While regulatory institutions and strategies have been the subject of increasing academic attention, there has been limited application of regulatory theories to criminal justice scholarship. This collection of essays from a range of outstanding international scholars adopts a critical, interdisciplinary approach, providing an innovative application of regulatory theory to the practice of criminal justice and offering suggestions for further research. Part I explores the aims and values of criminal justice and other regulatory networks and the synergies and tensions between these fields; Part II examines criminal justice as a regulatory force to control ‘deviant’ and antisocial behaviour; and Part III examines the regulation and oversight of criminal justice through the operation of prison inspectorates, and explores notions of responsive justice.

Hannah Quirk is a lecturer in criminal law and justice at the University of Manchester, where her research interests include the right of silence and wrongful convictions.

Toby Seddon is a reader in regulation at the School of Law, University of Manchester, and Director of the Regulation, Security and Justice Research Centre.

Graham Smith is a senior lecturer in regulation at the School of Law, University of Manchester, and Deputy Director of the Regulation, Security and Justice Research Centre.
REGULATION AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Innovations in Policy and Research

Edited by
HANNAH QUIRK
TOBY SEDDON
and
GRAHAM SMITH
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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

**John Flint** is Professor of Housing and Urban Governance in the Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research at Sheffield Hallam University. He has conducted studies of the governance and regulation of antisocial behaviour for the Home Office, DWP, Department for Children, Schools and Families and the Scottish government. He has written a series of reports and articles about his research and he is the editor of *Housing, Urban Governance and Anti-social Behaviour* (2006).

**Jan Froestad** is Associate Professor in the Department of Administration and Organization Theory at the University of Bergen. He wrote his dissertation on the education of deaf people and the care of disabled people in Norway, Denmark and Sweden in the nineteenth century. He has published several articles on Norwegian school policy and, together with M. Söder and P. Solvang, edited a book on disability, politics and society. His ongoing project deals with conditions for mobilizing local knowledge and self-directed capacity in poor communities in South Africa.

**Peter Grabosky** is a professor in the Regulatory Institutions Network, in the College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University. A Fellow of the Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia, he holds a Ph.D. in political science from Northwestern University, and has written extensively on criminal justice and public policy. His general interests are in harnessing resources outside the public sector in furtherance of public administration, and in the use of incentives and inducements as regulatory instruments. Among other appointments, he has been a Russell Sage Fellow in Law and Social Science at Yale Law School, and a Visiting Professor at Chuo University (Japan) and the Chinese People's Public Security University. He is past president of the Australian and New Zealand Society of Criminology and is currently Vice President of the Asian Criminological Society.
Barbara Hudson is Professor (Emeritus), Lancashire Law School, University of Central Lancashire. Her publications include *Justice in the Risk Society* (2003), and many articles and book chapters on criminal justice. Her research interests include justice and gender, race/ethnicity, poverty and restorative justice. She is currently working on aspects of cosmopolitan justice, including work on migration (2007), cosmopolitanism and divided societies (2008), justice and the war on terror (2009). Professor Hudson is a collaborator with a research project on justice and security at the University of Oslo; she is an adviser on the Master's programme on justice and security at Erasmus University, Rotterdam. Since 2003 she has spent part of each year working in Brazil, where she is a Visiting Professor on the LLM in Law and Inequality at the State University of Paraná (Jacarezinho) and also lectures on the LLM in Human Rights at UniBrasil (Curitiba). She is conducting research on the Ministério Público in Paraná.

Caroline Hunter is Professor of Law at the York Law School, University of York. She has written extensively on the regulation of antisocial behaviour, particularly by housing organizations. She has been involved in a number of empirical research projects which have examined the use of legal remedies and alternatives to legal remedies to deal with antisocial behaviour including: Hunter *et al.*, *Neighbour Nuisance, Social Landlords and the Law* (2000); J. Nixon *et al.*, *ASB Intensive Family Support Projects: An Evaluation of Six Pioneering Projects* (2006).

Palash Kamruzzaman is a teaching fellow in sociology at the University of Leicester. He has degrees in sociology, social policy and anthropology. His Ph.D. research has examined poverty reduction strategies in Bangladesh, and whether civil society participation was really used to enhance the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper in that country. He has been an overseas research student and Wingate scholar, and his main current teaching and research interests are in international development, participation, civil society, poverty and community cohesion.

Gary Lynch-Wood is a lecturer in law and regulation and the Director of the Sustainability, Policy and Regulation Research Centre at the School of Law at the University of Manchester. He lectures on a range of undergraduate and postgraduate courses in areas of environmental law, regulation and corporate social responsibility. He is also the Course Director for Legal Methods and Systems. His research interests are the impact of
regulation on organizations and the role of regulation in promoting corporate social responsibility and sustainable development.

