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'Critical Approaches to Risk and Security: East, South, North and West'

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PRESENTERS AND ABSTRACTS (in alphabetical order)

Dr Anna Anderson, University of Liverpool

Voluntary risk taking and the practice of critique

Despite the innovation and usefulness of Edgework theory, not all voluntary-risk taking is edgework. This paper sets out the analytical promise of applying the ancient Greek concept of *parrhesia* as an additional theoretical tool for the sociological study of voluntary risk-taking. The contention is that the concept can help us to identify and examine another of the forms of voluntary risk-taking. Employed as a theoretical tool, it allows us to raise the question: what is the importance for the individual and for the society of voluntary risk-taking when it assumes an explicit and deliberate socio-political form, role and ethical manner? *Parrhesia* provides a unique perspective from which to answer this question by understanding voluntary risk-taking as a practice vital to the democratic operation of societies and to a particular ethical manner of being and acting. The analysis is essentially theoretical but relies on empirical materials for illustration.

Dr Teresita Cruz-del Rosario, Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore

Dislocations: Land Grabs and Social Insecurity in Southeast Asia

In Southeast Asia, land grabs form part of a comprehensive agro-food-feed-fuel complex, one which underlies much of the relationships today between states, corporations, and communities. At the apex of this relationship are states and corporations who, in alliance with local capital and local political agents, promote global strategies to address food and energy insecurities through large-scale land acquisition. These land deals are mostly happening in Southeast Asia, with Cambodia, Laos and Myanmar as favored sites by transnational capital to secure land rights. The "usual suspects" in this global "race for arable lands" (Olivier de Schutter) are countries with rapid economic growth faced with increasing shortages of food for their expanding populations and shrinking land acreage for agriculture production. Most notable are China, Korea, Vietnam, and the Gulf countries (especially Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Dubai, Kuwait, and the UAE).

A second feature about land grabs is the speed and scale with which this phenomenon is happening. According to the Netherlands-based Transnational Institute, land deals have risen from 20 million hectares to about 227 million hectares during the period 2005-2009 ---- a 100 percent increase in land acquisition over a short period of 4 years. Third, the TNI study argued that investments in land

have replaced the flow of international capital in the aftermath of the collapse of housing markets in the West. A phenomenon of “land-capital switching” is occurring at a rapid pace in Southeast Asia, with land substituting for capital resources with which to further business development in developing countries. Wittingly or unwittingly, a fourth pillar in the land grab triangle is the multilateral institutions (World Bank, Asian Development Bank, etc.) whose preference for large-scale infrastructure projects in these countries promote land acquisition under private-public partnership (PPP) schemes.

Within this overall context, the exacerbation of social insecurity in Asia can be understood through the lens of global land acquisition and the resulting displacement of populations. Because land still forms an intrinsic and critical feature of socio-economic security in much of Southeast Asia especially in the absence of opportunities to acquire capital, the loss of land exacerbates existing insecurities and denies dislocated populations any access to socio-economic measures that could alleviate these insecurities.

This paper seeks to investigate this phenomenon in Southeast Asia through empirical research that establishes the “agro-food-feed-fuel” complex as the underlying logical for large-scale land acquisition. It also discusses possibilities for organized efforts at the grassroots level to confront this agro-food-feed-fuel complex, and matches the with the power of the state to enact laws that protects small landowners from encroachment by corporations and local capital.

Associate Professor Fabio D’Andrea, Dipartimento Filosofia, Scienze Sociali, Umane e della Formazione, Università Degli Studi di Perugia

The Could-be Society. Risk, Imagination and Reality

Global risks have brought into the open the crisis of the Modern paradigm and its hidden consequences – hidden because of its selective blindness as well as because of its intentional inertia. By stressing the «controversial reality of the possible», they have made it clear that reality is not objective, foreseeable and controllable, but is instead the result of innumerable definitions and agreements, based also on fears and desires, plans and expectations. Global risks force Modern culture to come to terms with the fact that, as it was planned and realized in the light of certainty, it is not up to dealing with a world where certainty is no longer to be found.

