VICTIMS, CRIME AND SOCIETY: AN INTRODUCTION

Pamela Davies, Peter Francis and Chris Greer

This is a book about victims of crime, survivors of abuse, the consequences of social harm, the nature of victimhood and the extent and impact of victimisation. It is a book concerned with the study of victims and victimisation, and is written from a critical perspective that seeks to: challenge taken-for-granted assumptions about the study of victimology; question key concepts and approaches to thinking about victims and survivors; critique ways of understanding the nature and extent of victimisation; and provide an alternative reading of many conventional approaches to responding to victims' needs and experiences. It is a book that provides students of criminology, criminal justice and victimology with an all-encompassing, in-depth critical analysis of the relationship between victims, crime and society. We hope it will become essential reading for anyone interested in understanding the social, political, economic and cultural context of victims in society, historically, contemporaneously and globally.

Throughout its chapters the book addresses a number of critical questions including: Who are the victims of crime? How did the study of victims emerge? What is the nature, extent and impact of victimisation? What are the core perspectives that shape victimological thinking? How do media constructions influence our understanding of crime victims and victimisation? What is the relationship between social relations, politics, globalisation, the economy and structure and agency in generating, exacerbating and/or obfuscating forms of victimisation? What are the factors that drive unequal experiences of victimisation across social groups, geographical locations, jurisdictions and historical periods? How can victimisation be managed, prevented and/or responded to?

Having studied and taught victimology for many years, it is our contention that these questions not only animate students' curiosity, and thus their criminological imagination, they also underpin important societal questions about the precise nature of crime, victimisation, harm and injustice in contemporary society. The study of victims and victimisation has converged with the discipline of criminology for many decades now. It is our view that over the next few decades victimology will become more contested as it continues to challenge at the heart of the study of crime and its control. Victimology has the potential to shape debates that affect the future landscape of victimisation and the ability and willingness of the state and its agencies to provide for victims of crime. Moreover, it has the capacity to challenge criminology to transform itself into a progressive social democratic discipline willing and able to provide a social blueprint for understanding and intervention. In order to explore those questions detailed above, and to bring alive what is after all a fast-moving (and exciting) area of academic study, the book is structured around three key central organising themes.

The first key organising theme is the relationship between theory, method and practice in making sense of victimhood and victimisation. It is here that we are interested in: the nature of media representation about victims and victimisation; the conceptual and theoretical approaches underpinning the study of victims and victimisation; the social construction of victimhood; the ways in which evidence about the nature, extent and impact of victimisation is uncovered and understood; and in the way in which victimological ideas, assumptions and approaches have developed and impacted on policy and practice over time and place, historically, internationally and globally.

The second key organising theme concerns the nature of criminal victimisation in relation to the intersecting and overlapping social divisions of class, race, age, religion, sexuality and gender. Beneath this rubric, the book explores: the unequal distribution of criminal victimisation; the patterning and nature of risk; the experiences of crime victims as groups and individuals; and the social, political and criminal justice response to both crime victims and criminal victimisation. It foregrounds how social divisions provide a useful starting point for understanding the complex and dynamic nature of criminal victimisation in society.

The third key organising theme explores the frequent tensions between social divisions, criminal victimisation and state policy and practice. Across the chapters of this book contributors explore the interconnections between theory, method and practice, all informing what to do about victimisation. It is important that this thematic is cross-cutting across all chapters in that a key message that runs throughout the book is that any dislocation between theory, research and intervention will invariably be unable to deliver evidence-based, theoretically informed, targeted and effective intervention capable of addressing the needs and rights of those identified as victims and survivors.

Specifically, chapters within this book critically examine and evaluate:

- the key conceptual, theoretical, methodological and empirical approaches that are important for understanding criminal victimisation in contemporary society;
- the core models of victimological thinking and their impact on policy and practice;
- the importance of media representation for understanding social divisions, inequality and criminal victimisation;
- the political, cultural, global and social context of criminal victimisation and public and 'official' responses;
- the role of social divisions – class, race and ethnicity, age, gender, sexuality, religion – in the unequal distribution, patterning and experiences of criminal victimisation;
- the various political, governmental and policy responses to crime victims and criminal victimisation and the role of the voluntary and community sectors in supporting victims of crime.

Our aim in the rest of this introductory chapter is to map out the key organising themes of the book, identify various 'golden threads' that run throughout its pages and, in so doing, introduce, contextualise and interconnect the various chapters that follow.

First, we introduce the importance of media analysis to an understanding of victims, crime and society. Second, we outline the various social research methods that have been used to uncover the nature, extent and impact of criminal victimisation. Third, we present the relationship between the study of victims, victimisation and justice – *victimology*, and the study of crime, criminalisation and crime control – *criminology,* and outline the key models

of victimology. Fourth, we articulate the concept of social divisions as social categories, discuss their constructed nature and examine the connectedness between social divisions, inequality and victimisation. Fifth, we discuss political and policy responses to victimisation. Finally, we conclude this chapter by introducing the various pedagogic features that we have used throughout the book. Under each section we offer a brief summary of each thread, and offer further reading and 'pause for review' study questions.

MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS OF VICTIMS OF CRIME

The problem of crime is a 'socially constructed' problem. The same can be said of victimisation and social harm. Try telling the victim of a violent assault that their pain is 'socially constructed' and they are likely to give you short shrift. We are not proposing that criminal victimisation has no external reality, or that this reality is unknowable in any meaningful, empirical way. What we mean is that since most of us have limited first-hand experience of serious criminal victimisation, we are reliant on other sources of information for much of our knowledge about it. Few of these sources are more important than the media. Media representations contribute to shaping what the issues of crime, criminal victimisation and social harm 'mean' to people. They help to socially construct these issues by presenting particular 'views of reality'. There is no necessary connection, however, between what is constructed in the media and what is happening 'in the real world'. The issues of crime, victimisation and social harm, then, are highly mediatised. On this basis, it is our contention that any comprehensive critical exploration of crime victims, victimisation and wider social harm must engage with media constructions and (mis) representation.

As Stanley Cohen (1972) noted decades ago, while the media may not necessarily tell us what to think, they can be remarkably effective in shaping what we think about. They are of fundamental importance to those who would promote a particular view of crime victims and victimisation, or seek to challenge or change existing views. They are a key site of contestation on which policy makers seek to legitimise and secure popular consent for new measures affecting victims of crime. Groups espousing competing values, interests and beliefs struggle to secure 'ownership' – and with it, political power – of a plurality of contested victim-related issues and debates across media forums.

In the digital age, where communications technologies occupy a central and increasingly important role in most people's lives, understanding complex social issues like crime and victimisation, control and social order requires engaging with media. As one of us has argued elsewhere (Greer, 2013: 143):

> The rapid and relentless development of information technologies over the past 100 years has shaped the modern era, transforming the relations between space, time and identity. Where once 'news' used to travel by ship, it now hurtles across the globe at light speed and is available 24 hours-a-day at the push of a button. Where once cultures used to be more or less distinguishable in national or geographical terms, they now mix, intermingle and converge in a constant global exchange of information. Where once a sense of community and belonging was derived primarily from established identities and local traditions, it may now also be found, and lost, in a virtual world of shared values, meanings and interpretations. In short, media are not only inseparable from contemporary social life; they are, for many, its defining characteristic.

