TERROR, LEISURE AND CONSUMPTION

EMERALD STUDIES IN DEVIANT LEISURE

The *Emerald Studies in Deviant Leisure* series examines the relationship between commodified leisure and harm. The series provides a forum for publications that explore the harms of commodified leisure against a wider backdrop of consumerism and global capitalism. The series transcends disciplinary boundaries and will publish work from the fields of Criminology, Sociology, Youth Studies, Leisure Studies, Tourism Studies, Cultural Geography, Urban Studies and more. The series publishes monographs, edited collections and short books (between 20,000 and 50,000 words). Proposals from early career researchers are particularly welcome.

Titles in this series

Thomas Raymen, *Parkour, Deviance and Leisure in the Late-Capitalist City: An Ethnography*

TERROR, LEISURE AND CONSUMPTION

SPACES FOR HARM IN A POST-CRASH ERA

BY

LEANNE McRAE

United Kingdom – North America – Japan – India
Malaysia – China

Emerald Publishing Limited
Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley BD16 1WA, UK

First edition 2018

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-78756-526-5 (paperback)
ISBN: 978-1-78756-523-4 (E-ISBN)
ISBN: 978-1-78756-525-8 (Epub)

ISOQAR certified Management System, awarded to Emerald for adherence to Environmental standard ISO 14001:2004.

Certificate Number 1985
ISO 14001

INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: TERROR IN OUR TIMES

> *We also have little idea of what it is to burn with a sense of injustice and oppression, and what it is to give our lives for a cause, to be so desperate or earnest. We think of these acts as mad, random and criminal, rather than as part of a recognisable exchange of violences.*
>
> *(Kureishi, 2005, p. 91)*

Hanif Kureishi wrote these words in 2005, offering up an evocative template for understanding extremism. These words resonated in the shadow of 9/11 to germinate awareness into how the hijackers could and would willingly sacrifice themselves to fly planes into the World Trade Center and murder 3,000 civilians. In the same article, Kureishi (2005) unravels these tropes further and asserts a detailed sense of the emotional repertoire that permits humans to envelope radical contradictions and perverse violences by arguing that 'the body-hatred and terror of sexuality that characterise most religions can lead people not only to cover their bodies in shame but to think of themselves as human bombs' (p. 93). The atomisation of bodies, identities and selves he evokes is

mirrored in the fracturing of community worldwide where individuals can no longer 'see their interests in relation to others of a similar socio-economic position' (Winlow & Hall, 2013, p. 17) and as such, now live in 'an era of post-political biopolitics' (Winlow & Hall, 2013, p. 17) where lives are disposable and bodies are stripped of meanings motivated by their decades as cogs in a capitalist machine – first as workers, then as consumers. Nine years later, the consequences of fragmented bodies, communities and identities have become acute. Richard Barrett (2014) of The Soufan Group – a security intelligence service provided by Federal Bureau of Investigation, UK and National Security Agency intelligence veterans – wrote 'the self-styled Islamic State is an accident of history' (p. 1) suggesting that the complex international and regional relationships that have contributed to the creation of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) are isolated and random. While Barrett acknowledges the multiple 'social, political and economic' factors contributing to its emergence, this statement suggests that a concrete, trackable pathway to ISIS is not available. This is not the case. It becomes very clear that nothing but extremism could exist in this time and place when we widen our gaze to consider the perspectives writers like Kureishi offer. ISIS is not an 'accident' but a rationalised and realistic reaction and consequence of systemic power relations and corrosive capitalist trajectories that require the exploitation and dispossession of particular groups in our world for the benefit and prosperity of others. Steve Hall (2012), has called this *special liberty;* a condition of contemporary global capitalism that requires 'inflicting harm on others to simply "get things done" to satisfy the demands of business in a competitive environment' (p. 8). This callous discard of others is part of a violent and disposable social structure that rewards selfishness and works to deconstruct social ties that might mitigate or dispel these aggressions.

