



# Environmental Crime *and the World*

## **Abstracts of the Conference**

Tilburg University, TIAS-Building

November 11-12, 2013

This volume contains the abstracts of the plenary and contributed papers of the Conference Environmental Crime and the World, November 11-12, 2013. We hope it may contribute to an exciting conference and a pleasant stay.

The organizers: Toine Spapens, Rob White & Wim Huisman

Organizational support: Emmy Bos and Sandra Kierkels

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# PROGRAM

## Environmental Crime *and the World*

*All plenary sessions take place in Room TZ4*

<b>Day 1 (11 November)</b>		
<i>Time slot</i>		<i>Activity</i>
8.00	9.00	Welcome and registration
9.00	9.10	Opening of the conference by Toine Spapens
9.10	9.50	Nigel South (Greening Criminology, Protecting the Planet: some recent and future developments concerning environmental crime and control)
9.50	10.30	Cameron Holley (The new environmental governance)
10.30	11.00	Coffee break
11.00	11.40	James Sheptycki (Cross-border policing of environmental crime)
11.40	12.20	Grant Pink (Environmental Crime: The role of Police Agencies, Customs and Port Authorities and Environmental Regulatory Agencies in respect to enforcement responses)
12.20	13.30	Lunch
13.30	15.00	1 <sup>st</sup> Round of panel sessions
15.00	15.30	Coffee Break
15.30	17.00	2 <sup>nd</sup> Round of panel sessions
17.00	19.00	Drinks
<b>Day 2 (12 November)</b>		
8.30	9.00	Welcome and coffee
9.00	9.05	Opening by Wim Huisman
9.05	9.45	Floor Fleurke (Emission trading schemes)
9.45	10.25	Carole Gibbs (Intelligence led policing and transnational environmental crime)
10.25	10.55	Coffee break
10.55	12.25	3 <sup>rd</sup> Round of panel sessions
12.25	12.30	Closure of the conference by Toine Spapens
12.30	13.30	Farewell lunch

# PANEL SESSIONS

## Environmental Crime *and the World*

*Panel Session 1, Monday 11 November, 13.30 - 15.00*

<b>Waste: trafficking and dumping</b> <i>Panel Session 1-1, Room TZ3</i>	
The informal economy in the largest industrial cluster of Sub-Sahara Africa and its links through informal networks to the international trade of used car parts. Results from a action-research study	Joost van Onna (National Public Prosecution Service, The Netherlands)
Broadening the palette of sanctioning instruments in cases of waste-trafficking	Machteld Bergstra (National Public Prosecution Service, The Netherlands)
The illegal waste disposal in Campania	Pasquale Peluso (University Guglielmo Marconi, Rome, Italy)
<b>Fisheries Crime and Deer Poaching</b> <i>Panel Session 1-2, Room TZ5</i>	
Global efforts to tackle fisheries crime	Eve de Coning (Interpol, Norway)
Restitution to South Africa for illegal fishing in South African waters	Jan Glazewski (University of Cape Town, South Africa)
Victimless Venison? Deer Poaching and Black Market Meat in the UK	Tanya Wyatt (Northumbria University, United Kingdom)

*Panel Session 2, Monday 11 November, 15.30 - 17.00*

<b>Wildlife Crime</b> <i>Panel Session 2-1, Room TZ3</i>	
Deforestation, natural resource exploitation and conflicts	Tim Boekhout van Solinge (Utrecht University, The Netherlands)
On International Wildlife Trade	Daan van Uhm (Utrecht University, The Netherlands)
The politics of palm oil harm and the paradox of rights	Hanneke Mol (Utrecht University, The Netherlands)

<b>Enforcement and other interventions</b> <i>Panel Session 2-2, Room TZ5</i>	
Sanctions as moral messages. General deterrence and environmental compliance in the waste industry in the Netherlands	Karin van Wingerde (Erasmus University, Rotterdam, The Netherlands)
Prevention and investigation of environmental crimes – collaboration between authorities in Finland	Iina Sahramäki (Police College of Finland, Tampere, Finland)
Deliberative Democracy and Environmental law enforcement	Giuseppe Rotolo (Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan, Italy)

*Plenary panel Session, Tuesday 12 November, 10.55 - 12.25*

<i>Panel Session 3, Room TZ4</i>	
The EFFACE project - research on environmental crime at the EU level	Christianne Gerstetter (Ecologic Institute, Berlin, Germany)
Criminal networks and black markets in transnational environmental crime	Lorraine Elliot (The Australian National University, Australia)
Eliciting narratives on the experience of environmental contamination and harm. A visual approach for green criminology	Lorenzo Natali (University of Milano-Bicocca, Milan, Italy)
Nonhuman Environmental Subjects and Environment Courts	Rob White (University of Tasmania, Australia)