In common with many countries, the UK is experiencing a proliferation of scandal, activated in the news media, relating to serious instances of criminal victimisation. Predatory sexual abuse within British institutions, in

particular, has attracted unprecedented media attention following the death of the celebrity entertainer, presenter and charity campaigner Sir Jimmy Savile (Greer and McLaughlin, 2013, 2016). In October 2012, almost a year after his death, an ITV documentary examining claims of sexual abuse against him culminated in a joint report by the NSPCC and the Metropolitan Police, *Giving Victims a Voice* (Gray and Watt, 2013), which reported that 450 people had made complaints against Savile, with the period of alleged abuse stretching from 1955 to 2009. Some 214 criminal offences were recorded, with 34 rapes having been reported across 28 police forces. Savile was never charged during his lifetime (see Chapter 3).

New Zealand also has a chequered history in respect of scandals involving victimisations of the vulnerable. As Jordan (2015) points out, police responses to rape victims have ranged from the inadequate and inappropriate to the predatory and sexually abusive, including the recent uncovering of a series of rapes against young women perpetrated by serving police officers during the 1980s. Few women dared report their abuse in the climate of the time, and those who did, Jordan argues (2015), were met with the police code of silence. It took approximately 20 years before details of these crimes became public. While news media focus on the most newsworthy cases, due to their particular combination of 'news values' and victims' and/or parents' determination to keep the stories alive in the public eye, the vast majority of sexual victimisation remains unreported and invisible.

These examples briefly illustrate the importance of media representations in raising the visibility and the public and political salience of sexual violence against children and adults. Yet one need only skim the chapter headings and index pages of the vast majority of victimology books to realise that consideration of media representations scarcely feature. This, for us, represents an important gap in the literature, and in this book we seek to contribute to filling that gap. It is not our contention that the reality of crime, inasmuch as it can be known empirically or experientially, is of secondary significance to what people *believe to be* the reality of crime. On the contrary, we are keen to point out that criminal victimisation tends to be disproportionately concentrated among some of the most vulnerable and marginalised sections of society. For these groups the pains of victimisation are experienced not only most often, but also most acutely. What we would insist, however, is that popular and political (mis)understanding of the nature, extent, distribution and experiences of criminal victimisation, of the risks of being victimised, of the measures that might be taken to reduce victimisation, and of victims' needs and victims' rights are, to a significant extent, shaped by the media.

How do media influence what the issues of crime, criminal victimisation and social harm 'mean' to people?

To what extent have media representations of victimisation and victims of crime more generally remained under-researched?

PAUSE FOR REVIEW

RESEARCHING VICTIMS AND VICTIMISATION

The second golden thread connecting the chapters in this book concerns the methodologies, tools and techniques used to find out about victims, crime and victimisation. The recognition that official recorded criminal statistics

may tell us more about the organisational processes involved in their collation and collection than about actual levels of crime has motivated criminologists and victimologists to seek out alternative sources of information about crime and criminal victimisation (Maguire, 2002). Today, two broad approaches to researching and uncovering victimisation can be identified: counting and measuring using quantitative survey methodologies, and observing, reading and listening through various qualitative approaches, alongside archival research, investigative journalism and campaigning. Each are discussed briefly below.

Since the crime survey was first developed in the US in the late 1960s, it has seemingly become the new orthodoxy (Maguire, 2012) in terms of research on victims and victimisation. Certainly the direct questioning of the victim of crime is central to the victimological enterprise, some of the features of which are generic to social surveys whereas others are specific responses to the problems of studying victimisation (Davies et al., 2003, 2011). With the growth in political and academic interest in crime victims during the 1960s and 1970s in the US and the 1980s in the UK, and the enormous impact of feminist research and methodologies, the victimisation survey began to emerge as an alternative source of information about victims of crime and criminal victimisation (Goodey, 2005). The US National Crime and Victimisation Survey (NCVS) established in 1973 is the longest running such national survey. The first British Crime Survey was conducted in 1982 following an experimental survey in London by Sparks et al. (1977), and within the UK similar surveys have been carried out in Scotland covering the Highlands and Islands on an annual basis since 2008 and in Northern Ireland since 2005. Today victim surveys are carried out in many countries across the globe, albeit in jurisdictions that have different historical and socio-legal traditions where surveys are based on different degrees of comparability in terms of the types of victimisation covered. Surveys are carried out in amongst other countries, Australia, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and New Zealand. In terms of methodological development, the Dutch, British and Swiss crime survey models have been especially influential in the European context.

Surveys are also conducted on different scales. National and city samples, though based on representative samples of the population and statistically significant – meaning they are representative and findings are generalisable – are relatively small, whereas the International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS) is a unique survey of the experience of being victimised in that it is standardised and far-reaching. The aim of the ICVS is to produce estimates of victimisation that can be used for international comparison. It has been carried out six times over the period 1989–2010, moving from computer-assisted telephone interviewing towards self-completion via the web. The sixth ICVS took place in 2009 in six countries – Canada, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK (Hoyle, 2012) – though in total it has been conducted in more than 80 countries. The survey provides a measure of common crimes to which the general public is exposed, including relatively minor offences such as petty theft as well as more serious crimes such as car thefts, sexual assaults or threats/assaults. For the crime types it covers, the survey asks about incidents that accord with legal definitions of common offences, using colloquial language.

As with other crime surveys, the ICVS largely ignores victimisation by complex crimes on collective populations, such as corruption or organised crime, thus limiting some comparisons of rates between countries (van Dijk, 2015). Furthermore, the comparatively small samples sizes preclude estimation of less prevalent crimes such as rapes or aggravated assaults. However, as van Kesteren et al. (2014) have highlighted by dwelling on four important areas of analysis, there are valuable ways in which victimologists can capitalise on the comparative nature of the ICVS. They particularly draw out the capacity the ICVS produces to look at victimisation experience

at the level of both individuals and countries. First, they look at the level of crime in different countries according to the ICVS, compared to the picture from police figures where they point towards some distinct differences. The second focus concerns what ICVS measures of trends in crime show relative to trends in police figures. The third focus is on victims reporting crime to the police and their level of satisfaction with the police response, as well as the provision of and need for specialised victim assistance, underlining the importance of the ICVS as an instrument to monitor the implementation of international standards on victims' rights, and to benchmark national victim policies. Their fourth focus is on attitudes towards crime and criminal justice, looking in particular at similarities and differences across country populations. One feature is a multi-level analysis of the social correlates of public attitudes towards punishment, in particular differentiating between victims and non-victims.

In making the case for survey-based comparative measures of crime, van Dijk has argued that stand-alone national victimisation surveys, with their varying methodologies and questionnaires, cannot reliably be used for cross-national comparisons (see Box 1.1).

BOX 1.1   THE CASE FOR SURVEY-BASED COMPARATIVE MEASURES OF CRIME

As regards the unreliability of national victimisation surveys for cross-national comparisons, van Dijk argues:

This is especially true for older versions of such surveys, modelled after the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) of the USA, which try to mimic their country's official statistics of police-recorded crimes. Victimization surveys in the European tradition use less legalistic definitions of the public's experiences of crime and are therefore more conducive to international standardization. When such surveys are standardized to cover the common ground of crime in multiple jurisdictions, as is the case in the International Crime Victims Survey, they can provide comparable data on the level and trends of crime of individual nations at relatively modest costs. In addition, such surveys can provide comparative data on crime reporting by victims, on satisfaction with responses from police and other agencies, as well as on public attitudes towards safety and criminal justice. (van Dijk, 2015: 437)

The purpose of surveys can differ too. Crime surveys have been carried out with the intention of uncovering crime and victimisation in the context of business and retailing. The Commercial Victimisation Survey (CVS) is an example of a large scale survey that examines the extent of crime against businesses in England and Wales. The first CVS dates back to 1994, more than ten years after the first British Crime Survey. Also conducted in 2002, it has been an annual survey since 2012. Each year a selection of industry sectors is included in the sample. The 2014 CVS focused on premises in three industry sectors: agriculture, forestry and fishing; wholesale and retail trade; and accommodation and food services activities.

