Transform a problem into one that you can solve.

—Richard P. Feynman[1]

It is still not enough for language to have clarity and content . . . it must also have a goal and an imperative. Otherwise from language we descend to chatter, from chatter to babble and from babble to confusion.

—René Daumal[2]

Rigidity in articulation is the price we . . . pay for easy mastery of a highly necessary symbolism.

—Edward Sapir[3]

The disordered fragments of raw experience can be fitted and arranged.

—W. V. O. Quine[4]

3

Crime's Stages

Always try to look beyond a single crime incident. Sort out the sequences of events *within* which a crime occurs, especially those nearest in time and space. Pay close attention to the offender's concerns, actions, and experiences soon before and soon after a given incident. How did he get there? What sequence of events led to the crime? Did another crime occur quickly, as a follow-up to the first one? By asking these questions, a detective might solve a particular crime, and a professor might explain a million crimes to a classroom full of students.

Crime's Three Stages

Look closely at the period just before a criminal act. In many cases offenders must be provoked to commit an act of gratuitous violence. Professor Richard Felson of Penn State University has studied in detail and in theory the situational elements of violent events.[5] He notes a sequence of insults, counterinsults, and escalations, occasionally leading to violence. Many assaults and even homicides begin as simple quarrels. Professor Richard Wortley at Griffiths University in Australia has filled out our understanding of provocation, even for violence within prisons.[6]

The period just before a property crime is also important. Often the first task is to evade supervision. An offender must find his target and move toward it. It's not that any single crime is so complicated. But to succeed, the crime has to fit into a larger sequence of events.

The same point applies to those buying or selling illegal goods or services. The buyer and seller must find one another, approach, and make some sort of bid. So whatever they type of crime, pay close attention to the period leading up to it. Drawing from Professors Vincent Sacco and Leslie W. Kennedy, we can divide the crime event into three stages:

1. The prelude
2. The incident
3. The aftermath[7]

The prelude includes whatever processes lead directly up to and into the crime, with some continuity—finding accomplices, going to the crime scene, getting drunk and angry, insulting somebody before a fight, scouting out what you are going to steal, waiting until nobody is looking, and more. The crime incident refers to the immediate event—breaking in, punching a nose, stealing a stereo, breaking a window, using somebody else's credit card.

The aftermath includes the offender's escape, fencing stolen goods, and trying to hide from police or pursuers. It can lead into many additional events, such as citizen reactions to crime, medical treatment to victims, and the actions of the criminal justice system.[8] In many cases, the aftermath to one crime becomes the precursor to the next. After an assault, one participant leaves to find friends or weapons for retaliation—the follow-up crime. I come back to this issue later in this chapter.

How an Event Unfolds

We should always be careful not to read too much into an incident. In the words of Rudyard Kipling,

> Ah! What avails the classic bent
> And what the cultured word,
> Against the undoctored incident
> That actually occurred?[9]

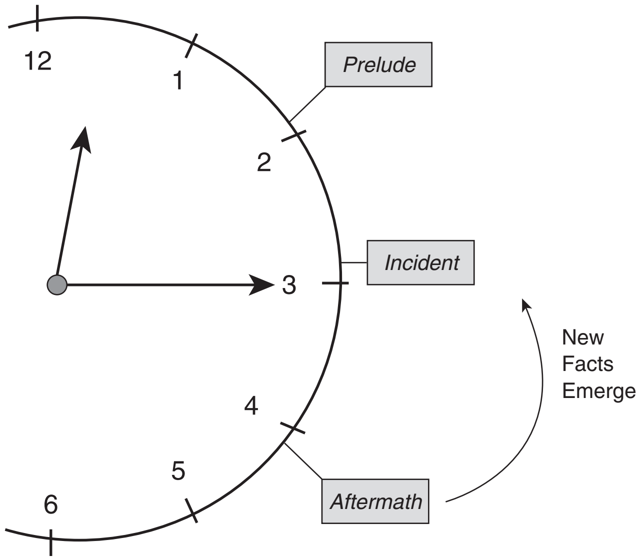
Of course, we still need to put an incident into context, and to dissect its events to some extent. A crime incident has an *immediate reality,* nested within a *larger reality.* The latter includes more than what happens during the immediate incident. Consider two examples:

> A burglar breaks into a house and grabs some jewels. The police are summoned, and code it as a petty larceny. Then the victim discovers the jewels were more valuable than previously thought, so the police change it to grand larceny. The incident itself did not change—but its aftermath changes how we *view* it.
>
> A bar patron hits the guy next to him with a shattered bar glass. The victim is taken to the hospital, expected to recover. The police code it as an aggravated assault. Then the victim takes a turn for the worse and dies in the hospital a month later. *In light of what happened afterwards,* the police change the charge to murder.

Police rewrote each crime incident based on what happened later. That's all right for the criminal justice system, which has to decide what crime to charge the criminal with and to mete out punishment.

But this book has a more limited task—to explain *how the crime event happened.* Murder is less an incident than an outcome.[10] Exhibit 3.1 depicts how the aftermath "leaks" back into the incident, affecting how people view it. In studying crime, you should try very hard not to let follow-up events prejudice your evaluation of earlier events.[11] That means screening out the aftermath when studying the earlier stages. It's fine to study crime's larger

Exhibit 3.1 As the Crime Unfolds, Its Story Changes



reality, just so you don't mix it in with the incident itself. Of course, we still want to know the offender's motive.

What the Offender Wants

The Roman philosopher, Cicero, tells us that "no one undertakes crimes without hope of gain."[12] This statement is basically true but needs to be qualified:

- Crime planning often takes no more than a fraction of a second. Someone perceiving an insult might respond with very quick revenge. A thief might see something and grab it right away.
- Gains are not necessarily financial. Thus gains include saving face and punishing others for misdeeds, if the offender thinks that should be done.[13]
- Gains are weighed against costs, risks, and difficulties. For any given crime, these might be rather simple. But for a bunch of crimes, these can diversify greatly.

The point is that offenders are oriented toward gain. This point is controversial, since a good deal of violence *appears* to be senseless—it produces no *material* gain. Many observers call this "expressive violence," arguing that it occurs almost for no reason at all. But Tedeschi and Felson provide an excellent argument that "expressive violence" does not exist. They show that such offenses occur for nonmaterial reasons, such as saving face. In their terms, Tedeschi and Felson say that he uses violence to meet at least one of these three general goals:

1. To get others to comply with his wishes
2. To restore justice (as he sees it)
3. To assert and protect his self-image

Tedeschi and Felson emphasize the offender's gains, but we can add to that the costs an offender must consider. Professor Ronald Clarke notes that offenders generally seek to gain benefits, avoid risks, and evade difficulties.[14] These allow us to prevent crime by denying offenders what they want and giving them what they don't want.

Offender Reckoning by Stage of Crime

To understand an offender's reckoning, we should distinguish a crime's immediate target from its real motive. The target might be a television, but the motive is the money it will bring. The offender might succeed in getting the television, only to discover he can't get any money for it. So what began as a success turned out a failure.

That's why we should study offender satisfactions in stages. In the prelude to the crime, the offender cannot yet get what he wants; but he might be turned away, arrested, or countered. Most of the offender's good and bad experiences occur during the incident and its aftermath, as Exhibit 3.2 indicates. During the incident itself, he wants to reach his crime target, and to avoid wasting effort or being harmed. In the aftermath, he wants to fulfill the motive, while steering clear of further troubles.

A car thief can run into trouble breaking into the car, or get caught in the act. Or perhaps he gets into the car and even gets hold of its sound system, but is arrested in the aftermath, or the fence won't give him a dime.[15] Even a crime such as vandalism, despite its immediate feedback, risks a failed escape. To understand what the offender wants, we should study each criminal event as it unfolds.