Gabriel Mythen is Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Liverpool. His present research investigates the ways in which risks are politically managed by the state and the modes of risk regulation deployed by government and criminal justice agencies seeking to secure order and social control. He is author of *Ulrich Beck: A Critical Introduction to the Risk Society* (2004) and, with S. Walklate, co-editor of *Beyond the Risk Society: Critical Reflections on Risk and Human Security* (2006). He is presently writing a book entitled *Understanding the Risk Society: Crime, Security and Justice*.

Anthony Ogus is Emeritus Professor at the School of Law of the University of Manchester (where he was Dean 1990–2); he is also part-time Erasmus Professor of the Fundamentals of Private Law at the University of Rotterdam. He has held visiting positions at the Universities of Antwerp, California (Berkeley), Maastricht, Paris II and Toronto, and the Bucerius Law School at Hamburg. He has written books and articles on the law of damages, social security law, law and economics and regulation. He was joint founding editor of the *International Review for Law and Economics*. In 2002 he received a CBE for services to the Social Security Advisory Committee. He is a Fellow of the British Academy.

Anne Owers was General Secretary of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (1985–90). She was Director of JUSTICE, working on human rights, asylum and the provision of legal services (1992–01). She was a member of the government task force on the implementation of the Human Rights Act 1998. In 2001 she was appointed HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, and made a Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire (2009). She has contributed chapters and articles to a number of publications on aspects of prisons, inspection and immigration, and provided evidence at the hearings of the Vera Institute’s Commission into Abuse in America’s Prisons.

Hannah Quirk is a lecturer in criminal law and justice at the University of Manchester. She worked previously for the Legal Services Commission and the Criminal Cases Review Commission. Her current research interests include the right of silence and wrongful convictions.
Andrew Sanders has held academic posts at several universities, including most recently the Universities of Oxford, Bristol and Manchester. He took up his present post as Professor of Criminal Law and Criminology at the University of Birmingham in 2010. His teaching and research interests are in the areas of criminal law, criminal justice, and socio-legal studies. He is author of *The Case for the Prosecution* (with M. McConville and R. Leng, 1991) and of *Criminal Justice* (with R. Young and M. Burton, 4th edn, 2010). In recent years his research has been particularly concerned with the role of victims in criminal justice, and has been published in journals such as the *Criminal Law Review* and *British Journal of Criminology*. He is also a Parole Commissioner for Northern Ireland.

Toby Seddon is a reader in regulation at the School of Law at the University of Manchester and Director of the Regulation, Security and Justice Research Centre. He is author of *Punishment and Madness* (2007) and *A History of Drugs* (2010).

Clifford Shearing is Professor in the Department of Public Law, Faculty of Law, University of Cape Town. His work has focused on the development of theoretical understandings that can be used to enhance the quality of security and justice governance. A particular focus of his work has been contributing to the development of institutions and processes that enhance the ability of poor collectivities to both direct and add value to their security and justice. He is currently engaged in research and writing on environmental security. He holds the National Research Foundation Chair on African Security and Justice, and the Chair of Criminology and is Director of the Centre of Criminology at the University of Cape Town.

Graham Smith is a senior lecturer in regulation at the School of Law, University of Manchester and is Deputy Director of the Regulation, Security and Justice Research Centre. He has written extensively on remedies to police misconduct and is the police complaints Consultant to the Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights.

David Whyte is a reader in sociology at the School of Sociology and Social Policy, University of Liverpool. His research interests include corporate crime, state crime and the social impacts of counter-terrorism. He has recently completed studies on the social construction and criminalization of deaths and injuries at work, and on the role of corporations in
the occupation and reconstruction of Iraq. Recent publications include *Crimes of the Powerful: A Reader* (2009) and *Safety Crimes* (2007, with S. Tombs).

**David Williamson** is a senior research fellow in Regulation and a Director of the Sustainability, Policy and Regulation Research Centre at the School of Law at the University of Manchester. David has a longstanding interest in how regulation affects small firms and has carried out research for a number of agencies in this area. In recent times this has been extended to include a consideration of how receptive differences to regulation shape regulatory success. This includes areas as diverse as ecological modernization and legal transplants, and more generally, why civil regulation may be a necessary form of regulation in modern pluralistic societies.
FOREWORD

