Involvement of individuals and organisations in crime prevention – a case of failure to get a grip on implementation

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DESIGN AGAINST CRIME

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Importance of knowledge of practice in crime prevention

- The field of practical crime prevention is rich and complex

- Knowledge of how to undertake the practice well, and how to replicate 'success stories' in new contexts, is vital

- But it's challenging to obtain, organise and apply that knowledge

- Several distinct kinds of knowledge are relevant to crime prevention practice

Crime Prevention & Community Safety: Kinds of knowledge relevant to practice

- **Know crime** – definitions of offences

- **Know-about crime problems** – causes, consequences etc

- **Know-what works** to reduce crime

- **Know-how to put into practice** – SARA and 5Is

- **Know-when to act** – relative to other preventive activities

- **Know-where to distribute resources**

- **Know-why** – symbolism, values, politics, ethics

- **Know-who to involve and how** - trickiest

Who delivers crime prevention?

- Most crime prevention & community safety interventions are delivered indirectly by 'civil' organisations and individuals, not professional preventers in police, local government

- The role of the professionals is mostly to mobilise or work in partnership with the civil world

- Even direct implementation may require professional partnerships to span divisions of labour & bring together complementary perspectives/ resources

Who delivers crime prevention?

- Given that so much crime prevention is delivered through third parties, it's unfortunate that the key dimension of 'know-who' has been understated, underdeveloped and under-structured.

- Consider these 'methods' on a typical 'shopping list' of preventive actions:

  - Police on patrol

  - Crime prevention publicity campaign: 'lock it or lose it'

  - Installation of security clips in bars to prevent theft of customers' bags

# Different kinds of Involvement

- These examples may look superficially equivalent but involve professionals, citizens and organisations participating in very different ways

- The limitations of our ability to describe and distinguish such forms of involvement affect how well we can think, communicate and act in the preventive domain

- To fully address the 'know who' dimension of knowledge for practice, delivery and policy, must make these key distinctions:

    - Professionals **involve** other parties in **implementing** the **intervention** or otherwise supporting it

Different kinds of involvement

- Police on patrol
  - Professionals Implement Intervention themselves
- Crime prevention publicity campaign
  - Professionals Involve public, who then Implement the Intervention themselves (they buy, fit and operate window locks)
- Installation of security clips in bars to prevent theft of customers' bags
  - Designers create Intervention, and Involve others Implementing it: bar managers (installation), customers (use)
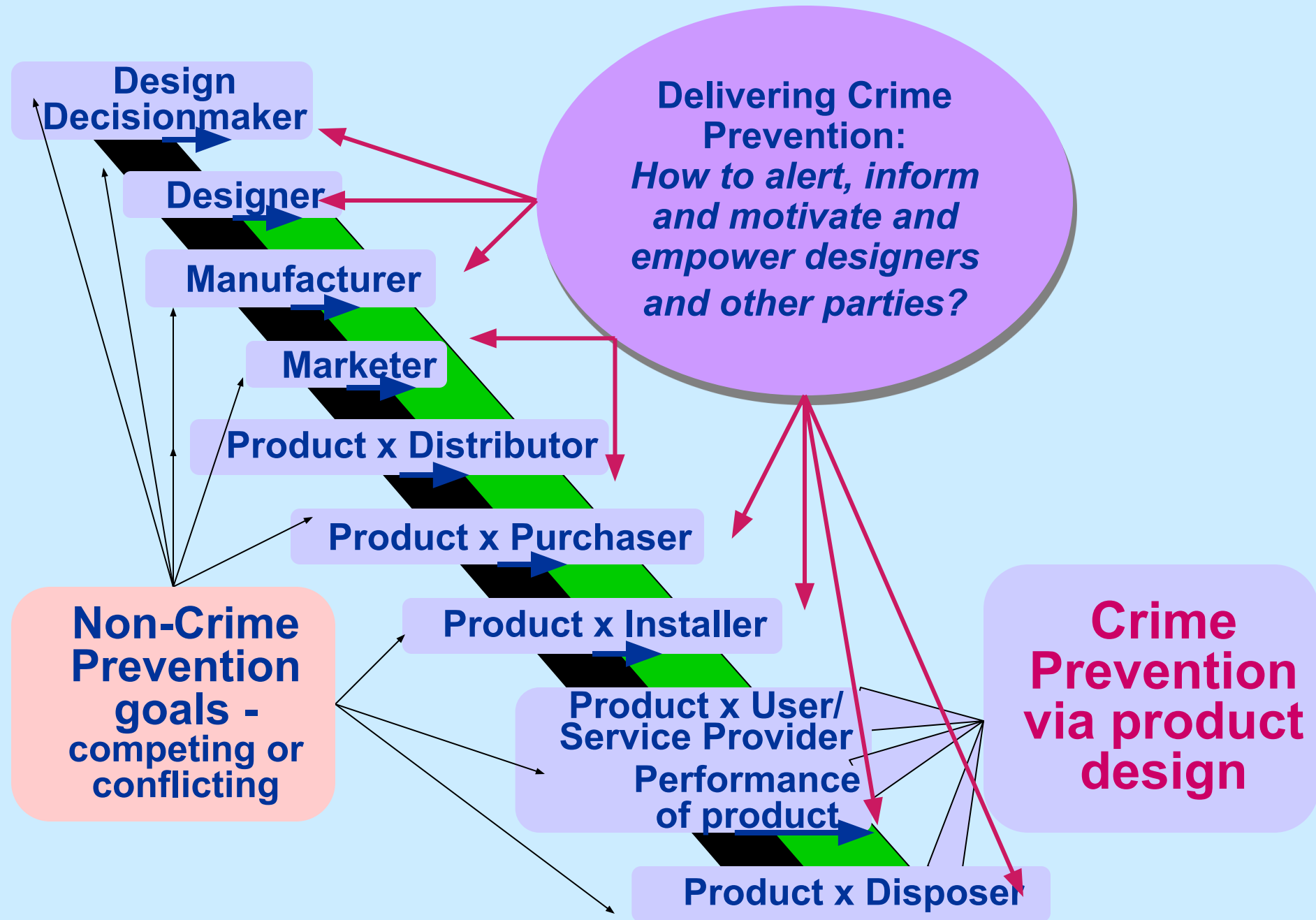
Involvement in conventional POP frameworks