Sometimes we can read the future in the present, but not always. Oscar Wilde explains, "There is no such thing as an omen. Destiny does not send us heralds. She is too wise or too cruel for that."[16]

Exhibit 3.2 What the Offender Wants and Hopes to Avoid

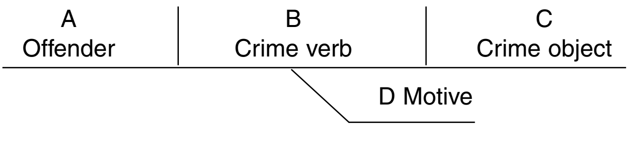
	Offender Wants	*Offender Does Not Want*
During Crime Incident	To complete the crime successfully	To waste effort; to step into harm's way
After Crime Incident	To fulfill what motivated the crime	To find follow-up trouble or humiliation

It is easy to misunderstand offender intentions by forgetting the stages of a crime. Suppose a street robber demands a wallet from the victim, who fights him. He shoots the victim, who later dies. The wallet only contains a single dollar. The headline later reads, "Man murdered for one dollar!" That headline includes an outcome the offender did not anticipate. He began by hoping to get a good deal more than a dollar, and expecting the victim to comply. It didn't turn out that way.

I have presented the three stages of a criminal act. Now I show how to sort out each incident or group of incidents into a single sentence, and to diagram that sentence.

Sorting Out Crimes

The various people who study crime should be able to talk to one another. That includes a detective looking for a single culprit, a crime statistician making a big table, or a professor teaching a class or writing a book. I suggest describing each crime or type of crime with a single sentence, in a standard form:[17]



This diagram tells us that the offender or offenders did something illegal, acting upon some object (a person or thing), for some motive. Taking it step by step,

a. The *subject* of the sentence could be the offender, suspect, or many of them.

b. The *crime verb* tells what the offender(s) did, such as break, ingest, paint, pinch, punch, shoplift, smash, steal, trade, or vandalize. Some of these actions (e.g., shoplifting) are always illegal. Others are not always illegal. What makes "paint" illegal is painting the wrong thing.

c. Next you need a *crime object*—what the offender(s) acts upon. These might be the CDs pinched, noses punched, glass smashed, or walls defaced with graffiti.[18] The crime's direct object might also include a person with whom the offender exchanges contraband, such as a drug buyer or seller.

d. At the end of the sentence, the crime's *motive* is described with a prepositional or infinitive phrase.

This standard format helps us sort out crimes in several ways.[19]

Closer Examination of Legal Categories

A single category under criminal law often masks important behavioral variations. We can sort out those variations by separating specific actions, objects, and motives. The diagram above helps do just that. For example, one person assaults another for diverse motives, including:

To punish

To restore self-esteem

For thrills

To show off to friends

To disable and rob

Boys stealing a car sound system might differ in motive. One might want to transfer it to his own car. Another wants to sell it to get the money. Another wants to put on a show for his friends. Another just wants the thrill of the theft. These variations in motive affect prevention tactics. Removing opportunities to fence stolen auto parts interferes with the boys who steal the sound system with money in mind. But that has no direct impact on boys stealing for their own use, or to show off.

Even in the Same Crime Incident, Motives Can Differ

Three boys go into a store and shoplift some clothing. Their crime is ostensibly the same, but their motives can differ. One wants to wear some of the clothes. The other wants to sell some, and the third wants to show off to the other two. If they are apprehended later, none of this will matter for punishment. But as analysts, we want to know. To reduce shoplifting, the store might have different strategies for different motives.[20] Ink tags that ruin the garment make it hard to wear or sell, but have no impact on the thrill. Still, the theft will probably not occur if only one of the boys can get what he wants. In short, people with entirely different motives can carry out what appears as the same crime.

Same Motive, Different Crimes

People with the same motive can carry out different crimes. Suppose that three boys want money to buy beer for a party tonight. One of them shoplifts, another takes a car stereo, a third commits a burglary. These are three different crimes with *the same motive*. The legal descriptions of these crimes will miss their commonality. Moreover, security improvements at the store will thwart one offender, but have no impact on the other two.

