

## Grippa Book Chapter

# What's at stake in designing against crime?

Or does it take one to make one?

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## Abstract

This paper explains what criminals and creatives have in common. First, by describing how to Design Against Crime (DAC), in particular reviewing the ethnographic methods linked to 'thinking thief' and 'user' in order to generate designs against crime. Second, by analyzing strategies used by a variety of artists, designers, entrepreneurs and criminals that involve opportunism and visually focused modus operandi. Finally, the paper considers the question "if designers by 'thinking thief' are helped to deliver social benefit in terms of reduced incidence and impact of crime, what benefits might be afforded to society, by facilitating criminals (and those at greatest risk of becoming criminals) to 'think designer' or 'artist'?"

# What's at stake in designing against crime?

## 1. How to Design Against Crime?

The Design Against Crime Research Centre (DACRC) emerged at Central Saint Martins (CSM) in 1999. Its outputs have won awards for innovation<sup>1</sup> and its research has been well cited and acknowledged as an inspiration to others in the field. For example, the Australian Designing Out Crime Research Centre (2007) cites DACRC's work at CSM as a significant influence<sup>2</sup>, and the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) cites DACRC's projects as exemplars of impact in research<sup>3</sup>. DACRC's user-centred approach has been documented and disseminated in several design resources and numerous academic papers aimed at inspiring other designers to have a go at designing against crime (Gamman and Thorpe, 2009).

Core to DACRC's work within design education and industry, has been the visualisation of criminal perpetrator techniques, to encourage designers to 'think thief'. This is achieved by introducing to the design process the thieves' perspective, either through the voices of the police (who unlike criminals are actually allowed into our University studios) or by drawing upon secondary sources – videos and tapes of voices of criminals – in order to encourage designers to understand the thieves' mindset. Many designers engage with alterity ('oppositional' rather than 'preferred' perspectives) as a matter of course when viewing/reading films and media e.g. a man reading a magazine aimed at women, may receive the information he engages with, in a different way from what was originally intended. The idea of 'thinking thief' (Ekblom, 1997) is aimed at trying to promote similar behaviour in the context of design innovation. That is, to encourage designers to understand the 'criminal gaze' (Gamman, 2008) – how criminals look at objects and environments - so as to anticipate alternative perspectives that could lead to abuse or alternatively the reduction of crime. For example, Martin Gill (2007) has put such theory into practice and taken shop thieves back to the scene of their offences, and concluded there were six key decision points that are crucial to shoplifting to be addressed by design. He explains them in terms of the following questions:

Why do I choose that store to steal from? On entering the store, does this look easy? On searching for goods to steal, can I avoid attracting attention?

On stealing the goods, can I avoid being seen? On getting away, can I be sure no one is following me and no one will apprehend me? On selling the goods, will I get money and avoid being traced?

The process of 'thinking thief' has been formalised by the creation of frameworks of varying complexity that give insight into the perception of what constitutes a criminal opportunity (Ekblom, 2000). Such frameworks also include the consideration of risk, effort and reward (Clarke, 1997) for both users and abusers. The aim of this strategy is to catalyse designs that reduce risk and effort for users whilst increasing rewards as well as increasing risk and effort and reducing rewards for abusers. Designers are encouraged to understand which factors might increase the risk of failure or negative outcome for the thief, and what the thief might perceive as too much effort to achieve their goals. Also to consider how they might reduce the rewards granted to successful thieves, for example, ensuring that the resale or re-use value of a stolen object is compromised. The Puma bike design integrates such a spoiling strategy (Fig 1).

Fig 1: Puma bike (folded)

Fig 2: Puma Bike (open)



With the Puma bike, a cable lock replaces the down tube of the folding bikes' frame so that when the bike is parked the integrated lock secures the wheels and frame (Fig 2). If you cut the lock to steal the bike, it will no longer be possible to ride the bike easily, or re-sell it because it will look damaged. Thus, the bike reduces the risk of theft to the owner. Additionally, the owner doesn't have the effort of carrying a lock around and is ultimately rewarded by the convenience and innovative appeal of the design<sup>4</sup>.