- Distinction between Intervention, Implementation and Involvement not reflected in SARA's Response stage

- Involvement represented as outer border in Problem Analysis Triangle, as 3 distinct crime preventer roles
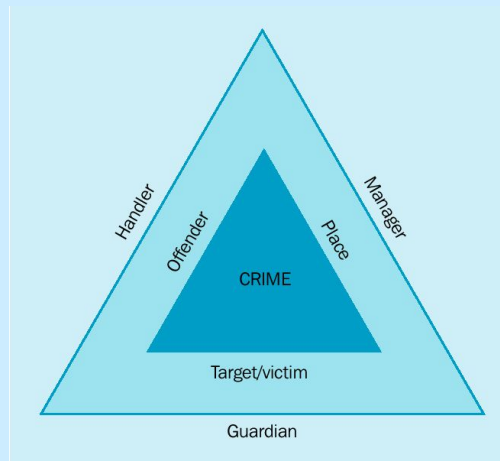
- However, much loose talk of 'guardians' to cover everything

- Supercontrollers is a useful additional heuristic – but the reality is more complex and messy still

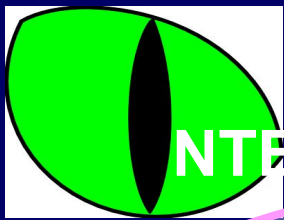# Reducing Crime by Design – a Succession of Performances

Design Decisionmaker

Designer

Manufacturer

Marketer

Product x Distributor

Product x Purchaser

Product x Installer

Product x User/ Service Provider
Performance of product

Product x Disposer

Delivering Crime Prevention:
How to alert, inform and motivate and empower designers and other parties?