Imagine four barkeepers who make money from illegal drug transactions, each in a different way. The first *sells drinks* to the crime participants to make his profit. He allows them to do illegal business, but does not *directly* participate in it. The second *takes a kickback* from each illegal drug sale. The third barkeeper *rents the use* of the bar to drug sellers for a fixed price. The fourth himself *sells drugs*. In all four cases, the motive is money, but the verbs and objects differ among them.[21] In studying crime, you might get lost in the details. But you can always go back to the above diagram to sort out the fundamentals.

Crimes in Sequence

This chapter has already presented crime's stages, and showed how to sum up one crime or crime type in a sentence. Now I consider how several offenses occur in sequence. Exhibit 3.3 shows how two crimes can overlap. Crimes often fit into a larger sequence, with the aftermath of one crime becoming the prelude to the next. Each step has an immediate motive, but the offender also has an eventual motive. For example, a drug offender wants to get high later that day. To get what he wants, he might go through four steps:

	[Subject]	*[Verb]*	*[Crime's Object]*	*[Motive]*
1.	He	steals	a television set	(to sell it),
2.		sells	the television set	(to buy the drugs),
3.		buys	the drugs	(to ingest them),
4.		ingests	a dosage	to get high.

Exhibit 3.3 The First Crime Leads Directly to the Second

1st Crime Sequence	*2nd Crime Sequence*	*Time*	*Overall Sequence*	
1. Prelude		↓	A burglar approaches,	
2. Incident			then burgles a home,	Crime 1
3. Aftermath	3. Prelude		then leaves with the loot,	Overlap
	4. Incident		then sells the loot to a fence,	Crime 2
	5. Aftermath		then departs with the money.	

He might keep the *eventual* motive—to get high—in the back of his mind all along. Sorting out the specific steps helps a detective find the culprit, and assists in crime prevention. All you have to do is throw obstacles in the offender's path. If he cannot sell the booty, he cannot get the drugs, and might drop all four criminal acts.

Illegal and Legal Behaviors Are Intertwined

When an offender carries out a sequence of behaviors, some of them may be entirely legal.

- An offender enters a department store legally, picks out six items, puts three under his coat, pays for the other three, and exits.
- A drug manufacturer buys some over-the-counter drugs from the store, purifies them, then mixes them with something else, ends up with an illegal substance, then sells it. Some of these steps are probably legal, but the overall enterprise is not.

Fortunately, we can describe various legal and illegal behaviors in terms of who does what and why. The grammar of crime is also the grammar of life. A *legal* action can also be divided by who does it, what they do, to whom or what, and with what motive. Thus changes in laws or their variations from place to place do not stop us from studying the steps offenders go through. Canada's changes in its prostitution laws—discussed in the previous chapter—do not prevent us from sorting out these sequences. The challenge is to break down any complex crime process into its simple parts and sequences.

Sequences for House Prostitution

Sometimes offenders organize a sequence of crimes with one another. Perhaps they act as independent but cooperative offenders. Perhaps they act under a boss, with central control. Perhaps they act in different places, showing up only now and then to pass along contraband or money.

But sometimes offenders cooperate at a single location. Consider a house of prostitution—one way to sell sex, with quite a long history.[22] Consider its many names, current and obsolete: bad house, bagno, bag shanty, bawdyhouse, beauty parlor, bird cage, bordello, boum-boum parlor, broad house, brothel, buttocking shop, cake-shop, cathouse, cavaulting school, chicken ranch, clap trap, coupling house, disorderly house, flesh factory, flophouse, funhouse, girly parlor, grinding house, hooker shop, hot house, house of assignation, house of ill repute, house of joy, house of sale, house of shame, house of sin, jab joint, knocking shop, maison de joie, man trap, meat factory, molly house, no-tell hotel, nunnery, parlor house, red-light house, seraglio, service station, sin bin, skin room, slut hut, snake ranch, sporting house, trick pad, whorehouse, and numerous other terms.