Beck’s analysis of global risks clearly shows the «organized irresponsibility» that stems from this state of things. Taking Beck’s insight as a new starting point, it is possible to focus on reality’s complex texture – where real, possible and imagined seem to blend in a dynamic mix that opens onto the could-be society – and to advocate the urgency of new heuristic perspectives and frames where imagination and its structures are given back their dignity as fundamental keys to the understanding of human action and decision-making.

This paper will contend that symbolic imagination is a crucial part of a general strategy to reorient knowledge and action in a time of uncertainty and to cope with global risks. As Beck puts it in *World at Risk*, «tangible, simplifying symbols, in which cultural nerve fibres are touched and alarmed, here take on central political importance». They can work around the prevalent blasé condition (Simmel) that causes the sterilization of experienced contents, making them emotionally neutral and not

worth taking action about. Symbols – and the skills required to understand and manage them – can effectively mobilise the subjective and social energies needed to fuel new bottom-up subpolitics and spread a new sense of purpose capable of reducing and defusing uncertainty

Dr Joe Greener, University of Liverpool

Hazardous carework and the unequal sharing of culpability in a residential home for older people

This study is based on participant observation of care work in a residential home for older people in England. The researcher assumed the role of the care assistant for 9 months. A range of practices in the home were emotionally, physically and legally hazardous to both the frontline staff and the service-users. A critical realist approach is employed to understand the intersection of different generative mechanisms in producing the restrictions and opportunities for delivering care. An overview of the labour process in the home is provided and a range of perilous and harmful working practices are then discussed, noting the embedded nature of working practices. After this, the separation between how the work was envisioned, in legal and regulatory apparatuses, compared to how it was actually practiced is analysed to reveal the inherent contradictions between what care was supposed to look like, in comparison to how it actually is done. The discussion highlights the generative mechanisms underpinning the constraints and enablers shaping the activity of care. Three structural conditions, by way of conclusion, are brought to the fore as key dimensions in the production of dangerous working. These are: privatisation and the pursuit of profit, the political economy of the welfare state and the efforts of various regulatory bodies attempting to shape the nature of care-giving and -receiving. Both state actors and business interests are unwilling to assume culpability for when care work ‘goes wrong’, and, as a result attempt to locate responsibility with the frontline workers.

Dr Katarina Giritli Nygren and Dr Susanna Öhman, Forum for Gender Studies, Mid Sweden University

Swedish Policy for the Arctic: A Feminist Risk Analysis

Since 2007 there has been an increase in policies for the Arctic from many European and non-European countries. Sweden was the last of the Arctic states to launch a policy for the Arctic in 2011. While policies may be presented in ‘neutral language’ they are fundamentally political. In fact, a key task in order to understand contemporary power structures, is to trace the philosophical underpinnings of policy in order to capture its enabling discourses, mobilizing metaphors, underlying ideologies and uses. Drawing on feminist risk theory the aim is to analyze the Swedish policy for the Arctic to explore risk discourses about the Arctic and their performative practices through policymaking in Sweden. Feminist risk theory has been formulated in order to overcome the dividing lines of risk research and intersectionality. It highlights the need for analysis of the ‘doings’ of risk not only from the perspective of discourses that interpolate individuals into certain subject positions, but also from a perspective that acknowledges the power dimensions in the ‘doings’, and also recognizes that the performativity of risk takes place along lines of difference. It is also difficult not to acknowledge that risk theories are drawn from and, in turn, contribute to a particularly

Western conceptualization of risk—one that is progressive, evidence-based, and rational, and situated historically and socially within a post-Enlightenment tradition of modernity, postmodernity, and development discourse. This has led us to question some of the underlying premises in the historical framing of not only risk but also the Arctic as a construct of the post-Enlightenment. Our analyses show the Swedish strategy adapts to and uses the dominant discourses about risks, such as climate change, human security as well as boarder societal security and energy shortage, while simultaneously positioning Sweden as the solution to manage these risks. Using an articulation that echoes the language used in stories about conquests of the Arctic that was written centuries ago, these ‘masculine fantasies’ are embedded in the policy and as a consequence is action and influence the Arctic region are enabled.