Another large-scale survey is the Retail Crime Survey (RCS). This is undertaken by the British Retail Consortium, which maintains that crime remains a persistent problem for businesses whether in the form of theft, violence against shop staff or cyber-based threats (BRC, 2016). Since the early 1990s it has been conducted on an

annual basis and provides for detailed reports on each major type of retail crime with a separate reporting for the small and medium enterprise (SME) sector for each type of crime. The findings from this survey report on the cost of theft, fraud and cyber-crime to the retail sector with information on 'insider' employee thefts and frauds as well as customer thefts, burglary, robbery, criminal damage, and violence against staff. Similar questionnaires to the first International Crime Business Survey (see below) were used in Australia, Estonia and South Africa in 1994, 1997 and 1998 respectively. National surveys on the retail sector took place in Australia in 1999, south-western Finland in 1994–95 and between 1995 and 1999 in St. Petersburg, Latvia and Lithuania to address the issue of the security of foreign businesses (Alvazzi Del Frate, 2004).

The first International Commercial Crime Survey (ICCS) was carried out in 1994 when eight countries participated. Six years later in 2000 an International Crime Business Survey (ICBS) was conducted in nine central-eastern European capital cities (Alvazzi Del Frate, 2004). Despite attempts to obtain a standardised and comparable approach to all of the surveys and use of a standard questionnaire in all countries, alongside a standard mode of interviewing, important differences remained in the approach to sampling, translation of questions into different national languages, interview lengths and response rates, which make comparisons of both international crime victimisation and international commercial and business victimisation problematic.

Surveying victims has become one of the most flexible and rewarding research methodologies, facilitating the generation of details about the circumstances of the offence, relationships between victims, and victims' experiences of the various criminal justice agencies. Davies et al. (2011) (See also Davies and Francis, 2017) demonstrate how the refinement and development of the crime victimisation survey in the US and Europe has made it universally known that police recorded crimes form only a small part of the total volume of crime, and have helped provide insights into victims' experiences, perceptions and worries of crime and of the criminal justice system. In a variety of ways, surveys of victims have been concerned with differing dimensions of victimisation. They help capture data about trends, victims' experiences, static risks (gender, age, social class and race), dynamic risks (risks that are amenable to change) and impacts of victimisation. These include reasons for: under-reporting and under-recording; the correlates of victimisation; the risk of victimisation; the fear of crime and its relationship to the probability of victimisation; the experience of crime from the viewpoint of victims; and the treatment of victims in the criminal justice system.

Whatever the purpose, size, focus and nature of survey used, however, they are not without criticism. These criticisms range from the simple, such as they can often assume a level of literacy and/or understanding amongst the sample population that may not be available, to the more complex. In particular, they have been criticised for not being able to get behind the mere appearance of things. Less visible harms are much more difficult to capture by survey method. Harms arising from mass pollution for example, that affect large populations, are difficult to capture, and measures of crimes such as fraud are not adequately captured.

Moreover, victimisation surveys are unable to situate and contextualise victimisation with the everyday lives and routine activities that each of us engages in. They are unable to situate our experiences of crime and victimisation within socio-economic, cultural and political contexts. In addition, surveys can often reflect the agenda and priorities of those carrying out the research or consultation rather than the participants involved as subjects. Victim surveys are closely tied to the confines of the criminological and victimological enterprises. Therefore, such surveys are often viewed as inappropriate to questions raised by forms of thinking which view

such enterprises as constraining and instead seek to add a critical edge by locating victimisation in wider structural issues.

As a consequence, some victimologists have looked beyond the victimisation survey to more qualitative methods of research and inquiry, involving forms of observing and listening through ethnographic interaction. Indeed, many have heeded the clarion call for triangulation to pick and mix and match different methods for different areas of research. Sandra Walklate (2003: 41), for example, has suggested that exploration of the complexity of human interaction through time and space demands a research agenda which goes beyond the victimisation survey. Similarly, Roger Matthews (2010) has identified the need to use a mixed method approach in acknowledgement that the method must fit the question and the context within which it is being asked. The kind of framework supported by Walklate and Matthews is one that locates victimisation within a socio-economic, global, cultural and political context and which examines the processes that go on behind people's backs which contribute to the victims (and the crimes) we see as opposed to those we do not see. For Walklate research may involve comparison, triangulation of method and longitudinal studies.

Alongside a call for a mixed method approach to doing victimological research (Davies and Francis, 2017), much knowledge about injustice and forms of victimisation has been developed through archival explorations, historiography, investigative journalism and campaigning. Whilst the former can involve very clear rules and forms of engagement in the use of historical documents to uncover the nature and form of victimisation in specific periods of time, the latter are more loosely applied and sometimes opportunistic, if no less compelling in terms of the information that they provide in terms of our understanding of victims and victimisation. Class, race, age and gender all play their part in locating victimisation in wider structural issues as do personal histories, habits and behaviours.

Throughout the book, each chapter explores the ways in which victims of crime are rendered visible through documenting and cataloguing their experiences either by counting and measuring and/or observing and listening. They examine how victimisation is uncovered and how unreported victimisation remains an issue as they trace the development of the ways in which the socially divided nature of victimisation is increasingly appreciated and understood.

What are the main strengths and weaknesses of the crime survey method in uncovering victims' experiences of crime and victimisation?

What methods fall under the broad heading of 'ethnographic approaches', and how do they contribute to the study of victims and victimisation?

PAUSE FOR REVIEW

VICTIMOLOGICAL THEORY AND CONTEXT

The third thread situates and locates the study of victims and victimisation within a theoretical and political context – one that is broadly critical in aim and approach. It is informed by the importance of delivering social justice.

Victimology – the study of victims of crime – emerged in the 1940s, and is now an established if contested disciplinary enterprise (Fattah, 1992; Goodey, 2005; Walklate, 2007). It has influenced the discipline of criminology and the social sciences more broadly, and has, as will be seen in later sections, made an important contribution to developments in criminal justice, crime prevention and restorative justice, to conflict resolution and mediation. Certainly debates about victim's needs and rights are now fundamental to policy and practice surrounding crime and its control as a consequence of the contribution made by victimology and victimologists.

Victimology can be viewed as catholic in its incorporation of people and ideas (Rock, 2010). For some it is an established academic discipline, while at the very least, an important and substantial sub-discipline of criminology for others (Walklate, 2007). Without doubt there are today striking similarities between victimology and criminology (Karmen, 2016). The study of victims and victimisation underpins much criminological work, and many victimological perspectives draw from a broad criminological heritage. Moreover, victimology does not have a single viewpoint but is made up of a variety of often competing perspectives reflecting various historic, political, disciplinary and personal standpoints, but unlike criminology, victimology's disciplinary historical narrative is much shorter, its content more focused and its influence within the wider social science disciplines less well developed. It shares many conceptual, theoretical and methodological ideas and perspectives, tools and techniques with criminology yet at the same time, many victimologists continue to map out a separate narrative for victimology, boasting of its own association, academic journals, networks, annual conferences and academic champions.