The CRAVED framework (Clarke, 1999) invites designers to consider crimes, specifically targets of crime (hot

products), in terms of the extent to which they are Concealable, Removable, Available, Valuable, Enjoyable and Disposable, and then to build crime prevention strategies into the design of such objects. Bags and their contents are hot products. The Stop Thief chair (Fig 3) was designed to inspire individuals to sit on their bags, so that distracted owners can secure their bags without having to think too much.

Fig 3: The Stop Thief chair



This chair solves the problem of bag theft by keeping possessions out of the way of pickpockets and bag thieves and thus removing the opportunity for crime. By locating the bag holding function of the chair near the genital region of the body, the design attempts to draw upon the natural defensive disposition of customers so as to protect them from potential pickpockets by default, whilst also offering them somewhere to put their bag.

DACRC's strategy of familiarising designers with criminal thinking and locating designers within a crime prevention discourse, does not necessarily deliver 'problem solving', rather it directs designers to intervene as agents for social change, often by designing for behavioural change. This is an important distinction. The design aim is not solely mitigation or negative impact but the generation of positive impact. For example, a reduction in bike theft may result in an increase in bicycle use and a reduction in bag theft may encourage the public to enjoy public space. Whilst our DAC process requires designers to 'think thief', we have learned from experience and our own practice-led approach, as well as from the failure of design models either based on theoretical speculation (Design Council, 2003) or police experience ([www.designoutcrime.org](http://www.designoutcrime.org)) - to crucially think user first. The things we design are easy to use, as well as secure. Such an approach also helps us to avoid creating objects and environments that appear

'paranoid' (Gamman and Thorpe, 2007) or to contribute to what has been called a 'fortress mentality'. So at the start of our design projects, to avoid design solutions that focus on deterring the abuser at the expense of embracing the user, or lead us to strategies that promote civil security at the expense of civil rights, DACRC researchers draw on many user-centred methods, strategies and concepts to understand the multiple 'actors', stakeholders and agendas. These approaches are similar to those typically applied in the emerging field now described as 'design thinking' which has been defined by Tim Brown (2010) "fundamentally as an exploratory process: done right it will invariably make unexpected discoveries along the way...". Whilst our design researchers/designers are interested in criminological data, on the projects we have undertaken to prevent bag theft, bike theft or other crimes such as shoplifting, we have learnt that exploring the needs of multiple users and others that impact upon or are impacted upon by design ('actors') including criminals, is crucial to design success. We see actor-centred research as of primary importance, to gauge insights about what people do in everyday scenarios and to gather data that can lead to design led intervention to address present and future crime problems. Observation of 'actors' is therefore central to the DACRC approach that has built upon the method of user-centred design pioneered by IDEO (summarized by Myerson, 2001) to extend the method and to involve an abuser as well as a user focus.

Our approach to user-centred research may also involve our researchers in acts of 'immersion' in relevant communities and activities (such as cycling communities and activities linked to the Bikeoff project) to access and share knowledge and to gauge what design approaches may be appropriate. In this way our research approach relates to that of action research, first defined by Kurt Lewin, then a professor at MIT, as "a comparative research on the conditions and effects of various forms of social action and research leading to social action" that uses "a spiral of steps, each of which is composed of a circle of planning, action, and fact-finding about the result of the action". Subsequently the term has been extended to define "a reflective process of progressive problem solving led by individuals working with others in teams or as part of a "community of practice" to improve the way they address issues and solve problems."

