Super Controllers: Can I be your Superman?*

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POP Conference 2008

*This is an update of our presentation to the 19th Annual POP Conference in Bellevue, Washington. We have modified it based on participants comments and so that someone viewing this for the first time (without our verbal explanations) can understand the basics of what we have in mind. The notes we have added at the bottom of some slides give further explanations (grey slides contain notes continuing from the previous slide). Unfortunately, the jokes have been omitted. We want to thank the participants at the POP conference for there wonderful suggestions, examples, questions, critiques and humorous remarks.

Its worth mentioning how the ideas behind this presentation originated. Rana had been thinking along these lines for something like 15 or more years. These ideas were stimulated by her interactions with police she worked with in North America and Great Britain. It became apparent to her that most of the best problem-solving efforts involved police finding clever ways to provide incentives to people to do more to prevent crime, or to provide interesting disincentives to people to stop facilitating crime. In early 2008, John sat in on one of her training sessions to the Cincinnati Police Department where she introduced the idea of an outer triangle of people who "incentivize" prevention. It was apparent that Rana's ideas had both practical implications and theoretical importance, and that if these ideas were systematically examined there could be benefits both to police and other prevention practitioners and to academics interested in developing a useful set of theories about crime. We exchanged ideas over several months, and enlisted a graduate student to help us. This involved developing categories of super controllers and looking for examples in problem solving efforts and in news reports. We were able to expand on Rana's initial ideas, work through some initial problems, and establish a foundation for action and thinking about crime prevention. Our first presentation on super controllers was given at the Environmental Criminology and Crime Analysis meeting in Anchorage Alaska to researchers. This POP conference presentation is a modification and extension of that presentation, but designed for practitioners. We hope you find these ideas stimulating and that they help you in your work.

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What if…

- Apartment complex owner says she's done all she can do to stop the dealing (but she really hasn't).

- Manager of prostitution-ridden motel says he can't raise room rates or request I.D. because corporate won't let him.

- Security guard ignores rowdy youth hassling shoppers.

- Mom doesn't protect her young daughter from the clutches of her sexually abusive boyfriend.

- College football coach ignores hazing of freshmen players.

- Parents allow under age son and his underage friends to have drinking party at house after junior prom.

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Police get stuck with many problems. Typically, upon examination these problems arose because someone failed to do something that could have prevented potential offenders from committing crimes. Consequently, much problem-solving involves trying to get people to take on responsibilities for crime that they are unaware that they had, are unprepared to shoulder, or simply unwilling to acknowledge. And though many people and organizations do step up to the plate when police bring the problem to their attention, there are those who do not. This presentation is about what we do when people who should control crime do not assume their responsibility when asked. Each point in this slide is an example of such failures. How can these and many other similar situations be handled? The practical theory we propose, based on over a decade of working with police, is a step toward answering this question.

Why Do We Have Crime?

Crime Is Highly Likely When…

All of these are present

And these are absent or weak

The elements on this orange triangle are called "Controllers." Each controls an element on the inner triangle. The presence of any one effective controller is sufficient to prevent crime, or at least, lower the chances of crime.

Handler

Guardian

Offender

Target

Place

Manager

These inner elements are the necessary conditions for crime. If any one of them is missing, there can be no crime.

When this happens repeatedly in the same circumstances, we call it a PROBLEM

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To understand super controllers we need to start at the beginning with the basic elements of Routine Activity Theory. Crime occurs when three necessary conditions are met (the presence of a target, offender, and place at the same time) in the absence of any of the three controllers (guardian, manager, and handler). When the offender and target come together at the same place, without any of the controllers (handlers, guardians, or managers) then a crime is highly likely. When this happens repeatedly, we have a problem.

A Blank Slide

Eck couldn't help making a simple idea complex, so the notes from the previous slide would not fit and this slide had to be added.

These notes contain definitions of key concepts from the triangles. For more about crime problem triangles, visit the Center for Problem-oriented Policing website, www.popcenter.org, or down load "Crime Analysis for Problem Solvers" by R.V. Clarke and J.E. Eck (available at this website).

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Some definitions follow:

Offenders – individuals whose behaviors are crimes.

Targets – people, animals, or things that are attacked, taken, injured, broken, or otherwise directly harmed in a crime.

