**6 Green Crime, Victimisation** **and the Ideal Victim**

**Pamela Davies[[1]](#endnote-1)**

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**Introduction**

Christie’s seminal piece on ‘The Ideal Victim’ opens with remarks on being a victim: ‘It is often useful within the social sciences to rely on personal experiences, or at least take this as our point of departure’ (1986: 17). He goes on to make two preliminary reflections: ‘Firstly, being a victim is not a thing, an objective phenomenon’; ‘Secondly, the phenomenon can be investigated both at the personality level and at the social system level…..At the level of social systems, some systems might be of the type where a lot of victimization is seen as taking place, while others are seen as being without victims’ (Christie 1986: 18). He states he will concentrate on the sociology of the phenomena.

In the same way that Christie chose to introduce his ideas about the concept of the ideal victim with a focus on the sociology of phenomena, this chapter, as indeed the book as a whole, does likewise. I use a case study to explore the sociology of phenomena. The case study I use draws on personal experience and by using this as my point of departure I illustrate a number of issues surrounding victims and victimhood. The case study is of the closure of the Rio Tinto Alcan (RTA) aluminium plant at Lynemouth, Northumberland, in the north-east of England, where for many years my husband worked. I have already written about this closure from a feminist influenced victimological perspective (Davies 2014). Part of this chapter does likewise. However, the chapter as a whole gives a more sustained emphasis to the way in which Christie’s work has impacted upon my own critical analysis of the closure. It dwells on the particular ways in which his insightful and highly original way of explaining his sophisticated theoretical propositions have steered my own thinking and victimological imagination. His work has impacted upon what I feel is important to write about. As a self-labelled feminist influenced criminologist-cum-victimologist I strive to make observations about my own position and relationship to what is happening in the social world. The case illustration I have chosen to focus on in this chapter is personal but political and it has been significant in terms of furthering my own understandings and conceptualisations of victim identity and experiences of harm and injustice and has provoked me to be at pains to communicate the impacts of the global at the local and personal levels.

The remainder of this chapter revisits the ideal victim concept and explores how this has influenced my own thinking – in this case – about specific tensions between social and environmental justice and indeed, victimisation from environmental governance. Before outlining the case study which forms the basis for my reflections, I first briefly explore the victim in the context of environmental justice. I then reflect upon the non-ideal victim and contemplate the theme of ‘witches and workers’ in Christie’s thesis under the heading of defining victimisation. This reflection clearly illustrates the contested nature of victimisation and how there are alternative conceptualisations of victimisation that are at complete odds with the individualised concept of the ‘ideal victim’. The section commencing ‘corporations as monsters’ serves as the context for an examination of the non-ideal offender and this is a segue into a broader discussion about green harms, victims and social conditions at local and global levels, social conditions being a topic that concerned Christie in the final section of his article.

**The Victim in the Context of Environmental Justice**

When Christie’s article was published a number of influences were seeping into the criminological agenda. The concept of globalisation took on huge significance in the 1980s and, amongst other global issues concerns about conservation and the environment surfaced in the social sciences towards the end of that decade. Since then such concerns have only intensified with social, economic and political debates gathering momentum. During the 1980s the ‘feminist critique’ (see Smart 1976) of criminology was consolidated with empirical inquiries mushrooming (Heidensohn 1985, 1989, 1996) in its wake. Christie was well attuned to these feminist debates and ruminates on how these ideas impact upon victimhood and the bind that women may find themselves in should they tip the balance and become too independent and strong. His article famously refers to ‘the little old lady’ as the ideal victim of violent crime and to the young virgin as the ideal rape victim as compared to the non-ideal rape scenario of husbands raping wives. He also discusses how ‘the role of females, particularly older ones, have changed and the importance of power and culture in whether or not ‘ladies, weak or old’ are seen as ‘ladies of the witch-age ‘, or well suited for the role of the ideal victim’ (pg23). Interesting though this avenue is, several chapters in this volume follow up on the role that gender plays in determining victim status (see the Introduction and Chapter 2 by the editor Duggan as well as contributions by Fohring, Corteen, Zempi, Sloan, Bows, Cohen, Barnes and Donovan). This chapter is not insensitive to gender, indeed it is feminist influenced. However, it chooses to foreground the social tensions arising from green crime and victimisation, an area of crime and victimisation that Christie himself does not specifically exemplify.