DACRC's approach to participant observation, however, is somewhat different to the sort of field work anthropologists undertake when they go off and live with a group, to find out new information or observe norms and values, to compile ethnography (such as Nancy Macdonald's 2001 account

of graffiti subculture), or the work undercover cops engage with to help lead to the arrest of criminals (Miller, 1987). This is because during the process of observation our researchers engage with the communities and cultures to consider design focused questions that inform the way we look at data. This qualitative research process is inevitably subjective and we also recognise that the user-centred data we gather might be influenced by the researchers tastes or emotions and/or those they engage with. So, we seek to validate user information through other empirical or quantitative approaches to evidence gathering. For example, during the AHRC funded Grippa project (2006-10) we observed how people used pub seating, including where they left their handbags/possessions, by going into venues and covertly observing specific phenomena (Fig 4). To verify our findings, we took many photographs, as visual evidence, but we also employed empirical survey techniques, led by crime scientist team members from University College London, who investigated the same phenomena, but overtly involved customers in responding to questionnaires. This alternate approach subsequently provided a way of checking the accuracy of our findings (see [www.grippaclip.com](http://www.grippaclip.com)). We visualised our collective findings and checked with user groups, to seek to ensure the efficiency of the research and proposed design responses. For example, our bag holding clip prototype designs changed after user testing and consultation and were adjusted to embrace the diversity of bag sizes the clip needed to accommodate.

Fig 4: Grippa research: Six most common positions identified for customer's placement of bags

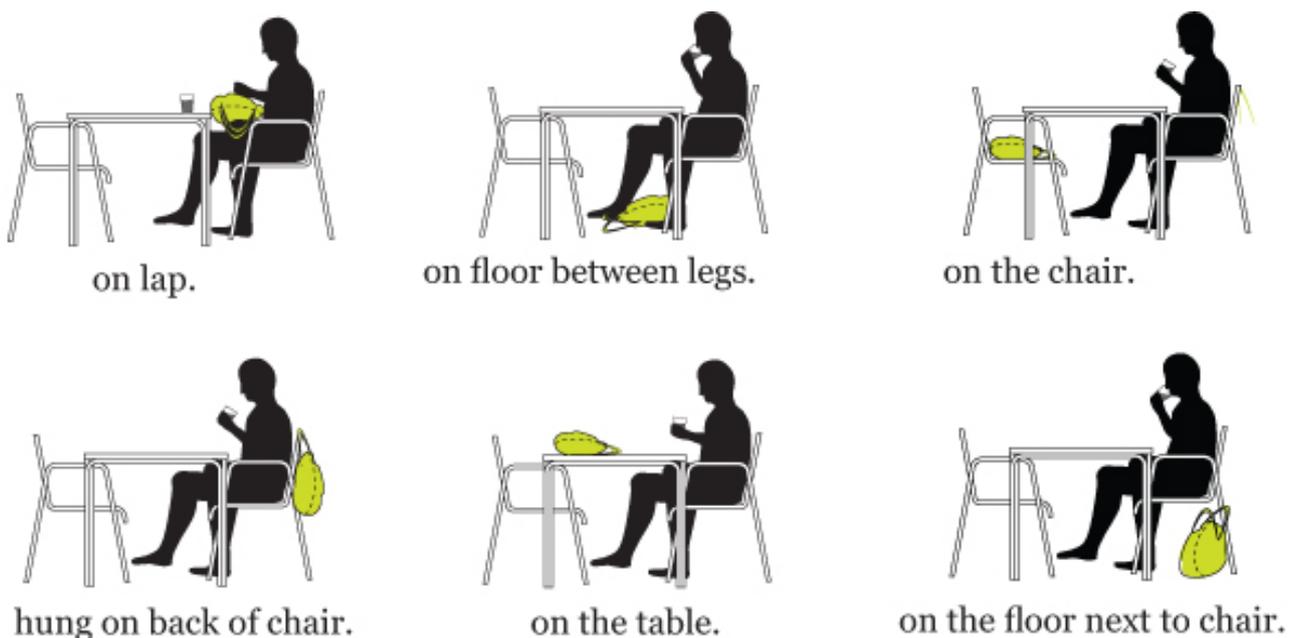


Fig 5: Grippa Prototype 1



Fig 6 & 7: Grippa Prototype 2 – featuring increased provision to hold bag straps and on-clip communication