Place – a physical location where people gather in close proximity (usually an address or corner, and much smaller than a neighborhood or community).

Handler – a person with whom the offender has an emotional bond and whose objective is to keep the offender out of trouble. Typical handlers can be parents, spouses, close friends, coaches, clergy, and many others. If a handler is present, offenders will be reluctant to commit an offense.

Guardian – a person who protects a target. Their goal is to keep the target from being attacked, stolen, injured, defaced, or otherwise harmed.

Manager – the owner or employee of the place. The goal of the manager is to keep the place functioning well. Crime is only a concern to the manager to the extent it interferes with the functioning of the place. Place managers, though, can have a significant impact on crime.

Apartment complex owner says she's done all she can do to stop the dealing (but she really hasn't

Motel manager where prostitution occurs says he can't raise room rates or remodel D. because corporate won't let him

Security guard ignores rowdy ~~conflict~~sing shoppers

Mom doesn't protect her young daughter from the clutches of her sexually abusive boyfriend

College football coach ignores hazing of freshmen players

Parents allow underage son and his underage friends to have drinking party at house after junior prom

Manager Failure

Guardian Failure

Handler Failure

Lets look at the problems we discussed in the first slide. We see that the first two are examples of manager failure. The second two are examples of guardian failure. The third pair are examples of handler failure.

Controllers Have Lots Of Tools But Sometimes Fail to Use Them

- Apartment complex owner tools →

- Landlord tenant laws
- Lease provisions
- Eviction
- Apartment inspection
- Refuse to accept cash
- Reference checks of prospective tenants
- Criminal background check
- Limit buyer's access
- Landlord training

Sometimes it's the police who tell controllers they have lots of tools

What if controllers don't use them?

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Controllers actually have lots of tools to reduce crime but many times they just don't use them. This might be because they do not know about the tools they can use or because they make a conscious decision not to use the tools (sometimes this is due to financial reasons, sometimes it is because they wrongly believe it is financially costly to use/apply the tools, sometimes they think the problem will go away on its own, sometimes they believe it's a problem that the police or someone else should handle). This slide shows just some of the tools that one controller, an apartment complex owner, has to reduce the problem of drug dealing in his/her apartment complex.

Rana came up with the idea of Super Controller in 1991 from her work with line level police. John heard her presentation in Cincinnati in 2008 and loved it. John gave it the super controller name, which was better than what Rana had been referring to it as and he asked a grad student to help do some literature review. John and one his graduate students drew the cartoons, which are probably the most important elements of this theory.

The basic idea is that a central reason for the failure of controllers is that super controllers are not providing the right incentives. Each of the controllers in the middle triangle (orange) has one or more super controllers. We suggest that police can be more effective if they can identify the relevant super controllers and get them to "incentivize" the relevant controller. The idea for this comes from a wide variety of examples of excellent police work. Audience participants at the 2008 POP conference gave many more examples.

Probably the most important credit is to police who have made use of super controllers, without using this name. The repeated examples of what cops have done, invoking super controllers, makes this idea interesting and highly useful. It's a great example of practice being ahead of academic research.

Who are Super Controllers?

Super Controllers are institutions, organizations, and people that can provide incentives to controllers to act in ways that prevent crime.

Incentives on controllers can be positive or negative

Here are two examples, one involving a negative incentive, the other a positive incentive: 1) Insurance company threatens to raise landlord's insurance because there is drug dealing on the landlord's property and 2) a city gives 'good neighbor' award to construction companies that build more crime resistant homes. The first is a negative incentive and the second is a positive incentive. Note that in each case (like the super controller pictured), the super controller is acting on the middle triangle. This is important.

Super Controllers Exert *Indirect* Influence on Problem

Super Controllers get things done by acting against the middle triangle

Super Controllers
Super Controllers
Handler
Guardian
Offender
Target
Place
Manager
Super Controllers