The neoliberal context for this style of capitalism validates 'augmented egoism, narcissism and competitive individualism' (Hall, Winlow, & Ancrum, 2012, p. 8) in the service of a market economy that values profit for the few above all. The emergence of ISIS speaks to these conditions, and their attacks in Europe from 2014 deploy these meanings in a new framework for terror – one that is in dialogue with a critically failing capitalism, the excesses of consumption and the criminal behaviour of governments and corporations in unlawful invasions and financial failure that punishes and criminalises the poor for the harms that were inflicted upon them, while protecting the criminal negligence of financial elites whose systemic exploitation lead to the 2008 Global Financial Crisis (GFC). It is also a context of grotesque hypocrisy where the powerful 'violate the very rules they try to impose' (Hall et al., 2012, p. 8) on others – and indeed bring the full force of domestic and international law and legal systems to punish those that seek to contradict the imposing persistence of market capitalism. Now Europe is a crucible for an 'exchange of violences' that are located in the crises of capitalism that have crept across the globe and accelerated in the post-Global Financial Crash period. The burning sense of injustice and oppression is released in a tidal wave of harmful attitudes and outcomes. This emotional repertoire rendered in the rise of populism and swing of voters to the extreme right wing in the United States and Europe, the Brexit vote in the United Kingdom and the increasing visibility and impact of jihadist terrorist organisations including Al-Qaeda, its many direct and indirect affiliates, as well as its nemesis; ISIS.

ISIS is a horrifyingly brutal organisation devoted to accelerating the end of times, terror and destruction. While it would be easy to map the emergence of ISIS as a result of colonial pasts and perversions, laying the blame on invading elites from the Crusades to the offences wrought by the

Sykes-Picot Agreement, such a trajectory must also include the corruption of local leaders and elites who betrayed the welfare of their citizens for short-term political or economic gain. These are the trajectories normalised within an evolving and encompassing capitalism that seeks out exploitations in new markets wherever it can. The harmful consequences – having been entrenched throughout the Third World – are now beginning to weave their way into empowered contexts where populations have previously enjoyed the benefits of capitalism via consumer fetishisation and leisure opportunities. Europe, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, for example, have emerged out of a Global Financial Crash that was 'the most severe economic downturn since the Great Depression' (Tienhaara, 2018, p. 5). It resulted, not in correction of attitudes and legislation, but in the reanimation of the very system that failed with only minor interventions into the grotesque policies and outlooks that permitted such financial negligence (GAO US Government Accountability Office, 2013, p. 12). The consequences of 'special liberty' are no longer displaced onto the 'Third World' but located in the heart of capital where the working class become the working poor or the workless and citizens are widely disenfranchised from democratic process and civic rights (Winlow & Hall, 2013). Such conditions have been slowly etching their way through the economic landscape over decades. Since the 1980s, 'real wages in rich countries have stagnated' (Standing, 2016, p. 21). While 'the labour share fell in the US from 53 per cent in 1970 to 43.5 per cent in 2012' (Standing, 2016, p. 20) 'corporate profits more than tripled in real terms between 1980 and 2013' (Standing, 2016, p. 21). The Global Financial Crash was precipitated by the collapse of subprime mortgages in the United States which resulted in the financial system becoming 'insolvent since it could not service its debts' (Lapavitsas, 2013, p. 278). This crisis was caused by cavalier

removal of regulatory oversight of banks and a perverse paradigm where such 'bankers and other experts are allowed to squash democracy' (Žižek, 2012a, p. 13) via the elevation of capital interests over the social good. Working life no longer offers the potentials and possibilities it once did. Casual, part time and no-hours contract labour means that a living wage is increasingly beyond reach. The working class has been atomised and there is a:

> *proletarianization of the lower salaried bourgeoisie … accompanied by an excess in the opposite direction: the irrationally high pay of top managers and bankers … inversely proportional to the company's success. (Žižek, 2012a, p. 12)*

Work becomes a space for harm as rights are consistently eroded, financial security is denied and disposability is normalised. Carl Cederström and Peter Fleming (2012) argue that this is a lifeless space and that we are 'dead [wo]man working', and in order to compensate for this 'dead-end nature of capital, we have been witnessing the birth of a new culture industry with its artificial zones of "leisure"' (p. 5) that function as a space of meaningfulness and counterpoint to the living death embodied in contemporary work environments. However, 'capital seeks to exploit our very sociability in *all* spheres of life' (Cederström & Fleming, 2012, p. 7) so even in leisure its harms insinuate, and the consumer practices that are now tethered to leisure encourage mindless acquisition regardless of the harms that may result from or within the production system. Consumption is seduction. Accumulation allows us to ignore, silence and mask the anxieties and brutalities of capitalism. It is a fanaticism with accumulation mobilised through leisure spaces.

