

HOME OFFICE RESEARCH STUDY NO. 130

Car Theft: The Offender's Perspective

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from stealing cars was nevertheless evident, particularly for the very young offender.

Just over half of the sample considered themselves to be car crime 'specialists' concentrating more or less exclusively on stealing cars. They were characterised by an early passion for cars; early aspirations to legal car-oriented occupations; earlier illegal driving on the road; higher rates of offending; and longer experience of car crime.

A fifth of the sample claimed to have desisted from car crime for a reasonable length of time. They gave reasons of increased responsibility and maturity rather than the threat of custodial sentences for giving up. Nearly forty percent of the sample were potential desisters—claiming to have given up in the last few weeks; they gave similar reasons for stopping as longer-term desisters.

While car parks appeared to be particularly vulnerable to car theft many offenders were not specific about where they stole cars from. Three types of cars seemed especially at risk: those which are considered easiest to steal, often older cars; familiar cars with which offenders feel comfortable; and performance/sporty cars which offenders would like to own if given the opportunity. Alarms appeared to be of some deterrent value, though otherwise vehicle security was reported as lamentably weak, with offenders easily overcoming door and ignition locks. The findings on Vehicle Watch were disappointing, endorsing the need for a full evaluation of current practice.

Despite an overwhelming view that stealing a car was wrong, most offenders did not consider it a serious offence, although there was some evidence that this was changing due to media coverage of deaths linked with car theft and to the introduction of increased penalties.

The vast majority of offenders had been chased by the police, though this was seen more as an occupational hazard than as a deterrent to theft or as likely to lead to being caught. A third did concede, however, that police chases were the worst thing about car crime; although for some chases provided a challenge and the opportunity to show off driving skills. The experience of serious accidents and fatalities appeared not to deter the car thief.

Most offenders gave little thought to the possibility of being apprehended, and did not feel they would be anyway. Asked about what punishment they might attract if they were caught, over half the sample said they did not think about this either—the figure being higher among younger interviewees. Among those who had speculated on likely penalties, the chance of a custodial sentence was grossly overestimated in terms of current sentencing practice. In contrast, the chance of being cautioned was underestimated, particularly by younger thieves. As well as cautioning being considered unlikely, so too were most other non-custodial disposals such as conditional discharge, probation and community service. And none of these sanctions was considered a deterrent. A quarter of those who expected a fine or driving ban saw this as a deterrent, though it is not

possible to determine which penalty was the greater threat. Half of those who expected custody felt similarly, though there were indications that the idea of curtailment of liberty may be more potent than the actuality. Only one of the fourteen who had experienced custody admitted that this had made him stop.

When asked for their views on the Aggravated Vehicle-Taking Act 1992, just over half said the increased penalties might deter them, though a more important function of the Act may lie in changing offender perceptions as to the seriousness of car theft.

Policy implications

Perhaps the main requirement in diversionary disposals is to provide car thieves with a comparable degree of excitement and interest to that which they get from car theft itself (see below). In addition, though, diversionary disposals would seem to need a strong educational component, given that most offenders demonstrated a lack of understanding of the seriousness of car theft. Probation orders for instance may be most effective if they carry the condition to attend offending groups and/or motor projects. Also worth attention is concerted effort to educate those most at risk of becoming car thieves about the seriousness and social costs of offending.

Three distinctive features surrounding car theft were identified which may have implications for prevention. First, the excitement, status and enhanced self-esteem that follow from stealing cars—any form of intervention needs to keep this clearly in focus. Well-structured motor projects are likely to incorporate a strong element of 'thrill' and these are already being developed and operated by probation services and voluntary agencies. Evaluation of such projects is under way to identify best practice and assess crime reduction potential. Secondly, the considerable degree of specialism among those involved in car theft suggests that the early identification and diversion of these car-obsessed 'specialists' would make the most substantial inroad into reducing the number of offences committed. Thirdly, the ease of progression from casual and hedonistic involvement to more organised profit-making at a very early age further underlines the value of early intervention in the apprenticeship stage. The targeting of younger offenders seems critical.

Finally, in terms of situational prevention, the results carried messages for both manufacturers and car owners. One beneficial approach would be for manufacturers to introduce deadlocks as standard on all new cars. Some alarms seem to deter some offenders, though the relative efficiency of different makes and types need more investigation, with results made known to owners. The development of wheel protection for sought-after models would also seem helpful, as would action by the police to curtail outlets for the goods procured through car crime.