They *never* directly influence the innermost triangle
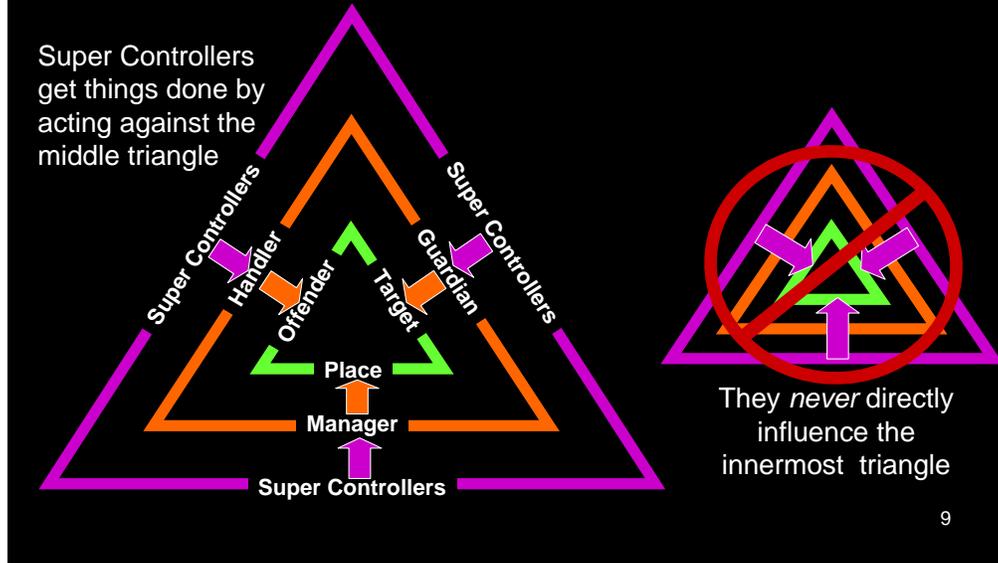
Again, its important to remember that super controllers (SC) have indirect effects; they are part of a chain of pressure. This is analogous to a very strict chain of command. Another analogy is a relay race: the super controller hands off to the controller who hands off to his/her necessary condition (place, target, or offender) which then stops crime. SCs influence controllers; and if they are successful, the controllers influence the necessary conditions. If this is successful, crime is reduced. The graphic on the right is to make it clear that we do not see SCs as acting directly on necessary conditions (the inner most elements of offender, target and place). Any entity that operates on the elements of the inner triangle is, by definition, a controller.

Working the Triangles

- Motel w/drug dealing & prostitution

- Who are the controllers (2nd triangle layer)?
  – Tools they have?

- Who Can Be Super Controllers?
  – Tools they have?

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So, one way to look at this is when you're trying to reduce crime and you reach resistance at the controller level then you need to work your triangles. To do this, you should think about 2 things:

1. What are the different tools the controllers could use to reduce the crime problem, and

2. Who might be in a position to make the controller(s) do their job.

You'll see from slides later in this presentation, there is a wide variety of super controllers that can influence controllers.

Who Can Be Super Controllers?

- Bar serves drunk patrons?

- Mom not protecting daughter from Mom's sexually abusive boyfriend?

- Homeless shelter personnel don't do enough to keep 'clients' from assaulting & robbing one another?

- Store allows chronic inebriates to buy alcohol?

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Here is a quiz. Take a look at the questions above and see if you can identify *several* different super controllers for each. Don't think about just the traditional super controllers, such as regulatory agencies. It helps to first identify who or what is in the inner triangle in each example. Then identify the controller of this necessary condition. Then ask yourself who or what could influence this controller. Remember, a true super controller only influences a controller, not an inner element (necessary condition).

If you think you have an example of a super controller who does influence both a controller and an inner element, then send Rana an e-mail message (e-mail addresses are at the end of this presentation) describing your example. She will also accept messages about peculiar, weird, bizarre, and otherwise interesting super controllers you have run across.

**Cops Can Alert Super Controller to
Try to Get Them to Act**

- Police contacts bank that holds mortgage on a drug dealing property to get the landlord to act

- Other examples?

Sometimes it's the police who are the ones who will need to alert a super controller that there is a problem and that they can have influence in reducing it, just as in the bank example above.

Cops Can Push a Super Controller to Act

- Oakland (CA) officer files lawsuit against Motel 6 Corporate International Office to get them to change their policies and get their Motel 6 manager in Oakland to stop drug dealing and prostitution on their property.

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Sometimes it's the police, with the help of others, who can push a super controller to act.

Super Controllers – no cops involved

- Florida's top bankers group recommended adoption of a security dress code - "hats off" for banking customers.