Thorstein Veblen's phrase, 'conspicuous consumption' has come to be a catch-phrase for the contemporary consumer age where the possession of objects and artefacts has come

to signify a dominant mode of self-affirmation and identity politics in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, rendered by 'the "live now – pay later" norm [that] encourages the short-cut mentality and ratchets up consumer debt as well as cultivating egoism and an irresponsible, instrumental attitude towards others' (Hall et al., 2012, p. 8). This attitude seeps into all areas of life. Leisure is defined by 'an unquestioning commitment to consumer capitalism' (Smith & Raymen, 2016, p. 2) which offers evocative and telling terrain upon which to configure contemporary global political, economic and social arrangements. Leisure has been tethered to a variety of arenas including 'education, recuperation and most recently, entertainment' (Beatty & Torbert, 2003, p. 240). It is this last category that most concerns the trajectory of the arguments in this book. Veblen's understandings of the relationship between work, leisure and consumption remain relevant to the arguments in this book in that he locates the emergence of leisure in defining the role of valued community members over the lower ranks who undertook menial tasks in laboured cohorts. This separation meant that time was organised differently for these community members where they were not beholden to the temporal rhythms of daily life. These members were defined by their ability to accumulate 'wealth' – objects, artefacts, items, and often, people, out of barbaric predatory practices. These items, originally in the form of booty or trophies from war or conflict and including slaves, functioned to articulate an 'invidious comparison between their possessor and the enemy from whom they were taken' (Veblen, 1899/2003, p. 20). Important in this model is that the holding or possession of symbols that represent the marginalisation, oppression and demoralisation of the other, are framed as meritorious, highlighting the predatory nature of the symbols and acts representative in their leisure. As societies have evolved, scholars have debated Veblen's 'trickle

down' model where he affirms that the lower 'classes' seek to emulate the accumulation of wealth, goods and items of the elites to carve out the values and benefits of leisure for themselves. However, the thread of predatory politics embedded in leisure and the consumption that now defines it, present a powerful trope through which to track the emergence of contemporary forms of callous capitalism. Smith and Raymen (2015) knit together these relationships to demonstrate the corrosive nature of consumption and how 'these actions are entirely in keeping with the demands of neoliberal, consumer society' (para. 7).

> *A violence and lack of concern about harming others is in fact representative of a much deeper competitive individualistic subjectivity which stems from a liberal-capitalist political–economic, social and cultural system, and is entirely normative throughout our society and culture (Smith & Raymen, 2015, para. 4).*

The rise of the information economy and cultural industries off the back of a declining industrial age situates the acquisition of pleasure – as signified by consumption as well as the reification of leisure spaces – resulting in the 'trampling over the interests of others in our relentless struggle to acquire and display' (Hall et al., 2012, p. 12). Political, economic and social emphasis is no longer on production of objects in real time, but instead on accumulation, of the virtual and the ephemeral. Leisure occupies a tenuous space in this relationship as it was once hard fought for in industrialism to free workers from the spaces of labour to pursue their own interests. However, this was quickly codified as pursuit of objects and meanings clearly situated to reify industrialism. Now, there is an oversupply of leisure time as the space for full time work has decayed into part time, flexible, casual and contract forms

of labour – all supposedly built around the attractiveness of increased flexi-leisure time. However, this time is increasingly dead or dying – a space for zombified practices that exemplify the death-throes of a declining Anthropocene where capitalism slowly bleeds out. In the spaces for leisure, this display of surplus time along with consumer artefacts and acquisitions functions to render contemporary capitalism as a modality of and for the exploitation of others who produce artefacts who are now removed from visible everyday interactions. For Veblen (1899/2003), the 'leisure of the masterclass is … an indulgence of a proclivity for the avoidance of labour' (p. 41) framing work as low and unworthy. Leisure functions as a marker of superiority where those who can choose not to labour are not subject to the vicissitudes of capital. Gaining wealth signified by the accumulation of accoutrements, objects, items, and even in some cases, people, is now predated onto servants-by-proxy. The labour of the low is now denied even the working class in 'Western' contexts where we are now confronted with the workless and the working poor who are barely permitted to scrape together a living wage. Production is displaced offshore into sweatshops and onto the labour of the Third-World poor. Instead, we have a surplus of leisure filling up the vacant spaces of labour. But it is leisure-on-credit from global capitalism wherein we become leisure rentiers accumulating via credit or crime because there is no labour through which to generate wealth in the post-industrial apocalypse. The items and objects for consumption are now being produced by the labour of the catastrophically oppressed workers of Third-World economies who cannot afford to purchase the goods they make. Resources are hijacked, co-opted and stolen from sovereign lands via war, invasion, international trade agreements and unfair treaties. Our economies are in crisis, hanging on the illusions of stakeholder and stockholder hierarchies. Borrowed brutalities punctuate daily struggles for money whereby we

sell out and undercut each other for a chance at employment to perpetuate the exploitative tendencies of global capitalism. These are the conditions that lend itself to the 'exchange of violences' now being witnessed through terror.

