

Preface

That light on the hill

Peter Grabosky has been an intellectual light on the hill for young scholars across the decades. His inspiration is on display in this volume through the work of his former students and colleagues. It is a unique kind of volume that achieves a high level of integration and integrity of focus. This is accomplished through a group of former ANU students and colleagues interrogating aspects of their own research that say something about the core themes in the life work of one scholar. I argue that this works because those themes are interesting and important, and the life of Peter Grabosky, boy and man, likewise is interesting and important.

While this book is about the percolation of Graboskism into the work of a new generation, we can better understand that by seeing what happened before. Peter has also been a mentor and a profound influence on his senior colleagues, me included, throughout his career. This started early on. It is best illustrated with the profound importance of the contribution Peter Grabosky made to the life work of Ted Gurr, who died just two weeks before I started writing this preface. Ted was an influence from the early days of his training. Peter became a post-doc working on the project Ted Gurr led on *The Politics of Crime and Conflict* (Gurr et al., 1977). This was a follow-up to Ted's path-breaking cross-national work, *Why Men Rebel* (Gurr, 1970).

Path-breaking is no understatement, because Ted Gurr became the great methodological innovator of comparativism in political science, in criminology and in the social sciences broadly (Stohl, Lichbach and Grabosky, 2017). The Gurr comparative oeuvre combined quantitative comparison from diverse statistical primary sources with qualitative case study methods and historiography. Thankfully for Australia, Ted assigned Peter the job during his post-doc of collecting the historical data on patterns of crime and violence in the city of Sydney during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Peter fell in love with Australia and in 1978 became the first Director of the South Australian Office of Crime Statistics. He was incredibly energetic and his arrival was a shock to the relaxed Australian criminology scene of 1978. He always wore a suit (very odd), was rather handsome, appearing in his glasses like Clark Kent emerging from a telephone box. Earlier, he had started a love affair with Asia and the

Pacific more widely – particularly, but not only, Japan – during his Vietnam War service on the USS Providence. The war itself he came to detest. The cynicism it engendered in him about abuse of state power began the process of turning him into a great scholar of state crime. He studied Japanese for decades with great assiduousness and limited success. His talents were not as a linguist. But Peter Grabosky was never a scholarly careerist; he followed his passion for learning wherever that passion burnt brightest, not where the investment would deliver him career success. Thankfully, he never attended ECR (Early Career Researcher) strategic development workshops.

When Peter imbibed Ted Gurr's passion for comparativism, however, he transformed it into something richer and better. Without the way Peter threw himself into *The Politics of Crime and Conflict* (Gurr et al., 1977) and *Sydney in Ferment* (Grabosky, 1977), the comparativism that made Gurr such a stellar paradigm-changer across the social sciences would never have been realised. In the next decade, Peter likewise threw himself into a comparative project with me (Grabosky and Braithwaite, 1986; Braithwaite and Grabosky, 1985). A greater contrast with the international influence of Ted Gurr's work with Peter could not be imagined. Ours was a comparative study of the regulatory strategies of all of Australia's most important business regulatory agencies, 103 of them. Again it was a path-breaking comparativism of unprecedented breadth that I would say Peter led. No one had ever compared the patterns of regulation of *all* the major agencies in one country. Peter had chosen his co-author less wisely on this occasion, however. Virtually no one read or cited these books during more than the first decade of their existence. Oxford University Press (Australia) published *Of Manners Gentle: Enforcement Strategies of Australian Business Regulatory Agencies* (Grabosky and Braithwaite, 1986). Oxford (UK) ordered 66 copies for distribution across all of the UK and Europe! Few were interested internationally, Oxford thought, in a book with Australia in the title, even if it attempted a kind of comparativism that had never been done in any other country. There was in those days no discernible academic field of regulatory studies that created a market for the book.