Non-Crime Prevention goals - competing or conflicting

Crime Prevention via product design

We need more detailed frameworks to help understand and deliver Involvement

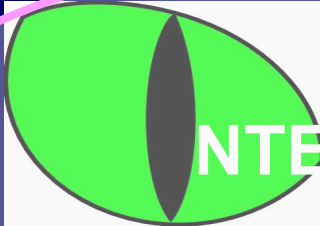# The 5Is framework

Sharing good practice in crime prevention
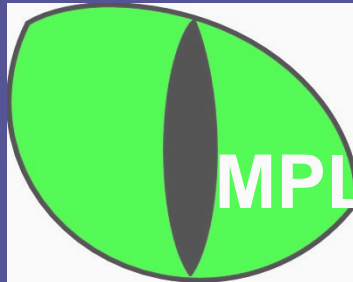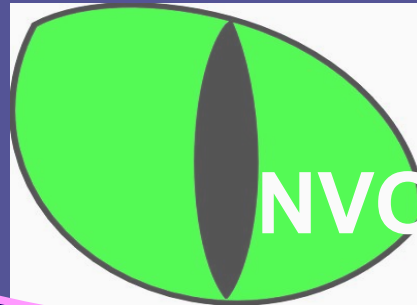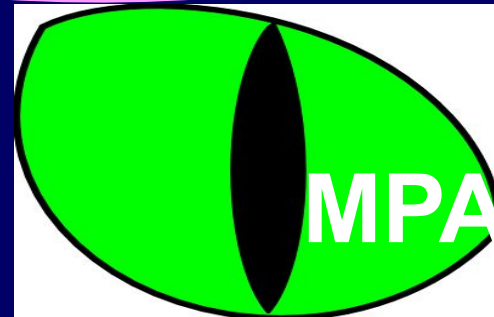
NTELLIGENCE

NTERVENTION

MPLEMENTATION

NVOLVEMENT

MPACT

The Five Is

The tasks of the Preventive

Process

Involvement includes:

- Partnership – symmetrical

- Mobilisation – one-sided

- Climate-setting – public trust, interagency trust, mutual expectations

5Is Involvement – Mobilisation

- **C**larify crime prevention roles/ tasks to achieve

- **L**ocate appropriate preventive agents

- **A**lert them

- **I**nform them

- **M**otivate them

- **E**mpower them – increase capacity

- **D**irect them – objectives, standards

5Is: Detailed structure of task streams

5Is

- Intelligence
- Intervention
- Implementation
- **Involvement**
- Impact

Involvement

- Partnership
- **Mobilisation**
- Climate setting

CLAIMED

- **C**larify
- **L**ocate
- **A**lert
- **I**nform
- **M**otivate
- **E**mpower
- **D**irect

Let's talk about … failure

- Rosenbaum's original 1986 analysis of failure in community crime prevention programs:

  - Theory failure

  - Implementation/ program failure

  - Measurement/ evaluation failure

Earlier fruits of Stavern – Bowers and Johnson 2006

- Analysed many implementation failures in SCP:
  - Lack of experience, theory failure, under-resourcing, high staff turnover, no champion, lack of infrastructure, lack of exit strategy, red tape, slow implementation and displacement

- Cross-classified these risks against operational features of preventive schemes:
  - Type of scheme, nature of targets, who is implementing and how intense the scheme is

- Would be interesting to re-analyse using more detailed structure of 5Is – Involvement failure > mobilisation failure > ….

- Finer analysis can also pick up elements of what worked *well* even in context of wider failure

Case study: Design against bag theft in bars at Central Saint Martins

Research on bag clips – www.grippaclip.com

- Existing clips poorly designed – Chelsea Clip cheap but hardly used by customers
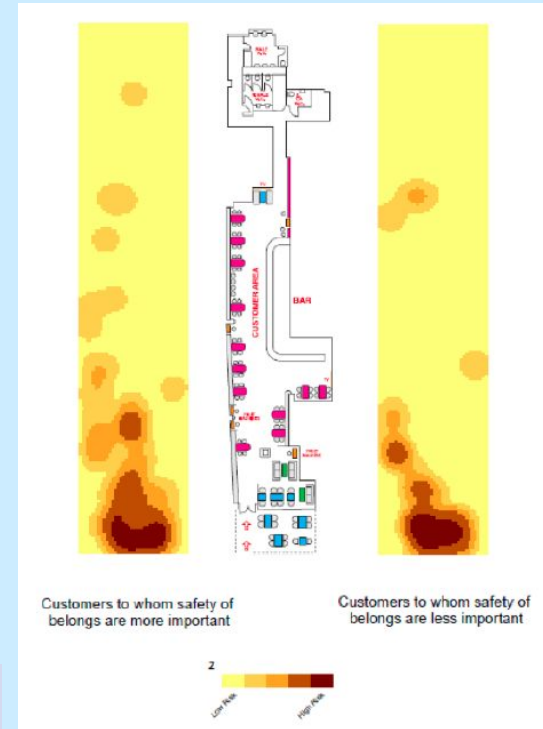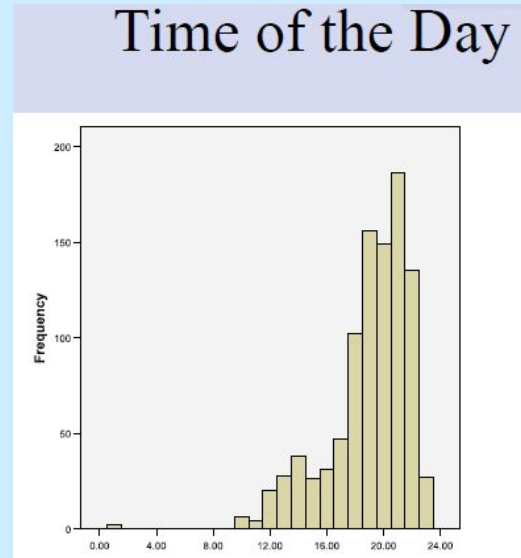 - Under-table location means unseen and unused