- State Attorneys Generals get Facebook.com to agree to put in better safeguards to protect young users from predators and cyber bullying

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Sometimes it's not police who push super controllers. Sometimes, it's the super controller themselves (as in the bankers group example) and sometimes it's another super controller who gets a super controller to act as in the State Attorneys Generals example. In this second example, however, maybe it really was the police who sought a State Attorney General's help.

When approaching a super controller, solid analysis is one of your best allies. Also, think about what the benefit would be to the super controller because this, too, may be key to motivating the super controller to act.

Super Controllers - Lots of Powers

- Influence
- Warnings
- Threats
- Ex-communication
- Conditional use permits
- Business license reviews
- Design improvements
- Civil and criminal lawsuits
- Incentives
- The list goes on and on…
- Others

Though no single super controller has all the powers

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Super controllers have lots and lots of power and they can exert it via different mechanisms. This is just a short and incomplete list of mechanisms they can use.

Super Controllers Can Take Any One of ~~9~~ 10 Forms
(lots of costumes)

Institutions	**Organizations & People**
1. Financial	6. Group
2. Market	7. Organizational
3. Political	8. Regulatory
4. Courts	9. Contractual
5. Media	10. Family

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In the original presentation, we mentioned nine forms of super controllers, divided among two groups. Five are people or organizations. Four are institutions. However, several participants suggested that we should add the media, so we have in this revision. Not only does this make sense, it gives us the ability to have 10 forms (in compliance with the David Letterman principle of lists). In the following slides, we define each and give one or more examples. Though we discuss each form of SC separately, it's important to realize that in practice, super controllers influence each other. So, for example, in order to get the city's legal department to go to court (4), it might require some political (3) influence, and to get this it might be helpful to get some media (5) attention and perhaps other super controllers.

Financial

- A financial institution puts pressure on a controller to reduce crime or risk a costly change in a financial relationship.

- Example: Insurance company pressures a rental car company to reduce thefts of its rental vehicles or will raise its insurance rates

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For some crime problems, cops can leverage a 'financial' super controller by showing the super controller that the controller has it within his/her power to reduce the crime problem. In other words, share with the super controller that there are practices the controller could adopt to reduce the crime. The best financial super controllers will be those who perceive themselves as having a financial stake in getting the controller to reduce crime. Analysis is key to this.

Market

- Competition in the controllers business area induces compliance.

- Example: Publicity over varying risks of crime induce businesses to compete to be safer shopping locations.
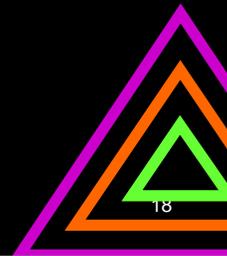
Businesses work in markets. Markets are institutions that are seldom visible, but nevertheless real and highly effective. Our economy is based on them. The more information consumers have, the more effective they can be. So adding information to consumers often invokes a market. At the University of Cincinnati, administrators are creating a listing of "certified" apartment owners who comply with basic standards. These standards help protect students from victimization and reduce drinking problems. Landlords on this list should have a market advantage over landlords not on the list, so there is now a market incentive to improve housing standards.

Political

- Elected or appointed officials make legislative or other changes in other government practices.

- Example: State legislature passes a law requiring stores to restrict pseudoephedrine sales

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Political officials have super controller powers over some crime problems. In the example in this slide, many states adopted different restrictions on sales of pseudoephedrine, an ingredient in methamphetamine but also used in certain cold medicines. At the national level, Congress also adopted restrictions, as shown below. Following the description of the federal law is an excerpt from Pharmacy Times, an educational newsletter for pharmacists that decried the legislation before it passed. The article in the publication notes that the National Association of Chain Drug Stores (which could have been a super controller) was against the legislation, too. Another super controller could have been the manufacturers who could have reformulated the product so it could not be used to support illicit drugs.:

The Combat Methamphetamine Epidemic Act of 2005 has been incorporated into the Patriot Act signed by President Bush on March 9, 2006. The act bans over-the-counter sales of cold medicines that contain the ingredient pseudoephedrine, which is commonly used to make methamphetamine. The sale of cold medicine containing pseudoephedrine is limited to behind the counter. The amount of pseudoephedrine that an individual can purchase each month is limited and individuals are required to present photo identification to purchase products containing pseudoephedrine. In addition, stores are required to keep personal information about purchasers for at least two years. Found at http://www.fda.gov/CDER/news/methamphetamine.htm.