John Braithwaite

Whatever the upshot of enquiries into the legality of the invasion of Iraq in 2003, we can feel confident that criminal justice journals will not be full of articles that argue ‘if it was right to convict Prime Minister Tojo and his cabinet for crimes of aggression, should not western cabinet ministers hear the clang of the jailhouse door over Iraq?’ We might excuse US journals for not being engaged with such a debate because the US does not acknowledge the jurisdiction of international criminal law over its leaders. We know this will not happen anywhere for Iraq because journals concerned with crime have never engaged in any major way with such debates when past leaders were Anglo-Saxon, or friends of the dominant western powers. We can have a debate over whether President Saddam Hussein should hang for crimes against the Kurds once he is a pariah in the west, but it is not a question worth discussing among criminologists when he is an ally during the period when he actually commits the crimes. Criminology can have a debate over whether Pol Pot and his communist Cambodian leadership should have been convicted, but not over whether President Suharto should have been convicted for the slaughter of half a million Indonesian communists, or for the invasion of West Papua or the invasion of East Timor. Suharto was also arguably the most successful white-collar criminal of the twentieth century, in terms of the scale of his crimes. Even though many western criminologists were victims of Suharto family embezzlement from joint ventures between his Indonesian government and western firms in which we have pension funds invested, this is unlikely to cross the minds of criminologists as a central question for discussion in our journals.

The sheer duplicity and arbitrariness that some criminologists, inspired by Edwin Sutherland (1949/1983), saw in the way that the crimes of the powerful are exempted from criminological scrutiny is the beginning of the journey that leads to a book as interesting as Regulation and Criminal Justice. Those of us who made crimes of the powerful our
intellectual passion took different courses, however. Some like Frank Pearce and Steve Tombs (1990) pushed for balancing the books by locking up powerful criminals wherever possible. Others like myself looked at a big case like the crimes of Suharto in killing over 100,000 Timorese and saw the important thing when Suharto was deposed and replaced by his Vice President as persuading the new cabinet to repair the harm and to surround itself with new checks and balances that would make the crimes of the past more difficult in the future. Repairing the harm in East Timor meant doing exactly what the post-Suharto cabinet did – giving the people of East Timor a referendum in which they could vote to separate from Indonesia. Rightly or wrongly, scholars of this persuasion gave priority to regulatory and restorative means that might prevent ongoing suffering. They give this priority over punitive equality in the criminal law. It would have been desirable to have prosecuted some members of the post-Suharto cabinets as well as Suharto himself, and in some cases it is still not too late to do so, but it was more important to secure peace and democracy in East Timor.

Yet because equality was a value that led so many scholars of white-collar crime to be troubled over impunity for crimes of the powerful in the first place, we also became interested in regulatory and restorative solutions to preventing future harm from crimes of the powerless. It follows that scholars of this persuasion think what the University of Manchester has attempted in the workshops that led to this book is an endeavour of great merit. I will not delve into the definition of regulation in this Foreword, as the editors have provided an excellent discussion of that matter in their introductory essay.

The criminal law was a modern invention of European legal systems. All the rule breaking it came to regulate – murder, assault, theft, usury, arson, sexual misconduct, tax evasion, kidnap – was regulated by other means for millennia before the invention of the criminal law. The European state system and its state legal systems almost completely globalized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, exceptions being fewer than ten states that clung to Islamic or Hindu–Buddhist national legal systems. At the same time, administrative systems of western criminal law – paramilitary police specializing in crime, prisons, western training in the discipline of law – also globalized. But nowhere, for no form of crime, did the criminal law completely take over from other forms of regulation. Even for the most quintessentially criminalized form of rule breaking, homicide, when it is homicide by chief executives of corporations against their workers or by prime ministers against the people of nations they
in invade illegally, the criminal law applies in theory but not in practice. For other very common forms of serious crime, such as assaults of children on one of their parents, tax cheating that most Australians indulge in most years of their working life, regulation remains almost totally in the care of instruments other than the criminal law. The form of tax cheating that involves the largest frauds – profit shifting (e.g. into tax havens) by multinational corporations – in Australia, as in most nations, is never criminally prosecuted. Ironically, as this book documents, non-criminal forms of inspection and improvement orders, rather than the criminal law itself, remain the tools of choice for regulating the institutions of the criminal law itself when prisoners are treated unconscionably. When judges abuse the human rights of those who appear in their courts, their abuse is often regulated by reversing their decisions on appeal, by counselling from peers or other forms of legal professional self-regulation, not by imprisonment. Imprisonment is often inflicted on defendants or witnesses who rudely abuse a judge, never when it is the judge who inappropriately abuses them.

For the rural majority of the bulk of the world’s population who live in developing countries, offences that are criminal according to their nation’s law are rarely reported to the police. Rather, these are resolved by customary law normally led by legally untrained elders. For still a surprisingly large though uncertain proportion of the world’s population, this continues to be true even for murder.