Typically DAC research projects appoint an Expert Review Panel drawn from relevant stakeholders, who help us review our research and design prototypes. It is here we find that visual communication is a strong way of ensuring mutual understanding and that we fully comprehend what our experts are feeding back to us. This collaborative and iterative reflection, linked to our action research approach, engages our projects in *co-design* processes that ensure our design briefs are created with multiple stakeholders, whose needs are addressed, also ensuring our design briefs are 'fit for purpose'. This approach

offers an 'Open Innovation' model of research and design delivery (Gamman and Thorpe, 2009) that seeks to ensure research and design outcomes are both effective and most relevant and accessible to those they aim to serve.

Companies like Google and Proctor and Gamble, as Peter Sims (2009) has identified, appear to adopt similar strategies to DACRC but where we go further, as we have already mentioned, is in gathering *abuser* centred data, and visualising it. The DACRC team interviews thieves (as projects allow) sometimes via the probation or drugs advisory service, and asks questions of them devised by the team before interviews commence, linked to a structural approach to interviewing. For example, when interviewing prolific offenders via the Brighton probation service about their early experiences of stealing bikes, questions linked to what designers might need to know in future to design against crime were drafted before interviews began (Ekblom, 2002). How bike thieves covet what they see as easy to steal, was subsequently drawn upon in the *Know the Enemy* animation<sup>5</sup> which best illustrates this principle. It was created by the Bikeoff team (an initiative of DACRC) in partnership with Bold Creative, based on original interviews and research: it has been shown at international bike film festivals as well as UK police training seminars about bike theft, thanks to funding primarily from the AHRC as well as TfL. Some of the answers to our interview questions also informed the Bike off Design Resource, created to support the RSA national design competition *Don't give thieves an easy ride* (2009).

In order to design out theft it is important to know how theft occurs. So the common perpetrator techniques associated with certain types of crime, are central to DACRC research and design responses. Figures 8 and 9 below show how theft perpetrator techniques linked to bag and bike theft, respectively, are visualised so as to make them accessible to designers.

It is important to keep these resources up to date. We review perpetrator information iteratively on an ongoing basis via consultation with police as well as victims and thieves. We visualise this data to share with others to keep the account up to speed and we also read many secondary sources, or set up blogs to see what additional perpetrator techniques we can gather. Review of victim data and interviews is significant, not least because the experience of having something stolen, or recognising “positive deviance” - understanding why some people don’t become victims (Brown and Wyatt, 2010); is crucial to the aims of understanding how to design effective interventions<sup>6</sup>.

Fig 8:  
Published on [www.inthebag.org.uk](http://www.inthebag.org.uk)

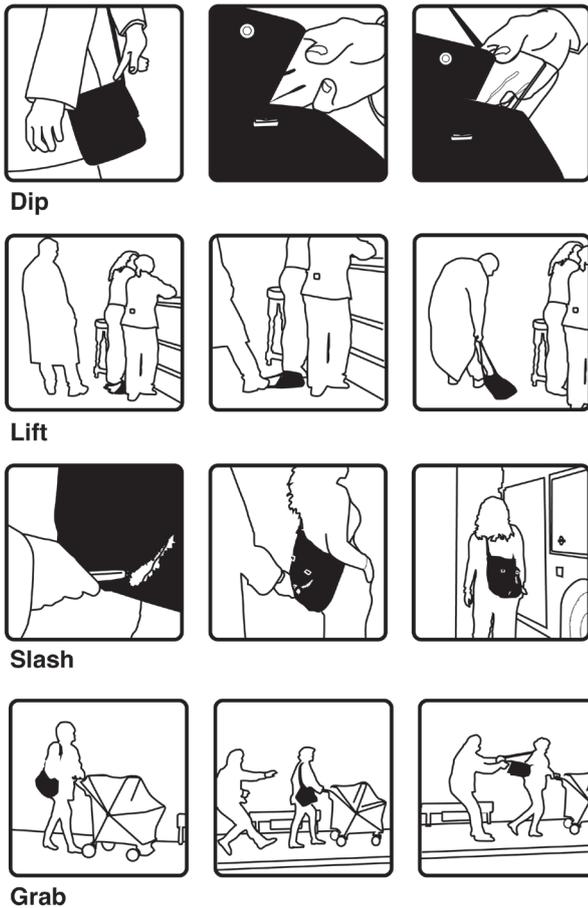
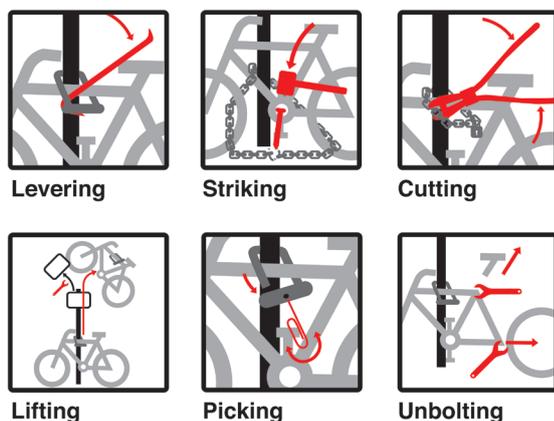