Peter and I believed, nevertheless, that the social sciences could benefit from the building of such a field in a comparative fashion. We persisted in this forlorn belief, organising a national conference attended by a who's who of the most important and analytic leaders of Australia's regulatory agencies of 1991. These heads of our premier agencies produced excellent reflective written papers comparing their different approaches to regulatory strategy. Again, this endeavour was a flop. Attendance was poor, media interest was assiduously cultivated, but practically non-existent, and the book that was produced (Grabosky and Braithwaite, 1993) was purchased and cited by almost no one. It was remaindered in record time.

Peter spent a period on study leave from the Australian Institute of Criminology (where he had become Director of Research) at the Urban Research Unit of the Australian National University. During this time he

wrote *Smart Regulation* with Neil Gunningham and Darren Sinclair (Gunningham, Grabosky and Sinclair, 1998). The new switch of co-authors allowed Peter this time to produce another book that became, almost instantly, a highly cited classic of regulatory studies. Gunningham and Grabosky became founding members of the Regulatory Institutions Network (today the School of Regulation and Global Governance (RegNet)) which Valerie Braithwaite and I established at the Australian National University in 2000. Darren Sinclair later joined his co-authors as another amazingly productive member of the RegNet faculty. In the wake of the success of *Smart Regulation*, northern hemisphere scholars began to discover our 1986 comparative Australian book, which had been ignored for 12 years by then.

Peter has by now spent as many years researching and writing at RegNet as the 18 years he spent at the Australian Institute of Criminology. In both institutions, he managed to help non-academic staff who had no training in criminology at the time to become world-renowned criminologists: Heather Strang, who was a librarian at the Australian Institute of Criminology, and Julie Ayling, who was a legal research assistant at RegNet. He became an institution-builder in creating the burgeoning new twenty-first century field of regulatory studies, with formidable leadership from all over Australia. He also continued to be a leader in consolidating criminology as President of the Australian and New Zealand Society of Criminology and becoming a mentor to the founders of the Asian Criminological Society (among them Lennon Chang). For 10 years he was also a key member of the Campbell Collaboration Crime and Justice Coordinating Group and much more. The brilliance of his work was recognised in various international prizes.

To summarise this institutional contribution, Peter Grabosky was one of the great consolidators of the discipline of criminology in Australia and New Zealand. He helped criminology to take off across Asia. Yes, this book shows he made particularly strong contributions to the study of policing, but there was actually no sub-field of criminology – from violence to victimology to vice to vilification – that was untouched by Peter's research. He was internationally renowned as a criminologist for the breadth as well as the depth of his research. He was foundational to Australian leadership in institutionalising the field of regulatory studies as a central interdisciplinary topic of study across all the social sciences alongside many other great RegNet scholars. He was the mainstay of the germinal team of social scientists Ted Gurr led in developing the sophistication of interscalar comparative method not only in criminology but as a model for all the social sciences. Finally, he was an early mover in building certain sub-fields of criminology and regulatory studies. Cybersecurity was one of these, as the chapters in this book by Chang, Dupont and Urbas so ably show. Another consistently constructed theme that Grabosky made important across the social sciences is regulation by third parties that sit between the state and the regulatee, between police and citizens for example, and meta-regulation (regulated self-regulation or co-regulation). We see the latter themes in the chapters

by Adrian and Lorraine Cherney, Ayling, Wood, Brewer, Lindley, Holder and Chang.

These more specific themes have been developed with profound impact in Peter Grabosky's research as the chapters of this book document so well. No sub-field of criminology today is fuelling growth in undergraduate enrolments in criminology more than cybersecurity. In our College of Asia and the Pacific at the Australian National University it is also fuelling enrolments in international relations, politics and national security studies. One of the big changes occurring in criminology today is a theoretical blurring of the distinction between crime and war, as war results in the criminalisation of states, for example. Grabosky (1989) was one of the early pioneers of the study of state crime. Cyberwar and cyberespionage are important parts of cybercrime today. I would go so far as to say that in contemporary conditions it makes little sense for the most powerful states to fire missiles at each other, so we have seen a historical movement from hot war, to cold war fought through proxies in weak states as the dominant form of militarised competition between major powers, and now moving to the era of cyberwar as the dominant modality of war that major powers consider deploying against each other. Peter was certainly more visionary than me on cybercrime. I remember arguing with Peter as we toured South Australian wineries during the 1979 ANZSOC conference that we were devoting too much attention to computer crime because only large organisations could afford to own a computer; so why not allow them to focus on defending themselves so we can focus on corporate crimes that victimise the powerless!

