

# The Necropolitics of Now Distributions of Values and Value

Westermarck Memorial Lecture. Finland, Nov 2020

# Framework

- Historical legacies
- From NecroE to-Liberalism-to NL(neoliberal)-to/with-BioP (biopolitics)-to-EoL (economization of life)  
to.....
- Extracting value from the non-productive
- “Never let a serious crisis go to waste” (Mirowski) Covid-19: ENTANGLED vulnerable groups  
BAME/elderly/care workers State failure re market solutions
- Speaking from the extremes of necroeconomics (UK as limit case)

# Purposeful and Preventable Deaths

- **Not** deliberate and dramatic intensities eg wars, genocides, holocausts (Armenian, Irish, Indian, Jewish, Rawandan). Intent to destroy. Expressed intent to destroy eg The Indian Victorian holocausts (Davis)
- **Not** what Michelle Murphy defines as three necro-political modes: Mass death, not dying, not being born as evidenced in Bangladesh in the late twentieth century.
- **Not** (but could be) Global South deaths (Group 1 conditions, which include communicable diseases, maternal causes, conditions arising during pregnancy and childbirth, and nutritional deficiencies. By contrast, less than 7% of deaths in high-income countries were due to such causes.
- **Not** general Global North preventable mortality: In EU-27 the key statistic is preventable deaths: heart disease and lung cancer (links to smoking).
- **Not** (but could be) “deaths of despair” (Case and Deaton) suicide, overdose, alcoholism in US

# Necropolitics: Mbembe

- 'Politics as the work of death' by the state
- But more than a right to kill
- The right to impose civil/social death
- To enslave/subject to political violence
- And a theory of the walking dead
- Amortality – brutal power

Mbembe: "The way we used to treat exclusively black people, is now extended to people with a different skin color"...  
"The black person is by definition the one who can be humiliated, whose dignity is not recognized, whose rights can be violated with impunity, including his right to breath. He or she therefore represents the accomplished figure of the superfluous person. And nowadays, the number of superfluous people is constantly growing."

- Incarceration
- Forced migration
- Migrant fatalities (letting die/incarceration in Asylum centres)
- Starvation

But also see:

- Angela Davis
- Ruth Gilmore Wilson
- Allesandro de Giorgi
- Nicolas De Genova

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# Necropolitics continued...

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# Necro Economics: The Zong and Lord Chief Justice Mansfield

- In 1781 the ship, the Zong left West Africa carrying several hundred slaves for sale in the West Indies (470 African slaves and 17 crew on board). It was bound for the lucrative slave-markets of Jamaica.
- By the time it reached the Caribbean, an epidemic – probably of dysentery – produced through neglect - raged on board, killing scores of slaves and some of the crew. Because of an error of the Captain, the ship passed its destination, Jamaica, and – with water supplies running low – a decision was taken by the Captain to throw overboard those slaves deemed too ill to survive (or, perhaps, too ill to be sold in the slave-markets of Jamaica, or too ill to gain a high value).
- Over 130 slaves were put to death by being thrown shackled overboard. This, apparently, was not unusual in the slave trade of flesh

# The Zong and the Lord Chief Justice by Jeremy Krikler.

## *History Workshop Journal (2007) 64 (1): 29-47*

- The Zong was insured by Liverpool merchants, including George Case, Mayor of Liverpool (1781) Note state-capital relation
- Every year in the late eighteenth century, British under-writers were insuring around £100m of property on the seas, often human cargo.
- On the Zong the policy insured each slave for £30.
- In 1783 a first trial – purely on the matter of insurance – found in favour of the slavers (ie they did the right thing to protect their remaining value/cargo).
- The insurers did not want to pay out; they brought the matter to court again.
- NB: this was a battle between the slave owners and insurers over their costs. Not the cost of life.



# Slave Value = As Property Known in Exchange, Insurance Value?

- The lawyers representing the Liverpool slave owners of the Zong tried to convince a jury that in drowning the slaves the ships captain was not so much murdering them as securing the existence of the monetary value of the cargo- that which had been insured.
- They only had existence as a value
- Because in law Slaves were not granted legal personhood – so legally you could not “kill” a non-person.
- Lord Mansfield (the judge) defined them as animate “chattel” (like horses, he said), as property.
- This effectively killed them twice. Once physically, second symbolically by refuting their existence as human.