In the early 1990s something of a green critique happened after Lynch (1990) first suggested a ‘green criminology’. Since this time there has been a growing caucus of scholars variously writing about green criminality and environmental and ecological harms to human and non-human species. Green *criminology*, as Nurse (2016) has pointed out, requires embracing a range of different conceptions on what green criminology is, what is seeks to achieve and what perspectives and meanings of green are to be included. Broadly however, it is concerned with environmental criminology, environmental justice and ecological – including species – justice. Some have extended their work to include analysis of environmental harms from a *victimological* perspective indeed as early as 1996 Williams suggested an environmental victimology. In relation to the latter it is humans as victims that feature most prominently in the literature as objects of victimisation. Rather more recently others have explored how victims are created and suffer as a result of harmful environmental activities, how environmental harms might be prevented and how criminal damage and non-criminal harms might be responded to (see Hall 2013 a and b, Skinnider 2011, White 2015) to complement the developing field of green criminology. Hall’s contribution considered the scope of environmental harm and victimization and concluded that, like other victim groups, environmental victims are far from homogeneous, a point worth remembering as we come to the case illustration in this chapter.

Contemporarily, green crime and victimisation is presenting some interesting moral and ethical challenges. Let us briefly explore three types of green or eco-justice: environmental justice; ecological justice and species justice. Environmental justice typically refers to people having equal access to a healthy environment and natural resources and a voice in decision-making processes related to the environment. At the centre of this form of justice are human beings with social rights and within this conceptualisation eco-feminists have made a contribution to an understanding of how inequality and discrimination is mediated by gender (Nurse 2016). Victims are human, though human victims of environmental harm are not widely recognised as victims of ‘crime’. Ecological justice accords importance to nature, the land, rivers, mountains, flora, fauna and landscapes. Under this conceptualisation the victim is the biosphere, specific eco-systems and environments. This conceptualisation of victim thus goes beyond the former conceptualisation of victim which is largely anthropocentric in nature. Species justice, often subsumed within ecological justice foregrounds the interests of non-human animals and species. In this conceptualisation the victim is animals and plants. The category ‘victim’ can thus incorporate a wide variety of human and non-human species.

White (2015) suggests there are three important dimensions to the study of environmental victims. First, much environmental harm has traditionally been ignored or condoned by governments and industry. Second, and in addition to the problem of disinterest, by taking into account both the human and the non human and the varieties of victim noted above, the study of environmental harm, is rendered complicated. Third, it is important to consider the physical location of harms within particular geographical contexts and he thus cautions that particular circumstances must be taken into account in the conceptualisation of victimisation. ‘Varying types of environmental harm pertain to different geographical levels’ (White 2015: 36). Some issues are on a planetary scale (e.g. oceans and fisheries); some are national in geographical location and others are local with laws tending to be formulated in particular geographically defined jurisdictions. Furthermore, though environmental harm may originate in one specific location, due to natural processes of water and air movement and flow, it can spread to other regions, countries and continents. A localised source of a problem - such as the emission of toxic carbons into the atmosphere - can move across time and space having a cumulative impact with major consequences on a global level. Along this continuum of green havoc, a range of different ‘victims’ are harmed and this illustrates how and why environmental harm and victimisation becomes complicated. Some victims are ignored and where they are recognised there are competing claims to victim status with some laying claim to having more traditional status than others. Thus, there are inequalities in respect of good victim status. Frim a critical social herm perspective this presents a case for particular circumstances being taken into account in the moral weighing up of interests and harms in any given situation and this impacts upon the appropriateness of different regulatory strategies and how nation states choose to implement and comply with these responsibilities.