  - Low aesthetic quality

  - Poor material: they break easily

Grippa Research Project

- Aim – to research, develop and evaluate next generation of clips
  - Studying patterns of bag theft, customer perceptions
  - Matching action and control bars

Time of the Day

Customers to whom safety of belongs are more important

Customers to whom safety of belongs are less important

Location of Bag	N	Percentage
Not specified	496	51.4
On Floor	127	13.2
Back of Chair	78	8.1
At Feet	75	7.8
Under Table	62	6.4
On Chair	40	4.1
Under Chair	33	3.4
On Table	18	1.9
By Chair	18	1.9
Close by	11	1.1
On Clip	4	0.4
On Person	3	0.3
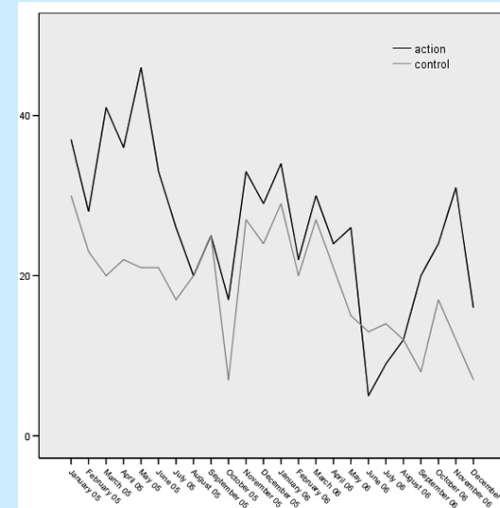
Grippa Clip – after much development and trialing

Grippa clips – a sorry tale

- Senior management of bar company agreed to let us trial the clips

- We piloted prototype clips in several bars

- Users liked the designs and the concept, but didn't actually use them!

- Just before main evaluation in 13 bars, bar company pulled out of entire project due to the recession…

- ***So what went wrong?***

- ***Failure mode analysis***

Senior management – partnership failure

- Our relations with the bar company constituted what we initially believed to be a partnership

- This under-wrote process of co-design

- Ultimately partnership collapsed

- Events revealed that it was illusory, based on differing expectations and unequal commitment and (despite our efforts to get a contract signed) never formalised

Senior management – partnership failure

- Many top managers were 'let go' following poor performance; and project liaison passed to regional management – a lack of *commitment* and a high-level *champion*

- Regional managers, although enthusiastic and committed, had insufficient influence within the company, a lack of *capability*

- Moreover, they were moved around geographically rather frequently so *continuity* was difficult to maintain and labour-intensive

Local managers – mobilisation failure

- This should have been *joint* mobilisation of bar managers by researchers and bar company in partnership

- There was inefficient *communication* between regional managers and bar managers

- Bar managers were moved round between venues, more problems of *continuity*

- And of course the bartender job throughout the world is notorious for rapid employee *turnover*, hence poor *empowerment* and *motivation*

Customers and staff – mobilisation failure

- Near-final prototype clips piloted in two bars in London, two in Barcelona

- Customers, when interviewed, liked the designs and the concept

- But in London they didn't actually *use* them

Analysing mobilisation failure using CLAIMED [Clarify preventive roles and tasks…]

- *Roles* in question concerned *acting as preventers of theft of bags in bars*

- Specific *tasks* required of these roles included

  - *Installing* the clips (bar company & local managers)

  - *Using* them to protect bags (customers transformed from inadvertent crime *promoters* to *preventers*)

  - *Encouraging use* of the clips (bar staff)

Mobilisation of task – installation

- Installation not a problem

  - Research team undertook this for the pilot, and bar managers were Directed to accept them by regional managers

  - In terms of Information, Motivation and Empowerment the clips were designed to be obvious and easy to fix and easy to avoid causing damage to the tables they were fixed to

Mobilisation of task– Customers using clips

- What caused customers to avoid using the clips?