# Early Necro-Economics

- Predatory value – able to turn anything – even death into a profit
- Kris Manjapra (2019) uses the term *necrospeculation*, the conversion mechanism by which destructiveness is able to produce new capitalist value.
- Nemser (2019) early Iberian slave trade (1400s) “scholastic economic theory” logic assumed all Africans were slaves and therefore had been legitimately enslaved

# Manjapra (2019) Accounting Value

- The valuation of dead slaves was a monumental actuarial and financial endeavor based on a necromantic hierarchy of animacies, in which even the dead souls of slaves could be forced to yield up signification and financial surplus.
- 
- The actuarial recordings of slave valuation, and the ontology that undergirded it, extracted surplus from the vibrancy of dead and absent racialized beings, not just present and living ones.
- At the bottom of the valuation form was a category for those enslaved persons of least value: “aged, deceased, or otherwise non-effective.” Persons in this category were priced as normally a third or a quarter

# Calculating the Value of Life

- **Classical political economy/racial capitalism**
- Adam Smith: “Therefore lust and greed, if not virtuous in themselves, lead to the production not only of a prosperous world but a world which can be regarded as virtuous in so far as it will relieve the sufferings of the poor more effectively and to a far greater degree than any system of charity based on self-denial or asceticism”. (ToMS)

# Even Keynes

- Keynes held that colonial immunization projects in India were misguided, as he believed that reductions in population caused by death from plague in Punjab were correlated with increased wages and prosperity in the generation that followed. Through aggregate and long-view scales, death from plague for Keynes became a “beneficent visitation.”
- (death through neglect where intervention is possible)

# The Logic of Capital:

- Ravenous thirst
  - Untrammelled
  - Voracious
  - Devouring
  - Predatory
- 
- “Capital is dead labour, that, vampire-like, only lives by sucking living labour, and lives the more, the more labour it sucks... The vampire will not lose its hold on him (sic) “so long as there is a muscle, a nerve, a drop of blood to be exploited”
  - “As capitalist, he is only capital personified. His soul is the soul of capital. But capital has one single life impulse, the tendency to create value and surplus-value, to make its constant factor, the means of production, absorb the greatest possible amount of surplus-labour.”
  - Capital is reckless of the health or length of life of the labourer, unless under compulsion from society to protect
- (Marx, Capital vol1 )

# Without Protection: Traditional Labour

- **eg Factory Acts 1833** controlled working life from 5.30-8.30 to protect children and women
- “Fifteen hours of labour per day for a child 7 years old!” based on reports on the physical deterioration, widespread bodily suffering, and early death of the workpeople;
- Numerous official reports on from over-work (reports listed in Capital vol 1, chapter 10 section 1)
- Protection given by Law and unions

# Racism – No Protection

Ruth Gilmore Wilson defines racism as

- “the state-sanctioned or extra-legal production and exploitation of group- differentiated vulnerability to premature death.”



# Extension of Value Extraction: Biopolitics

- “What brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge-power an agent of transformation of human life” (Foucault 1990: 143)
- Significance of conceptualising as “human capital”
- Nik Rose (1999): notes how individuals have acquired a form of biological citizenship (some forms of protection), a ‘species universality’ which appear to attribute equal worth but are actually based on a definition of “quality of life.” (an extended version of the liberal “freedom” to engage in wage labour”)
- Biopolitics becomes bioeconomics, driven by the search for biovalue (Waldby 2000). But see Birch and Tyfield (2013) critiques

# Molecular Biop: Bio-banking/Bio-speculation

- Biopolitics has become molecular (Rose 2001)
- Blood markets Anna Anagnost 2006
- DNA markets
- Nancy Scheper-Hughes 2000 – the global traffic in human organs
- Sarah Franklin (1997-- reproductive tissues/cloning/stem cell/IVF
- Didier Fassin ‘bio-legitimacy’ (2009) calculations of:
- “who shall live and what sort of life and for how long” (p.53)

# Eol: Economization of Life

- “It names the practices that differentially value and govern life in terms of their ability to foster the macroeconomy of the nation-state, such as life’s ability to contribute to the gross domestic product (GDP) of the nation” (Michelle Murphy (2017:6).
- She details how selective eugenic methods of directing racial futures ranged from voluntary birth control and coerced sterilization, to incarceration and segregation, to pro- natalist policies and racial uplift projects, to euthanasia and mass murder.