Dr Terrence Heng, Singapore Institute of Technology

Risky Spaces: Visual Case Studies from “Unofficial” Sacred Places in Singapore



“Official” religious space in Singapore is highly regulated – organisations of recognised religions compete and bid for parcels of land on which they create houses of worship. Against this bureaucratic backdrop are countless other “unofficial”, and sometimes illegal, places of worship - operating out of industrial units, social housing and liminal spaces. From vernacular shrines to fully-converted living rooms, individuals engage in behaviours that one can only see as risky. The planning act of 1960 forbids the establishment of places of worship in social housing, and individuals risk losing their state-subsidised flats should they be found in violation of such laws. This paper examines the various ways such worship embraces a tension of clandestine and open activities. Using visual case studies from Chinese religion, particularly spirit medium worship, I will show how individuals

navigate a complex relationship with their everyday lives, state regulations and the needs of their Gods.

Professor Chiew-Ping Hoo, National University of Malaysia

Mitigating Risks with Transnationalism in Northeast Asia: South Korea's policy responses to North Korean provocations from Roh Tae-Woo to Park Geun-Hye

How do states respond to an adversary's provocative actions? This question highlights the importance of understanding what states opt for and how they react in threatening and potentially destabilising situations. This paper adopts the conceptual framework of risk mitigation in transnational political situations. Specifically, it proposes a framework in analysing the outcome of risk mitigation of each policy options undertaken by a state in conflictual condition. The case study on North Korean provocations shows that the statecraft of risk mitigation has been diverse since the discovery of North Korean nuclear weapons programme. South Korea is known to have adopted policies across the hard-line and appeasement spectrum; each has its own strengths and shortcomings in ensuring national security. Addressing the ongoing debate as to whether the Republic of Korea (ROK) should be more hard-line or conciliatory in its approach towards North Korea, this paper also analyses the evolution of South Korea's statecraft in response to North Korean provocations from 1988 to 2016, from Roh Tae-Woo to the present Park Geun-Hye's administrations. The results of the analysis will be interpreted using the risk mitigation framework as to which policy option yielded the greatest positive impact in mitigating risks in a crisis involving North Korea. Following the application of this framework, the paper then proposes whether a combination of both hard-line and conciliatory statecraft is the best way to deal with North Korean provocations. Given North Korea's diverse approach in relation to its nuclear, missile, and military provocations, this paper argues that statecraft that combines credible punishment and smart engagement could complement the existing pro-conciliatory approach, strengthening South Korea's position against North Korean threat. The paper concludes by recommending the application of risk mitigation framework in conflict situations and to increase policy makers' awareness and attention on discerning the effectiveness of risk mitigation strategy in managing international conflicts.

Professor Darrell Irwin, Central China Normal University

Risk after Admission: The Campus Risks that Chinese and US College Students Really Face

Once admitted to college, the allure described in college brochures will be joined by new realities for both Chinese and US students. While sexual assault and crime are known risks on US campuses, students are faced with expanded and pervasive public health and behavioral risks. Least likely is the risk of index crime victimization, less than 3 percent. Most likely are public health risk categories including sexual harassment, second-hand binge drinking effects, HIV, and ethno-violence. The author, in earlier research, found that in the US, 97.5 per cent of college students are unlikely to be victimized by index crimes, while only 57.3 per cent are unlikely to be victimized by a combination of public health and behavioral risks. The risks faced by Chinese students are different, which include

suicidal behavior, HIV transmission and intensive academic pressure. Risks both to the students themselves and to degree completion are discussed.

