# IMAGINATION FOR CRIME PREVENTION

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF KEN PEASE

Graham Farrell
Kate J. Bowers
Shane D. Johnson
Michael Townsley
editors

CRIME PREVENTION STUDIES
Volume 21

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## **CRIME PREVENTION STUDIES**

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(continued)

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# Foreword — Just Say Pease

Ken Pease is the British boffin behind Crime Science. He, more than anyone else, inspired the idea of importing serious scientific methods into crime reduction. He has sparkled with original ideas, fizzed with energy, and thrown himself enthusiastically not merely into groundbreaking research but into the task of explaining his revolutionary message to anyone who would listen. And despite what at first seemed an unorthodox approach people *have* listened, including government ministers and police chiefs. If you have a crime problem, just say Pease.

Remarkably for a man with so much knowledge to impart, he is an exceptionally good listener and absurdly humble. But most importantly, working in a field in which policymakers are at the mercy of political and sociological whimsy, he has helped to create the foundations of a truly methodological approach to discovering what works and what doesn't. This book charts some of his remarkable achievements. With one significant exception his expertise spans the whole field of crime prevention, from finding patterns in offending (such as geographic hot-spots, vulnerable products and services, or his seminal work on repeat victimisation which identified a hitherto unnoticed group of people who are especially at risk from crime), to finding solutions, including changing policing methods and detection processes, improving product design, and reshaping corporate and public policy.

The exception to his expertise is illuminating. Ken is first and foremost a professor of psychology, a discipline that focuses on people and their social interactions. Perhaps because of this he is aware how difficult it is to change human individuals: we are what we are. So he turned his back on the great tradition of criminology and its fascination with the social

and psychological make-up of individual offenders. Instead, he has worked on changing the circumstances in which citizens find themselves, arguing that people's predisposition to offend is only one factor in crime, and generally it happens to be the least amenable to manipulation. Ken's interest has been to remove the temptations and opportunities that lead or allow people to offend. Essentially that means making crime harder to commit and harder to get away with. Yet his elegant solutions do not lead to more locks and bolts; indeed, as with good engineering, the answers often seem surprisingly simple and graceful.

When he started down this path he was in the company of little more than half a dozen like-minded senior academics around the world. Some were interested in sharpening police methods ("problem oriented policing"), some in reshaping everyday experiences so as to strip out opportunities for crime ("situational crime prevention"), and others in improving the experimental rigour of social sciences (now epitomised by the international Campbell Collaboration). I coined the term Crime Science to encompass all these approaches in a new multidisciplinary school, but I shall always consider Ken to be the epitome of it all, the father of Crime Science. It was through his encouragement and ability to enthuse me and others that the world's first college of Crime Science was established: the Jill Dando Institute at University College London.

Ken is a brilliant innovator in his field and a kindly and diffident colleague who prefers that credit goes to others; but no scientist can be measured by his or her professional achievements alone. He is a warmhearted husband and devoted father (whose daughter, Katie, has been inspired to follow in his professional footsteps), and equally devoted lover of dogs. Any unwanted mutt near his home in north-west England, however difficult, disfigured or downright dangerous, could find sanctuary in the Pease household until the family ran out of space to take in more. The Crime Scientist in Ken knows he can never reform his guests; but he can arrange life so that even his most unstable and belligerent hounds behave themselves – at least most of the time.

I hope that one day Crime Science will be as much of an established discipline as Economics, Town Planning, Industrial Design, Statistics or Engineering, or any other of the many subjects on which it relies; and that students and practitioners will take down this book and marvel that so much bears the hallmark of Ken Pease.