# How to Extract Value From the Unproductive Elderly?

- Not labour
- Melinda Cooper shows how they have been categorized as – “de-potentialized life”
- Not human capital – unable to “enterprise themselves”
- Not “subjects of value” who constantly accumulate for future exchange
- (not the subjects of neo-lib, BioP)

Instead, conceptualized as a cost to the welfare state (redundant in non-welfare states)

Miranda Joseph examines how to make the unproductive “pay down the supposed social burden of their existence” (racialised -)

# The World Bank Solution

- How to ‘avert’ the costs of ageing, while continuing to ‘promote growth’ otherwise.
- The World Bank presented the aged – and ageing itself – as a limit to growth that could and should be overcome at all costs.
- To this effect, its most immediate recommendation was to transfer the collective pension and health savings of the aged from the state to the capital markets, thus providing the massive influx of free-floating capital which would be necessary for the globalization of financial markets and the wholesale financialization of the productive economy (Lapavistas, Cooper)
- NB: to transfer pension to capital markets huge fees are incurred: UNISON Study: £500 million paid in unnecessary fees to finance companies – effectively taking out a chunk of what are deferred wages

# Neglect by Design. Neglect Kills

FINANCIALISE CARE PROVISION (eg the UK)

Financialisation of property/provision: Most care homes are owned by hedge funds that “flip” the ownership once they have stripped maximum profit out of them. Expected return on investment is 12%. When they collapse the state pays – effectively an ATM machine that transfers state funds to private equity

Develop financial devices – eg Social Investment Bonds (12% return)

Financialisation of receivers:

I re-mortgaged my house (I had access to debt) to pay care costs

They were more than the UKs most expensive public school: 2017 Eton was £34k, my mum’s care home in the North East was £49k, my local one in London was £78k per year

<https://www.thesociologicalreview.com/a-crisis-in-humanity-what-everyone-with-parents-is-likely-to-face-in-the-future/>

# Neglect by Design. Neglect Kills continues...

Hence to sustain profit drive down wages from un-protected labour: workers forced to do care work or welfare withdrawn, Subject to:

1. Hyper-labour exploitation (zero-hours),
2. Super surveillance,
3. Digital debt targeting, (hence also operate as a mechanisms for financialization)

My mum died from neglect. Not enough workers and too many demands placed on those present. (enormous “churn” in care work, national shortage, over 60% non-UK).

- Geeta Patel – The selling of life assurance in India: by generating a moral imperative; insurance necessary to become a “respectable” Indian family
- A recent advert noted: “A **career** in **life insurance sales** has unlimited earning potential. **Life insurance** agents do a lot of **selling**, and **life insurance** policy commission percentages are high compared to those of other types of **insurance**”.



# So Far...

1. Use their pension funds to boost the predatory economy
2. Financialize provision
3. Necessitates debt to pay for provision
4. Drive down wage protections
5. Develop financial devices to privatize/secure risk (Social Investment Bonds)
6. Insurance

# A Care Crisis

- Across the world (Nancy Fraser)
- IN UK no provision available at all (7 care desserts). Over a year to find some.
- Purposeful delay in support: 17,000 people have died while waiting to hear whether their claim for disability benefit had been successful
- More than 50,000 older people have now died waiting for care during the 700 days since the Government first said it would publish a Care Green Paper (2019 Age UK)
- In 2019 estimated 40 deaths per day due to unmet care needs
- Deregulation: eg over 360 different providers in one region

AND THEN CAME ....