  - Failure to Alert and Inform customers on the existence of the clips and what they were for;

  - Failure to Empower them in terms of making clear how they were to be used

- We had done our best to make the clips visible:

  - Clips mounted at the edge of the table

  - Adopted a style that was 'bling not blend', eventually giving the clips a bright red coating rather than a plain brass finish that would more closely fit the bar decor

- We also designed some posters but the bar company confined these to the toilets for fear of impacting on the bars' image of safety

- So we designed cardboard 'hangers' showing clips in use – intended to dangle from the clips and catch the customers' attention more directly

Mobilisation of task– Customers using clips

- Customer Motivation also a problem

  – Some people worried they would forget their bags

  – Others that overt concern with security was 'uncool' amongst their friends

  – Being relaxed and off-guard is often part of the culture of

    bars *

  – *'Behavioural change inertia'* *

  – Alcohol-induced confusion *

* Also apply to ECCA meetings

Mobilisation of task – Bar staff *encouraging* customers to use clips

- Parallel trial in Barcelona:
  - Bartenders were willing and able to prompt customers to use clips
  - Usage was correspondingly greater
- London bar staff did not:
  - Causes seemed to centre on *Motivation*
  - Busy bar staff on low pay and likely to move on in a few months less committed to this extra work
  - The hangers, dropped on the floor by customers, seen as a positive nuisance and not replenished
- Not a 'London' effect as later trial in Starbucks showed much greater use (and greater company effort to nurture staff commitment)
- *Empowerment* also a problem – some bar staff had limited use of English, hindering their communication with customers

So we tried aides memoire – to no avail

Remember
DON'T LET BAGS GET IN YOUR WAY

J.D. WETHERSPOON

Please, point out the clips to customers

✓ **Make your job easier**
Keep floor and the back of chairs tidy

✓ **Increase security against bag theft**
We want to avoid these situations and any inconvenience to yourself and to our customers.

Mobilisation of task – Bar staff *encouraging* customers to use clips

- Our eventual design solution to hanger problem was to put a bag silhouette on the Grippa clips themselves, simultaneously avoiding litter and bypassing reluctant bar staff

Failure of Climate Setting – Bar company

- Obviously, belief that we had established a satisfactory climate of understanding and expectation with top level of the bar company, leading to a partnership, was illusory

- The company had originally approached *us* to address theft problems at one of their London bars, but the accepting climate had not permeated all of senior management

Failure of Climate Setting – Bar company

- More cynically, the company had been under considerable expectation and pressure from the Metropolitan Police to do something about theft – to turn from inadvertent crime promoter to active, responsible preventer

- Becoming a partner in our research project was part of that 'something'

- London theft rates declined in subsequent years and the police pressure was directed against other issues and venues

- The motivation to collaborate on this project faded away

- What we had believed was a fundamental joint interest had in fact been no more than two bodies moving in parallel under very different, but temporarily coincident, forces

- *Acceptance* of the value of the Grippa clip had been revealed merely to be *compliance* with momentary influences

Failure of Climate Setting – within bars

- The climate of security *within* the bar, co-created by customers, staff and management, was also limited

- Few expectations by customers that staff should be taking an interest in their security

- Nor did London bar staff feel that Alerting customers to the risks of placing bags in dangerous places was their job

IT'S THE END…

- Shows the complexity and the challenge of *Involving* people and organisations to *Implement* preventive *Interventions*

- Shows how a structured approach – 5Is – can capture and organise the detailed findings and make practical lessons available for transfer

- Lessons also relevant to delivery and policy levels e.g. on incentives

- Shows the iterative nature of the design process – not one-shot 'fire and forget' but continual problemsolving

- Also shows the 'heroic defeat' of designers' efforts overwhelmed by circumstances including the 2008 financial collapse…

- But eventual triumph of use in Starbucks on Victoria Station!

Diverse roles people play in crime situations

'Civil' roles

E.g. bike theft from multi occupancy house

- Owner/ user of bike
- Flatmate
- Other user of building
- Landlord
- Visitor
- Meter reader
- …?

Crime-specific roles

– **Offender = abuser**

– **Preventer**
  - makes crime **less** likely, by acting, or merely being present, before or during crime
  - after first crime, preventer makes **next** crime less likely (eg wiser victim installs lock)

  Preventer could act as
  - **Guardian** of target
  - **Manager** of place (environment or enclosure)
  - **Handler** of offender
  - **Passer-by** undertaking casual surveillance
  - **Designer** of place, product or procedure

– **Promoter**
  - makes crime **more** likely
  - **Inadvertently, carelessly** or **deliberately** (eg buys very expensive bike for use in risky area, forgets to lock it properly, knowingly buys/sells stolen bike)

Civil roles & crime roles **overlap**, eg

– User, flatmate, visitor, landlord could be preventer or promoter

– Visitor or neighbour could be offender…