Victimology ensures that the victim of crime, victimisation, and more recently those identified as experiencing social harm (Hillyard et al., 2004, 2005), as well as survivors of abuse and injustices, receive much-needed academic and scholarly attention, and simultaneously, exposure to policy makers, practitioners and ultimately, state officials. Simply put, victimology has provided an opportunity to uncover, to expose and to address the needs and rights of those less heard, and this remains the case today, especially given the role of the state and its agencies, as well as corporations, big business and organisations as victimisers, often unwilling to either acknowledge their own wrongdoing, and/ or that of others.

As noted above, the historical narrative of victimology is much shorter than that of criminology. Whilst the origins of criminology as a philosophy of criminal justice can be dated to the 18th century Enlightenment and as a science of the criminal to the late 19th century, victimology's evolution is more recent (Walklate, 2003). Victimology emerged in the mid-20th century and has matured only in the last 45 or so years (see Chapter 5). It must also be remembered that as recently as the late-1960s, criminology offered little or no in depth analysis of the victim. Even within studies of criminal justice, the victim remained until recently a forgotten 'actor' in the analysis and exposure of the machinery and delivery of justice. The early pioneers of the study of victims of crime were academic European lawyers and human scientists, many of whom worked on the fringes of law, criminology and psychiatry (Rock, 2010; Walklate et al., 2011). And whilst Fattah (1992) notes that the term 'victimology' was first used by Wertham in 1949, most commentators ascribe the title of 'founder' of victimology to von Hentig (Walklate, 2007; Spalek, 2006; Rock, 2010). It was von Hentig who noted in 1940 the potential that an understanding of 'victim' attributes, motives and experiences could contribute to furthering the investigation of crime and its control.

Numerous attempts have been made to categorise and describe the core theoretical perspectives in victimology. Walklate (2007) and Spalek (2006), for example, list positivist, radical, feminist and critical victimologies, whilst

Karmen (2016) identifies three perspectives: conservative, liberal and radical-critical. Often commentators attempt to show how each perspective has its own disciplinary history, framework and academic reference points, offers its own understanding of the type and nature of victimisation and the problem of crime, and articulates a specific viewpoint on the response of the state to victims of crime and the role of the charitable and voluntary sector in providing support to victims of crime. Often these same commentators fail to discuss the interconnections between each and with criminology, as well as their relative influence. For the purpose of this book we favour the view that two basic models of victimology can be identified. The history of victimology is one of competition between these two models or ways of thinking about victims and victimisation.

The first model is an extension of the scientific victimology that emerged with von Hentig during the mid-20th century, and is often referred to as 'positivist', administrative or 'conservative' victimology. It is a model that predominates much academic and political thinking, defines victims predominantly through legal means and whose perspectives variously utilize concepts of 'risk', 'precipitation', 'proneness' and 'lifestyle' to explain crime victimisation. This model views most forms of criminal victimisation as an interaction between victim and offender and seeks to understand the role victims might play in their own victimisation as part of that interactive process. The second model is a product of social and political change and is associated with the radical and critical social sciences that developed in the 1960s, in direct opposition to positivist thinking. It is a model concerned with the politics of victimisation, and comprises perspectives that offer analyses informed by concepts of power, gender, dominance and control. It is a model predominantly interested in the processes through which victims and victimisation are constructed, reconstructed, sustained, maintained or denied, and includes 'radical', 'feminist' and 'critical' victimologies.

Neither of the two broad models is aligned to a specific political ideology. Both models comprise various perspectives, ideas and commentaries, and there are many contradictions and contradistinctions within each model. Each model adheres to certain 'domain' assumptions about the problem of crime and victimisation (Walklate, 2007), and these form the basis upon which contemporary victimological debate has developed and matured. Significantly, these models differ as to how each conceptualises the term 'victim'. As students of criminology and criminal justice, you will be acutely aware that not all activities which are harmful are criminalised, and thus those victimised may not acquire the term 'victim'. Others who do experience crime may still fail to acquire the label 'victim', and the chapters in this volume address how and why this is the case. Finally, some individuals who acquire the term 'victim' may not define themselves as such, and may wish to reject the label and the implications that may arise from its application. Christie (1986) gave claim to the notion of the 'ideal' victim, against which all others are measured, whilst Carrabine et al. (2004: 115) refer to 'hierarchies of victimization' whereby 'some victims enjoy a higher status in the crime discourse, and their experiences of victimization are taken more seriously than others'.

The term 'victim' is to a large extent defined along disciplinary and political lines. Conservative or positive victimologies, for example, usually work with a legal definition of crime, and thus maintain a legalistic conception of the crime victim. In contrast, radical and critical victimologies look to deconstruct the term and its use. Some prefer to use the term 'survivor'. Others, in acknowledgement of the limitations of the term 'crime', refer to 'victims of social harm' in order to better reflect the broader aspects of social and political victimisation that arise as a result of the troubles of everyday life.

It is our view that much that can be found under the umbrella headings of positivist and conservative victimology is flawed as a consequence of its conceptual naivety, theoretical limitations, methodological positivism and interventionist focus (Francis, 2016). Our preference is for those victimologies that draw upon radical and critical ideas in that they focus attention towards: the interconnections between structure and agency; the impact that social, political, global and economic conditions have on crime and victimisation; an analysis of the nature and form of late modern predatory capitalism and its impact on crime and victimisation; the role of the state and its agencies; and the role that corporations and big businesses have on the social construction of crime. It is our view that such victimologies contribute significantly to understanding the interrelationships between inequality, vulnerability and victimisation in time and place.

As noted already, the contributors to this volume are concerned not only to explore and explain the nature and extent of criminal and non-criminal victimisation in contemporary society, but also to understand the unequal distribution and experience of that victimisation through reference to social division and inequality. Inequality is understood as being a necessary by-product of the current political-economic and social-cultural arrangements of late modern society. Crime, victimisation, social division and inequality all simultaneously derive from and feed into wider structures of inclusion and exclusion, power and subordination, containment and control. As such, they are defining features of the contemporary social and criminal justice landscape.

Radical and critical criminology has a long and varied history within the criminological academy. Partly in response to the atheoretical, ahistorical, situationally oriented approaches of the conservative administrative criminologies resulting from the Home Office 'what works' mantra of the 1980s, critical criminology has undergone something of a recent resurgence. One of its central aims is to reinforce and tighten the links between criminology and its theoretical and political moorings, at a time when administrative criminology risks casting it adrift from both. Whilst conservative/administrative criminologists pay at best secondary attention to the causes of crime, radical and critical criminologists consider an appreciation of aetiology to be fundamental, not least because many of the sources of criminal behaviour, and thus criminal victimisation, can be found in the political and economic structures of late capitalist societies. Whilst administrative criminologists retain a narrow definition of crime – in many ways reflecting tabloid representations of street violence, burglary, car theft and vandalism – critical criminologists are keen to convey that much suffering through criminal victimisation results from the activities of the powerful. Corporate and white-collar offending, state crimes, deaths in custody, everyday experiences of racial and sexual violence and prejudice, and social exclusion can all be understood in terms of political and economic power and the unequal distribution of social justice in society.

Thus, a critical approach is shared across each of the contributions in this volume. Whether discussing race, religion, age, gender, sexuality, class or media constructions of these social categories and their connection to images of crime and victimisation, analysis is informed by an appreciation of the political economy of crime and criminal victimisation and a desire to highlight victimisation caused by the powerful as a pressing and ongoing concern.