# PLENARY SPEAKERS

Environmental Crime *and the World*

## **Nigel South**

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Nigel South is a Professor in the Department of Sociology and Centre for Criminology, a member of the Human Rights Centre and, from 2005-2013, a Pro-Vice-Chancellor, at the University of Essex, Colchester, UK. He is also a visiting Adjunct Professor in the School of Justice at Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane. He has published widely on green criminology; drug use, health and crime; inequalities and citizenship; and heoretical and comparative criminology, and currently serves on the editorial boards of Critical Criminology, Deviant Behavior and the International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy. With Avi Brisman, he is co-editor of the Routledge International Handbook of Green Criminology (2013).

## **Cameron Holley**

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Cameron Holley is a Senior Lecturer at University of New South Wales Law and a research affiliate of the National Centre for Groundwater Research and Training. His research is in the areas of environmental law, natural resources law and water law, with a focus on regulation and governance. Within these fields, he has examined issues of accountability, compliance and enforcement, participation, adaptive management and collaborative governance. Cameron is the author of *The New Environmental Governance* (with Neil Gunningham and Clifford Shearing, Earthscan, Abingdon, 2011) and his current research is examining the compliance and enforcement of water law, in partnership with the NSW Office of Water. Prior to joining UNSW, Cameron was a postdoctoral research associate at the Regulatory Institutions Network at the Australian National University and a lecturer at the Centre for International & Environmental Law at Macquarie University.

**James Sheptycki**

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James Sheptycki is Professor of Criminology at York University, Toronto. His special research expertise revolves around issues of transnational crime and policing. He has written on a variety of substantive criminological topics including domestic violence, serial killers, money laundering, drugs, public order policing, organized crime, police accountability, intelligence-led policing, witness protection, risk and insecurity. He is currently engaged in research concerning 'guns, crime and social order.'

**Grant Pink**

[Grant.Pink@environment.gov.au](mailto:Grant.Pink@environment.gov.au)

Mr Grant Pink is a Director in the Australian Government's Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water, Population and Communities (DSEWPaC). Grant has 12 years of experience in environmental regulation, compliance and enforcement (investigator, team leader, manager and director). This is in addition to 11 years experience in criminal law enforcement/mainstream policing (police officer, prosecutor and criminal intelligence analyst). Grant is one of the three members of Interpol's Environmental Crime Committee. Formed in 1992, the Environmental Crime Committee assists Interpol in identifying emerging patterns and trends in the field of environmental compliance and enforcement. Academically Grant has completed a Visiting Fellowship at the Australian National University (ANU), and he is also an Adjunct Research Fellow, School of Law, at the University of New England in Australia. He holds a Masters of the Arts (Compliance) and is currently undertaking a PhD on environmental regulation and enforcement.

**Floor Fleurke (Tilburg University, the Netherlands)**

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Floor Fleurke is assistant professor at Tilburg Law School. She teaches EU law and environmental law. Her previous research concerned the precautionary principle and she presently focuses on the intersection between environmental regulation and new technologies and enforcement of EU environmental law.

**Carole Gibbs (Michigan State University, USA)**

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Carole Gibbs is an Assistant Professor at Michigan State University with a joint appointment in the School of Criminal Justice and the Department of Fisheries and Wildlife. Her research interests include conservation criminology, environmental justice and corporate and white-collar crimes that harm the environment. Recent publications appear in the British Journal of Criminology and the Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology.

# ABSTRACTS PANEL SESSIONS

Environmental Crime *and the World*

*In alphabetical order:*

Machteld Bergstra

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## **Broadening the palette of sanctioning instruments in cases of waste-trafficking**