This book argues that since 2015 there has been an increase in terrorist attacks where leisure spaces have been specifically targeted with what are called 'individual jihad' or 'sympathizer plots' featuring a lone or groups of attackers using low-tech weapons – cars, vans, pressure cooker bombs, knives and machetes – to attack people at leisure – in the market, at a concert or football match, at the nightclub or shopping. This has marked a movement in terror tactics as ISIS has metamorphised out of Al-Qaeda and spaces of and for work (9/11; 7/7) which marked the nodes for terror attacks for Al-Qaeda, have changed to those of and for leisure that characterise the contemporary terrorist attacks of ISIS. This movement creates a snapshot into the intersections between capitalism, globalisation, terror, decline, and leisure that punctuate these terror attacks.

These attacks are not exemplars of modern-day terrorism. The majority of terror attacks target security personnel, police and the military. Ordinary people have been attacked in market places and restaurants across the globe. But what these specific European moments of terrorism reveal is the fracturing of capitalism. As we move from 9/11 through the post-crash era and into the times of Trump, the character of harm, what types of violence and terror gets represented as well as realised, changes. As the spectre of ISIS crystalises, it shines a spotlight on the vicissitudes of capitalism, the rise of precariousness and the harms of corporate global outcomes. In these specific contexts, singled out for study, a new reality emerges – one where the struggle over deviance is transported into and through mainstream leisure spaces which deploy meanings that are born from the decaying conditions of late capitalism.

The terrorist attacks singled out for study in this book are part of a much larger picture of terrorism in Europe. They are not the only lone-wolf or ISIS-inspired attacks. Events in Nice, Brussels, the Ataturk Airport, Saint Petersburg and Barcelona are some other high-profile attacks not explored in this collection. The ones selected for study have been engaged as archetypal nodes for how terrorism is being represented and understood in the 'West'. They have entered into our consciousness through media reportage that intersects the complexities of capitalism, consumption, race, difference, violence and otherness with spectacle, sensation, myth and memory. Through these events and how they are conveyed through the media, terrorism is crafted as a narrative that links together a core trajectory for sense-making. Each of the sites, their style of attack, their outcomes, spaces of meaning and trajectory for how they enter into our popular as well as collective memory can be fleshed out through an understanding of how these attacks were crafted, realised and processed.

What makes these attacks particularly resonant within the news media cycle is that they deploy a seductive and simple trajectory of sense-making. The narrative of the violent terrorist attacker, savage barbarism of the ISIS fighter and the brutalities of fundamentalist Islam is contrasted to the innocent, civilised and unsuspecting (predominantly Western) victim. The intersections between leisure and harm provide fertile ground to flesh out and reify these contrasting but complementary imaginings, all funnelled through a highly ideological structure of an evil and barbaric Middle East versus civilised and enlightened 'West'. 'Deviance' becomes a dance of perspective, tensions and outcomes. The dominant narrative becomes visible as part of the decline of the 'West' and the corrosion of capitalism as a structuring platform for meaning within that space. Using the term 'the West' reveals this flawed and fallible meaning system. To borrow from

Derek Bryce, it is important to understand the failures of our structures for understanding that this phrase remains part of our lexicon as well as the failures within this monograph to mobilise more deeply reflexive tropes for rendering the relationships being discussed.

> *The contingent, contestable term 'Western' is deployed, with little controversy, in current political, cultural and media discourse and indeed lavish use of it is made in this study (an indication, perhaps, of the shackles imposed by the very discourse its author sets out to criticise) (Bryce, 2007, p. 166).*

The potency of orientalism is retained within these case studies as a nod to the limitations of language and the convenience of its narrative to empowered 'Western' identity under such circumstances. It also acknowledges the way in which these imaginings retain a potent place in the spectacles, simulations and seductions of international relations, identities and values.

The case studies in this book offer the opportunity to configure an understanding of the ways in which harm and leisure intersect so that a deeper rendering of the relationships being crafted by a sensationalist multimedia consumer system can be spotlighted. By widening the lens beyond the time-line of attacks, the motivations and objectives of ISIS and the constructions of innocence and victimisation towards the meanings attached to times, spaces, bodies, events and behaviours enables a reflexive and conscious rendering of contemporary terrorism.