SOCIAL CATEGORIES, INEQUALITY AND VICTIMISATION

Everyday social existence involves the definition and continual reassessment of 'who we are'. An important part of defining 'who we are' is determining who we are not. Our sense of 'self ' and our construction of 'who we are' is defined, to a significant extent, in contradistinction to conceptions of the 'other'. Notions of 'self ' and 'other' can be isolated and highly individualised or shared and deeply embedded in culture. Sometimes they are institutionalised and become custom or law. Sometimes they remain marginal, and are considered quirky or eccentric. Sometimes their expression provokes censure and approbation. What is crucial is that constructions of 'self ' and 'other' are intimately connected to the power relations that permeate the social and cultural world. We all live in a set of patterned and structured relations of unequal status and power – political, cultural or economic, for example. These relations can both free up and constrain our everyday lives. Having more money opens up certain opportunities which remain closed to those who have less. Having power and influence may open doors which would otherwise remain shut. These relations of power which help to shape our everyday experiences are bounded by social divisions.

Social divisions are social categories. Such categories can include race and ethnicity, gender, age, class, sexuality, disability, and mental health. Social categories are not static, but rather dynamic and change over time, space and place. As Best (2005: 324) states, 'Social categories are not simply given, they have to be established and maintained and the process through which they appear is known as *social division*.' They are situated historically, culturally, economically and politically. Cultural and economic transformations over the last few decades, such as deindustrialisation and globalisation, have each impacted upon the nature of social division. Best, for example, discusses how the concept of globalisation has 'racialised our notions of citizenship, and led us to question the validity of the nation state as a political entity' (2005: 2). In one sense, social divisions are arbitrary. Yet they are also enduring. For Best, the most enduring social divisions are those we believe are rooted in nature. In this sense, the most enduring social divisions portray continuity. Being young and working class, for example, continues to represent disadvantage, marginalisation and exclusion.

In 2007 we were acutely conscious of the problems relating to structuring that book according to what may appear, superficially at least, to be distinct and separate structural variables. We acknowledged that the intersectionalities of class-race-age-gender or multiple inequalities variously combine 'as intersecting, interlocking and contingent' (Daly, 1997: 33). We have now stretched the content of this book to include dimensions of religion and sexuality. We could have stretched the content further, to be even more comprehensive

including chapters on mental health and disability, and we discussed this as editors and authors. We may have been more inclusive in these respects were it not for the fact that in relation to crime victims and criminal victimisation, these areas, as in 2007, remain under-researched.

The social categories upon which this book primarily focuses – class, race and ethnicity, religion, age, gender, sexuality – happen also to be the major social inequalities in our society. To be poor, to be black, to be young, to be female and/or to experience a particular sexuality or enjoy a particular religious belief simultaneously represents different distinct social categories with combined significance and relation to relative disadvantage, exclusion, marginalisation and powerlessness. We do not all start life equally. We come into it as unequal individuals. Advantage and disadvantage are therefore with us from the start, and the nature and impact of these social structural inequalities persist and change over time, place and space. Moreover, inequality is situated across and within generations. Our experiences in childhood may well affect our experiences later in life, and these will often affect our children's experiences as well. Who we fall in love with is often constrained by inequalities. And, importantly for this book, our experiences, fears, vulnerabilities and perceptions of crime and victimisation are experienced through social divisions of inequality.

Whereas social divisions remain one of the driving themes of the book as a whole, individual chapters are connected by an assessment of social inequality, risk, vulnerability and victimisation. Since the mid-1990s, reported and recorded rates of crime and victimisation have fallen across many countries including the US, Canada, England and Wales. Figure 1.1 provides detail of the reported and recorded crime and victimisation for England and Wales. In England and Wales (Allen, 2016):

- Reported rates of victimisation rose steadily reaching a peak in 1995, before dropping markedly until 2005, and since this time the underlying trend has been downwards, albeit with fluctuation in year.
- In the year ending March 2016, there were 6.3 million incidents of crime experienced by adults aged 16 or over, 6 per cent fewer than the previous year.
- In 2016 it was estimated that around 15 per cent of adults aged over 16 were a victim of crime in the preceding year (around 7 million residents of England and Wales).
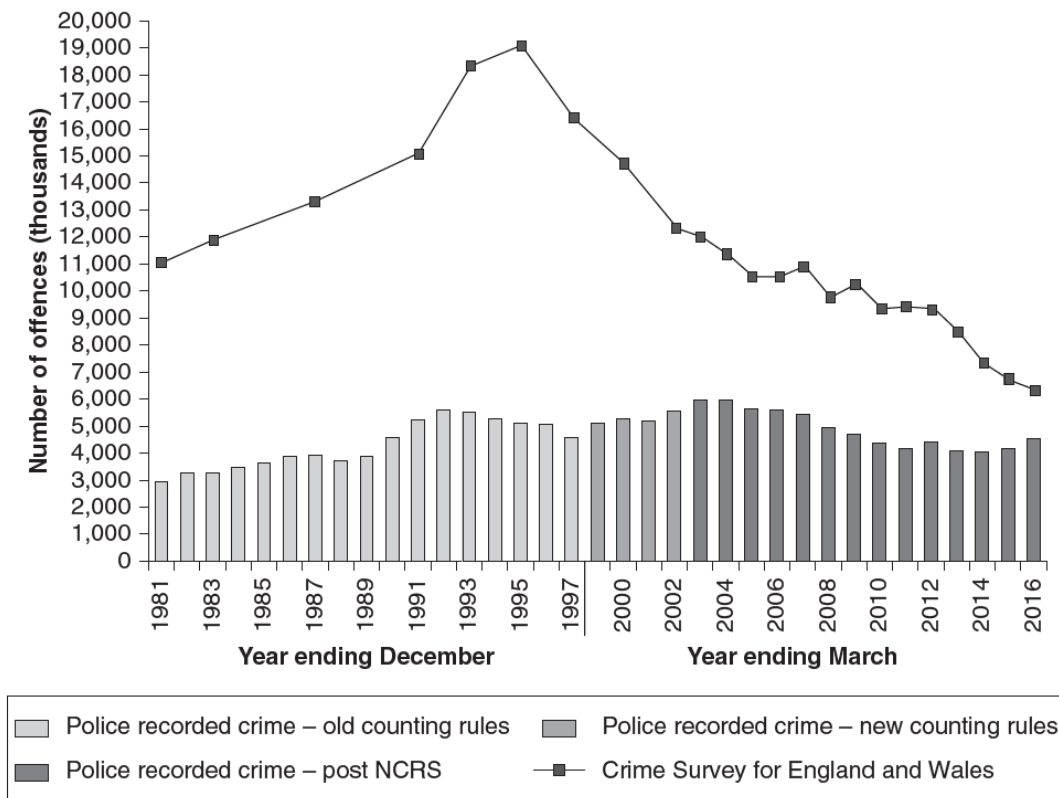
Figure 1.1 Trends in Crime Survey for England and Wales and police recorded crime, year ending December 1981 to year ending March 2016 (Allan, 2016)

- Recorded crime also showed a similar upward and downward trajectory, reaching a peak in 1992, before falling until 1997. From this date there have been variations and fluctuations as a result of police counting rule changes in 1998 and 2002, before a reduction in police recorded crime from 2004 to 2014, with the increase post- 2014 being attributed to the quality of police recording rather than actual increases in crime rates.

- While the figure exposes many crimes and victim experiences, they exclude many serious but low-volume offences including homicide, and sexual offences as well as crime against children.