Another Blank slide

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John had to add this blank slide so that her notes
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Pharmacy Times - February 2005, http://www.pharmacytimes.com/issues/articles/2005-02_1929.asp

Drug Chains Caution Against OTC Pseudoephedrine Curbs

Ken Rankin

Chain drug store industry leaders are urging Congress to resist pressure to place new restrictions on the sale of OTC cold medicines containing pseudoephedrine—a move being pushed by some law enforcement officials as a means to curb methamphetamine (meth) trafficking and abuse.

Because legitimate drugs containing pseudoephedrine can be used as the raw ingredients for meth produced in kitchen sink "labs," state and federal officials are considering plans to reclassify these drugs as Schedule V controlled substances—a step that would force pharmacies to sell these OTCs from "behind the counter."

Oklahoma has already imposed such restrictions on pseudoephedrine drugs, and legislation is expected to be introduced in Congress this year to require retailers to obtain identification from consumers before selling these cold medicines to them.

National Association of Chain Drug Stores (NACDS) Pharmacy Regulatory Affairs Vice President Mary Ann Wagner, RPh, however, called this a "stopgap" approach that fails to address the problem of addiction that is driving the demand for meth.

In testimony before a House subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Wagner warned that the Oklahoma model has "shortcomings and may not be as successful as originally thought." According to NACDS, controlled substance restrictions on the sale of pseudoephedrine products would inconvenience legitimate consumers without stopping illegal sales of these drugs to criminals.

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Other examples of political super controllers include:

* Local government requires a convenience store to employ 2 clerks at night to reduce robberies.

* Another city that mandates all gas stations adopt a pre-pay policy to reduce gas theft.

* In Houston, the City requires apartment complexes with crime problems to comply with certain safety measures. Such requirements could include improving lighting, hiring security guards or installing surveillance cameras, depending on security shortfalls identified in a police department inspection.

* Chula Vista (CA) adopted a program that makes lenders maintain homes they seize and to register abandoned properties with the city. Modeled on initiatives in Chicago and Detroit, the program requires lenders to hire local property management firms to prevent neglect of their vacant properties. An article describing the initiative can be found at http://www.signonsandiego.com/news/metro/20070725-9999-1n25cvprop.html. The City's Code Enforcement manager said, "The lenders have a responsibility to be a good neighbor…Our program puts responsibility back on the lender earlier than those programs do."

Courts

- Court orders controller to act in a manner that reduces crime (often as a result of a civil suit)

- Example: Court finds premises liability against landlord for rapes on his less-than-safe property

A classic example of this are nuisance abatement projects where property owners who consistently fail to address problems on their property are sued in court to compel them to comply or face closure of their business. It's usually sufficient to provide a credible threat to gain compliance.

Media

- Media attention (or the possibility of it) embarrasses a controller to act.

- Example: A news investigation of the management of a local homeless shelter funded by the city reveals that their practices contribute to victimization of homeless men at the shelter. The attention forces them to address their operating procedures and staffing.

News media seldom discover stories on their own, but instead pick up on interesting things brought to their attention. Many problem solving projects are ready made stories for the evening news or local newspaper. It's also important to note that positive coverage can bolster the good controllers, rewarding them for doing the right thing and keeping them from lapsing. A divide and conquer strategy with the media could show how some stores, for example, do a good job at reducing vehicle theft in their parking area, while one particular store is creating a serious problem.

Some police agencies are reluctant to work with the media. They feel they have been burned before on other types of issues and they feel that those in charge of the city/county might interpret the police actions as anti-business. These can be legitimate concerns, however, most often, reducing crime tends to be good for a community, even if it is not as good for a controller who operates a business that benefits from crime prone practices.

Group Influence

- Group influences place manager to act differently

- Example: Members of Downtown Cincinnati Inc. apply pressure on merchant (manager) to stop selling large container malt liquor in order to curb drunkenness and other disorder in area.

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We often talk of peer pressure when discussing juveniles, but adults and organizations also face peer pressure and this can be used to your advantage. In this case, the offending controller not only stopped malt liquor sales, but was given help by the business group (DCI) to address other problems. This was a successful example. They do not always work out this well.