Julie Ayling's chapter is one vivid illustration of how and why the survival of our planet is quite unlikely without large investments in meta-regulation. Environmental activists were usually rather gloomy when international framework agreements such as the 1987 Montreal Protocol on ozone-depleting substances and the 1997 Kyoto Protocol on climate change were signed. They were cynical that these were purely symbolic agreements without enforcement teeth. Important states such as China that changed their behaviour greatly to implement these initially vague framework agreements have moved forward under the pressure of meta-regulatory dynamics. This is not to say that the movement has been sufficient to save us, merely that the moves have been of great importance, saving hundreds of thousands of lives in the case of the Montreal Protocol. As some major states moved on many originally vague framework agreements, the agreements were meta-regulated to gradually attain more specificity of content over time.

Peter Grabosky's accomplishments seem institutional but in fact were enacted in unusually interpersonal ways. Peter built intellectual engagement on a foundation of exceptional hospitality. Especially if they came from Japan, or somewhere else in Asia, visitors during these past 36 years when Peter lived in Canberra would be treated to large dollops of meat, with the patient endurance of his vegetarian partner Bronwyn McNaughton. Valerie Braithwaite and I are far from alone among Peter's colleagues and students in saying we have a great

love for Peter, his kindness, and his intellectual hospitality. On the negative side, the largeness of those dollops of meat mean most of us co-authors will live shorter lives than had we never met Peter Grabosky. After sleeping in, amidst mutual recriminations over being kept awake by each other's alleged snoring, Peter and I would often be running late for our first fieldwork interview. Then Peter would insist on picking up an Australian meat pie each so we would not miss our meaty start to the day. Young people also identified with Peter because he lived such a well-rounded life in the way he indulged not only his intellectual and collegial passions but also his love of music, especially Chicago blues. Overly late nights in bars in Chicago, Osaka, Sydney and Taipei made for richer lives, even if shorter, especially for those who could not match Peter's passion for being up early in the morning to compensate with a long run.

There is evidence in this book of the way that Peter's collegiality and his wide reading has infected the intellectual imaginations of his collaborators. Few scholars read across such a range, or approach Peter Grabosky's literacy in international politics and society. For students, it was always hard to emerge from his office without being piled up with tomes that Peter felt would benefit them. He also created opportunities for many young scholars by being a 'rainmaker' who raised more funding for the research of younger scholars than for his own. The sophistication and nuance of those younger researchers is the feast of excellent scholarship in the Grabosky tradition on display in this book. This, even though most of the body of work of these authors, like Grabosky's own work, is not in the core of the Grabosky tradition. The book really gives a good feel for that core of the Grabosky oeuvre.

While Peter has won various international awards that mark his core criminological research distinction, this volume captures something of Peter's interdisciplinary scholarly imagination, his breadth and his sophistication, his focus on the building blocks for constructing new methods and new fields of study that transcend intellectual silos.

All the contributors to this volume are former ANU students or younger colleagues and co-authors of Peter Grabosky. Some of them now are very senior. This is the right way to celebrate the rich contributions of Peter Grabosky because he was always such a generous spirit to younger scholars he mentored. The students of all the greatest scholars collectively produce more than their mentor, as this volume evocatively demonstrates for Peter's progeny. Speaking personally, I am so proud of them getting together to honour Peter in this way under the leadership of Lennon Chang and Russell Brewer. At the same time, I do believe that distinguished older scholars such as Ted Gurr might wish that they too could join in to pay homage to how much they learnt sitting at the feet of the younger Peter Grabosky.

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