Which tasks are illegal will vary by nation, but these tasks must probably be performed to run a house of prostitution, wherever it is:

1. setting up the *house,*
2. recruiting the *prostitute,*
3. transporting *her* to the house,
4. managing the *ongoing operation,*
5. soliciting her *customers,*
6. negotiating the *price,*
7. providing the *sex,* and
8. collecting the *money.*[23]

Sometimes the same person will perform several of these tasks, and other times such tasks are divided among different people in cooperation. By sorting out tasks, we can better understand criminal activities, and compare them from place to place and time to time.

Sequences for Street Prostitution

Street prostitutes have a simpler task, but they still must carry out a sequence of behaviors to do business.[24] Perhaps a street prostitute first finds a street corner to work from, then she flags down a motorist or entices a pedestrian.[25] In New Jersey, each of these steps is criminalized. First, it is illegal to loiter for prostitution purposes in places of public access, including

> any public street, sidewalk, bridge, alley, plaza, park, boardwalk, driveway, parking lot or transportation facility, public library or the doorways and entrance ways to any building which fronts on any of the aforesaid places, or a motor vehicle. . . .[26]

More generally, it is illegal to wander, linger, or prowl in a public place with the purpose of engaging in or promoting prostitution. Second, New Jersey law prohibits the following *repeated* behaviors if they assist prostitution:

> Beckoning to or stopping pedestrians or motorists in a public place; attempting to stop motor vehicles or pedestrians, or to engage passers-by in conversation.[27]

Such repetitive behavior is important for street prostitutes to reach their customers. It can also irritate neighbors, who are likely to complain to the police.

Other prostitution laws might forbid enticing someone to become a prostitute, arranging appointments for a prostitute, living off the proceeds of prostitution, or owning a structure used for prostitution activities. As you look at these lists, you can readily see that crime is a complex of behaviors, having diverse objects and variants. Yet we can understand the different crime types if we tease apart these behaviors, studying them one at a time and finding their verbs, objects, and motives.

Crime and the Larger Flow of Life

Imagine a group of lingering boys, drinking beer underage. One of them pulls out some marihuana. The drugs sit on the table while their socializing continues. It is not clear who has possession of the marihuana at that stage, or even who knows it is sitting there. It is not clear who will smoke it, share it, saunter in, or slip out. Are boys in the next room participants, partial participants, or nonparticipants? Is it a crime to watch others smoke marihuana, or to inhale its secondhand smoke? What is the line between noticing and watching, or watching and joining? When does legal activity end and illegal activity begin? Fortunately, observers have learned orderly ways to study the flow of life, and we can apply that order to study crime.

Red Smith, the famous sportswriter, once said, "I like to get where the cabbage is cooking and catch the scents."[28] We can learn about the flow of life that way. But we also have to figure out how to take good notes and put them in order systematically. Ethologists[29] study movements and actions of living things in their natural environment. For example, a rattlesnake attacks in nine stages: placement, alertness, head turning, approach, preparation, strike, reapproach, head searching, and swallowing.[30] Kinesiologists and other experts also divide up the quick action of daily human life, suggesting how to maximize performance in baseball, golf, skiing, figure skating, and boxing. Choreographers also use detailed codes for dancers.[31] These many human endeavors come down to the same issue of motion in space and time. To quote Jack Handey, "To me, boxing is like a ballet, except there's no music, no choreography and the dancers hit each other."[32]

These specifics can also be assembled for academic purposes. Ecological psychology studies how human "behavior settings" organize the daily flow of life, a topic to which I shall return later. Geographers have used global positioning to study daily activities of citizens. Professor Clark McPhail (of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) has coded riots and other collective actions in terms of detailed and specific movements.[33] Even inanimate objects are studied minutely in space and time, including fireworks displays, artistic fountains, scenery for Broadway musicals, factory machinery and robots, fleets of trucks, containers, ships, taxis, and cars. To be sure, the artist and athlete are creative and surprising, but with excellent control they depart from the script by decision, not by accident. Crime is not always beautiful or interesting to watch, but it still has its sequences. A shoplifter enters, approaches, finds what he wants, takes it from the shelf, stashes it on or near his body in another part of the store, then exits. Illegal actions have specific steps and stages, helping us trace how they fit within a larger world.[34]

