
FOREWORD

This volume brings together essays in honour of Robert Reiner, and follows the growing custom of celebrating our most esteemed colleagues on the occasion of their retirement, that in turn derives from the longer-standing German tradition of *Festschriften*. A *Festschrift* worthy of its name requires three things: an honoree worthy of celebration, authors whose own scholarly excellence does honour to him, and contributions whose shared sense of a common project brings coherence to the volume. This book enjoys all three. As the intellectual portrait painted so eloquently by Newburn and Rock makes clear, Robert Reiner has played a central role in the development of British criminology over more than 30 years; and he will surely continue to do so long into the future. His richly sociological development of the study of policing has inspired new generations of policing scholars, many of whose leading lights are represented in this volume. The profoundly political nature of his work – both as the motivating premise of his scholarship and, substantively, as a subject of his enquiry – has helped to raise the criminological game from its lowly status as the tool of policy-making to a worthy exemplar of social scientific endeavour. Long before the coining of the term ‘public criminology’, Reiner was turning out just such scholarship: studies whose import transcended the boundaries of the academy to inform public consciousness. The contributions to this volume self-consciously continue this project and contribute to the exploration of criminological questions in ways that speak directly to public debate and political deliberation.

If, substantively, the common object of analysis of many contributions to this volume is the police, the common lens through which this enquiry is pursued is political sociology. Reiner’s deep commitment to and development of a social democratic criminology clearly motivates and informs many of the chapters. As an early initiator and prominent exponent of this tradition, Reiner’s work has played a key role in prompting successive generations of criminological scholars to view policing as a central exercise of state power that needs not only to be understood sociologically but also to be justified in ways that are consistent with the proper scope and exercise of state authority. In fulfilling this role, Reiner has also inspired policing scholars, and criminologists more generally, to reflect upon the political questions raised by the exercise of the police power by the state. At the same time, his writings have served as a call to criminologists to attend to the wider implications of their own scholarship and to assume responsibility for its influence, and indeed did so long before the dreaded word ‘impact’ stalked the corridors of the academy. This self-consciously political brand of scholarship denies authors the luxury of indifference to the politics of policing and it demands of them an alertness to the

intrinsically political nature of the exercise of the police power over citizens (a focus that is most obviously central to the chapters by Loader and Sparks and by Bowling, Phillips and Sheptycki, but which is evident in many others in this volume too).

Policing, in all its guises, is a common thread running through many of the contributions to this volume, from the contested questions of local accountability (Jones, Newburn and Smith) to the effects of globalisation on international and transnational policing (see especially Bowling, Phillips and Sheptycki; Shearing and Stenning). Another important focus of attention is the role of the media both as a means of representing and of dramatising policing and as an object of police enquiry itself (for example, the chapters by Heidensohn and Brown; Greer and McLaughlin; and by Innes and Graef). This comes as no surprise: for just as Reiner is rightly renowned as the doyen of policing scholars, so too does he stand at the vanguard of cultural enquiry into the role of the media in the construction of crime, in the depiction of policing, and in the constitution of our understanding of law and order. Binding those chapters whose focus is primarily upon the police closely to those whose primary object of attention is the media, is a common concern with substantive questions about the role of culture and a commitment to cultural interpretation as central to understanding the meaning, as well as the practice, of policing and criminal justice.

If policing, media, and cultural studies were not, before Reiner, obvious bedfellows, still less were questions of political economy the obvious fare of criminology. In transcending these disciplinary boundaries and in demonstrating the centrality of questions of political economy to our understanding of the working of criminal justice across jurisdictions, Reiner has promoted interdisciplinarity not, as it is so often practised, simply for its own sake, but because it permits a deeper and more nuanced understanding of those questions that genuinely lie at the borders of disciplinary enquiries. It is appropriate, therefore, that the contributors to this volume have backgrounds in sociology, law, media studies, psychology and, of course, criminology – and that several of the chapters see scholars from different disciplinary backgrounds joining together in collaborative endeavour. Criminology is a relatively young branch of scholarship and as such a rendezvous subject whose practitioners have (until very recently) been drawn almost entirely from those whose academic training was in disciplines other than criminology itself. That interdisciplinarity promises a lively creativity that results from the interaction of different disciplinary traditions; but it also creates potential disciplinary tensions and threatens incoherence. It is significant, therefore, that the chapters that follow reflect the maturing of criminology into an assured, stable and coherent endeavour, united not merely by a common object of enquiry but by the canons and standards of its scholarship.