Waste that is illegally trafficked from the Netherlands to countries where it is not properly treated may cause substantial harm to the environment and health problems. In the enforcement of waste trafficking, the Dutch public prosecution service in cooperation with the administrative authorities aims to combine preventive, administrative and judicial instruments whenever possible. However, in cases in which a penal approach is required, an important question is how to apply the available sanctioning instruments to their maximum effect. An analysis of criminal investigation cases regarding waste trafficking from 2006-2011 shows that most sanctions are seldom imposed: in 99% of the cases handled by the public prosecution, the sanction is a fine. Based on this information, the present author interviewed representatives of the waste management branch to assess their view on the impact of the different sanctioning instruments. The interviewees question the effectiveness of fines, because the financial penalties are too low when compared to the profit margins the perpetrators acquire. In my study, I address the question whether the application other sanctioning instruments, such as holding liable the natural persons as well as the legal persons, imposing prison sentences, applying measures against the corporation, and publicizing the court rulings, could be more effective. Interviewees suggest a concerted application of prison sentences, 'naming and shaming' and measures against the company. The latter would for instance imply a partial or total withdrawal of operating licenses. Even a temporary or partial shutdown of the corporation has a financial impact by far exceeding the effect of a fine. This combination of sanctioning instruments would deliver a clear message to the waste management branch that there is no place for maleficent operators in the Netherlands.



**Tim Boekhout van Solinge**

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### **Deforestation, natural resource exploitation and conflicts**

Tim Boekhout van Solinge will discuss several conflicts over natural resource exploitation. He will focus on two areas: the Colombian Cauca Valley (between two Andean mountain chains, South-West Colombia), and the Brazilian Tapajós Valley (Lower Amazon, North Brazil). Both valleys have a long history of human habitation and natural resource exploitation. Gold and rubber used to attract traders from different directions. Today, not only mineable resources such as gold, but also the land and water of the valleys have become much in demand, for economic exploitations that are ultimately destined for markets elsewhere. The various conflicts over natural resource exploitation in these two river valleys are closely connected to the expansion of respectively sugar cane (Colombia's Cauca Valley) and soy monocultures (Brazil's Tapajós Valley), growing deforestation, increased commercial large-scale exploitation of mineral resources, and the development of mega-projects using water resources. Characteristic of the different conflicts over natural resources in the two geographical areas is the asymmetrical power relations between the main stakeholders: communities, institutions and private actors. Communities in rural and forested areas where governmental control is poor or absent, are relatively weak compared to more powerful (international) businesses, that have much larger financial resources, political connections or backing, knowledge of bureaucratic procedures, and sometimes also access to violent (gun) power. The project Lands and Rights in Troubled Water (LAR), funded by The Netherlands Organisation of Scientific Research (NWO), focuses on understanding and limiting conflicts over natural resource exploitation. In Portuguese and Spanish, lar signifies 'home'. The name is chosen because conflicts over natural resources lead to homes being left and lost. LAR's activities are conducted by an international and multidisciplinary team. Its theoretical basis derives from green criminology (focusing on social and environmental harm), which is combined with sociology, law, and using research methods from anthropology, biology and environmental engineering. LAR aims at using scientific data and findings to improve public policies, in particular the rule of law, and to assist communities in their struggle for human rights and environmental justice.

**Eve de Coning**

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### **Global efforts to tackle fisheries crime**

This year INTERPOL's Environmental Crime Programme launched Project Scale and the Fisheries Crime Working Group to facilitate the use of INTERPOL's tools and services to tackle illegal fishing (defined as 'fisheries crime'). This presentation sets out the evolution of fisheries crime as a focus area in multiple international institutions (in particular INTERPOL, OECD, UNODC and INTOSAI) and provides an analysis of INTERPOL's current and possible future contributions to the global effort to tackle fisheries crime.

**Lorraine Elliott**

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### **Criminal networks and black markets in transnational environmental crime**

The black markets in ozone depleting substances, smuggled wildlife and trafficked timber are characterised by varying forms of network arrangements that link together poachers, producers, traders, brokers and purchasers to manage illicit chains of custody. This paper contributes to our understanding of this field of criminal activity. It examines not just how the trade in key TEC sectors is conducted and by whom, but sheds light on what kinds of transnational networks are constituted by these markets. The approach to networks taken here is relational, transactional and organisational. It draws on three bodies of literature to develop a framework for identifying, analysing and evaluating the networks that underpin and manage criminal markets: social network analysis associated with criminology; commodity and value chain analysis that is central to transaction cost economic and economic sociology; and networks as structure that is more common in public policy models. Rather than focusing only on the illegal transaction as the unit of analysis (the enterprise model) or on the compilation of entities and social relations that are central to social network analysis, the two are brought together to focus on structure as a key element. With reference to Passas' work, networks are therefore understood as entrepreneurial structures in which criminal acts are carried out.