- The likelihood of being a victim of crime has fallen from around 40 in every 100 adults in 1995, to around 23 in 100 in 2006, to around 15 in every 100 adults in 2016.

In 2016, Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) (Allan, 2016) included fraud and computer misuse for the first time, and it shows an estimated 5.8 million fraud and computer misuse offences (3.8 million fraud and 2 million computer misuse) experienced by adults in the 12 months prior to interview. It must also be noted that the CSEW estimates of victimisation amongst children aged 10–15 are not directly comparable with the main survey reported above. In the year 2015/16, the CSEW estimated that around 13 in 100 children aged 10–15 were victims of at least one crime. A total of 844,000 crimes were experienced by children, of which 49 per cent were categorised as violent crimes (418,000) whilst most of the remainder were thefts of personal property (274,000).

There have been a number of attempts to understand the reasons for the reduction in crime and victimisation in England and Wales, and also further afield, although there remains much debate as to the significance and clarity of argument around the studies. For some, more and better use of security by individuals and organisations is the

single biggest factor associated with the crime drop (Farrell, 2013). While there is some merit in this thesis, it is too empiricist in its approach and fails to adequately assess the impact of other notable variables including demographic change, globalisation, economic prosperity, incarceration, and amongst other variables, the lag associated with the extension of credit linked to housing and mortgages (Lynch, 2013).

A central contention of this book, as with its predecessor, is that criminal victimisation is felt most often and most acutely by the most marginalised and powerless sections of society. At the same time, prevailing definitions of victim and victimisation – in terms of who can or cannot legitimately claim victim status, who is or is not deserving of social support or media attention – does much to reify dominant white, male, middle-class, heterosexual discourses on crime and control. They reinforce rather than challenge existing structures of power. In so doing, they help to maintain the social, political and economic conditions under which much victimisation takes place. It is within this critical framework, sensitised in particular to the issues of inequality, social justice and inclusion and exclusion, that all the contributions in this book are located. For these reasons, this book – as was the 2007 edition – is a political book. As Currie (2010: 118) has noted, the aim of a critical criminology is:

> taking crime seriously; recognising that it disproportionally afflicts the most vulnerable; understanding its roots in the economic disadvantages; social deviants and cultural distortions characteristic of (but not limited to) predatory capitalism, insisting that those conditions are modifiable by concerted social action, and acknowledging the usefulness of some smaller scale interventions that stand the test of evidence – while rejecting as counter-productive and unjust the massive expansion of repression as a response to crime.

Indeed, it is important to note that the figures and surveys reported on above:

- confirm findings from previous surveys that suggest there are fairly high rates of under-reporting and under-recording of crime and victimisation to the police, and that rates of both are contingent on a range of interrelated factors such as offence type, victim characteristics (young, old, black, white, male, female, straight, gay), previous experiences and, among other factors, perception of the police response.
- mask variation in people's risk and vulnerability to crime and victimisation. The CSEW has since its inception (and before that the British Crime Survey) provided evidence that crime and victimisation are unevenly distributed across and between groups of individuals based upon their ethnicity, gender, age, class, lifestyle, relationships and so on.
- continue to indicate that geographic patterns and concentrations of offences vary by crime type. Variations differ across regions, in urban and rural areas, and between most employment-deprived and least unemployment-deprived areas.
- are unable to uncover the impact that crime and victimisation have on individuals. After all, the impact that victimisation has upon an individual is again dependent upon a range of factors, many of which are, to use Daly's phrase, intersecting, interlocking and contingent.

The differential risk rates associated with specific categories of social division are considered in detail across the different chapters in this book. Here we want to stress that these categories should not be viewed as static and separate but as interconnecting and closely related. Hope and Chester (2011), for example, drawing on extensive analysis of the British Crime Survey and the social distribution of household property crime in England and Wales, highlight that substantial inequality exists in the distribution of household crime, specifically its concentration in

a small proportion of the population and types of residential areas, and that the distribution of crime victimisation is related to the distribution of socio-economic inequality, with the risk of victimisation highest amongst the poorer residents of high-risk areas with high levels of social deprivation.

Similarly, examining data drawn from the BCS alongside socio-economic data, Dixon et al. (2006) highlight three specific findings in relation to income, victimisation and concern. These are:

- Richer households are more likely to be victims of some crimes, such as vehicle crime and criminal damage.
- Poorer households are more likely to be victims of serious intrusive crime such as burglary, mugging and domestic violence.
- Poorer households are much more likely to report being very worried about specific types of crime and feeling unsafe when walking alone after dark. Importantly, the difference in concern is greater than the difference in victimisation.

The broad finding is that that those people most likely to be victimised by crime and to experience social harm in England and Wales are often the most marginalised social groups living in the poorest areas (Zedner, 2002). Vulnerability to crime, risk and fear of crime are exacerbated by social, economic and political exclusion. Dixon et al. provide similar findings for ethnicity, age and gender. There are also interesting points to be noted in relation to age and gender. Young people, for example, are often the most likely to be criminally victimised, and risk of victimisation declines with age. But gender also affects the risk and vulnerability of younger and older people. And so on.

However, while the crime survey can offer insights into inequality, vulnerability and victimisation, this method of analysis also has its problems (Hope, 2007). Tim Hope (2015) has noted that what we might know about inequality, crime and victimisation is constrained by changes in the way in which crime surveys are sampled and delivered in England and Wales:

> One of the most significant changes that happened almost by stealth was that the BCS/EWCS ceased to be a crime survey and became a police performance survey instead. Earlier BCS samples had been weighted to over-select inner-city (socially deprived) areas in order to ensure there were enough victims to study. Nevertheless, during the Blair administration the sampling design was changed so that 'inner city' (high crime) areas were under-sampled, while suburban and rural (low crime) areas were over-sampled, ostensibly in order to provide sufficient 'customer' representation in every police force area (Hope, 2015: no page number).

Not only did this result in a huge sample size, but clearly it also inflated the number of non-victims in the sample (and may well have reduced the count of crime accordingly). At the same time, living in a socially deprived area ceased to be a 'risk factor' for crime victimisation, even though it had previously been the main predictor not only of victimisation risk but also of repeat victimisation (something that the government had once tried to do something about). In short, who knows how many more chronic victims are now being overlooked?

POLITICAL AND POLICY APPROACHES TO VICTIMS OF CRIME

The fifth key thread that interconnects the chapters in this book is that of political and policy responses to victims of crime. Victims of crime that often appear in the public arena usually do so because they have made contact with the police (or the criminal justice system as witnesses). The criminal justice system relies on victims and witnesses in a number of ways, including reporting crimes and furnishing the police with information to build evidence for a court case to prosecute an offender. These individuals are already a selective category of crime victim and a socially divided group. They have become separated from other victims of crime and social harm because they have become part of the political and policy process, and thus, in relative terms, what we might call 'visible victims'. These are the people whose victimisation has come to official notice. Their experiences are officially known about and they may qualify for assistance and support. Where public policy and practice for victims is concerned, they might be considered the lucky ones.

However, even at this stage this may not be the case. For example, they may experience secondary victimisation. Secondary victimisation occurs at the hands of criminal justice system staff or anyone else responding to an offence. It results from the insensitive treatment of victims of crime – often inadvertently – by the criminal justice system or by friends and acquaintances. For example, a young person may find their account of an alleged criminal assault being tested by police officers or social workers to the extent that they feel their truthfulness is being questioned.