Fig 9:  
Published on [www.bikeoff.org](http://www.bikeoff.org)



## 2. What DO criminals, artists, designers, entrepreneurs and other creatives have in common?

In ten years of applying this design focused approach to user and abuser research gathering we have also recognised that many designers and criminals appear to share certain characteristics that are less common in other groups. This is something we feel is worthy of further exploration.

It has been well documented that individuals within both creative and criminal groups share certain dispositions. For example, the number of those found to be 'dyslexic' in art school and prison is similarly high (Raein, 2003). Entrepreneurs are also found to be disproportionately dyslexic (East Mentoring Forum, 2007). Dyslexia has been defined as "... a complex neurological condition, which is constitutional in origin." The symptoms may affect "many areas of learning and function, and may include specific difficulty in reading, spelling and written language, often accompanied by *accelerated visual recognition skills*" (British Dyslexia Association (BDA), 1995) as well as *holistic thinking skills*. (BDA, 2004-5) The BDA also states that "untreated dyslexia"<sup>7</sup> accompanied by poor levels of education, has been found to lead to "delinquent behaviour and to the subsequent development of an anti-social and/or criminal lifestyles." (BDA, 2004-5)

Studies on dyslexia appear to justify our hypothesis that the accelerated visual recognition afforded dyslexics is an asset that is similarly beneficial in creative disciplines, such as art and design, as in criminal disciplines such as theft and fraud. While we do not wish to reinforce the 'pathologization' of dyslexia as a 'condition' rather than a learning style, in terms of a discussion of creativity, we feel that more research is needed to better understand how precisely dyslexia is linked to forms of 'transgression' that may lead to creative innovation.

This transgression from the 'norm' in relation to visual recognition may be linked to the individuals perception of 'opportunity' defined here as the 'probability of benefit', as opposed to the 'probability of harm' which equates to notions of 'risk' (Ekblom and Sidebottom, 2007). The heightened ability to scan, spot, and exploit a situation, as an opportunity, is a characteristic that is consistent with the ability of heightened visual recognition.

The 'transgression' necessary for an individual to view a situation that benefits them as 'opportunity' irrespective of the impact on others is observed by Anthony Julius (2002) to be common to both artists and criminals when he states: "the artist is as resourceful and amoral in his

or her pursuit of the project as the criminal". Similarly, the likeness of the artist to the criminal was celebrated by Degas and is a familiar trope in art writing: "a painting calls for as much cunning, roguishness and wickedness as the committing of a crime," Degas commented (Phaidon, 1997), and he advised the neophyte artist to be 'devious'.