Repeat Victimization: An Interrupted Sequence

Not all crime sequences occur without a break. Some offenders return to the same victim—but their sequence is interrupted by time. That makes it more difficult for crime analysts to figure out the sequence, or for police to act accordingly. Fortunately, Professors Ken Pease and Graham Farrell in the United Kingdom discovered why this topic is important, how to study it, and how to do something about it.[35] (I come back to this in later chapters.)

Not all repeat victimizations involve the same offender, but some do. For example, a residential burglar might return to the same home to complete the task the next day, or a month later. Not only do repeats take up a large share of crime, but they are the most preventable. It is much easier to get someone's attention *after* the first victimization than before, so victims will listen better to crime prevention experts.

The topic of repeat victimization has recently been extended in an interesting way. Some British and Australian scholars have recognized the importance of *near*-repeat victimizations. This refers to victimizations against very nearby properties or places, but not exactly the same ones as before. Suppose that I break into your home this week, and your next-door neighbor's home next week—that's a *near* repeat.

Researchers Kate Bowers, Shane Johnson, Michael Townsley, Ross Homel, and Janet Chaseling have helped invent this topic.[36] Some settings and habitats—discussed in future chapters—invite crime repetitions for both a victim and a victim's neighbors. Moreover, a successful crime against one victim helps feed attempts and successes against others. Thus a local area that invites crime also helps multiply crime, since crime risk is communicable. Areas with a good deal of housing homogeneity suffer more repeat burglary, since a burglar knows better where to enter and how to find his way around, even in the dark. Repeat victimization and near repeats are interrupted sequences that help make sense of crime—going beyond the isolated incident.

Overview

Crimes can be complex, but we can break them down into simpler features. Each offense can be broken down into three stages. Very different crimes can be described with the same sentence structure and diagram techniques. We can link them into sequences, taking into account the prelude and aftermath of the crime incident itself. These techniques transcend historical periods and nations. Whether one at a time or in the millions, criminal acts have common as well as distinct features. Police detectives, professors, and students—from different nations and cities—should be able to communicate about crime. As a result, each may come to realize that crime depends on more than what's in front of a single person's nose.

Central Points, Chapter 3

1. A crime event has a prelude, an incident, and an aftermath.
2. We should study a crime as it unfolds, without letting its aftermath color our view of what happened in the incident itself.
3. Every legal and illegal act can be described in the same format, with a verb, object, and motive.
4. Often, illegal events fit into a sequence, with the aftermath of one providing the prelude for the next.
5. Offenders generally seek to gain benefits, avoid risks, and evade difficulties. Even violent crimes tend to be goal oriented.

Exercises

1. Discuss five different ways to steal a computer.
2. Write a fictional account of shoplifting, specifying its three stages.
3. Some teenagers are hanging out together. Imagine six steps leading them incrementally toward an illegal act.
4. Write a half dozen indicators that lead you to suspect the presence of prostitution.

Notes

1. These words are attributed to Feynman, but did he really say them?

2. French poet, writer, and critic (1908–1944). Quoted in *The Columbia World of Quotations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).

3. E. Sapir, *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech* (New York: Harcourt-Brace, 1921).

4. U.S. philosopher (1908–2000). Quotation appears in W. V. O. Quine, *From a Logical Point of View* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961).

5. He also happens to be my brother. His work on violence is the best you will find anywhere. This paragraph focuses on nonacquisitive violence, which still has a purpose for the offender. See J. Tedeschi and R. B. Felson, *Violence, Aggression and Coercive Action* (Washington, DC: APA Books, 1994).