As already noted, I have explored some of the above nuances and dimensions to victimisation in a case study of the closure of the aluminium smelter at Lynemouth. Whilst remaining sympathetic to green and environmental concerns and to the principles of green criminology, my assessment has a distinctly broader *victimological* starting point. Below, after a brief outline of the case study of the closure of an aluminium plant, the discussion returns to some of the points made by green scholars around victim groups, ethical issues and justice. Though the history of green criminology is not lengthy, there is a strong connectivity to the second part of Christie’s thesis around the not-so-ideal offender. Even more recent green victimology scholarship connects well with the sub-theme that runs throughout Christie’s thesis, the not-so-ideal victim. The latter points are all considered in the remainder of the chapter.

**Case Study**

In 2014, my analysis of the sociology of the closure was published in an article in *Theoretical Criminology* entitled ‘Green crime and victimization: Tensions between social and environmental justice’ (Davies 2014). In that article, I use the closure of the aluminium plant in Lynemouth, as a case study of tensions around social and environmental justices and victimizations. A summary of this is provided in the text box below.

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In 2011, Rio Tinto Alcan, one of the world’s largest producers of aluminium, announced the closure of the smelter at Lynemouth in the north-east of England. The plant, a major local employer, closed in March 2013. This closure is a catalyst for examining global concerns about environmental emissions standards and the costs of compliance. I suggest the plant’s closure is a success in green terms. I argue that where closure is officially considered a compliance option, there are hidden but high costs of closure on already deprived local and regional communities. My discussion focuses on these costs and how green crime and green compliance creates collateral damage, other types of victimization that are not negligible. The social justice concerns I elaborate upon relate to the physical, economic and social impact of industrial contraction upon employees and other workers whose livelihoods and disposable income depends upon the existence of the plant. These extend to concerns about the local and regional economy and relationships and experiences in the aftermath of the closure, including the impact on work, gender relations, social networks, younger generations, family and social life. I underline the potential diffuse and negative impact the closure of a single large employer has on people’s lived experiences with risks of a further spiralling degeneration of community. Thus, broader social concerns exist about the future of communities where closure happens. I represent these concerns as obscured costs that are rendered invisible on the global stage.

Whilst remaining sympathetic to green and environmental concerns and to the principles of green criminology and social justice as proposed by White (2008) and Beirne and South (2007), my assessment has a *victimological* rather than a *green* starting point. From this perspective I conclude that where environmental policies and regulations are designed to prevent or minimize destructive or injurious practices into the future, based upon analysis and responses to harms identified in the present, there are moral and ethical challenges for a green criminology. As clearly headlined in the sub-title, my article explored ‘Tensions between social and environmental justice’, that appear to represent value conflicts between social and environmental justice.

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In my case study of the closure I use insights from victimology and from sociologists’ studies of previously affected communities to portray a gloomy future for the workers and the wider community that relied on the plant’s existence, predicting negative impacts on social networks and bleak prospects for younger generations. I suggest that the regressive impact of increased social inequality and poverty in the north-east of England is not likely to feel like sustainable development to - grandparents, mothers, fathers and their children - families who have lost their livelihoods in and around Lynemouth.

The Lynemouth smelter closed in 2013. The power plant on which it depended for energy remains open having converted to bio-mass to survive, sadly too late for the smelter at Lynemouth to do the same. Britain has since closed three giant coal power plants, Kingsnorth in Kent, Cockenzie in Scotland and Didcot A in Oxfordshire (Gosden, 2013). The closure of the smelter at Lynemouth and of other major industries including our ‘dirty’ power stations is a success story for green environmental policies. I maintain that this success comes at a very high price to those in already impoverished communities who have been abandoned by major employers. In 2016 more than one in six workers in Britain’s steel industry (most of whom are resident workers in the north-east of England or Scotland) faced unemployment. This followed 1200 job losses affecting steel workers in Scunthorpe and Scotland and 2200 jobs losses at Redcar. These closures, together with those of power stations, have taken an immense toll on already impoverished and decimate d communities and on the life chances of the populations that inhabit these bleak towns and cities (Davies 2017).