This reality makes it a difficult project for the criminal law paradigm to become even more imperially ambitious by aspiring to proportionate application to all the human rights abuses of greatest culpability. One problem is that costs of criminal enforcement are particularly high where the stakes are high. We see this with even middling war crimes trials. We also see it with the huge costs borne by the only national tax authority I know that regularly runs criminal prosecutions against fraudulent profit shifting into lower tax jurisdictions by large multinational corporations, the US Internal Revenue Service. And we see the opportunity cost when we consider the evidence of how effective non-criminal responsive regulatory enforcement innovations have been in Australia – returning more than a billion dollars to the taxpayer for every million spent on the responsive regulation programme (Braithwaite 2005: 89–97).

That said, the criminal law is a great European invention that, used prudently, can enhance the effectiveness of other forms of regulation. Some of this power comes from the intensity of the productive normative
debates modern societies experience over what should be and should not be a crime. An upshot is that once a form of misconduct is accepted in the society as criminal conduct, it becomes much more possible to educate and persuade the community to the shamefulness of the conduct. Australian society has seen in my lifetime the criminal law constitute the shamefulness of drink driving and domestic violence that they did not have when I was young. The deepening of the normative furrows of the criminal law in my society has saved lives as a result. With domestic violence, my hypothesis is that the criminal law does less of its good work directly through deterrence, more of it indirectly through deepening the legitimacy of the change feminism as a social movement has wrought in thinking across the society. With drink driving, there is some Australian evidence to suggest that criminal enforcement has contributed less to saving lives via deterrence–rehabilitation–incapacitation, more by signalling a cultural change in drinking behaviour, strengthening the hand of friends who insist, ‘You should not drive, I will get you home’ (Homel 1988). The criminal law is a great institution because it has productive synergies with other forms of regulation more powerful than itself. That is not to deny that deterrence, rehabilitation and incapacitation can also do much more good than harm when deployed with wisdom.

The second important historical accomplishment of the globalization of the criminal law tradition is the way it imposed limits on the circumstances where the most onerous sanctions – deprivation of liberty through imprisonment, capital punishment, corporal punishment and torture could be used. The criminal law does the profound service to human rights of defining upper limits on the severity of such impositions even in circumstances where the nature of the wrongdoing permits their use. It also is a tradition that protects against excess by blocking any access to it unless a ‘beyond reasonable doubt standard’ and other evidentiary tests are passed (that need not be passed for non-criminal sanctions). The war on terror, as this book shows, has set back this momentum of the criminal law as a regulator of state violence. While the exposure of Abu Ghraib halted some of the worst torture, the debate that ensued has in some ways strengthened the impregnability to criminal law procedural regulation of practices like sleep deprivation during interrogation.

Notwithstanding the virtues of the criminal law paradigm discussed in this book and in my previous paragraph, one of its vices is that criminal law professionalism promotes a myopic tendency to see a right outcome
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to criminal wrongdoing as proportionate criminal punishment. This renders the criminal law vulnerable to capture by retributivist excess and by law and order auctions in politics. There is a case for depoliticization of criminal law to guard against such capture (Lacey 2008). But because punitive myopias internal to criminal law professionalism are also a danger, and because law and order politics will never go away, there is also a need for countervailing social movement politics against the excesses of criminal law globalization. The social movement for rehabilitation and reintegration of criminals, the human rights movement (particularly its prisoners’ rights and its children’s rights arms that in India has completely prohibited the criminalization of children) and the social movement for criminal law professionalism were in a sense each productively checking the excesses of the other for more than a century of declining punitiveness in most western societies until the late 1970s. Then the movement for rehabilitation of criminals was discredited, partly by an unfair reading of the state of the evidence on the effectiveness of rehabilitation. Movements for indigenous justice and legal pluralism have similarly suffered setbacks at the hands of criminal law fundamentalisms in western societies with large ethnic minorities since the 1970s. The social movement for restorative justice has sought in a new way to regulate the excesses of criminal law myopia. But it has little hope of substantially reducing that excess unless the movements for rehabilitation, customary law and prisoners’ rights are also rejuvenated and become respectable again.

Regulatory studies also has an important intellectual contribution to make in tempering tendencies to simplify thinking about wrongdoing into crime and non-crime. This is not to say that a regulatory lens implies any kind of unified value position or unified epistemology. Indeed diversity is on display in the consistently fine essays in this collection. Whether regulatory approaches crush freedom more or less than criminal law approaches depends on the methods and values that frame each of them (Sanders 2010). Which approach is more effective in solving the problem is also contingent. This is a volume full of insights into how research might specify the contingencies where regulatory approaches might be more effective and decent than standard criminal justice responses to crime, and vice versa. It gives us by far the most fertile assembly of fine thinkers in the literature on the virtues and vices of looking at crime through a regulatory lens. My congratulations to Hannah Quirk, Toby Seddon and Graham Smith, and to all their authors, for their vision and for the quality of the research it has spawned.
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