This apparent 'deviance', or what others have defined as "sideways thinking" (Gamman and Hughes, 2003) may be responsible for the way in which both artists and criminals appear to regard 'risk' as 'opportunity'. Artists and designers may draw on risky strategies associated with crime either literally or metaphorically. Julius summarizes such strategies as "crimes committed by or against art." From the Surrealists to the Situationists, many artistic movements employ anarchic, transgressive, and even criminal strategies as a valid way of making social comment. Such ideas about the role of artistic transgression as a way to challenge the status quo has influenced many generations. However, professional burglars and shoplifters do not usually aim to make creative statements, even if the way they intuitively review design weaknesses or problems, primarily to outwit security systems or victimise users, and thus find commonality with the creative's transgressive opportunism. Clearly, criminals aim to steal objects or services primarily to transform them into profit (typically cash tender that is difficult to trace by the authorities). Garwood (2009) indicates "there is preliminary evidence for seeing the world differently if you have been an offender . . . because to those with an offender's eye, opportunity is everywhere they go."

Kees Dorst (2003) explains the way artists and designers behave is similar because they too are constantly looking for *opportunities* from which they may profit – financially or otherwise. An opportunity for innovation or change presents the creative with a possibility to interact with an idea, materials, technology, or a social situation and the choice to take creative risks. In this sense, a creative is an agent for change (positive or negative) at a strategic, conceptual or operational level. Linked to opportunities, some creatives also display various forms of ego-driven belief (conviction) that they are able "to do tasks better" than others or feel that they are able to see things differently and make a unique contribution, comparable to a criminals belief that they "will get away with it".

Lester and Piore (2004) offer an account of the way artists and fashion designers are able to start different 'conversations' that are documented (Oakley et al, 2008) as generating creativity and innovation. This account of innovative discourse may go some way towards

addressing the gaps in understanding how creatives work. The creativity of the criminal class is less acknowledged (with the exception of gangster and crime fictions that abound in popular culture), even though real criminals often generate significant innovation as well as income. Some criminal 'projects' may also exhibit the 'wow' factor common to creative breakthroughs and paradigm-breaking audacity. Because criminal activity is often immoral (entirely parasitic as well as illegal), it is usually only in fiction that we find its overt celebration. Even then, such fictions often try to reposition criminal innovation as linked to spiritual or moral 'darkness' (ideas about the dark side of creativity) to avoid charges of glamorisation. Yet artists, designers and criminals do have many commonalities. We observe these to include heightened abilities or tolerances to:

- \* risk/opportunity - probability of harm vs. probability of benefit
- \* embrace/anticipate change
- \* understand 'real world' context/s and to respond to them creatively
- \* understand emotions (fraud/experiential/emotive design) and how to respond to them creatively and/or manipulate them
- \* understand human behaviours and how to respond to them creatively and/or manipulate them
- \* understand 'drivers'/ 'motivations' in relation to 'systems' of use.

Criminals and creatives may also be expert users (or expert abusers). It is here we have observed some ambiguity as to whether the type of behaviour can easily be defined as either 'criminal' or 'creative'. The account of the professional lock breaker (Marc Weber Tobias) who has dedicated his life to cracking physical security systems, is a good example. This lock breaker has no record for criminal acts (in fact he has written a book on lock security) and so we can find no evidence he is in anyway a *predator*. Instead, according to Wired magazine (2009) he "thinks of himself as a humble public servant" who is, "protecting consumers by exposing locks, safes, and security systems that aren't actually locked, safe, or secure." For some with vested interests, this man isn't just exposing problems, they say, he is the problem, and in our view has much in common with the *prankster* or deconstructive artist. Tobias may do it for fun, and he may serve the public of legitimate users who need to know the abuser issues, but, his website that streams videos of how to break into things may be misused by those with criminal intentions.