**Defining Victimisation: Workers and Communities as Non-Ideal Victims**

A significant proportion of Christie’s discussion focusses on the non-ideal victim and the not-so-ideal offender. Here I draw on the case study introduced above to reflect upon the non-ideal victim and contemplate the worker aspect of the theme ‘witches and workers’ in Christie’s thesis. This reflection clearly illustrates the diffuse nature of victimisation. It connects to the ‘many victimized without knowing neither that they are victimized, nor the source’ (Christie 1986: 24). The contested and competing definitions of victimisation are also illustrated showing how the conceptualisation of victimisation as proffered in the case example, is at complete odds with the individualised concept of the ‘ideal victim’.

According to Christie, workers are non-ideal victims because they have important, but not sufficient strengths, because other people have contrary interests, and because they live in cultures with depersonalised responsibilities for living and working conditions. (Christie 1986: 24-25). The area in which the closure occurred and from where the workforce were predominantly recruited was a traditional mining area. The demise of coal mining in the early 1980s had left thousands of men in the region unem­ployed. The local closures were, of course, part of the general contraction throughout the European Community of coal mining. In England and Wales, this ultimately resulted in the Miners’ Strike of 1985 (Stead, 1987). Following de-industrialization in geographi­cally isolated areas and single occupational communities, scholars have explored the human consequences of immiseration (Stead, 1987; Waddington, 2003; Waddington and Parry, 2003; Waddington et al., 1994; Wray and Stephenson, 2012). According to these analyses, Marx’s concept of immiseration is useful to any understanding of the conse­quences of post-industrialism. Such was the rate of social and economic degeneration following the pit closures in this particular region in the north-east that the British government granted £28 million to the Canadian owned company Alcan to help reduce unemployment in the local authority area of Wansbeck. Since the decline of shipbuilding, the closure of the docks and the demise of the fishing industry in the north-east, the villages surrounding Ashington have long been isolated. The Wansbeck area generally has experienced de-industrialization, and few alternative opportunities for employment of any description exist in the region.

Lynemouth and the towns in the south-east part of the county of Northumberland score poorly across a range of indicators of deprivation (employment, income, wages, benefits, allowances). In terms of education and health deprivation, the neighbourhood has one of the highest levels on both of these scores. Levels of children in need are often linked to levels of deprivation. Out of 12 local authority areas in the north-east, Northumberland has the fourth highest proportion of children in need in 2011–2012 (Warburton, 2013). Three of the eight characteristics belonging to pit communities identified by Bulmer in 1975 are physical isolation, the economic preponderance of a single industry and a work­ing-class majority of the population. These applied to the communities around Lynemouth when the plant closed. Bulmer’s remaining five characteristics (daily experience of ardu­ous work pervading the community; endemic industrial conflict; segregated gender roles; leisure public and male dominated; and social networks close-knit, overlapping and supportive) have been slipping away from this community since the closure of the pits. These defining characteristics of the local and regional communities might now be lost forever. They are additional costs, yet to be measured and quantified; the qualitative assessment of these invisible costs has yet to be exposed. These are the diffuse and invisible impacts of closure that have captured my own victimological conscience and imagination.

As Evans and Fraser (2004) have argued, there are several links between communities and victimization. In the context of the case study drawn upon in this chapter, an appreciation of potentially negative impacts, such as job and disposable income losses as a consequence of closure, might be con­sidered as victimological harms. The related economic and social connections and affec­tive consequences of closure in an isolated and already impoverished community, as described above are potentially destructive to communities. In order to establish how this community can be framed as victimized, I have drawn on victimological concepts that are derived from Christie’s inspired analysis of victimhood.

From a critical/harm based social science perspective, victimologists (Davies et al., 1999, 2004, 2007, 2014) suggest that ‘invisible’ social harms and injustices take place within the global world that are worthy of examination. Such harms incur suffering akin to victimization, yet are rendered invisible for a number of reasons, including their non-crime status. Such harms impact substantially on the lives of their victims and the communities in which they occur, and, in turn, these injustices impact heavily on the work of social, health, welfare and criminal justice agencies and other regulatory bodies. It is not a crime to close an industrial plant, yet doing so in an area whose economic wealth is generated almost exclusively from a single industry causes significant further harms and losses that impact substantially in terms of costs to individuals, families and communities. Workers are rendered unemployed. They are amongst the many victimised, the source of their victimisation hard to pin down.