Gulin Kayhan, Graduate School of Asia Pacific Studies, Waseda University, Japan

The Whaling Controversy and the Militarization of Environmental Activism

Since the late 1970s, environmentalists are warning the global public of the dangers oceans are facing. The risk of extinction to some cetaceans and the threat that this loss of biodiversity poses to humanity are summed up in the slogan “if oceans die, we die”. Over decades, however, the language of anti-whaling activism has shifted from green-peace to green war. “If oceans die, we die” is now one of the slogans of a reality show called Whale Wars depicting the efforts of Sea Shepherd Conservation Society targeting Japanese whaling operations in the Southern Antarctic Ocean. In this paper, I take Whale Wars as an example of the proliferation of Green War as a political imaginary that brings together a peculiar understanding of the heroic self, an us-and-them logic and an imagined utopic existence which depends on the extermination of the other. Collisions between anti-whaling vessels and massive whaling ships take place and ensure not only immediate media coverage but also high ratings when it is broadcasted on TV. Also, in an attempt to create an international crisis, activists forcefully board the Japanese ships. On the other side of the controversy, Japanese whaling industry considers anti-whaling activism a security threat and uses the label eco-terrorism to reframe the whaling issue as an attack on Japan and Japanese whale eating culture. I situate my analysis in the recent debate on the institutionalization of green violence (Fletcher, forthcoming). ‘Green violence’ as ‘the deployment of violent instruments and tactics toward the protection of nature’ (Büscher and Ramutsindela 2015: 2) appear socially and politically acceptable to an increasing number of actors. I argue in this paper that the rising prevalence of war logics in anti-whaling activism can be analysed as the interplay between a particular psychology of identification and a tactical pragmatism, both of which emanate from the increasing pervasiveness of neoliberal notions. The sphere of activism is conceived of by activists through the metaphor of the market; activists hope to be good entrepreneurs in igniting passions and recruiting commitment from fans.

Judith Martinez, University of the Cordilleras, Philippines

At Risk and Insecure: Understanding the Trajectories of Re-Offending and its Implications to Police Programs and Policies

The relationship between the past and future offending behavior has received much attention and that the inability to take into account crime and persistence as a process leads to underestimation of risk for some and overestimation of risk for others. This study ventured into understanding the life history of re-offenders. It looked into the family and environmental factors that affected their offending history and provided insight into the perceptions of the re-offenders about their crimes and of their own identity. This study then is deemed essential for its contributions in providing

general opportunities in understanding the trajectories of offenders, particularly on their re-offending histories in relation to their social security. This study made use of the qualitative research method through interpretive phenomenological approach. The interviews were conducted with 5 participants from the Cordillera Administrative Region, Philippines. Additionally, life event calendar or a journal and official records were used in understanding the risks and uncertainties in the lives of the re-offenders. The participants were requested to write their reflections, recollections, and experiences in the life event calendar of the journal. It was concluded from this in-depth understanding that people have diverse life experiences influenced by their family structure and social processes, education, social environment, and work. And as people traverse their life course these influences strongly shapes them to conform or not, which is also a problem related to uncertainty especially for re-offenders and their surroundings. The risk becomes magnified and extended when neglect of children's affection and supervision are observed. Since these children are neglected, they seek belongingness to other people, and as they associate with them, they tend to be vulnerable and exposed into crime commission. Incarceration reciprocates into either a positive or a negative self-image of the offenders. Those who see themselves as positive may accept change for better and those who see themselves negative predict deviance. Insights from understanding these people who are at risk and insecure because of uncertainty could shed light to how the police force could formulate programs and policies related to the risks and pathways of re-offenders.

William McGowan, University of Liverpool, UK

'Life can only be understood backwards; but it must be lived forwards'(?): temporalities of security among survivors of political violence

Counterterrorism and security discourses espousing notions of citizen resilience and empowerment, partially framed as the normative antidote to potential vulnerability and trauma, have been widely maligned across a range of critical security studies. Many of these critiques have highlighted the temporal disconnect between abstract, anticipatory frameworks of governance premised on futurity, on the one hand, and specific, tangible harms located in the past and occurring into the present, on the other (Schott, 2015: 187). Drawing on in-depth interview data from an ongoing PhD project, this paper will explore the experiences of a small sample of victims and survivors of political violence from a range of critical incidents. These incidents span a diverse time/place range and include both institutional violence committed 'from above' (for example, the shooting of innocent protestors by the British military in Northern Ireland in 1972), as well as anti-institutional violence 'from below' (for example, the 2005 London bombings) (Ruggiero, 2006: 1). While the spectacle of 'terrorism' feeds into a whole host of public fears and anxieties, often harnessed by media and state actors to justify the ceaseless 'war on terror', survivors with first-hand experience of violence perpetrated by both state and non-state actors have a regrettably intimate vantage point from which to reflect on such issues. Unpacking some of the lived complexity evident in this interview data and prior fieldwork, this paper will offer some empirical examples of how individuals have coped in the face of personal injury and devastating loss. Through a close reading of these narratives it will explore how this suffering and loss has been traversed over time, how it has been articulated in the present, and consider some of the implications it has had for survivors' sense of ontological security and their outlook on security threats more broadly.