The investigation of these themes within this book takes shape over a series of case studies that serve to highlight and deploy the core themes of capitalism, consumption, leisure and terror.

Chapter 1 uses the work of criminologists Steve Hall and Simon Winlow to examine the criminogenic aspects of deviant leisure. This work is used as a lens to deploy special liberty

to track how disempowered groups engage in an exchange of violences whereby criminality is centralised as part of rampant and accelerated consumerism. In the rush to generate social standing by accumulation in an era where work is scarce, and a living wage remote, the turn to crime to consume is normalised within particular disenfranchised groups. These young men (and women), deal drugs, loot and steal. They justify this behaviour by embracing special liberty where the criminal behaviour of empowered groups is adopted and translated by the disempowered. The philosophies articulated by these young people to justify harm, is rooted in the atomisation of individuals, decay of community and alienation of the welfare state. The communal bonds that might have once constrained and contextualised these harms have been silenced by the networks of neoliberal governance and accelerated capitalism that reify the consumer above all identities. This identity and its outcomes have global consequences as the behaviour, policies and international interactions of transnational corporations and governments have reified these philosophies across the globe. The invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq in retaliation for 9/11 and in search of (non-existent) weapons of mass destruction is cached in a desire for 'Western' markets to manipulate and continue to colonise the Middle East for their oil reserves and as a bulwark against an unknown and threatening Islamic identity. The devastating harms wreaked by an invasive and violent capitalist trajectory have manifested in the rise of militant and extremist Islamic fundamentalism that return the violence back to the core. These terrorists deploy meanings along the trajectory of the consequences of special liberty at its excessive edge – in violent corruption of bodies in space.

Chapter 2 examines the modes of mobility that ISIS utilise to 'speak back' to colonising capitalists, exchanging violence in ways that unsettle and peel open narratives

and identities in a rupturing of critical consciousness. As a terror tactic, forms of mobility have often been targeted or deployed. Hijackings are one example. Al-Qaeda used this tactic in a new way by crashing planes into buildings. The times, spaces and targets for their attack on 9/11 were embedded in work day literacies and practices. They targeted the modes of production and industrialised sites. ISIS targets the spaces of and for leisure that deploy mobility in complex meaning systems to accelerate consumer capitalism via pleasure and sensation masking consequences and outcomes that are uncomfortable, confronting or difficult. Consumers are moving physically and emotionally within these spaces. They walk, gaze, dance, shop, finding pleasure and sensations in consumption. Prioritising consumer practices, feelings and perspectives, these spaces were re-coded by ISIS to turn leisure into terror. They walked and drove among the consumers, pretending to be one of them. The ideologies of space and place, movement and meaning were corrupted in bloody interventions that turned the sensations of pleasurable leisure into horrifying terror. Popular music, the nighttime economy, shopping and nightclubbing were stripped of their consumer-based harms located in excessive drinking, drug-taking and risky behaviour and rewritten with explosions, murder, stabbing, shootings, suicide vests, bombings and vehicular homicide.

Chapter 3 situates the methods and modes of imagining, myth and symbolism embedded within capitalism – rendered in products and practices of accumulation as symbolic of individual value and social wealth – but also deployed in understanding terror, violence and harm in ways that create straight lines between colonisation, otherness and anxiety. The imaginary construct of the terrorist as irrational, evil and deviant is both confirmed and challenged by ISIS and in tension with the dominant narratives of the media that thrive on

images, sensations and spectacle that they offer to the consumer marketplace. The figure of the zombie as a pleasurable popular culture icon offering thrills and fun in the cinema and on the TV codifies the spaces of ambivalence between capitalism and its consequences. While audiences fill their leisure with zombie politics, a real apocalypse is unfolding in Syria. Harms can no longer be configured as localised excesses but rather span international connections and confluences linking spaces of pleasure with those of politics. Harm is at the core of contemporary capitalism and it is generated and traded in the everyday. ISIS interfaces with leisure and feedbacks the harms of consumerism by bringing it into the everyday experiences of Europeans.