The concepts of indirect, tertiary and re-victimization in part explain suffering that does not meet the criteria of criminal victimization. Essentially, these vocabularies are used to draws attention to the impact that crime has on those not directly involved in the particular event concerned but to a wider circle of ‘victims’ who may have been affected by a particularly shocking event or life-changing experience. In the context of this case study, those vicariously victimized are those individuals and families in the local and regional community who bear the brunt of the closure. The ripple effect of closure has devastating consequences on individuals, families and communities.They have been disempowered, and a major plank of their social capital has been removed. They have experienced the equivalent of having been robbed of their jobs and financial resources, and their chances of replacing these losses in the aftermath of the closure, by legitimate means, are, as the deprivation data suggest, severely restricted. These impacts on plant workers, their families and local businesses are discounted. Those suffering have no claims to ‘real’ victimhood

Building on critical and radical criminological perspectives, some green criminologists prefer to use the terminology of ‘environmental harm’ rather than environmental crime. Looking beyond criminology, Hillyard et al (2004) argue that focussing on harm rather than crime has several advantages. It acknowledges the multitude of harms that affect people from birth to death including mass harms and combinations of physical, financial / economic, emotional and psychological, sexual and cultural atrocities. A harm based approach acknowledges individual, group, corporate and collective harms and actions / non actions. The weakness of radical and critical victimologies in this regard is evident. As explored elsewhere this has led to an expanded focus on undetected, under-reported, hidden and invisible crimes including sexual crimes and victimisations, environmental harms including climate change, air pollution, eco-terrorism and corporate bio-piracy, honour crimes, elder abuse, male sex work, war and crimes, health and safety crimes and fraud (see Davies et al 2014).

Returning to the idea of community victimisation, studies in the wake of the closure of the coal mines and demise of the pit communi­ties have explored sociological questions about the effects of closure on family and social life and the impact on family relations, including money problems, stress, ill­ness, family disputes and young people’s futures (Stead, 1987; Waddington et al., 1991). The gendered nature of the experiences and activisms following closures is a key theme in such work and my own case study of the closure explores the gendered nature of emotional responses linked to victimiza­tion.

Since the turn of the century, others have developed the links between communities and victimisation. Particular experiences that collectives and groups suffer are increasingly being recognised. The scholarship on hate crimes and the emergent legislation and measures to protect special categories of vulnerable victims are testament to this. Victimological research is also emerging with powerful testimonies of the suffering endured by communities (see for example O’Leary 2018, Walklate et al 2015, McGarry and Walklate 2015). In this way the cultural complexity of victimhood (Afrman et al 2016, Walklate and colleagues) is being constantly explored further evidencing the changing nature of victimisation as envisaged by Christie. However, no matter how inspired these new *victimological* developments are, they sit in contra-distinction to the obsession with the *criminological*, with crime and with the offending individual (Hillyard 2005). I now turn to the corporation as the non-ideal offender.