Dr Leon Moosavi, University of Liverpool, Singapore

The Risks to Global Security in the Era of Trump

Donald Trump has built his presidency on a new brand of populism that claims there are a wide-range of security threats that pose huge risks. Along with this, he has outlined vague and simplistic solutions to resolve these supposed risks and it appears as though millions of voters have been convinced by his discourse. This paper considers some of the reoccurring themes that have surfaced in Trump's securitised rhetoric by exploring how he and his administration have codified different risks. It also considers some of the consequences that Trump's pronouncements about security may enact in the lives of ordinary citizens in the US but also in terms of geopolitics. Finally, the paper will consider whether Trump has overlooked other risks that might be worthy of greater attention. In relation to these themes, the paper will caution about the reoccurring tendency to blame Trump for introducing a supposedly new discourse by highlighting how such themes may be being expressed in candid ways that we haven't seen before, but providing a reminder that such views about risks and security are hardly original in mainstream Western politics. This paper will thus call attention to the need to challenge dominant narratives about who and what are risky, and to pose the question as to whether it is actually those who claim to identify risks to security that are actually the risks to security.

Professor Gabe Mythen, University of Liverpool, UK

Radicalisation: What is it good for? Absolutely nothing?

Post 9/11 'radicalisation' has steadily gained ground as a means of explaining the process by which individuals commit to violent extremism in the name of religious and political causes. While the discourse of radicalisation has been prevalent in media, political and intelligence circles, critical scholars in security studies have questioned the modelling of radicalisation as a distinct and linear process. Despite these critiques, common sense assumptions about radicalisation which are based on incomplete evidence have become embedded in anti-terrorism policies. Drawing on practical examples from the East and the West, this paper examines the ways in which risk has been utilized as a technology enabling pre-emptive intervention to combat violent extremism. To this end, both the institutional logics deployed in counter radicalisation policy and the efficacy of such measures are elucidated.

Dr Alice Nah, Centre for Applied Human Rights, University of York

Theorising Security and Protection in High-Risk Activism

Since the 1980s, scholars have been interested in the dynamics of high-risk activism – activism that involves exposure to grave danger or harm, such as arrest, imprisonment, torture, disappearances, and murder. Scholars have focused on why people engage in high-risk activism (McAdam, 1986; Loveman, 1998); the significance and role of emotions in activism (Goodwin, Jasper and Polleta,

2001; Jasper, 2011; Romano, 2014); and the ways social networks influence participation (McAdam and Paulsen, 1993; Viterna, 2006). This paper adds to this body of work, by focusing on how people engaged in high-risk activism feel about the risks they face, manage their personal security, and receive support for their protection from others. It presents research findings from a project that involved interviews, focus groups and surveys with over 400 human rights defenders in Colombia, Mexico, Egypt, Kenya and Indonesia who have been threatened or attacked for their human rights work over the past five years. In particular, this paper highlights the complexities and dynamics of risk in activism, the strategies and tactics that individuals and groups use to manage their personal security, and the ways in which social networks influence the provision of protection support to activists at risk.