6. His excellent work can be found in several places, including these:
   a. R. Wortley, *Situational Prison Control: Crime Prevention in Correctional Institutions* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
   b. R. Wortley, “A Classification of Techniques for Controlling Situational Precipitators of Crime,” *Security Journal* 14 (2001): 63–82.
   c. R. Wortley, “A Two-stage Model of Situational Crime Prevention,” *Studies on Crime and Crime Prevention* 7 (1998): 173–188.

7. I prefer to call this the "crime event" rather than the "criminal event," since the word "criminal" implies a person rather than an incident. However, the phrase "the criminal event" is still useful. See L. W. Kennedy and V. Sacco, *The Criminal Event: An Introduction to Criminology in Canada* (Toronto, ON: Nelson Thomson, 2002). Also see the work on the routine activity approach reviewed in any of the editions of M. Felson, *Crime and Everyday Life* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002).

8. A crime has an immediate aftermath, but it might also have an elongated period during which more happens, too. Not every burglar dispenses with the goods right away, and not every injured victim heals or worsens quickly. I could divide all three stages into substages, but let's save that for another day.

9. British writer of prose and poetry (1865–1936). See "The Benefactors" in *The Years Between* (London: Methuen, 1919).

10. Modified slightly from a comment made by Professor Michael Maxwell, personal communication. Also see analysis by R. B. Felson and H. J. Steadman, "Situational Factors in Disputes Leading to Criminal Violence," *Criminology* 21 (1983): 59–74.

11. Of course, the justice system might learn later what happened earlier.

12. Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC), Roman orator, philosopher, statesman. From *Pro Roscio Amerino,* 84. Quoted in *The Columbia World of Quotations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996). Cicero drew this idea from a famous judge of his time, L. Cassius.

13. See Tedeschi and Felson, op. cit.

14. I have already included many references to Professor Clarke's work. Note how he has elaborated crime prevention options over the years he has studied the topic. His techniques increased from 12 to 25. I have neglected here specific mention of offender excuses (neutralization). These techniques are presented in many places, including the website of the Center for Problem-oriented Policing, http://www.popcenter.org (accessed September 3, 2005), and the British Home Office Crime Reduction site, http://www.crimereduction.gov.uk/learningzone/scptechniques.htm (accessed September 3, 2005).

15. In effect, the first crime succeeded, but the follow-up crime failed.

16. Quoted in "Oscar Wilde, 1854–1900" (n.d.), The Free Library, http://wilde.thefreelibrary.com (accessed September 9, 2005).

17. I hated diagramming sentences in high school. I never dreamed, then, that it would help me understand crime, now. For more on diagramming sentences, see C. L. Vitoo, *Grammar by Diagram: Understanding English Grammar Through Traditional Sentence Diagramming* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2003).

18. In much of my work, I refer to crime "targets." These are the people or things that offenders attack or seize in carrying out criminal acts. Here I subsume crime targets into a larger category, "crime's direct object." I do this because the word "target" does not quite fit a drug house or house of prostitution set up illegally. Fortunately, English-language grammarians help us out here. I sometimes use the words "target" and "direct object" interchangeably. You will be able to tell what I mean from the context.

19. Exhibit B in Appendix B gives 11 examples of crimes parsed according to the format explained in this chapter.

20. See R. V. Clarke, "Shoplifting," in U.S. Department of Justice, *Problem-oriented Guides for Police* (2003). Available from the Center for Problem-oriented Policing, http://www.popcenter.org (accessed September 3, 2005).

21. Experts in drug offending could extend this list. See M. Natarajan and M. Hough, eds., *Illegal Drug Markets: From Research to Prevention Policy* (Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press, 2000) (Volume 10 in *Crime Prevention Studies* series).

22. For a longer view of prostitution, see references in Note 7, Chapter 2.

23. E.g., see B. S. Heyl, *The Madam as Entrepreneur: Career Management in House Prostitution* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1979).