**Corporations as Monsters and Non-Ideal Offenders**

As noted at the start of the previous section, a good deal of Christie’s discussion attends to the not-so-ideal offender and he explores the problems that emerge should we over simplify the picture of the ideal offender. Here I explore why and how this is indeed problematic, again, I do so in the context of the case study example. An overly simplistic representation of the corporation as monster is morally bankrupt. Christie’s idea that morality is not improved by bad acts carried out by monsters captures the essence of my own assessment of the closure of the plant at Lynemouth. My own critical yet realist assessment of the tensions between social and environmental justice prompted a rather different analysis by Lynch (2015). Lynch’s re-examination focuses more strongly on the corporation – Rio-Tinto – as monster. In this assessment the offender is a distant, foreign, non-person, an inhumane being. The corporation is literally inhumane, a non-entity in an individualised sense. The corporation does not therefore equate to an ideal offender. For Lynch however, using Christie’s conceptualisation of the ideal victim, the corporation is the extreme bad. This however, is unhelpful as corporations are not ideally suited to being criminalised by criminal justice systems that are framed around individualised conceptions of justice. Corporations are unsuitable criminals (Christie 1986:26) and as Christie also points out, there are too few monsters around. The ideal type offender suggests that bad acts are carried out by monsters. Corporations become distanced and de-personalised to the extent that the destructive attributes and activities they engage in are let off the hook. Lynch re-constructs the offender to accommodate the corporation as monster. In a crude Marxist assessment, the corporation is entirely blameworthy. This leaves us in the Christie-like predicament in which our own morality is not improved. The inhumane capitalist monster is our scapegoat for environmental degradation and potentially for creating risks to health (Lynch 2015). An assessment that is capable of capturing the multiplicity of harms and a range of blame worthy offenders is an assessment that concentrates, as does Christie, on the sociology of the phenomena. Christie reminds us that phenomenon can be investigated both at the personality level and at the social system level.

**Victimisation from Environmental Governance**

Here I begin to tie together some of threads from the preceeding sections. Under the conceptualisation of environmental justice, the victim is human. Humans are protected from injurious and harmful pollutants and emissions that have a negative impact on human health. Environmental harm is thus regulated by equality and rights based protection laws and protection regimes. The UK uses judicial review procedures to ensure that the public can participate in decision making. In April 2010, the European Court of Justice ruled that the power plant supplying the aluminium smelter at Lynemouth was subject to the emission limit values laid down in an environmental treaty in 2001 to fight global warming. This took the form of a directive—2001/80/EC of the European Parliament on the limitation of emissions of certain pollutants into the air from large combustion plants—the Kyoto Protocol. The UK government had been unable to succeed in court in challenging the categorizing of the smelter at Lynemouth as a large combustion plant, and the fate of the plant henceforth was distinctly gloomy. Following the court case, the plant was given just a matter of weeks to comply with the directive 2010/75/EC on industrial emissions (a recast of various component directives including that on large combustion plants 2001/80/EC). If it did not, the government would be liable to pay fines to the European Commission for failing to implement the directive properly. The calculated costs to the business from compliance with the various strands of new or impending legislation totalled £105m projected costs from compliance with the various strands of new or impending legislation (Davies 2014). The option taken to meet the costs of compliance within the broader context of was closure. The local impact of the closure has been speculated upon above and morally and ethically I suggest the local and regional consequences of closure deserve weighing up against the injurious and harmful pollutants and emissions that have a negative impact on human health on a planetary scale.

To push the point about the weighing up of interests I will labour the point about the import of particular circumstance and particular context. Corporations such a Rio-Tinto have environmental responsibilities. International environmental law requires states to protect the environment and a growing body of EC legislation and European Court of Justice judgements demand compliance. However, it is too simplistic to offload full responsibility for closure on the Rio-Tinto monster. If policies at very local levels are to be seen and experienced as fair and just, grass-root understanding (Davies, 2008) of where the impacts of change would have the greatest emphasis—on families and sets of personal relationships, on local social dynamics, for­mal and informal networks in communities—is essential. Closures due to policy change emanating from Europe can be viewed and experienced as far removed, abstracted and damaging if broader and potentially destructive unfactored in consequences are not ade­quately considered.Alongside the relevance of victimological concepts for understanding the predicament of residents in south-east Northumberland, equally important are their affective experiences. Within the social sciences, sociological perspectives are increasingly suggesting that human emotion is important generally in understanding social relations, and, increasingly, emotions are seen as a crucial link between micro and macro levels of social reality. Subjective, embodied and experiential aspects of social change are important (see Davies, 2011a, 2011b), and virtually all theories of emotions in society visualize emotions as mobilizing and guiding behaviour (Turner and Stets, 2005). While an ethics of sympathy and affective civilities more generally is difficult to achieve in the new ‘civilized’ barbarism inspired by neoliberalism, which makes empa­thy and compassionate sentiments difficult to expand past domestic sentimentalism, this does not justify a paucity of theoretical discussion and debate that brings emotion back in (Davies, 2011b). In drawing together these arguments around the concept of victimi­zation, together with an ethic of affective civility, to understand the predicament of those experiencing the aftermath of the closure, Lynemouth and its surrounding area emerges as a victimized community.