One of the major developments arising from a recognition of the importance of victims as witnesses is Witness Service support. Between 1989 and 2015 Victim Support delivered a Witness Service, piloted first in selected Crown Courts then extended to all criminal courts in England and Wales by 2003. It provided emotional support and practical help for prosecution and defence witnesses as well as their family and friends (Wolhuter et al., 2009), with the aim of making the experience of being in court less daunting and confusing. As part of this, they arranged pre-trial courtroom tours, supported witnesses during the trial, and provided witnesses with private waiting areas in court. While scholars of the criminal justice system have spent time thinking about the identity of a victim, witnesses have largely been ignored (Cook and Davies, 2016). The extent to which evolving support and provisions have been introduced to meet the wants and needs of a generic victim has been the topic of critical scrutiny. Several have concluded that developments ostensibly in support of the victim can be seen rather differently, not as primarily in the interests of victims and witnesses but as efficiency measures designed to

improve the smooth running of the criminal justice system and to build evidence for the successful prosecution in court of an offender, and to please the voting public (Duggan and Heap, 2014).

Very few victims of crime seek help and public support and assistance of their own accord. For the vast majority of victims who become users of services provided by the criminal justice system or supportive provisions funded by the government, few will seek help spontaneously. Most will take up the offer of practical assistance and emotional support after having been referred by the police. For enormous numbers of people who are socially harmed or criminally victimised it is more difficult for them to access services, and some are even excluded from making use of some schemes because they have not come into the public arena of the criminal justice system or managed to make their victimisation visible.

Landmark dates in the development of victim support and services in England and Wales are detailed in Table 1.1. Many changes have been introduced, particularly since 1990, aimed at 're-balancing' the system in favour of victims (and, by implication, at the expense of offenders) and, it is now almost sixty years since Steven Schafer (1968) described the crime victim as the Cinderella of the criminal justice system. Since Schafer described the victim in this way, criminal justice policies across the globe have been mobilised to bring the victim centre stage with policies increasingly framed in terms of the needs and rights of the victim, and justified in their name. Victims' 'rights' debates are increasingly central to developments in different criminal justice systems (Davies, 2015). However, the 'rights' of the victim in penal procedure in common law countries such as England and Wales, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and most of the US are largely limited to that of witness for the prosecution, though changes have recently seen the granting of participatory rights for crime victims as part of a concerted endeavour to bring the victim to the forefront.

Table 1.1 Landmark dates in the development of victim support policy

Date	Action
1964	Criminal Injuries Compensation Board (CICB) set up to administer the Criminal Injuries Compensation Scheme (CICS) for victims of violent crime
1972	First UK women's refuge set up for victims of domestic violence in Chiswick, London
1974	First Victim Support project set up in Bristol, England
1976	First UK rape crisis centre opened, London, England
1981	Creation of British Crime Survey
1982	First British Crime Survey Roger Graef's TV documentary on the treatment of women reporting rape
1985	UN declaration of the basic principles of justice for victims of crime and abuse of power
1986	Childline established The Islington Crime Survey
1987	First Domestic Violence Unit established in London (Tottenham) First Home Office funding for Victim Support
1989	Victim Support launch the first Victim/Witness in Court pilot
1990	Home Office Victim's Charter published
1991	Launch of the Citizen's Charter Crown Court Witness Service introduced
1993	James Bulger murdered Stephen Lawrence murdered
1996	Home Office Victims Charter revised 2nd edition 'One Stop Shops' and 'Victim Statements' piloted
1998	Crime and Disorder Act – reparation for victims of young offenders
1999	Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act – vulnerable witness provision Publication of the Macpherson report into the Stephen Lawrence investigation Witness Service in Magistrates Courts introduced
2001	Victim Personal Statements (VPS) introduced
2002	Home Office Victims Charter revised 3rd edition
2003	'Securing the attendance of witnesses in court', consultation paper Victim Support provides a Witness Service in all criminal courts
2004	Domestic Violence, Crime and Victims Act Victims Fund – to develop services for victims of sexual offending Establishment of the Victims Advisory Panel – giving victims a greater voice in policy making
2005	'Rebuilding Lives: Supporting Victims' Green Paper – victim support to prioritise practical and emotional help, as well as financial compensation The Code of Practice for Victims of Crime published
2006	Code of Practice for Victims of Crime – creation of statutory obligations on the Criminal Justice System to provide minimum standard of service to victims Recruitment of a Commissioner for Victims and Witnesses
2007	The Witness Charter published
2008	Criminal Evidence (Witness Anonymous) Act

Table 1.1 (Continued)

Date	Action
2009	Sarah Payne appointed first Victims' Champion
2010	Louise Casey appointed as first Victims' Commissioner Jonathan Djanogly MP appointed Victims Minister
2012	Hillsborough Independent Panel releases its findings detailing numerous failings of authorities on the day of the 1989 football tragedy.
2013	A revised *Code of Practice for Victims of Crime* published *The Witness Charter: Standards of Care for Witnesses in the Criminal Justice System* published Victims' Right to RevietMinistry of Justice publishes 2010 to 2015 government policy: victims of crime
2014	Independent inquiry into child sexual abuse announced Domestic Violence Disclosure Scheme - Clare's Law
2015	Revised *Code of Practice for Victims of Crime* published
2016	The Inquest into the Hillsborough football disaster delivers its verdict that 96 football fans were unlawfully killed.

Certain time periods can be identified with specific social groups achieving victimological recognition. The re-emergence of the feminist movement was enormously influential in the development of services for victims of rape, sexual assault and domestic violence in the 1970s and well into the 1980s in both the US and UK. In England and Wales, Victim Support (VS) emerged in the 1970s and spread throughout the UK. In doing so it became established as the national victims' service, offering support for victims of most types of crime becoming an increasingly professionalised example of community-based support. Since the 1990s, a proliferation of different victimagogic activities have occurred, blurring the boundaries of whether help and assistance is public, private or voluntary and whether it is offered as of right. In England and Wales, developments in the 1990s were especially significant in changing the political and policy landscape for victims. This decade produced the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, which acknowledged police institutional racism and inadequacies surrounding public policies associated with black people, crime, victimisation and criminal justice. This decade also ushered in the Victim's Charter (1990). That Charter's full title was: *The Victim's Charter: A Statement of the Rights for Victims of Crime*. It claimed to set out for the first time the rights and entitlements of victims of crime. The revised version, published six years later (1996), tellingly had a different sub-title: *The Victim's Charter: A Statement of Service Standards for Victims of Crime*, a more realistic reflection of actual content. The 1990s also witnessed the rediscovery of popular punitiveness towards young offenders, which an emerging youth victimology has since been heavily critical of (Francis, 2007).

The *Code of Practice for Victims of Crime* (2013) was probably one of the most significant victim related publications emanating from the Ministry of Justice during the 2000s. This Victims' Code is perhaps best summarised as the 21st-century version of The Victim's Charter. The Code is a 78-page document comprising 19 entitlements for victims of crime. The first of these suggests victims of crime are entitled to a needs assessment. The last is about making a complaint. Together the words 'entitled' and 'entitlements' appear 201 times and these words are used alongside the less frequently used words 'duties' and 'duty' – 29 references. Common phrases are 'putting victims first' and 'vulnerable victims'.

If we take this document as indicative of the current state of victim oriented policy, rights-based vocabularies remain noticeably absent. Minimum standards covering 14 different service providers are listed as being covered by the code. It would seem that victims of crime continue to occupy a position defined by their need rather than by any notion of rights. This mirrors the conclusion arrived at 20 years ago by Rob Mawby, who was then commenting upon the ethos of Victim Support, The Victim's Charter and Criminal Injuries Compensation (Mawby and Walklate, 1994). So, has anything changed?