Few have played a more central role in the development of British criminology, or done more to promote its adherence to the very highest values of scholarship, than Robert Reiner. It is fitting, therefore, that not only do the contributing authors to this volume represent the very best of criminological scholarship but that their contributions break new ground in its pursuit. In what follows, we examine the

contributions they make both in reflecting Reiner's influence and in advancing his project of developing a thoroughly sociological understanding of policing, politics, culture and crime control.

The chapters open with an insightful portrait of Robert Reiner by Tim Newburn and Paul Rock – painted with delicacy and evidently based upon profound and enduring friendship – that makes clear the intellectual and spiritual influences upon his scholarship. The powerful combination of an orthodox Jewish upbringing, of Talmudic study, and later schooling in the best of the British sociological tradition, explains much about Reiner's mode of intellectual enquiry, its deeply ethical commitments, and its analytic rigour.

The chapter by Loader and Sparks that follows picks up on some of Reiner's later work to respond to his 'lament' for the threatened social democratic traditions of social scientific enquiry in which he was schooled. Loader and Sparks share Reiner's concerns about the adverse impact of neo-liberalism and its effects upon the politics of crime control. Like him, they deplore the economic and social inequalities that characterise neo-liberalism and they share his objections to the 'competitive egoism' that dominates the culture of market societies. But they do not quite share his pessimism. They set out in some detail the bases upon which we might move 'beyond lamentation' to overcome the predicaments in which we find ourselves, to recover and revitalise the social democratic traditions that Reiner holds so dear. Not least among their grounds for optimism is the promise of political theory and the potential suggested by thinking about 'institutions of just ordering' as a means of instituting a more hopeful politics of crime control than presently prevails.

The following chapter by Bowling, Phillips and Sheptycki builds upon Reiner's analysis of law and order in late modern societies to explore changing patterns of policing in a globalising world. Drawing upon Reiner's observation that certain groups within society become, in effect, 'police property' to be targeted, rounded up, and socially excluded, they trace the intersection between the concept of police property and discourses of race and ethnicity which result in practices that undermine police legitimacy. This chapter focuses on three distinct domains – the policing of borders, the policing of cities, and incarceration (whether as the subjects of mass imprisonment, as marginalised populations curtailed by national borders or in immigration detention centres) – to explore questions of racial discrimination, social marginality and exclusion. As the authors make clear, the resultant policing practices project the patterns of inequality and racial discrimination observed by Reiner in domestic policing onto a global canvas.

The next two chapters by Hoogenboom and Punch and by Waddington each, in very different ways, explore facets of policing and policing research. Hoogenboom and Punch trace the development of police research and the particular contributions made by policing scholars across several jurisdictions including the US, Canada, South Africa, the UK, and, not least, the Netherlands. In his chapter, Waddington takes on the 'authorised version' of 'cop culture', namely that a monolithic and largely negative culture of the police station and the police canteen influences police action. Waddington's argument is that it is a mistake to assume that police share a

homogeneous culture, that this culture sets the police apart from society, and that it is determinative of their behaviour. Drawing upon a wide-ranging array of research studies, Waddington paints an illuminating picture of the complexities of police culture and the contradictory roles it plays in relation to police conduct.

The three chapters that follow each address different facets of media representation of policing and criminal justice. The first of these, by Heidensohn and Brown, picks up on Reiner's observation that in the 1990s a 'new fashion for female cop heroes' arose. Heidensohn and Brown trace the emergence and history of women in TV cop shows in order to explore the complex relationship between fictional portrayals and the changing realities of policing by women. Their analysis parallels and, in so doing, pays homage to Reiner's own extensive analyses of media portrayals of policing, while underlining the continuing marginalisation of women in both policing and police research. The chapter by Greer and McLaughlin draws both upon Reiner's important contributions to a more nuanced understanding of media portrayal of policing and also upon his 1991 work *Chief Constables* to explore the plight of the 'mediatised Chief Constable' now subject to media coverage 24/7. According to Greer and McLaughlin, the twin burdens of constant media scrutiny and occasional 'trial by media' (whereby the media judge and sentence individuals in the 'court of public opinion') creates an adversarial, volatile news world in which police constables struggle to maintain their public reputation. The next contribution by Graef and Innes likewise explores the quintessentially Reineresque themes of media representations of crime and the politics of the police. Their chapter explores the conventions of crime reporting, develops a typology of the different policing narratives employed by new media, and considers their impact upon public understanding of policing. Taking as its substantive focus some of the key events of 2011 (the phone-hacking scandal, the summer riots and the police reforms introduced by the coalition government), the chapter looks beyond the mass media, which has been Reiner's main focus, to examine the implications of social media communications in shaping our responses to and engagement with crime problems. It concludes with concerns about the vulnerabilities inherent in the 'new' politics of policing developed by the coalition government that are evocative of Reiner's lament for a social democratic politics of policing.