A final thread I want to return to is the idea of multiple harms and victimisations. Whilst there are various typologies of victims rendered more visible due to developments within a green victimology, there are other victims created as a consequence, in part, of environmental governance. This begs the question, in the Lynemouth circumstance and context - should the British government have worked harder to find a solution to the environmental challenges? In the Lynemouth circumstance and context many have found themselves falling short of the ideal victim stereotype, their experiences of victimisation are a collective form of victimisation that are the result of the victimisation of a collective set of circumstances albeit in large part the corporate victimisation perpetrated by Rio Tinto Alcan (RTA) Ltd.

**Conclusion**

This chapter revisits the ideal victim concept and explores how this has influenced my own thinking about specific tensions between social and environmental justice. Furthermore it develops the idea of victimisation from environmental governance, a distinctive sub-theme to environmental justice and as yet an under-developed are of moral and ethical debate. I have drawn on a case study illustration as the basis for my reflections about victim identity, experiences of harm and injustice. The chapter commenced with a brief exploration of the victim in the context of green crime and environmental justice. In reflecting on the non-ideal victim and with reference to Christie’s theme of ‘witches and workers’ – and with a focus on the latter – I have problematized traditional definitions of the victim and have examined alternative conceptualisation of victimhood and victimisation. This reflection clearly illustrates the diffuse nature of victimisation and how a narrow, individualised, personified and idealised conceptualisation of victimisation, is at complete odds with the experience of harm and injustice that communities can suffer. Such analysis further evidences the paucity and narrowness of traditional conceptions and perspectives in the positivist schools of victimology. However, in giving consideration to ‘corporations as monsters’ the chapter has also problematised the ideal offender. Despite huge efforts and a 13-year struggle to hold corporations legally to account for the most serious of harms - workplace killing (Tombs 2016) – there has been limited movement towards the legal demonization of corporate monster. This reflection may be illustrative of the lack of impact that radical, critical and social harm perspectives have had on the idea of state and corporate sponsored victimisation. Communities and collectives are still not perceived or treated as ‘real victims’ or ‘real offenders’. Criminology and victimology are inadequate or not very good at dealing with collectives both in terms of offenders and victims.

Since 1986, feminist influenced thinking has continued apace and, in the context of the case study explored, it has prompted me to suggest there is a gendered nature to the harms experienced by workers and their dependent families. Though this has not been the main feature of this chapter, it taps into a feminist theme which Christie was well attuned to. Since 1986 also, new types of victimhood have emerged. If this is something that Christie did not exactly prophesise, his ideas were certainly sympathetic to the revealing of different types of victim: ‘Victims who are not seen as victims ought often to be seen as such’ (Christie 1986: 27). Christie’s ideal type characterisations of the victim and of the offender and his problematized conceptualisations of these constructs endure the test of time and have lasting utility. They sit comfortably alongside the newly recognised need to attune to collective suffering for example and with the key ideas evident in the growing body of work on the dynamic and culturally complex nature of victimhood. In this respect Christie might be considered the founder of cultural victimology. In summary, this chapter has explored the continued utility of Christie’s ‘ideal victim’ concept at the same time as it has drawn to the fore the concerns of a feminist perspective which as noted above, impacted upon criminology in the same period that he published this seminal thesis.

* A sustained focus on green crime and victimisation, has rendered visible new victims as predicted by Christie (non human and species and eco/bio-spheres)
* Global to local dimensions to victimisation remain important as Christie’s work implies (and as demonstrated in this chapter via environmental victimology and environmental governance) and these are presenting some interesting moral and ethical challenges
* Communities and collectives are not perceived or treated as ‘real victims’.
* Corporation are not perceived or treated as ‘real offenders’

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