Organizational

- Members of organization enforce compliance within organization to curb crime

- Example: Nightclub chain has its nightclubs switch to polycarbonate bottles/glasses to reduce assaults in/around club.

Also an example is Southland Corporation. In the 1970s and 1980s, they pushed their stores to adopt different approaches to reduce robbery. Most of these are now industry standards (and is an example of how an organizational SC morphed into a group influence SC).

Regulatory

- An agency with authority to demand compliance to rules with the threat of sanctions for non-compliance.

- Example: State Alcohol Beverage Control inspects night club for underage drinking and cites the club if an ABC inspector observes it.

You will find overlap among some of the different types of super controllers. For instance, in the case of the regulatory super controller, a legislative body has to give the regulatory authority its authority to make rules and issue fines. If a regulatory authority has the needed rules and sanctions on its books already, then it can act as a regulatory super controller. If they don't and a legislative body has to grant it, it's a political super controller you're looking for to influence the problem.

There are lots of examples in crime reduction involving regulatory super controllers. Some of the more common regulatory super controllers in cities are the buildings and codes agency, animal control, the health department, and the zoning department. Sometimes it's easy to pull these super controllers in because they are part of local government but be careful to make sure these are the right super controllers for the problem you are working on. For instance, police often bring in the building code enforcement department because it can levy hefty fines to influence an owner who does not take enough steps to stop drug dealing on his/her property. However, if you ask building inspectors, most places, not just apartment complexes with drug dealing, have code violations and so it may be seen as selective enforcement.

Contractual

- The super controller has a contract with the controller to provide goods or services.

- Example: HUD threatens to revoke the Section 8 property status of a crime ridden apartment complex after landlord fails to cooperate with local police.

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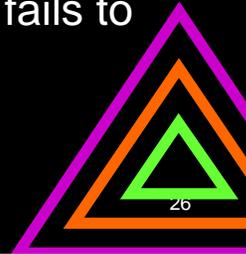
HUD had a contract with the apartment complex owner. In fact, HUD had loaned the owner money to carry out repairs.

Another example involves a night club where assaults were common. The police deployed officers nearby on weekends to deal with the problems. The night club sat in a strip mall. Even after repeated police requests, the night club manager and the night club owner failed to make changes to reduce the frequency of and the harm from the assaults. The police looked up ownership records to determine who owned the strip mall. The mall owner leased the building to the night club. The police showed evidence to the mall owner of the extent of the problems in and around the night club and shared the suggestions that were rejected by the night club manager and night club owner and the strip mall owner decided to end the lease with the night club.

Some tools make it easier to find super controllers. During the POP Conference, we heard of a city considering legislation requiring rental property owners to list the name of their insurance company. Tacoma (WA) requires rental property registration. The owner must complete a form that requires contact information for the owner and the manager. Yearly updates and re-registration are required. See http://cms.cityoftacoma.org/license/TXL195RentalProp.pdf.

Family

- One family member exerts pressure on a second member to control a third member.

- Probably involves a handling failure

- Example: Parents work with children so they learn how to curb delinquent behavior of their peers.

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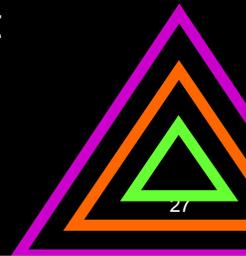
This form of super controller may be one of the most difficult to invoke. We believe it is most important when dealing with a 'handling' failure. Occasionally we see examples of this when there is a problem with foster parents and the foster care agencies, or the government bodies that oversee them, requiring changes in foster care delivery processes.

Sometimes the Police Must Call in a Super Controller…

- Lots of people can activate super controllers

- Ideally super controllers act without police
  (and maybe this happens more often than not)

- But sometimes it is really left to the police

- Because, police confront the problem directly.

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Though there is not data on this, it is quite likely that most super controllers work well and so do most controllers, without much if any police attention. It is the few failures that come to police attention.

Once you've identified super controllers, how do you get them to do the right thing?

Or, stated another way …

Once you've identified super controllers, how do you get them to exercise their influence over controllers?

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How to Get Super Controllers to Act

- Personal rapport
- Persuasion- documentation, compelling data and analysis
- Relentlessness
- Community activism
- Partnership
- Show how the crime doesn't have to happen, it's not preordained in that place
- Show how it benefits the super controller
- Enlist others to persuade the super controller first
- Tag team
- Shaming
- Media, etc.