Tobias has no problem with the law because he can enjoy

breaking locks, experiencing 'criminal' transgression, without actually committing a crime. Usually the difference between criminals and creative's is that the former are more likely to break the law, even if both groups assume that they are 'luckier' (or are simply less risk averse) than others. Professor Richard Wiseman (2003), in his research into the "luck factor", has pointed out that many people, including some creatives, attribute luck to what is really just a kind of positive thinking. They may be opportunistic in their endeavours and open to the possibility of the accidental and fortuitous incidents that will allow them to exploit an occasion/incident. Such convictions appear to help creatives (and criminals who believe that they can 'pull off' the crime) to go forward and try to succeed at their self-appointed task. This is certainly an area worthy of further research, perhaps of depth beyond the scope of this paper which might allow us to understand the stories creative and criminals tell themselves to live their lives. De Graves (1995), for example, has attempted such an account and discusses the behaviour of women confidence tricksters and observes how they "uniquely create their own scripts " when engaging in forms of insincere or dishonest behaviour in order to make a living. For design against crime to be effective, in our view, designers have to be as resourceful, innovative and adaptive as the criminals they seek to design against and also to specifically understand the scripts criminals generate and how they relate to those of other 'actors' that act upon or are impacted upon by a proposed design.

The creative ability to see 'feast' where others see 'famine' is apparent in the response of creatives and criminals to many opportunities including those posed by the recent recession. At a time when 12% of retail space in the UK lies empty (Guardian, 2009) with over 135,000 empty shops across the UK - the highest number of retail vacancies since records began (Experian, 2009), *shoplifting has risen by 20%* (British Crime Survey, 2009) to the highest levels in Europe. Meanwhile, as traditional retailers go to the wall, the empty windows in the high street are increasingly occupied by artists and makers for whom decreased rental values present opportunities to access studio and retail space previously denied them. But, just as not all entrepreneurial criminals are actually good at business we find some designers may need help in developing business acumen too, and might not always do as well as some of their more naturally astute colleagues.

That's why we found common ground with the following frustrated comments from 'Dennis' (2008):

"A few years ago I was part of a pilot project where we

attempted to “convert” criminals to entrepreneurs. I helped design and facilitate the program. We did such interesting exercises as preparing Proformas, P&L statements, and Balance Sheets for the participant’s criminal activity (they were all part of an innovative community sentencing program). I had 4 drug dealers, a forger who also had a sideline in identity theft, 3 grow operators (I’ve had my own greenhouse business – completely legit so I could really sympathize with their business problems) and six unique criminals”. One student went off to set up 51 businesses, but “most of my students couldn’t have organized their way out of a paper bag, and had no idea what the real costs and risks of their activities really were.”

Clearly there are differences (as well as similarities) between creatives and criminals, one of the most significant we observe is that the former usually have a collective account about the function of their work, or have a sense of the higher purpose of its meaning. They also find innovative ways of making social comment and artistic meanings as well as generating capital to earn a living. So, when we say we observe ‘creativity’ or ‘innovative capacity’ in the behaviour of criminals, we realize we need to be more specific; we are referring primarily to what Ekblom and Tilley (2000) call ‘resourceful offenders’, that is, the behaviour of shoplifters, bank robbers, confidence tricksters, identity fraud crews, burglars and thieves who make money from their opportunistic activities and ideas, (we prefer to exclude from our account criminals whose activities are linked to mindless vandalism and violence and murder). The point we are making is simply that there is much for designers to learn, and perhaps gain, from observing criminal creativity. Indeed, Prof Lorraine Gamman states that when setting up the Design Against Crime Research Centre, she was very influenced by Shirley Pitt’s account of defeating millions of pounds worth of security tags and CCTV systems, simply armed with a carrier bag lined with foil, which costs pennies to make (Gamman and Raein, 2010). Evidently, when closed, a foil lined carrier bag (Fig 10) stops the tags connecting with the alarms allowing Shirley and many other thieves, to get out of the shops without being caught (Gamman, 1996). Such an effective and economical design would be celebrated in another context.

Fig 10: Foil lined carrier bags taken from thieves in a Kent Shopping Centre in 2009, and photographed courtesy of Kent Police.