Nick Ross

# Contents

	word — Just Say Pease Ross	vii
1.	Editors' Introduction — Ken Pease (1943- ), A Prospective Obituary Graham Farrell, Kate Bowers, Shane Johnson and Michael Townsley	1
2.	From Crime Prevention to Crime Science Nick Tilley and Gloria Laycock	19
3.	Making Offenders Richer Paul Ekblom	41
4.	Doing Without Knowing: Common Pitfalls in Crime Prevention Per-Olof H. Wikström	59
5.	Sustainability versus Safety: Confusion, Conflict and Contradiction in Designing Out Crime Rachel Armitage	81
6.	Designing Out Crime: Has Section 17 of the UK's Crime and Disorder Act 1998 Been Effective? Steve Everson and Peter F. Woodhouse	e 111
		continued)

#### Contents

7.	The Nottingham Burglary Risk Index (BRIx) Kate Moss-Brookes and Jenny Ardley	133
8.	Kings and Castles, Cavemen and Caves: The Impact of Crime on Male Victims Mandy Shaw and Sylvia Chenery	147
9.	Fear of Crime, Perceived Disorders and Property Crime: A Multivariate Analysis at the Area Level Andromachi Tseloni	163
10.	The Cambridge Evaluation of the Effects of CCTV on Crime David P. Farrington, Trevor H. Bennett and Brandon C. Welsh	187
11.	Burglary Prediction: The Roles of Theory, Flow and Friction Shane D. Johnson and Kate J. Bowers	203
12.	Risky Facilities: Crime Concentration in Homogeneous Sets of Establishments and Facilities John E. Eck, Ronald V. Clarke and Rob T. Guerette	225
13.	Repeat Victimization of Prison Inmates Michael Townsley and Graham Farrell	265

# Editors' Introduction — Ken Pease (1943-): A Prospective Obituary

by

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"Being ever of a maudlin disposition (I dug graves in the vacations) I read every obituary in all the journal issues I ever opened." (Pease, 1998a, p. 163)

Those of you who knew Ken Pease will not be surprised at his failure to conform in time for this obituary. It will have to serve as a draft, and we welcome his further input for a revised version. However, this leaves us in the disappointing and methodologically challenging position of writing a prospective obituary. It is therefore serendipitous that, to our knowledge,

such a prospective-retrospective has not been previously applied as methodology in a criminological context, and we claim it as an original contribution. Were he with us today, Ken would be proud. Then he would speedily edit the material, adding value and insight throughout while thoughtfully correcting us grammar.

Since this is not a posthumous volume at time of going to press, it is clear that we come here not to bury Pease but to praise him. For the former of these two acts would, in present circumstances, lead to somewhat incredulous choking on his part. However, we know this would be accompanied by praise for our foresight and efficiency in completing the task in advance of the traditional deadline. This *festschrift* belatedly marks Ken's official, if rather early, retirement in 2003, and pays tribute to his various criminological contributions to date. This is despite the fact that we predict these contributions will, no matter how hard we protest, continue for many years to come.

#### Pease Popularity Problem

It was always clear that Ken Pease's ridiculous popularity would present a problem for editors seeking to compile a single volume. It has been our frequent wish that Ken was not so collegial, so prolific, so generous of co-authorship, had not mentored so many students or assisted so many colleagues in various tasks, with such consistency and distinction for so long a period. That he unfortunately did so presented us with the unenviable task of being able to invite only a fraction of those who would have wished to contribute. That Ken were less giving of his time and skills, less generous with his ideas, sparkling imagination, extensive knowledge and outrageous capacity for methodological innovation, would clearly have been desirable. However, it was not within our capacity to produce the Encyclopaedia Peasia in 26 volumes. While we realise Ken may not forgive this lack of capacity on our part, we ask the forgiveness and understanding of colleagues we were unable to ask to contribute. We thank and applaud those who did for making this what we hope is also a substantive contribution to knowledge and crime prevention practice.

Popularity, however, was only one of Ken's many problems. A lack of respect for the academic establishment and its practices was evident through his career. This was nowhere more obscure than in his singular preference to appear as last author on his publications, despite so often being both intellectual driving force and principal writer. We refute Nick

Ross's description of Pease as "absurdly humble" in the Foreword to this volume, and prefer to categorise him as wilfully anarchic, verging on unprofessional. That Pease had a somewhat crude lack of materialistic greed, frequently spurning his consultancy fees and preferring to pass it to a needy research assistant or churn it back into his research, was overcome upon retirement only by the need to purchase food and clothes. Were it not for the scope and impact of his academic work, and the respect it engendered in such a range of colleagues and institutions, such fundamental flaws would surely have precipitated his more rapid demise. In his academic work, far too many were the times when Pease elected to constructively build upon the work of others, offering sound advice and encouragement, when a damning indictment would have been less arduous and more publishable. It is a wonder that he survived so long without the hardnosed attitude characteristic of so many academics, and we look forward to the day when this flagrant abuse of academic tradition is practised no longer.