**Christiane Gerstetter**

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### **The EFFACE project - research on environmental crime at the EU level**

The EFFACE project - research on environmental crime at the EU level This presentation will describe the research project "European Union Action to Fight Environmental Crime" (EFFACE, [www.efface.eu](http://www.efface.eu)). The interdisciplinary research project assesses the impacts of environmental crime as well as effective and feasible policy options for combatting it, with a focus on the EU. The 40 months project is funded under the 7th Research Framework Programme of the EU (FP7) and involves 11 European universities and think tanks. Given that EFFACE started on 1 December 2012, the presentation will focus on providing an overview of the research project's work programme, rather than research results. It will also provide the audience with information on how they could contribute.

**Jan Glazewski**

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### **Restitution to South Africa for illegal fishing in South African waters**

In *United States v Bengis* three South African defendants were initially criminally prosecuted under the South African Marine Living Resources Act and the United States' Lacey Act. The defendants had illegally harvested rock lobster in South African waters and exported them to the USA over a period of 14 years. In so doing they had also violated immigration, customs and revenue laws. The defendants were subsequently subjected to a civil restitution claim under the US Mandatory Victims Restitution Act which provides for restitution certain property related crimes. This culminated in a restitution order by the New York District court in an amount of over \$29 million in June 2013. The issues raised include the nature of South Africa's property interest, as opposed to a regulatory interest, in living marine resources located in its waters; the quantification of damage caused by loss of natural resources, in this case by theft, over a period of time; and the difficulties raised in policing transnational fisheries crime.

**Hanneke Mol**

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### **The politics of palm oil harm and the paradox of rights**

This paper discusses some preliminary conclusions of research into the social and environmental harms associated with palm oil production in Colombia. Globally, the palm oil industry has been linked to the type of social, cultural, and environmental harms that do not readily fit legalistic definitions of crime. Seeking to contribute to ongoing debate over criminological engagement with broader questions of harm, this research is centrally concerned with the on the ground contestation of harm, and the operation of power in the politics of palm oil harm, in Colombia's southern Pacific coast region. Hence, against the background of practice, the focus is on how the alleged harms of the palm oil industry are articulated, understood, denied, or constructed in the perspectives of: (i) corporate and industry representatives; (ii) small-scale agriculturalists dedicated to oil palm cultivation; and (iii) local communities critical of the imposition of palm oil production onto the region. Specific attention will thereby be directed at the role of collective rights in this context. The latter, whilst indispensable in the defence of land, life, and culture, at the same time appear to both discursively displace the contestedness of harm and even amount to a form of harm in themselves.

**Lorenzo Natali**

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### **Eliciting narratives on the experience of environmental contamination and harm. A visual approach for green criminology**

As Diane Heckenberg and Rob White (2013) maintain, the study of environmental crime requires new modes of observation of the world, new methods capable of synchronizing with the spatial dimensions (global/local) and the temporal dimensions of the ongoing changes. Jeff Ferrell (2013) also suggests that cultural criminology will be able to offer new observational and analytical frames, including visual criminology. It is indeed on this basis that I will propose a qualitative visual method as one of the possible methods that can indicate a new area of green cultural criminology (Brisman & South 2013): that is a visual green criminology approach that uses ethnographic photography and the tool of photo-elicitation interviews. The proposed observational method has the advantage of gathering together the multiple and complex nature of the experiences undergone by those who live in polluted areas, describing in detail and from their point of view what

they know, think of and feel about the reality they find themselves living. Science has often marginalized the voices of laypersons and their narratives concerning environmental issues because of the prevailing conviction that in those words could not be found any “truth” and “reflexivity” (Beck 2007), but only distorted perceptions and bias, subdued by the tyranny of the “infernal social world” – that is politics, subjective feelings and popular agitation (Latour 2004). On the contrary, this exploratory research shows the reflexive and active role of social actors in the symbolical and social construction of their environmental experiences. Describing how often environmental victims do not agree on the definition and interpretation of that reality and how their experiences of environmental suffering are full of doubts and disagreements (see also Ayero & Swistun 2009), the results of this research help to question simplistic notions of how the victims relate to the “inconvenient truth” of pollution.