Manning's chapter returns to questions of police culture and the ways in which representations of policing are mediated in social life. In so doing, Manning seeks to complement Reiner's largely 'secular' accounts of policing by interrogating the 'sacred side' of policing that instead emphasises its dramaturgical character. Manning's focus is thus upon the symbols, scripts, scenes and multifarious other means through which the police represent themselves. This classic social interaction perspective echoes Reiner's own deep commitment to theoretically informed sociological enquiry and the chapter provides a wealth of insights into the ways in which the police serve, as Manning observes, as 'a rich source of individual and collective dramas of control'.

The next chapter by Levi and Maguire traces developments in policing policy and practice over the past decade. It argues that although the introduction of

'intelligence-led policing' promised altogether more scientific, rationalised policing practices, the reality has been more faltering and patchier than early proponents envisaged. Levi and Maguire show that, by contrast, real change has been brought about in other areas such as the setting up of Multi-Agency Public Protection Arrangements (MAPPA); the introduction of Integrated Offender Management (IOM) to tackle prolific property offenders; and the growing focus on economic and financial crime. As the authors demonstrate, a particular feature of these developments is the changing patterns of partnership between the police and other agencies in both public and private sectors.

Jones, Newburn and Smith focus upon a different and potentially more seismic change in policing portended by the introduction of directly elected Police and Crime Commissioners (PCC). Their chapter speaks directly to Reiner's on-going concern with the police as agents of the state monopoly of force, the implications of this fact for the role of the police in a social democracy, and, in turn, for their democratic accountability. It is no surprise, then, that this chapter engages closely with Reiner's writings and, in particular, with his insistence on the desirability of multiple accountability mechanisms capable of addressing the multi-faceted nature of the problem in preference to simple, single solutions such as local electoral control. The second half of the chapter provides a critical analysis of the introduction of Police and Crime Commissioners, the political drivers behind this reform, its aims and objectives, and the many important challenges that it faces: in ensuring local participation, in guarding against majoritarian override and in ensuring police responsiveness. On these and a host of other issues, Jones, Newburn and Smith suggest abundant grounds for concern and their conclusion strikes a decidedly Reiner-esque note of caution about the likely success of the PCC initiative.

The topic of Downes and Morgan's chapter focuses on a more specific but no less critical question for contemporary criminal justice, namely the age of criminal responsibility. It explores the implications of Reiner's analysis in his *Law and Order: An Honest Citizen's Guide to Crime and Control* (2007) for the setting of the age of criminal responsibility. And it asks why, despite long-standing pressure to do so, the minimum age has yet to be raised. The chapter traces the history of the minimum age and examines why it has become a 'red-line' issue, not merely impervious to change but one which no political party is willing to address. The abandonment of any attempt to raise the minimum age of criminal responsibility, despite all the evidence and arguments in its favour, exemplifies for Downes and Morgan exactly that failure of will that grounds Reiner's lament for a social democratic criminology.

In the final chapter, Stenning and Shearing return to big picture policing to address the meta-trends of pluralisation and globalisation in reshaping the nature and contours of policing. Perhaps surprisingly, this is the first chapter in this volume to engage in a sustained analysis of the differences between 'police' and 'policing' and the first to explore in depth the challenges to the institution of the police posed by the emergence of plural police providers – both private and public (or, as the authors prefer, non-state and state). Their chapter also traces the impacts of new technologies, not least surveillance mechanisms that radically transform the

hi-tech and virtual end of policing. Like Bowling, Phillips and Sheptycki, Shearing and Stenning are also concerned to explore the ramifications of transnational, international, and global policing organisations and practices. These two themes come together in an insightful analysis of the impact of private transnational policing operations in the realm of Transnational Commercial Security (TCS) and an exploration of the profound challenges that such developments pose for policing and policing research. Their conclusion that the ‘evolution of policing’, to borrow Reiner’s term, can only be understood by looking beyond the police and policing itself to address much larger questions about changing patterns of governance and the factors underlying these changes chimes with the extraordinary breadth and high ambition of Reiner’s own work.

Albeit mainly focused on just one central strand in Robert Reiner’s work – policing and the police – the essays in this volume reflect the wide range of his achievements: as an astute commentator on the broad political economy of crime and punishment, as a skilled and sensitive ethnographer, as a perceptive analyst of institutional dynamics and as a far-sighted reader of the cultural significance of criminal justice practices. They stand, in short, as a fitting tribute to a remarkable scholar.

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