*COVID-19*

# COVID-19: Entangled Vulnerable Populations

## US

- Eight out of 10 American COVID-19 deaths have been among people older than 65 (50% in care homes) the rest of the dead are disproportionately Black
- A 40 yr old Hispanic person is 12x more likely to die from Covid-19 than a 40yr old white person. Black person 9x more likely
- SPAIN: care home deaths account for more than a third of all C19 deaths: soldiers drafted in to disinfect residential homes had found some elderly people abandoned and dead in their beds.
- ITALY 40% IRELAND 50% of all deaths in care homes

# COVID-19: Entangled Vulnerable Populations continued...

## **SWEDEN**

- Care home residents account for nearly half of deaths linked to Covid-19 in Sweden (horrific deaths – no ventilators). Sept 2020: Around 5,800 Swedes have died compared with around 340 people in Finland (BMJ).
- Meta analysis (Lancet Oct 2020): research consistently shows that older adults are most at risk of developing severe COVID-19, and that individuals residing in care homes are particularly susceptible

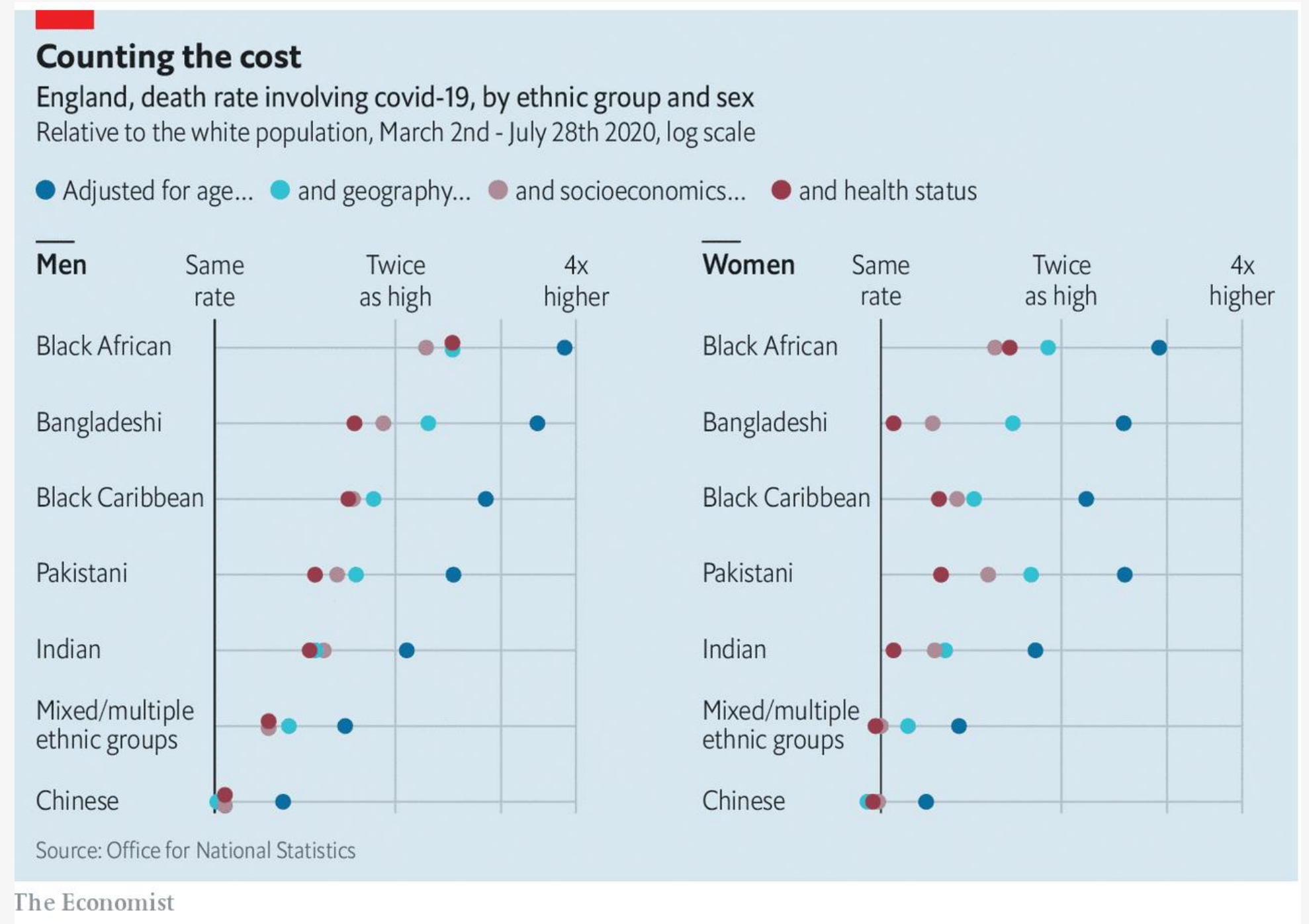
# Covid-19, Necropolitics Killing BAME Populations