**Joost van Onna**

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**The informal economy in the largest industrial cluster of Sub-Sahara Africa and its links through informal networks to the international trade of used car parts. Results from a action-research study**

The Netherlands play an important role in shipments of used cars and car parts from Europe to West-Africa and especially Ghana as it is home to two of the biggest ports in Europe (Rotterdam, Amsterdam). Using informal networks that stretch the entire globe so called ‘waste tourists’ from Ghana ship used car parts from the Netherlands to West-Africa. To a large extent, these parts end up in Suame Magazine, the biggest car repair and industrial cluster in Sub-Sahara Africa in Kumasi (Ghana). In this paper we investigate the extensive informal economy of Suame Magazine and the way informal networks are linking pins between Suame Magazine and the import of used car parts from all over the world. We adopt a little used research methodology in criminology: actionresearch. By building a car in close corporation with the local community we study the dynamics of the informal economy and informal networks. In doing so we gain insight in the ‘rear side’ of a regulatory environmental crime issue in Europe. The goal of the paper is to explain how building a car functions as a form of action-research, how the informal economy and networks function and what role action-research can play in criminological research in general. We conclude that action-research is a valuable addition to the field of criminology as it can help to gain access to ‘closed’ parts of the research field and thus gain insight in networks and (group)dynamics that may not be revealed using more conventional research methods.

**Pasquale Peluso**

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### **The illegal waste disposal in Campania**

Illegal waste disposal in Campania represents such an interesting case of study. It's founded on crimes involving both organized and white collars criminality, as well as compliant entrepreneurs. The emergency derived from illegal waste disposal developed also because of different kinds of speculations, such as special laws that caused a 16 years long ordinary state of emergency and created a reduced control on public administration behaviour. The actual situation is due not only to a lack of formal control by public authorities about the waste disposal and waste recycling plants, but also to the poor social control caused by citizens inactiveness in avoiding to denounce environmental crimes. Legal and illegal disposal have often been strictly connected. Indeed, in Campania a huge amount of special waste is disposed in legal plants, hidden in fields, mixed with cement in substructure of private buildings or public works, buried in caves, burnt outdoor every year. Thanks to the emergency, this region can be considered a true experimentation field for exportable techniques everywhere, as noted in several published data. The study of disposal's (legal or illegal) methods is particularly interesting. In fact, even if these techniques are well known, they are chosen time by time depending from the kind of waste to be eliminated and considering the framework law. It's important to focus on the rule of all the stakeholders who take part in the long cycle of the illegal waste disposal. In Campania criminality is not only limited to waste illegal disposal. It's able to control land reclamations realized by the so called "white spillage" thanks to current laws. However the citizens have always had awareness of the problem entity and are organized in associations in order to ask to institutions to act and defend the territory and suggest them many shared prevention's strategies.

**Guiseppe Rotolo**

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### **Deliberative Democracy and Environmental law enforcement**

Can "deliberative democracy" enhance environmental protection, also in view of the need of improving current legal provisions and their enforcement, including a better balance between the criminal law domain and other cultural, social and institutional policies? On this topic, for instance, Fishkin and Susskind have discussed, arguing the former about the practicability of deliberative democracy – intended as processes of information, debates

about the problems and deliberations operated by a random sample of population –; the latter underlining how forms of alternative dispute resolution can work better on this field. The case taken as an example by both Authors is the situation wherein a local community has to decide if it is proper or not to allow the setting of a new plant. The new business is supposed to enhance the level of the employment in the city, though – at the same time – the degree of pollution is expected to grow as well. In this view, which is the more valuable interest? Since there is no way to fully satisfy both of them, how to gain a coherent level of balance? In this perspective, it could be interesting to check if forms of deliberative democracy are useful and effective in supporting the ordinary strategies of law enforcement. The relevance of this alternative could be verified ‘in action’ with relation to the scenario that occurred to a big steel plant located in Taranto (South of Italy) - one of the most relevant factors of employment for the whole area. The production has been strongly reduced and ran the risk of the closure because of several forfeitures related to a lawsuit regarding environmental crimes, which has provoked a severe conflict among the public opinion. In this situation, neither ordinary system nor ‘*ad hoc*’ regulations have been able to offer a balanced resolution: which strategy could work?

**Lina Sahramäki**

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### **Preventing and investigation environmental crimes – collaboration between authorities in Finland**

As environmental crimes are viewed as multidimensional problems, collaboration between different authorities is essential in investigating environmental crimes and preventing the phenomenon as a whole. In this research the collaboration between environmental inspection authorities, police officers and prosecutors in Finland is analyzed. Collaboration is studied from the multiprofessional perspective which refers to attitudes, roles, rules and interpretations different professions hold on to. Essential elements of an environmental offence in Finland have been defined in the criminal code. Impairment of the environment, aggravated impairment of the environment, environmental infraction, negligent impairment of the environment, nature conservation offence and building protection offence has been criminalized. However, the Environmental Protection Act gives the the environmental inspection authorities option not to report infractions to the police if the act is considered to be minor or public interest does not require charges to be brought. Therefore, environmental infractions are often dealt with administrative instead of penal sanctions. Authorities have different

interpretations on what is actually an environmental crime and when should the infraction be reported to the police for preliminary investigation. In this research 24 officials in Finland were interviewed. From the multiprofessional framework, seven larger themes which affect the collaboration and as such also to the investigation and prevention of environmental crimes were identified. In the presentation main results are presented and their implications to the practice are discussed.