24. For an ethnographic account of street prostitution, see T. Sanders, "The Risks of Street Prostitution: Punters, Police and Protesters," *Urban Studies* 41 (2004): 9.

25. Although legalization varies, the street prostitution process has many international features. See J. McCloskey and M. Lazarus, "Community Policing and the Policing Factor of On-Street Prostitution in the Kings Cross Police Patrol," in *Australian Institute of Criminology Conference Proceedings No. 14, Sex Industry and Public Policy* (1992). Available from the Australian Institute of Criminology, http://www.aic.gov.au/publications/proceedings/14/mcloskey.pdf (accessed September 3, 2005).

26. N.J.S.2C:34-1.1 Loitering for the Purpose of Engaging in Prostitution. Certain subsections are run together and original punctuation changed slightly. This quotation does not consider the conditions for charging or convicting a particular offender, which go beyond these words alone.

27. See previous endnote for source.

28. Popular American sports columnist (1905–1982) who won a Pulitzer Prize in 1976. He said this while departing to cover California baseball games played by the Giants and Dodgers. Quoted in *Simpson's Contemporary Quotations* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1988).

29. Kinesiology focuses on the mechanics and anatomy of human movement. Ethology studies animals in their natural environment. Human ethology focuses on humans in their natural environment, overlapping a good deal with ecological psychology.

30. K. V. Kardong and V. L. Bels, "Rattlesnake Strike Behavior: Kinematics," *Journal of Experimental Biology* 201 (1998): 837–850.

31. Digital dance systems synchronize movements by attaching a dozen or more bending sensors to each ballet dancer. Even traditional square dancing has been programmed with precision, its calls manipulated, its formations scored in bitmap pictures, its sequences stored on laptop computers.

32. J. Handey, *Deep Thoughts: An Inspiration for the Uninspired* (New York: Penguin, 1991).

33. C. McPhail and R. T. Wohlstein, "Individual and Collective Behaviors Within Gatherings, Demonstrations, and Riots," *Annual Review of Sociology* 9 (1983): 579–600.

34. We might call this *crime kinesiology*. But we also want to relate this information to larger ecology.

35. To get started in the repeat victimization literature, see these papers:
   a. G. Farrell and K. Pease, eds., *Repeat Victimization* (Monsey, NY: Criminal Justice Press, 2001).
   b. S. Lloyd, G. Farrell, and K. Pease, *Preventing Repeated Domestic Violence: A Demonstration Project on Merseyside* (London: British Home Office, 1994) (Police Research Group, Crime Prevention Unit Paper 49).
   c. G. Farrell, and K. Pease, *Once Bitten, Twice Bitten: Repeat Victimization and Its Implications for Crime Prevention* (London: British Home Office, 1993) (Police Research Group, Crime Prevention Unit Paper 46).
   d. G. Laycock and G. Farrell, "Repeat Victimization: Lessons for Implementing Problem-Oriented Policing," *Crime Prevention Studies* 15 (2003): 150–175.

36. See these articles:
   a. M. Townsley, R. Homel, and J. Chaseling, "Infectious Burglaries: A Test of the Near Repeat Hypothesis," *British Journal of Criminology* 43 (2003): 615–633.
   b. K. J. Bowers and S. D. Johnson,"Who Commits Near Repeats? A Test of the Boost Explanation," *Western Criminology Review* 5 (2004): 12–24, http://wcr.sonoma.edu/v5n3/bowers.htm (accessed September 3, 2005).
   c. K. J. Bowers and S. D. Johnson, "Domestic Burglary Repeats and Space-Time Clusters: The Dimensions of Risk," *European Journal of Criminology* 2 (2005): 67–92.
   d. S. D. Johnson and K. J. Bowers, "The Stability of Space-Time Clusters of Burglary," *British Journal of Criminology* 44 (2004): 55–65.
   e. S. D. Johnson and K. J. Bowers, "The Burglary Rate as a Clue to the Future: The Beginnings of Prospective Hot-Spotting," *European Journal of Criminology* 1 (2004): 237–255.