Action by manufacturers to provide better security on new cars will only benefit new owners, and some escalation of skills on the part of more determined

thieves to surmount new devices cannot be ruled out. Owners of older cars—for whom greater risks might ensue as newer cars become better protected—have little option but to augment their existing car security and take heed of crime prevention advice as regards risky parking locations, and leaving valuables on display for instance.

1 Introduction

Amidst the overall increase in property crime recorded in England and Wales during the late 1980s and early 1990s there has been a particularly sharp rise in theft of and from cars. Added to this has been concern over disturbances in places such as Blackbird Leys, Oxford and the Meadow Well estate, North Shields in the summer of 1991 involving cars illegally taken, often by very young thieves, for 'hotting' or display driving. Media coverage of these events and some well-publicised fatal accidents involving young people in stolen vehicles has brought car crime sharply into public focus. New offences with increased penalties were introduced and 1992 was designated Car Crime Prevention Year, with a £5 million publicity campaign—a war against the hooligans on wheels' as the then Home Secretary put it. At the time of writing (July 1992), disorder in Hartcliffe, Bristol triggered by the deaths of two young men riding a stolen police motorcycle, and reports in the press of young people killed in police pursuits, further underlined the need for effective policies to deal with car crime.

Although the problem is clearly not new—indeed the literature points to a long-standing relationship between young people and car crime throughout Western Europe and North America—there has been a relative scarcity of significant work on the subject notwithstanding some recent overviews (Home Office, 1988; Houghton, 1992; Webb and Laycock, 1992) and discussions of preventive options (Southall and Ekblom, 1985; Clarke, 1991). The present research was undertaken as a further contribution to policy debate, its principal focus being the behaviour of car thieves themselves.

Aims of the present study

A certain amount is now known about the demographics of the offender, and we know something of the cars they target and how they break in. But there are still quite large gaps in our knowledge. The most obvious is that of the car crime career—what are the circumstances surrounding offenders' initial involvement in car crime, what maintains it, do they grow out of it, is it related to and does it lead on to other types of offending? We need to know in more detail, too, about the general characteristics and social background of car offenders—are these typical young offenders or merely bored young people without much other criminal experience? Further, little is known about offenders' perception of the

Nevertheless, it is necessary in considering policy options to recognise the distinct categories of crime involved. As will be seen, the study addresses the categories above to varying degrees.

Offender studies

Two types of offender studies are already available, the first of which are self-report studies of offending. These provide detailed information on some aspects of car crime, but generally suffer from small sample size, single geographical location and, in some cases, a less than rigorous methodology. Secondly, there are semi-structured offender interviews. Two domestic studies are available (Briggs, 1991; Spencer, forthcoming) though both use a relatively small sample size drawn from a single research site.

Offender studies have concentrated on young offenders who have usually been apprehended—an easier sample to locate than those who have not been caught. They mostly focus on the where, why and how of car crime and many have come up with similar findings. Five of the most interesting have been carried out in Sunderland, Greater Manchester, Northumbria (two) and Northern Ireland.

The Sunderland study (Spencer, forthcoming) was conducted in 1990 under the Safer Cities initiative. Of particular interest is its use of a general sample of young people, rather than the more usual offender-based group. The sample—86 boys aged 10 to 16—was made up of schoolchildren from the Pennywell Estate and surrounding area—areas with much higher than average rates of car crime, extremely high unemployment, and severely overcrowded housing conditions. The study took the form of a self-report questionnaire. Among the findings were that 52 per cent knew someone who had stolen a car or stolen from a car; 80 per cent thought boys did it for the money; 80 per cent thought it was a group activity; of those involved, 45 per cent did so with older boys; and the main target was fast cars that are easily stripped. When asked what they thought could be done to stop boys getting involved with car crime, only about half responded, and most said that more activities for young people would help.

Spencer also held a car crime discussion group at a youth club with nine young people, as well as interviews with 17 car offenders (aged 13-19 years) selected through the probation service. The data collected reflected other findings on the car crime process, but also looked at motivations and the social backgrounds of offenders. Early motivation was said to be primarily to 'experience driving', but this changed as offenders got older and more experienced—when money took over as the primary motive. One thief had been expelled from school, and seven said that they could not see the point of going to school. Better leisure facilities were said to be a possible way of preventing them from becoming involved in car crime.