Dr George Radics and Koh Jia Yu , National University of Singapore

Moral Panic in Singapore: Race, Legislation and the Little India Riot

Singapore is known to be one of the most secure and orderly countries in the world. However, on 8 December 2013, a riot that took place in Little India shook Singaporean sensibilities and served as the nation's first violent outburst in four decades. On that day, approximately 300 Indian migrant workers were involved in a violent clash with local police over several hours—all in response to what was perceived as the callous treatment of a worker who was run over by a private bus meant for the migrant workers. Immediately after the riot took place, the State clamped down on the area by enacting the Public Order (Additional Temporary Measures) Act (POATM), providing authorities tremendous power to intensify police presence and restrict alcohol consumption within the newly demarcated "special zone." While some, emphasized the role of media in stoking public fears (Pang, et al, 2016; Kaur, et al., 2016), or the state in enacting heavy-handed legislation (Chen, 2014; Aricat, 2013), this article argues that the Little India riot triggered a moral panic that drew upon age old racist stereotypes of Indians as alcoholic. It further argues that the response was exacerbated by the state's need to restore order in a city-state reliant on cheap foreign labor, yet experiencing heightened tensions between the local population and transient workers. It concludes that while the government's response was an explicit attempt to redefine boundaries and restore social order, the POATM also served the purpose of quelling the moral panic by reminding the public of the State's efficacy and power in crime control. This article draws upon the traditional definitions of moral panic by Stanley Cohen (1972), Stuart Hall (1978), and Howard Becker (1963), but applies the concept in the "soft-authoritarian" state of Singapore, modifying it to fit a context in which media is strictly controlled and the role of moral entrepreneurs is limited. The article also provides a critical and sociological approach to risk governance, and highlights the Singaporean approach to crime, risk and security.

Ignacio Rubio, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

Uncertainty, land sales and environmental risk in the coast of Oaxaca.

The paper discusses how uncertainty and risk are key in promoting and accelerating the expansion of tourism in the coast of Oaxaca where land grabbings and environmental tensions are on the rise. It addresses the question of why and how local inhabitants struggle to control the touristic expansion and the environmental risks that emerge with it. Tourism is a salient development strategy promoted by global agencies, governments and corporations in the Global South. In Mexico's sea shore, this strategy combines, on the one hand, big resorts in highly planned enclaves with, on the other, a network of alternative destinations that offer locally grounded experiences and benefit from massive public investments in communications. In Oaxaca, these alternative destinations face great regulatory and capitalization difficulties, they are also experiencing rapid structural changes to which the local inhabitants have had to adjust in the lapse of one generation. Although for a period the original settlers managed to define the nature and extent of the touristic services, in the last decade their main strategy has been to sell part of their land and move to smaller and/or hazard-prone areas (Rubio, 2015). Using a life course approach (Mayer, 2009), it is argued that part of this process is driven by the changing expectations of original land holders that find it increasingly difficult to face the economic and environmental uncertainties involved in the cyclic dynamic of tourism. This also has to do with a redefinition of environmental risks as agriculture and fisheries are displaced as sources of wellbeing and as suitable life projects for the younger ones. The central argument of the paper is that uncertainty is more and more framed in terms of tourists and investors' decisions and choices. This transforms the significance of cooperation as a source of security but also implies that the external values of tourists and investors in alternative locations acquire more relevance for the definition of environmental risks. Meanwhile, the attribution of responsibility is increasingly going to the locals and the particular dangers and damages they face are made invisible even for themselves.

Dr Samatha Western, Keele University

Regulating risk? Techniques and technologies used to prevent child sexual exploitation

There has been growing concern in recent years about child sexual exploitation (CSE), both internationally and in the UK. Fuelled by several high profile cases in the media there has been a proliferation of official enquiries, inspections and case reviews, all of which call for proactive pre-emptive action to address CSE. CSE is, however, a moving target. For example, the rapid expansion and adoption of online digital technologies is significantly affecting the way young people conduct their social relationships, and has led to moral concerns regarding sexting and the distribution of sexually explicit photos and videos.

The UK Government's CSE Action Plan (Department for Education, 2011) has prompted a small number of exploratory criminal justice-led initiatives aimed to specifically prevent CSE. A framework distinguishing different types and different forms of risk and vulnerability is influential, but one key intervention focuses on raising awareness of CSE among young people, parents, carers and potential perpetrators.