### 3. Conclusion: What benefits might be afforded by facilitating criminals to “think” artist or designer?

The earlier section of this paper reviewed the way designers “think thief”, as well as user. One of the reasons we introduced the account of dyslexia into the discussion is because we recognise that criminals and creatives have some things in common, as we outlined in section two. We sought to identify the environments; art school, prison, and business where certain types of creative thinking are found, and where dyslexia has been measured and noted to be a significant indicator or descriptor. Also because we believe more research is needed to figure out whether creative education such as that delivered in prison, for example by the Koestler foundation, could be useful much earlier on the outside. i.e. To help address delinquency and prevent the sort of poor choices that help make criminals in the first place. More research is clearly needed beyond the scope of this paper, even if similarities between the opportunistic ‘thinking’ styles of criminals and creatives have been noted by many researchers, summarised at length by Johnson (1983). More recently, Rob Fairlie (2002) has identified that there is “a statistical relationship between being a teenage drug dealer and the self-employed adult”. Similarly, Bill McCarthy and John Hagan (2001) who reviewed the lives of hundreds of drug dealers noticed how some offenders score higher on measures of creative competences observing that “they [criminals] are willing to work with other people and make decisions that increased their earnings”. Peter Gottschalk et al (2009) of the Norwegian School of Management in Oslo, goes further and suggests that much could be learned from entrepreneurs that exist in the underworld, operating illegal businesses. Gottschalk et al also suggests that crime prevention should engage with tools used by business and management researchers in order to fully address the influence of criminal business enterprises.

Certainly there is a business case that can be made to support the view that intelligent crime prevention is more cost effective than the monies spent on courts, cops and corrections. The cost of early intervention in education, for example, may be more economical than the cost of incarceration or rehabilitation of offenders. In 1993, ‘the UK prison population was 44,000. In May 2010, it is over 84,500. This trend is set to continue; in 2009 the government announced an extra £3.8 billion to create 20,000 more prison places. In the UK, it is estimated that each new prison place costs £119,000. The annual cost of keeping an individual in prison is £37,500’<sup>8</sup>. Research conducted by the centre for crime and justice studies found that when you consider the impact on families and wider

society, the estimated annual cost of imprisonment for an individual rises by almost a third to nearly £50,000.

No wonder NESTA<sup>9</sup> has recently launched “jailbreak”, a competition that involves young offenders in trying to figure out new ways to access criminal creativity, using simple web and mobile tools, to break the cycles of youth offending and re-offending that occurs<sup>10</sup>. Such schemes are a step in the right direction, not least because they are embedded with the recognition that we need more productive alternatives to imprisoning people. We also need to find new ways to harness, criminal creativity, widen participation to education and to offer individuals opportunities to make entirely different contributions to society and the legal economy - perhaps even to design against crime.

## Notes

- 1 [www.designagainstcrime.com](http://www.designagainstcrime.com)
- 2 <http://www.designingoutcrime.com.au/research-centre/>
- 3 <http://www.ahrc.ac.uk/About/Publications/Documents/DAC%20Brochure.pdf>.
- 4 The Puma bike has been well received, it has been re-used and re-issued many times and is in many prestigious design collections such as that of MOMA, New York.
- 5 See on: [http://www.bikeoff.org/design\\_resource/ABT\\_problem\\_who\\_steals.shtml](http://www.bikeoff.org/design_resource/ABT_problem_who_steals.shtml)
- 6 Positive Deviance is an approach that looks for solutions among individuals and families in the community who are already doing well, documented by Brown and Wyatt 2010. Aimed at trying to incorporate those into the offerings and outputs they create, the Sternins who created the initiative consider the edges, the places where “extreme” people live differently or think differently, and consume differently, as places to investigate.
- 7 A term some dyslexics object to because it is a medical definition that has labeled dyslexia as an illness and strips it of its positive advantages including the accelerated visual recognition described above.
- 8 <http://www.sustainournation.org/the-themes/crime/>
- 9 <http://www.nesta.org.uk/>
- 10 <http://publicservices.rsablogs.org.uk/2010/02/22/jailbreak-competition/>

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