The Manchester study (Smyth, 1990), using a sample of 86 car crime offenders (most aged 18-21), formed part of a joint police/probation car crime campaign

and was therefore fairly crime prevention orientated. Among the findings were that 74 per cent look for Fords and Vauxhalls; 52 per cent said they would be put off by an alarm and a further 40 per cent by an 'Autolok'. The main reasons given for taking cars were excitement (58%), financial gain (47%), and liking driving (43%). A majority of the sample (72%) said that they always took cars with their males and when inside a car the radio/cassette player was the first thing they would attempt to steal (77%). The sample was not very specific about the places they took cars from, but backstreets and car parks seemed to be targeted most.

The first Northumbria-based research was a probation-led study of 56 young 'car crime specialists' referred to the probation service for social inquiry reports (Gulliver, 1991). The results are broadly similar to the Manchester study. An attempt was made to categorise offender types by motivation into 'professionals', 'marginals' and 'obsessionals'—not dissimilar to the offender hierarchy noted by Briggs (below).

The second Northumbria study was that of Briggs (1991) who interviewed 30 convicted TWOC offenders aged 11-17 years to provide a 'profile of the juvenile joyrider'. Several common social factors were identified—disrupted family backgrounds; unemployment; poverty; below average academic ability; abbreviated school careers; and socially deprived inner-city residence. Similar backgrounds apply to the majority of those apprehended for juvenile offending and as such are not surprising. More interesting is the meaning ascribed to 'joyriding' by those interviewed. Briggs found evidence of a hierarchy of activities which carried correspondingly increased kudos for the participants, the higher they progressed up the ladder, and the more publicity their exploits received in the media. This gave rise to expressions of pride in and boasting about the activities in which members of the sample engaged. Further, Briggs suggested that 'skilled' operators would act as teachers and role models for other less adept or 'amateur' participants.

The Northern Ireland report was produced by the Extern Organisation (McCullough *et al.*, 1990). It contains results from two statistical studies (relating to South Belfast and Northern Ireland) and an interview study of offenders and professionals working in West Belfast. While much of the Extern data coincides with that produced by mainland research, the particular political situation obtaining in West Belfast makes cross-over comparisons difficult. Having said that, the discussion of policy implications from the study makes for interesting reading and many of the findings are worth considering.

Structure of the report

Chapter 2 presents the criminal biography and social background of the sample. Chapter 3 examines the car crime career—how it starts, develops and stops. Chapter 4 considers results of particular relevance to crime prevention—where, when and what vehicles are vulnerable, and car security. Chapter 5 discusses the criminal law response and the effectiveness of sanctions as a

deterrent to car theft. The results of the study are reviewed in Chapter 6, and their main policy implications identified.

2 Offender profile

This chapter presents findings on the extent of the sample's involvement in car crime and other offending, as well as data on their home, school, work and leisure backgrounds.

Car crime biography

Age first involved

Almost half the sample (47%) said that they were 14 or 15 years old when they first started taking cars. Figure 2.1 shows that one person began at the age of 10, while at the other extreme, another did not start until the age of 25.

Sixty-eight per cent said they got involved with car crime while still of school age—although not all were still attending school (see below). Of those who had reached school leaving age when starting to steal cars, most (66%) were unemployed. For the sample as a whole, only two per cent were working when they started to steal cars; 22 per cent were unemployed.

Up to the age of 15 slightly fewer had driven on the road than had begun car crime, suggesting that after becoming involved, it took a little time before stolen cars were actually driven (see Chapter 3). Figure 2.2 presents details of when respondents had first driven, whether or not this was in connection with stealing a car.

Slightly tangentially, the current sample's opinion on when others started to commit car crime produced an average age of 14, though answers ranged through nine (n = 3) to 19 (n = 1). This reflects the typical age of their own involvement.

Length of involvement

In all, 28 per cent of the sample had less than 12 months car theft experience, 46 per cent had been involved for at least two years, and 21 per cent for more than five (six of these having offended for more than 10 years). Not surprisingly, age was linked to length of involvement in car crime (Figure 2.3).