### Criminal Careers and Career Criminologist

Born 5th August 1943, the precocious intellect of Kenneth George Pease was in evidence from the outset. At the age of 11 he scored the highest exam result (for the legendary British "eleven plus") in the county of Cheshire. When offered sponsorship to attend the venerable Westminster School in London, he rejected it in favour of a more local establishment. After being tempted to read for an undergraduate degree in Psychology at University College London, the young Pease returned to northwest Britain, where he then remained despite a range of efforts to entice him away. Utilising a prospective model of residential locations (based on Johnson et al., 2004), we predict with near certainty that he will remain in this location. This is not least due to the proximity of the soccer grounds of Manchester City, Stockport County and Stalybridge Celtic: It was long clear that Ken's pursuit of the underdog applied to sport as much as to canines that occupied his time and residence.

To his credit, Pease was always an advocate of clarity and truth in the visual display of quantitative information. He had a penchant for the work of Edward R. Tufte (e.g., Tufte, 1992). We think they would be proud of the way we have shaped Figure 1, making it somewhat squarer than a traditional chart in order to exaggerate the aggressiveness of the publication trajectory. Note how the same chart with a more typical x-axis would not produce quite the same erection. By the time of publication

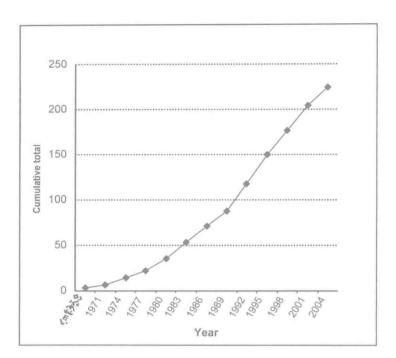


Figure 1: Pease Cumulative Publications 1968-2004

of this volume, Pease will almost certainly have published more than 250 works of various types. We were only able to obtain data on 224 publications by 2004 as he "has lost track" of some of them in recent years. This simple counting of publications masks significant variation in terms of articles, books and monographs (Table 1). This analysis understates the widespread impact of Pease's work, the reading of which some commentators have argued was more contagious than a cold on a damp winter morning, if slightly less likely to require antihistamines.

In their tribute to Leslie Wilkins (to which Pease contributed), Gottfredson and Clarke (1990) analysed publication patterns and identified two types of Wilkins. The first was the British civil servant, and the second the American academic, with the latter slightly more prolific. Our examination of the trajectory of the Pease publication rate suggests, rather, three stages of an ongoing criminal career. After onset, even as an initiate, Pease's involvement in crime was frequent. Prolific and serious subsequent

Table 1: rease rub	ublications by Type over Time (5-Year Periods)	Dy 13	pe ove	r 1m	e (3-Y	ear Fei	(spon						
Publication Type	≤1968	-1971	-1974	-1977	-1980	-1983	≤1968 -1971 -1974 -1977 -1980 -1983 -1986 -1989 -1992 -1995 -1998 -2001 -2	-1989	-1992	-1995	-1998	-2001	7
Book	0	0	П	0	-	0	4	0	-	0	0	~	
Article	3	$\overline{}$	9	150	1	1~	3	6	16	15	10	00	
Book chapter	0	0	0	0	4	_	_	-	$\sim$	_	П	1	
Monograph	0	0	0	3	2	П	0	2	2	V	3	S	
Other	0	3	0	0	0	00	4	100	4	10	33	Ξ	
Total	50	4	7	8	14	17	18	17	30	32	27	28	
Cumulative	3	7	14	22	36	53	7.7	88	811	150	177	205	CI