- People of Bangladeshi ethnicity had around twice the risk of death than people of White British ethnicity. People of Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Other Asian, Black Caribbean and Other Black ethnicity had between 10 and 50% higher risk of death when compared to White British
- Context: 20% of the NHS workforce is from black and ethnic minority communities – yet more than 50% of healthcare workers who have died with the Coronavirus are from these backgrounds.
- 620 NHS workers died (26 oct 2020), a number which does not include the range of other affected care workers.
- To date of the 262 social care workers who have died of Covid. Of these deaths 53% - 60% are BAME (Black and Minority Ethnic).
- England and Wales have the second highest number of health and social worker deaths from Coronavirus in the world.
- "Disparities Report" (2020)(Public Health England- Govmt forced to release)
- "An Avoidable Crisis" (2020) Report

# Multifactorial: Austerity/Racism

- Prior poor health care
- Poverty led illnesses (diabetes 2/TB)
- Housing – intensity/proximity
- Forced to work-exposure
- Less likely to present (racism)
- Poor hospital proximity
- Worse hospital care
- Possible genetic predispositions

England death rates by "race"





# Forced to Work Responsibility For Care

- Most workers had been exposed to unsafe practices
- Staff shortages much higher workloads
- Most were struggling to cope (higher for BAME women @ 45% compared to 34.6 white women and 29.6 white men)
- Many have been threatened by wage withdrawal and job loss.
- Of the total 1.6 m adult social care workers 685,000 home care workers are paid by the minute: they are employed by agencies and go from house to house, unwittingly or forced to spread infection (threatened with job loss).
- There is a huge amount of anxiety by carers about how to care well/properly.
- The key issues that generate anxiety are uncertainty, recognition of work done and recognition of concerns by managers which include time, sick pay, living wage payment, and protection from COVID-19.

CASEI Study by Bev Skeggs, July 2020 on care workers



# Social Deprivation, Carers and BAME Geo-Demographics Compounded by Covid-19

- Precarious occupations “forced to work” with Covid
- No other means of survival.
- New” broken system of welfare “Universal credit” cannot cope
- Massive increase in foodbank use
- “Furlough” scheme introduced for employers (takes long time to implement)
- Gendered dimensions acute:
- Care workers ”forced to work”
- Agency care workers travel between care homes – spreading
- Schools/nurseries close so most workers with children struggle
- Grandparent support dangerous
- “Care sandwiches” (elderly/child-care hit particularly hard)
- Behind all this: very little PPE available. Track and Trace doesn’t work

# Does Anyone in Government Care?

- 14,193 coronavirus deaths of care home residents (10 April -28 August)
- 40% increase in Covid-19 deaths in the last week alone
- Families no longer using care homes: “deaths at home” increase
- More than 70,839 excess deaths during the pandemic (18 Nov 20)
- Complacency not responsibility

# Why? Predatory Value + Lack of Protections = Indifference + Incompetence

- Ideological belief in “market solutions”
- Determination to privatise as much health/social care as possible
- De-regulate immediately –withdrawal of protections (eg Care Easement Acts)
- Turn attention to different markets (PPE, Track and Trace)
- Trust placed with “modelling” (BioP/EoL) (reject challenges from medical experts/threaten scientists/replace critical formal bodies eg Public Health England)
- Battle between 2 varieties of capitalism: “housetrained” v “warlord” (predatory benefits from chaos)
- But markets cannot solve the complexity of Covid-19 protections

# But...as Phillip Mirowski Argues “*Never let a Serious Crisis go to Waste*”

## **Profit:**

- We have already witnessed hedge funds profiting from the pandemic with one UK hedge fund proudly reporting £2.4bn profit in the relatively short period of the global pandemic (in April).
- On 26 Oct 2020 a \$931 billion increase in the wealth of U.S. billionaires since March 18, about the time the pandemic shutdown began.
- Indian corporate groups benefit from the resulting demand depression: armed with funds, they are picking up valuable assets at distress prices. Meanwhile, under the banner of reviving private investment, India’s rulers have planned giant privatizations, and drastically revised laws concerning industrial labour, the peasantry, and the environment—in favour of large capital.