From the above discussion it can be surmised that there have been numerous developments involving the victim of crime in state and charitable/voluntary sector policy and practice over the past four decades. Indeed, criminal justice policies in respect of victims have gathered increasing momentum. Many have had a positive impact, especially in terms of changing the status of the victim in the criminal justice system. Some measures have significantly improved victims' experiences in connection with helping achieve criminal justice whilst other developments over the last 40 years or so have been helpful in meeting the needs of victims in the short, medium and longer term.

Whilst there have been positive gains for some crime victims in England and Wales, there have also been some stalemate predicaments and even losses. In terms of stalemates, despite an array of victim-oriented activities and measures there continues to be a lack of any coherent victims' policy and victims continue to occupy a position defined by their need rather than by a notion of rights. Another stalemate situation is that victims' 'lived experiences' of criminal justice and its agencies – namely the police, courts and prosecution process – continue to be less positive than hoped. For example, much literature details the fragile nature of police – victim relations, especially when the victim represents a marginalised and oppressed group or individual – such as ethnic minorities, women, children and young people and those from vulnerable groups and thus protected categories according hate crime legislation. And finally in terms of losses, some victims continue to be further traumatised and victimised by inappropriate treatment from public sector services including the criminal justice system and other official bodies and authorities. Victimologically, excluded citizens and consumers of services, are those that fall short of the socially acceptable stereotype of the 'ideal victim'. There continues to be forgotten, lost or neglected victims whose wants and needs are unmet in part due to policies dominated by assumptions about deserving and undeserving victims and legacies attributable to positivist traditions that dominate both cultural discourse and policy developments.

In more recent austerity years, as all manner of services have contracted, the place of Victim Support as the core agency in England and Wales supporting victims of crime entered a period where its future became uncertain. The growing influence of Police and Crime Commissioners (PCCs) and a major review of services has already resulted in the loss of the Victim Support contract for the Witness Service.

Victim policy and legislations in England and Wales and elsewhere are increasingly impacted upon by international organisations and institutions. However distinctive a country's criminal justice system, political and policy developments are to a greater or lesser extent likely to be influenced in their operation by globalisation and global processes. International influence is most overtly felt through the work of transnational organisations like the European Union and the United Nations, as well as the operation of institutions like the International Criminal Court and the European Court of Justice. In Europe, the notion of rights is traditionally less engrained and this is especially the case in the UK, where there is no written constitution. Consequently, European nations were slower to refer to victims having rights in official policy documents than was generally the case in North America. Indeed,

this is a relatively recent development, following the proliferation of rights language in a 2001 EU Framework Decision on the standing of victims in criminal proceedings (2001/220) and, before that, the introduction of the European Convention on Human Rights in 1950 (Hall, 2016). The impact of Brexit, and the UK's vote to leave Europe in 2016, on victim policy has yet to be seen.

Many of the various contributions to this volume consider the nature and impact of the political and the policy response to victims mostly in the context of England and Wales, but comparisons with other jurisdictions are also used. Hall, in Chapter 6, offers a particularly global perspective. In doing so they ask a number of questions:

- How appropriate are the various state responses to victimisation, victims and witnesses?
- What has been the political and policy response to specific victims of crime?
- How do victims of different types of criminal victimisation experience criminal justice systems and processes?

In addition, there are numerous sections within the various chapters in this book that specifically address questions about anti-social experiences, unfairness and bias, injustice and inequality, discrimination and prejudice as pertaining to criminal justice systems generally or to different components of systems (i.e. the police, the courts, the CPS, the magistracy and judiciary, the prison and probation services). Thus there are several key victimological concerns and debates that repeatedly occur in reviewing the relationship between victims, victim policy, criminal justice and the major social divisions. This provokes discussions that focus upon the absence of appropriate public policy and practices directed towards those who have been criminally victimised or socially harmed and which might aid their recovery. Other discussions focus upon the victim's representation or lack of representation and even neglect in criminal justice policy and practice. Another angle to many of the contributions concerns how public and criminal justice policy and practice can actually result in social harm and criminal victimisation. Many chapters in the volume effectively examine the ways in which people experience victimisation as a result of criminal justice policy and practice and as a result of wider measures aimed at reducing crime and/or improving quality of life and well-being – the unintended consequences of poorly researched and implemented victim related initiatives. Additionally, several of the chapters highlight recent developments in the provision of mediation and restorative justice programmes as such philosophies have variously penetrated the broader spectrum of criminal justice policy and practice generally.

> Since the 1960s, what has been the focus in each decade in the development of victim policies and services?
>
> What are the key challenges and opportunities in developing victim policies and services?
>
> **PAUSE FOR REVIEW**

READING VICTIMS, CRIME AND SOCIETY

Victims, Crime and Society: An Introduction 2e represents a single point of reference and a comprehensive resource. It encompasses the intersecting and overlocking socio-economic, comparative, theoretical and historical

dimensions to the study of victims in society. It is replete with pedagogic features that make it attractive to students and to those involved in delivering innovation in teaching and learning.

To ensure consistency across all chapters in terms of the presentation of theory, research, policy and practice, and to secure a thorough review of all aspects of the academic and scholarly research literature, we have been keen to identify a common format or component listing for each chapter that helps reading and understanding. Where relevant, each chapter includes:

- A critical review of the theoretical and research literature on the area of study.
- An assessment of the development of any policy and legislative responses.
- A discussion on key developments/issues in the area of study.
- A discussion on any future research directions.
- A concise summary.

In addition, each of the chapters provide:

- Key terms highlighted in the text and referenced in the Glossary at the end of the book.
- 'Pause for review' questions for reflection and discussion.
- Suggestions for further reading.

In structuring each chapter in this way, we have been particularly keen to balance the authors' expertise in particular substantive areas with the needs of the reader new to the discipline of victimology and the study of victimisation and victims of crime. In doing so, we think that the format strengthens the student-centred nature of the book and allows for cross-referencing to be made within and between chapters.

Chapters 1 to 6 introduce victim constructs, representations, concepts and definitions in historical, global, theoretical and research contexts. These contributions are essential components of the study of victims in society. They help introduce, what in our estimation are, the fundamental aspects of the study of victims in society. Chapters 7 to 13 explore the nature of criminal victimisation in relation to the intersecting and overlapping social divisions of class, race, religion, age, gender, sexuality. They allow us to apply the fundamental conceptualisations of the study of victims of crime to people's lived experiences. This part of the book also sets the scene for, and explores, the frequent tensions between social divisions, criminal victimisation, and state policy and practice.

The detailed structure of the book is:

1. Victims, Crime and Society: An Introduction – Pamela Davies, Peter Francis and Chris Greer
2. Defining Victims and Victimisation – Sandra Walklate
3. News Media, Victims and Crime – Chris Greer
4. Historical Perspectives in Victimology – Barry Godfrey
5. Theoretical Perspectives in Victimology – Peter Francis
6. Global Perspectives in Victimology – Matthew Hall
7. Fear, Vulnerability and Victimisation – Murray Lee
8. Gender, Victims and Crime – Pamela Davies
9. Older People, Victims and Crime – Matthew Hall

10. Socio-Economic Inequalities, Victims and Crime –Hazel Croall

11. Race, Religion, Victims and Crime – Colin Webster

12. Sexuality, Victims and Crime – Stephen Tomsen and Michael Salter

13. Victims of the Powerful – Hazel Croall

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