activities, please consider joining the group’s mailing list. The primary function of this list is to disseminate information about opportunities and discussions in and around anthropological inquiries into crime, broadly defined. For more information, please contact Kate Henne at kathryn.henne@anu.edu.au.

Critical Scholarship

By: Sheldon Ekland-Olson and Danielle Dirks

The book description from Amazon:
Slavery, lynching and capital punishment were interwoven in the United States and by the mid-twentieth century these connections gave rise to a small but well-focused reform movement. Biased and perfunctory procedures were replaced by prolonged trials and appeals, which some found messy and meaningless; DNA profiling clearly established innocent persons had been sentenced to death. The debate over taking life to protect life continues; this book is based on a hugely popular undergraduate course taught at the University of Texas, and is ideal for those interested in criminal justice, social problems, social inequality, and social movements.
**Occupy!: Scenes from Occupied America**

The book description from Verso Books:
The first book to explore the Occupy movement in depth, with reportage and analysis. In the fall of 2011, a small protest camp in downtown Manhattan exploded into a global uprising, sparked in part by the violent overreactions of the police. An unofficial record of this movement, *Occupy!* combines adrenalin-fueled first-hand accounts of the early days and weeks of Occupy Wall Street with contentious debates and thoughtful reflections, featuring the editors and writers of the celebrated *n+1*, as well as some of the world’s leading radical thinkers, such as Slavoj Zizek, Angela Davis, and Rebecca Solnit.

The book conveys the intense excitement of those present at the birth of a counterculture, while providing the movement with a serious platform for debating goals, demands, and tactics. Articles address the history of the “horizontalist” structure at OWS; how to keep a live-in going when there is a giant mountain of laundry building up; how very rich the very rich have become; the messages and meaning of the “We are the 99%” tumblr website; occupations in Oakland, Boston, Atlanta, and elsewhere; what happens next; and much more.

**Big Brother is Looking at You, Kid! Is Homeland Fascism Possible?**
By: Herman and Julia Schwendinger have finished an eBook.

The book is a political treatise but it may be interesting academically because of its analytic constructs. It employs their "Janus model" of governance and a category entitled "customary repression," referring to the normalized century-old repression of left-wing ideas and policies. It chronicles the qualitative changes in customary repression from the 1970s and employs "parallels" (with the rise of fascism in Germany, Italy, Chile, etc.) to realistically evaluate neofascist developments in the USA. It points out that “bullshit” is the modus operandi of archconservatives reviving McCarthyism in American universities. It describes, among other things, the astonishing expansion of surveillance technology, the “Miami model” of police brutality, the rise of Occupy Wall Street, and Obama's complicity in war crimes.


By: Gregg Barak

A commentary is available on Professor Barak’s website at: [http://www.greggbarak.com/whats_new_7.html](http://www.greggbarak.com/whats_new_7.html)
A Theory of African American Offending, Book of the Month, March 2011
By: James Unnever (University of South Florida-Sarasota-Manatee) and Shaun L. Gabbidon
(Penn State Harrisburg)

The book description from Routledge:
This is an ideal text for graduate and undergraduate courses in both race and criminal justice. A little more than a century ago, the famous social scientist W.E.B. Dubois asserted that a true understanding of African American offending must be grounded in the "real conditions" of what it means to be black living in a racial stratified society. Today and according to official statistics, African American men—about six percent of the population of the United States—account for nearly sixty percent of the armed robbery arrests in the United States. To the authors of this book, this and many other glaring racial disparities in offending centered on African Americans is clearly related to their unique history and to their past and present racial subordination. Inexplicably, however, no criminological theory exists that fully articulates the nuances of the African American experience and how they relate to their offending. In readable fashion for undergraduate students, the general public, and criminologists alike, this book for the first time presents the foundations for the development of an African American theory of offending.

A Theory of African American Offending is part of the Criminology and Justice Studies series.