# But...as Phillip Mirowski Argues “*Never let a Serious Crisis go to Waste*”

COVID PROFITEERING IN THE UK secured by:

- De-regulated procurement = total £18b so far
- Key tasks (Track and Trace £12b to SERCO not a single target met/fraud)
- Mixture of cronyism (re-distributing money to friends of government: special channel for political supporters eg 500 suppliers with direct links = £10b worth of contracts )
- Bumbling & chaotic communication
- Predatory value profits from withdrawal of protections/chaos
- Some legal challenges to corruption beginning (Nov 2020) and National Audit Office reporting

# E.g. Track and Trace Data Glitch

- Led to over 15,000 late referrals
- Likely brought about more than 125,000 additional Covid-19 infections and over 1500 deaths
- The technical error was due to an Excel spreadsheet reaching its maximum file size (using a XLS 1987 file format)

# The Great Procurement Scandal (too many to include!)

- **Frontline Workers Failed By Wasteful, Inefficient £15 Billion PPE Procurement Effort**

25 November 2020. The majority of protective equipment bought by the Government still hasn't arrived, the National Audit Office has revealed

- And today (26.11.20) **Hancock's former neighbour won Covid test kit work after WhatsApp message** Alex Bourne's company producing millions of Covid vials despite no prior experience in medical supplies
- Some consultants were being paid £7,000 a day to work on the 'test and trace' system, on 28 October that outsourcing giant Capita had been paid £1,822 a day to supply one senior staff member for the programme
- Government contracts worth £148.6 million have been awarded to the owner of a fashion accessory brand based in Miami, Florida

# Pandemic Reveals Market Failure/ Incompetence/ Purposeful Neglect

NOT SURPRISING

- Bob Jessop: Government failure normalized in UK (even acknowledge by Institute of Government report)
- Jamie Peck: “failing forward”
- Martin Jones “metamorphosis”, moving crisis of governance around continually – elsewhere – crisis just metamorphose
- Aaron Davis: no expertise/knowledge (“reckless short-term opportunists everywhere”)



# Communication Failure: Productive Chaos

- Purposeful confusion?
- Government advice slow, contradictory, changing daily, impossible to understand (42 page doc)
- Lack of joined up thinking across policies for education, health, employment and care, produced problems for accessing knowledge, services and advice about care roles.
- Nobody could understand the “rules” for protection
- The “rules” had become a source of humour carrying absolutely no authority.
- But communications confusions –producing chaos can be a strategy of power (eg Vladislav Surkov) opens up space for conspiracy theories (we are awash in conspiracy)
- George Monbiot: “where there is chaos, the government will multiply it”
- Steve Bannon chaos is productive “it opens up the destruction of the administrative state”

- Who Benefits From A Failed State?
- Who Dies/Suffers?

# Is Britain now a Failing State?

Every dog has its day. How about a lion rampant and a unicorn?

 **Stephen Allott** Aug 11 · 5 min read ★

Is Britain now failing and failing faster?

There has been a lot of talk on this subject so I looked for evidence. This is what I found in the [Fragile States Index](#) (“FSI”).