These are not mutually exclusive and are not in any particular order

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Generally, it's not useful to start with shaming or another of the other higher pressure tactics in this list. Mike Scott and Herman Goldstein authored a POP guide entitled, Shifting and Sharing Responsibility for Public Safety Problems. In it (http://popcenter.org/responses/responsibility/1) they describe some of the things police will need to explain/show to individuals who they want to take on additional responsibility for a problem:

- how compliance with the request will address the problem;

- the basis for police knowledge about the effectiveness of the proposed response;

- what measures police have already taken to resolve the problem;

- the limitations of those measures; and

- the benefits to all concerned if new practices are adopted voluntarily.

Herman Goldstein developed a pyramid of methods for getting others to accept more responsibility for a problem, which is also in this POP guide. His list (below) starts with less coercive methods and moves to more coercive ones. Our list above, differs somewhat, focusing more on the practical tactics that might influence a super controller to act.

Another Blank slide

Again, Rana added so many notes to the previous slide, John had to add this blank slide so that her notes could be shown. Clearly, John is an enabler, not a super controller of Rana.

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Methods for convincing others to accept responsibility for community problems

- Educating others regarding their responsibility for the problem
- Making a straightforward informal request of some entity to assume responsibility for the problem
- Making a targeted confrontational request of some entity to assume responsibility for the problem
- Engaging another existing organization that has the capacity to help address the problem
- Pressing for the creation of a new organization to assume responsibility for the problem
- Shaming the delinquent entity by calling public attention to its failure to assume responsibility for the problem
- Withdrawing police services relating to certain aspects of the problem
- Charging fees for police services related to the problem
- Pressing for legislation mandating that entities take measures to prevent the problem
- Bringing a civil action to compel entities to accept responsibility for the problem

Approaches may differ

If the super controller is part of the problem	If the super controller is not part of the problem

Examples

- Motel corporate offices know their policies cause problems
- Property owner doesn't care about drug dealing on their property (or worse, gets a monetary cut from the activity)

- Corporate offices do not realize their policy is causing harm
- Chamber of Commerce
- State's Attorney General's Office

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Sometimes not clear

It may be useful to decide the steps for approaching the Super Controller based on whether the super controller is part of the problem. Sometimes things may not be this black and white. It is also important to gather quality intelligence to find out if the controller is part of the problem. For instance, it was hard to get the State Alcohol Beverage and Control (ABC) authority (a super controller) to decisively act against a night club that was out of control with violence problems because ABC has only a small state staff to handle all of the alcohol premises problems across a state but police intelligence gathering revealed that the nightclub ownership was a straw ownership which hid that the actual owner was a convicted felon prohibited from owning/operating a licensed premises. This state ABC views straw ownership as a high priority problem and so was willing to act decisively against the night club.

Crime Reduction Implications of Super Controllers

- Multiple ways to reduce crime & other public safety problems

- Gets Controllers to do the right thing

- Potential for larger reductions

- Can create more sustainable gains

- Apportions responsibility more fairly

- Lots of the best POP projects involve super controllers

Super controllers confirm that there are multiple ways to reduce crime. Enforcement is one tool, sometimes the best tool to reduce a problem. Often, however, there are many ways to reduce the problem. Some can be more efficient than others, have the potential for larger and more sustained crime reductions, and cause little additional harm. The super controller theory codifies what has been occurring, many times informally and creatively, in crime reduction. It is not surprising that there are multiple layers of people, organizations, authorities, groups that can exert influence on, but making it explicit also shows how 'working the triangles' can involve not just your common variety of super controllers (such as lawmakers) but many other types of super controllers widening the crime reduction toolkit.

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Rana and John have worked together for over 18 years...

Rana is an international crime consultant. She is a former NYC cop and a former university public safety director. Rana is a founding member of the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing, author of multiple POP guides on different crime problems, and a judge for the Herman Goldstein Award for Excellence in Problem-Solving. Rana loves working on crime problems.

John is a professor at the University of Cincinnati, in the Division of Criminal Justice. He has been involved with POP since 1984 and has written many practical and academic articles on the topic, including several problem specific guides. He is also a judge for the British Home Office's Tilley Award, the British equivalent to the Goldstein Award.

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