involvement with periods of both generalism and specialism have led to a seeming reluctance to desist. The period we characterise as onset and initiation lasted until around 1977. During this period, Pease fenced his criminal wares at Manchester University, then as Senior and Principal Research Officer at the Home Office (1972-1976). The value of his average annual offence rate, lambda, was approximately 2.11 (19 publications over nine years). In stage 2, Pease was a persistent, prolific and serious offender through the 1980s as Head of the School of Sociology and Social Policy at Ulster Polytechnic (1981-1983), and upon return to his old stomping ground at Manchester University as Senior Lecturer (1983-1986), then Reader (1986-1995). From 1978 to 1989 inclusive, Pease's offending lambda was 5.5 (66 publications in 12 years). The latest epoch of Pease's career commenced at the start of the 1990s (136 publications over 15 years), which saw an escalation of offending with an annual lambda of 9.1. Numerous career advancements - appointment to a Professorial Chair at the University of Manchester in 1995, acting Head of the Home Office Policing and Reducing Crime Unit (1999-2000) and setting up the successful Applied Criminology Group (1995-2003) at the University of Huddersfield - failed to stop Pease from collaborating with a range of co-offenders. As visiting professor at University College London and at Loughborough University, he appears both relentless and unrepentant. Over the years he ruthlessly pressed initiates into service, and apprentices into more serious work. The Pease criminal career resulted in a protracted series of grave offences against previous ways of thought, method, policy and practice. It is noteworthy not only for its duration but also for its particular trajectory. While desistance is commonly at a younger age for most offenders, it is clear that Pease continues to be offensive well beyond his sixtieth birthday.

A career of such profligacy and seriousness is rare. It landed Ken in hot water on countless occasions. He was frequently retained by the police and held at Her Majesty's pleasure. Both he and his work were routinely processed the length and breadth of the criminal justice system. Pease-related crime writings hold an unusually high re-sale value on the black market of policy and practice. They appear unusually accessible, durable and –a particularly odd characteristic – useful. Perhaps it was his interaction with Interpol or the UN, or perhaps the rise of mutual extradition treaties, but Pease was frequently deported to countries around the world, only to escape and return to hunt in his native Stockport. And despite numerous appearances before the Parole Board since 1987, like many such organis-

ations, they were reluctantly obliged to release Pease on his own recognisance. The result was that few contemporary criminals were on first name terms with so many senior police, criminal justice and crime policy-making figures as the fugitive Ken Pease. Though he never broke bail or other agreements, his "Wanted" mug-shot and by-line appeared in diverse communication media around the world. Even that tabloid rag The Economist demanded he write about his imprisonment experiences for their annual global review (Pease, 1989). Amongst the harsher of many sentences meted out, Pease was condemned to be a Fellow of the Royal Society of the Arts from 1995, and shackled by the Order of the British Empire (OBE) in 1997 for services to crime prevention. Note the arresting and familiar orientation of Photo 1 when Pease successfully infiltrated the grounds of Buckingham Palace. Since the abolition of capital punishment, the OBE is one of the severest sentences that can be bestowed upon a U.K. citizen. Only placing him in the stocks at the Tower of London would be more fitting, and we know of only a handful of academic criminologists warranting this or similar measures: Sir Anthony Bottoms, David Farrington OBE, Roger Hood CBE, Pat Mayhew OBE, the late Sir Leon Radzinowicz. Nick Tilley OBE, and Paul Wiles (Order of the Bath). A rogue's gallery if ever there was one.

Some unpublished career highlights should not go unrecognised. In 1980, as expert consultant to the Sixth United Nations Crime Congress, Pease sat on the podium in Caracas, Venezuela, in front of the diplomatic missions of the world. Suddenly, eyes from around the globe alighted upon him. With a brief delay for the Chinese translation to which he was inadvertently listening through his earpiece at the time, he heard his name mentioned and realised he had been asked a question. The world's finest diplomats awaited his pronouncement as he shifted uncomfortably in his seat and, in an effort to avoid international dispute, strove to answer the unheard question with the profundity and insight upon which his reputation was built. Never a prouder moment for the pioneering analyst of the early UN crime surveys.

Among Ken's more irritating habits was his ability to persistently inspire others. Few among us can say they have not, after even only a few minutes with Ken, been left with a new research idea, a fresh momentum and spirit, or even a whole new research agenda. We have lost count of the number of people who should, but rarely do, blame Pease for their peculiar career path. And he was as generous with his ideas as his time. And, while we talk of intellect, that is not to detract from his professionalism.

Photo 1: Pease Steals OBE Award from Buckingham Palace and Celebrates with Family in 1997 (left to right: Nick, Judy, Ken, Katie)