FRAGILE STATES INDEX																			
higher number = more fragile																			
2006 rank		index	Index change 06 to 20				Place change 06 to 20				2020 rank		index						
1	Norway	16.8	Germany	-16.5	Germany	10	1	Finland											
2	Sweden	18.2	Slovenia	-11.0	Denmark	6	2	Norway											
3	Finland	18.2	Portugal	-9.2	Slovenia	5	3	Switzerland											
4	Ireland	18.6	South Korea	-7.9	Uruguay	5	4	Denmark											
5	Switzerland	18.7	Uruguay	-7.8	South Korea	4	5	Iceland											
6	New Zealand	19.4	Denmark	-7.6	Czech Rep	4	6	New Zealand											
7	Australia	22.0	Czech Rep	-6.1	Mauritius	3	7	Sweden											
8	Canada	23.1	Netherlands	-5.2	Portugal	2	8	Canada											
9	Belgium	24.0	Mauritius	-4.7	Finland	2	9	Luxembourg											
10	Denmark	24.8	Singapore	-4.5	Switzerland	2	10	Australia											
11	Austria	26.1	Canada	-4.4	Netherlands	1	11	Ireland											
12	Japan	28.0	France	-3.8	Canada	0	12	Netherlands											
13	Netherlands	28.1	Finland	-3.6	New Zealand	0	13	Germany											
14	Singapore	30.8	Australia	-2.3	France	-1	14	Portugal											
15	Chile	32.0	Austria	-2.0	Norway	-1	15	Austria											
16	Portugal	32.7	Switzerland	-1.6	Sweden	-2	16	Slovenia											
17	UK	34.2	New Zealand	-1.5	Singapore	-3	17	Singapore											
18	France	34.3	Norway	-0.6	Australia	-3	18	Belgium											
19	USA	34.5	Sweden	0.0	Austria	-4	19	France											
20	Italy	35.1	Ireland	1.3	Ireland	-7	20	South Korea											
21	Slovenia	36.8	Spain	3.0	Belgium	-9	21	Japan											
22	Spain	37.4	Belgium	3.1	Japan	-9	22	Uruguay											
23	Germany	39.7	USA	3.8	Spain	-10	23	Malta											
24	South Korea	39.9	UK	4.1	USA	-10	24	Czech Rep											
25	Argentina	40.8	Oman	4.2	UK	-13	25	Lithuania											
26	Greece	41.1	Japan	4.3	Oman	-14	26	Mauritius											
27	Uruguay	41.2	Argentina	5.3	Italy	-15	27	UAE											
28	Czech Rep	41.8	Italy	7.3	Chile	-21	28	Slovakia											
29	Mauritius	41.9	Chile	10.5	Argentina	-25	29	USA											
30	Oman	43.8	Greece	11.0	Greece	-25	30	UK											