**Daan van Uhm**

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### **On International Wildlife Trade**

Increasing attention is given to the trade in wildlife, since its believed that we are on the brink of the Sixth Great Extinction, an event characterized by the loss of between 17,000 and 100,000 species each year. Although habitat loss is the main threat, the illegal trade is the second most important hazard to species, with several unmanageable side effects and harm to people, animals and ecosystems. Characteristic of this type of crime is the interconnection between the under- and upper world; legal trade structures are often used (as a cover) for illegal trade. In this contribution the entwined legal and illegal market is approached on the basis of different cases and confiscation data.

**Rob White**

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### **Nonhuman Environmental Subjects and Environment Courts**

Environment courts are specialist courts that deal with environmental planning and environmental harm. As a problem-solving court, they are charged to take heed of human interests as well as nonhuman interests in their deliberations, and to repair environmental harm. This presentation considers four problems that environment courts encounter as they perform these tasks:

- The problem of victimisation – victim status and engagement of the nonhuman in court
- The problem of ontology – determining the boundaries of the natural object
- The problem of expertise – who is to speak on behalf of nonhuman nature and in what capacity
- The problem of temporality – dealing with social and ecological change over time and space



These problems are intertwined and inseparable conceptually and empirically, and they have major implications for how environment courts assess cases pertaining to nonhuman environment subjects.

**Karin van Wingerde**

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**Sanctions as moral messages. General deterrence and environmental compliance in the waste industry in the Netherlands.**

On 5 July 2006 the Probo Koala, an oil, bulk, and ore carrier ship, left the port of Amsterdam while carrying approximately 554 tonnes of hazardous waste on board. About a month later the waste was found dumped throughout Abidjan, the capital of Ivory Coast, causing health problems amongst local residents and worldwide consternation. Disasters such as the Probo Koala case tend to call forth a strong public demand for increasing supervision and harsher, more deterrent sanctions. This shift towards more punitive sanctions is usually based on the assumption that the more severe the penalty, the more effectively it will deter others from criminal behavior in the future. Deterrence assumes that firms are rational, amoral calculators that base the decision to comply or violate on the weighing of the perceived costs and benefits of their actions. In other words, firms will only take costly compliance measures when they believe that non compliance is likely to be detected and harshly penalized. This paper problematizes these assumptions using data from a qualitative empirical study among 40 companies in the waste industry in the Netherlands. This paper shows that deterrence often fails if sanctions only communicate a threat message. Instead, sanctions that communicate a moral message may contribute to compliance with environmental regulations by emphasizing that the penalized behavior is condemned and by creating consensus about the blameworthiness of the penalized offense. This is even more important in a branch of industry where most regulations consist of open norms that are subject to different interpretations. As a consequence, even imperfect sanctions – from a deterrence/rational choice perspective – may lead to meaningful compliance by creating discussion amongst the regulated community about the offense, by reminding firms that are already in compliance to check whether they still operate in accordance to their previous commitment to comply with the law; and by reaffirming their commitment to invest in costly compliance measures.

**Tanya Wyatt**

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### **Victimless Venison? Deer Poaching and Black Market Meat in the UK**

The British Deer Society and the British Association of Shooting and Conservation place the number of poached deer in the UK as high as 50,000 each year whereas only 335 incidents were reported to the police in 2009. This article explores deer as invisible victims of green crime and the motivations behind this poaching, drawing on the typologies of wildlife crime offenders developed by Nurse (2013). In particular, the traditional profit-driven motivation of offenders is explored by attempting to uncover if there is, as suspected, a black market in venison. In order to do this, online questionnaires were sent to wildlife crime officers and gamekeepers asking questions about the scale and scope of deer poaching, who the perpetrators are and what is happening to the meat. Additionally, data was obtained from the Food Standards Agency regarding violations of meat inspection rules to investigate the potential food safety implications with uninspected venison entering the food chain. From this data, it is hoped that a more detailed picture of deer poaching can be developed to further inform wildlife law and poaching prevention. This article also draws attention to the plight of poached deer and the potential danger to people of a black market in venison.