Chapter 4 begins the case studies that exemplify the shift towards attacking spaces of and for leisure by ISIS in the wave of terror across Europe. It examines the Paris 2015 attack of the Bataclan Theatre and the Stade de France. It builds on the metaphors of mobility in the opening discussions of this book to demonstrate how narratives of security, community and belonging were subverted by the ring leader and coordinator of the attack, Abdelhamid Abaaoud, as he moved through Europe and actively recruited terrorists in his cell under the noses of authorities. He used the structures of security that were supposed to protect civilians and exposed them to harm. The role of globalisation as a paradigm supporting the movement of people, goods, money and culture across national boundaries in the service of community, prosperity and belonging is rewritten by terror as these same channels are used for nefarious means. The contradictions and harms of globalisation that seeks to destroy local identities and national controls are deployed and folded back by networks of terrorists and foreign fighter frameworks that slide through these mobilities to recode the meaning of security. The centrality of leisure to this plan is enfolded into an understanding of

the European Union as an economic structure that is tethered to leisure-based industries involving tourism and migration, night-time economy and pleasure industries. While Brexit reveals the corrosion of the European ideal in one context, the Paris attacks peel open the security and intelligence protocols that struggle to regulate pleasure.

Chapter 5 shifts focus to the Christmas market attack in Berlin in 2016. The cascading and coinciding connections between the creation of the Caliphate and the celebration of the Advent mark this attack in a space for shopping, community, tourism and worship. Anis Amri was attacking spaces of exchange and the role of market places as a space of and for the people – a democratic concept that ISIS abhors.

Chapter 6 examines the shooting at the Reina night club in Turkey. The attacker, Abdulkadir Masharipova, was a highly trained terrorist who was operating on direct instructions from ISIS to attack on New Year's Day. The night club was the icon of the tourist industry in Istanbul and its location on the waterfront made it a Mecca for elites. The pleasures offered in this space involved restaurants, bars and dance floors with people from all over Europe and Asia in attendance. Masharipova insinuated the ideologies of ISIS into and on top of the tourist ideologies that situate the pleasures of movement and privileges of travel. The permissiveness of the tourist discourse is re-coded in the intervention of terror where the harms of excessive partying are replaced with bullets.

Chapter 7 meanders into Stockholm and the Drottninggatan, a major shopping precinct, shaped as a pedestrian shopping mall where consumers stroll through capitalism. Rakhmat Akilov drove a truck down this mall, targeting the consumer *flâneurs* walking in the space to embody and embrace the pleasures of shopping rather than gazing and interpreting the city through a critical lens. The passivity of

this activity is shocked into consciousness as terror intervenes in the meanings of pleasure gained in walking, shopping and gazing.

In Chapter 8 the attack on the Ariana Grande concert in Manchester is interrogated. The target of young women enjoying the pleasures of popular music that deploys a pseudo-feminist façade not only reasserts the heritage of Madchester and the masculine music of rave culture, the Hacienda Nightclub and Factory Records by punishing young women enjoying music in public, but targets the liminal spaces young women literally and figuratively embody. Salman Abedi attacked these women as they exited the concert and were waiting to be reunited with parents and relatives arriving to pick them up from the concert. These in-between spaces provide provocative intersections between masculine and feminine, public and private, pop and rock, family and stranger.

The final case study examines the attack on London Bridge on 3 June 2017 by considering the role of the creative industries, city imaging and the night-time economy in centralising and celebrating consumer capitalism as a new and important economic model to 'save' the United Kingdom from economic decline and collapse. The focus on entrepreneurship, tourism and leisure industries as a whole reified the night as a space where harms were still present but mediated by policy designed to attract investment, economic growth and gentrification of the post-industrial landscape to minimise potential harms of the decline in industrialism. These philosophies ignored the already razed working class communities who were largely excluded from creative industries opportunity. The celebration of drinking, partying, dancing, eating out, concerts and other events are all part of a numbing structure that serve to distract consumers from their harmful lives. The terrorists mirrored this cavalier consciousness, deployed an

intimacy of violence that poked at the realities of consumer capitalism.

The argument in this book asserts that leisure has become the new terrain for an 'exchange of violences' between terrorists and their victims. It asserts that capitalism and the consumer consciousness is enfolded within a sphere of violence – against people, ideas, spaces and consciousness that contemporary terrorism has spotlighted. Leisure has become the dominant space where a sense of self, identity and value is crafted, taking over from work, which in the post-crash period has become tenuous, broken and burdensome. Leisure is increasingly crafted as the pursuit of pleasure and sensation in commodified constructs – embedded in popular industries and explorations – that normalise leisure via a consumer-based identity. Capitalism seduces consumers and masks the terrible inequalities that perpetuate in the service of the market. Leisure is not innocent. Deviant leisure cannot be carved out and separated from 'normal' leisure pursuits as an aberration. The wave of terror across Europe has made mainstream leisure, deviant leisure – a space for harm. Capitalism is tethered to the criminal and there is a sliding landscape of harm that has bubbled to the surface and exploded in Europe.