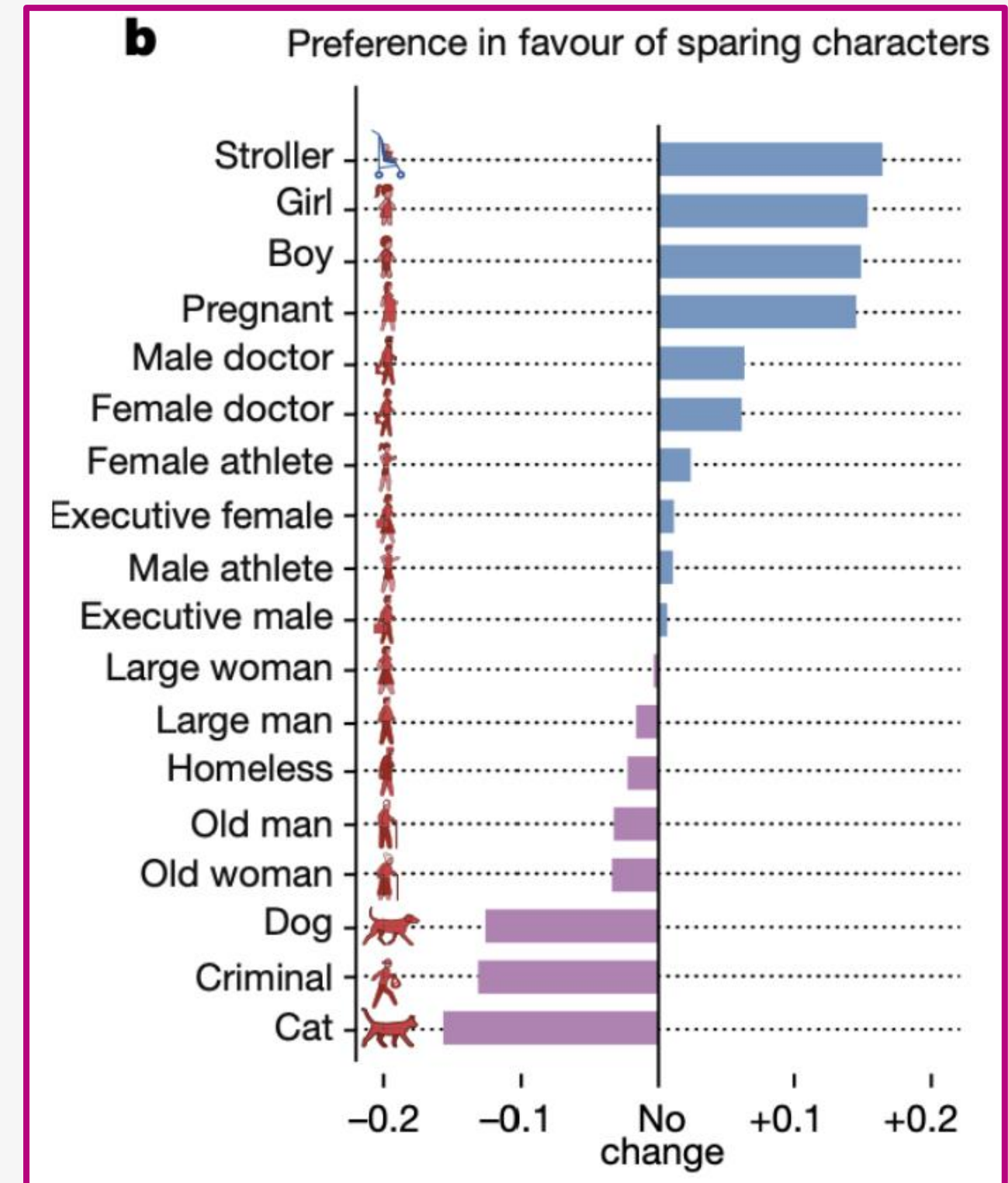
# The Return of Utilitarianism

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- Toby Young (ex government Board of the Office for Students)
- Tweeted – too expensive to keep the elderly alive “spending £350 billion to prolong the lives of a few hundred thousand mostly elderly people is an irresponsible use of taxpayers’ money” (March)
- Previously tweeted pro-austerity “It was necessary to let people die to save the economy”
- QALY (quality adjusted life year), promoted as the formulae to “model life” to “exploit inefficiencies”
- Bio-legitimacy
- (Diddier Fassin)

**The Moral Machine**, an online experimental platform designed to explore the moral dilemmas faced by autonomous vehicles. This platform gathered 40 million decisions in ten languages from millions of people in 233 countries and territories (Awad et al. 2018) : B

**ESRC CASS** study Semino et al: UK software discourse national analysis: elderly represented as “a burden”



# Subjects of No Individual Value?

- Individually the elderly offer no potential for profit through labour (superfluous)
- Conceptualized as a cost to capital
- Unlike the productive self of the gig economy: the "enterprising self," they cannot add value to themselves to offer themselves up for extraction
- But remember my mum: collectively as a group their provision can be financialized
- Care-home owners/managers furious about government incompetence (ADASS) – exposed the enormous problems
- Malevolent neglect through design



## SOCIAL DEATH

- Orlando Patterson (1982) in relation to slavery – a form of social death
- Margaret Lock (2003) notes how the socially disenfranchised and socially dead, are increasingly vulnerable to being counted as good-as-dead
- Henry Giroux (2006) after Hurricane Katrina; permitting disposability
- Eugene Thacker (2011) “whatever life”
- Veena Das “social suffering” (Arthur Kleinman?)
- Jari Pirhonen (2019) elderly in Finland at risk of social death

# Let's Call it What it is : The Necroeconomics of Neglect

- Direct/indirect policies that kill groups of the population (Mbembe “politics as the work of death”)
- An already failing state with people weakened from austerity (pre-disposed) unable and unwilling to protect its people
- System already designed through neglect to neglect the elderly/BAME/disadvantaged. Entangled deaths
- State de-regulations enable/invite voracious predatory necro-speculators to enter the field
- plus in BioP+EoL the elderly = a quantitative “burden”. AND are bio-de-legitimated
- Financial mechanisms crafted through necroeconomics thrive in a crisis
- Disregard of/for the disposable, superfluous, surplus – structural amorality

AND NOW BREXIT.....