Drawing on an empirical research project that includes observation of and in-depth interviews with members of a multi-agency team set up to prevent CSE and strategic partners, and focus groups with young people and parents, this paper considers how awareness raising interventions are targeted to 'risk' and how these have been directed at the regulation and control of childhood behaviour and sexuality. The arguments presented accept the need to prevent CSE. However, a critical assessment of initial work suggests that the strategies and techniques used within the initiatives examined may have unintended consequences: they not only fuel existing public anxieties about youth deviancy, new technologies, child sexual abuse, and the risks associated with childhood sexuality; they also respond to and impart a 'common sense' regarding the culpability and responsibility of children, parents and carers by consolidating practices of self-surveillance, self-blame and internalisation.

Hannah Wilkinson, Keele University

The risks, costs and uncertainties of serving in 21st century conflict and transitioning to a 'post-conflict' life: 'What was it all for?'

This paper will draw on research currently being undertaken with former military personnel who have served in 21st century conflicts, predominantly Afghanistan and Iraq. 21st century wars, unlike the vast majority of previous warfare, can be seen as ambiguous and uncertain in their very nature. Based on ideologically driven motivations, the 'War on Terror' is fuelled by notions of 'risk', with unclear enemies, battlefields and visions of 'victory'. Participants in this research have regularly discussed the blurred lines that they have experienced during their service, particularly concerning legitimate and illegitimate violence during times of war, peacekeeping and security missions. The uncertainty of civilian life is also a main emerging theme within the data, with participants claiming that war and military life made sense, whereas their current 'civvy' life can be confusing and unclear. This paper will introduce the concept of 'combat capital', created and currently being developed by drawing upon the 'thinking tools' of Bourdieu (1972). Combat Capital is a theoretical tool aiming to make sense of the complex nature of serving in, and leaving, war and military life. It also considers participants' shifting identities during and after service and the impact of social networks and support on this transition. The risks taken by former personnel and the uncertainty that can follow military service will be explored in this paper, paying particular attention to the ways in which the emotional, physical and social costs of war are experienced. Whilst in the military, the majority of participants claim that they did not concern themselves with the politics behind the wars they served in. Instead, they talk of the excitement they remember feeling around the prospect of 'doing what we're trained for' and being posted to areas of conflict. However, many participants appear to describe civilian lives that are still fraught with conflict, leading the research to question whether 'post-conflict' life exists for these former personnel. In the wake of the Chilcot Report one participant, when reflecting upon his service, simply asked, 'what was it all for?'

Dr Ricardo Valente, University of Barcelona and **Dr Lucrezia Crescenzi**, University of Central Catalonia – Vic (Spain)

Do neighbourhoods match people’s perception of insecurity? Evidences from the European project MARGIN.

In Western societies, where crime and victimization are relatively uncommon events (compared to other parts of the world), fear of crime and the perception of insecurity become a pressing issue as urgent as crime itself. It is well known that insecurity is affected by several factors that go beyond actual crime rates. Up-to-date research indicate, for instance, the impact of media on fear as well as the influence that non-criminal episodes such as anti-social behaviours can have on people’s perceptions of crime. Another argument adduced by criminologists is that the crimes that police are aware of do not include all the crimes that effectively take place in a given society. Some typologies of offences are clearly underreported (for example, gender and domestic violence), which may generate what is called the “dark figure” of crime (i.e. the difference between the crimes that actually occur and those that are reported to the police).

As a matter of fact, studying insecurity by solely taking into account crime reported to the police actually reduces the focus to a small portion of the problem. Accordingly, in order to deepen the understanding of the social phenomenon of insecurity, multi-method research approaches appear to be unavoidable.

The paper will provide a comprehensive overview of the results obtained over the course of the research project MARGIN (<http://marginproject.eu>) funded by the European Commission under the Horizon 2020 programme. The MARGIN project is currently implementing a research design encompassing the collection of primary data through three qualitative techniques (in-depth interviews, participant observation and focus groups). The qualitative data collection undertaken in the framework of this anthropological fieldwork is focused on 10 neighbourhoods in 5 cities (Barcelona, Paris, London, Budapest and Milan). Targeting neighbourhoods (which are the physical spaces in which people live and where determinants of insecurity “take place”) is the only way to develop targeted policies that could generate effective, long-lasting and sustainable results to reduce the risk factors that negatively affect people’s perceptions of security.