The vast majority of the 15/16 year olds (n = 21) had been involved in theft for between six months and two years, whereas for the 18-20 year olds (n=24),

Figure 2.1
Age first involved in car crime

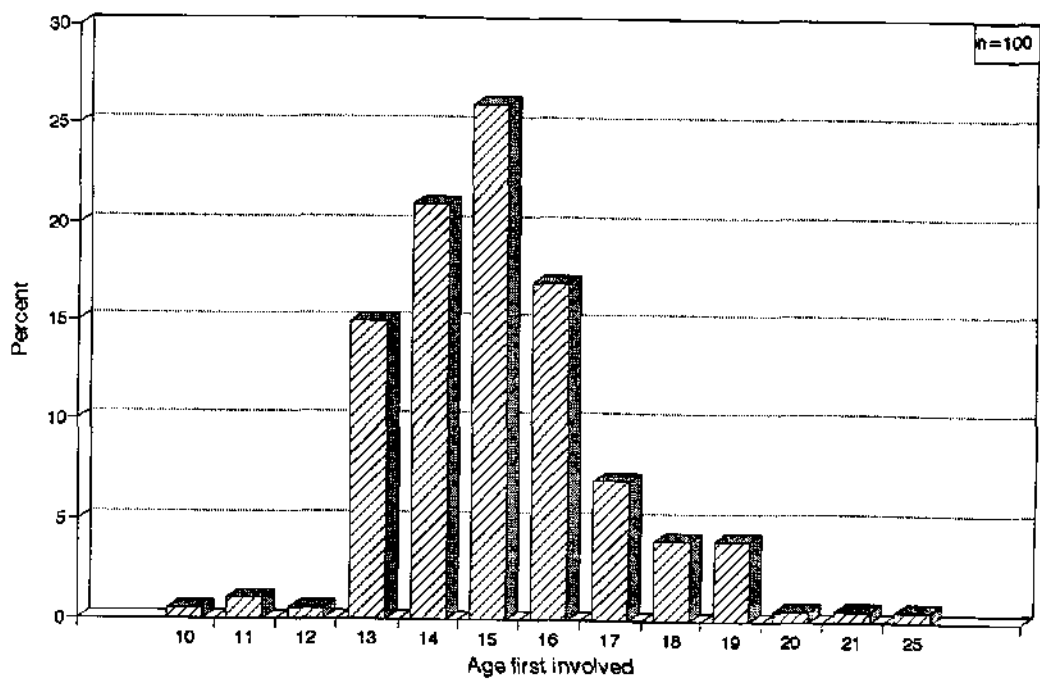


Figure 2.2
Age subjects first drove on the road

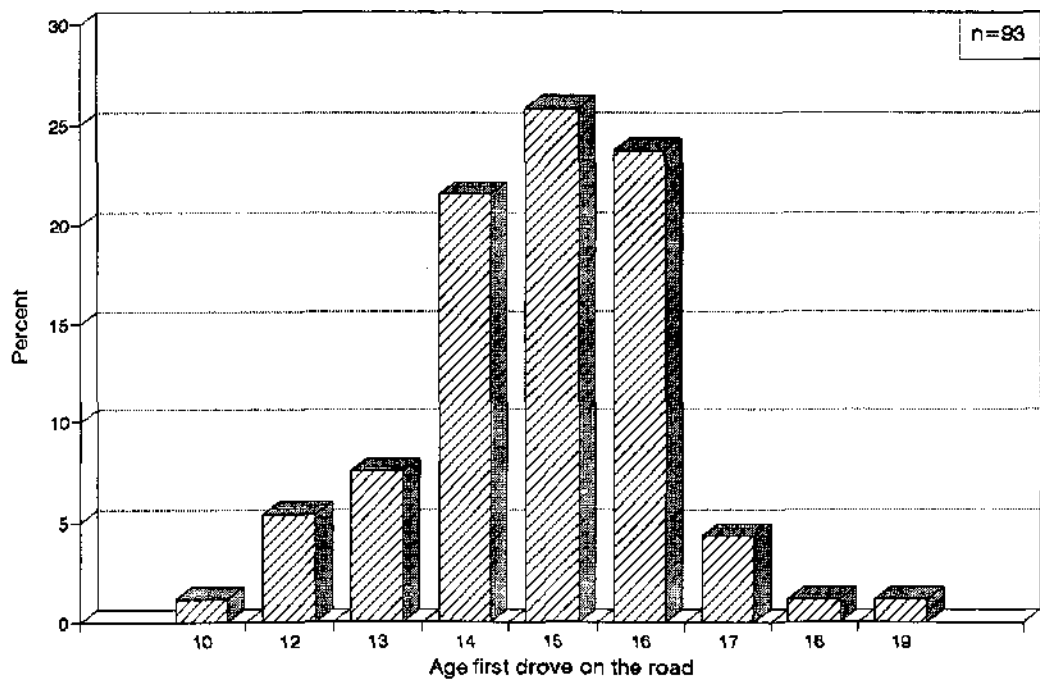
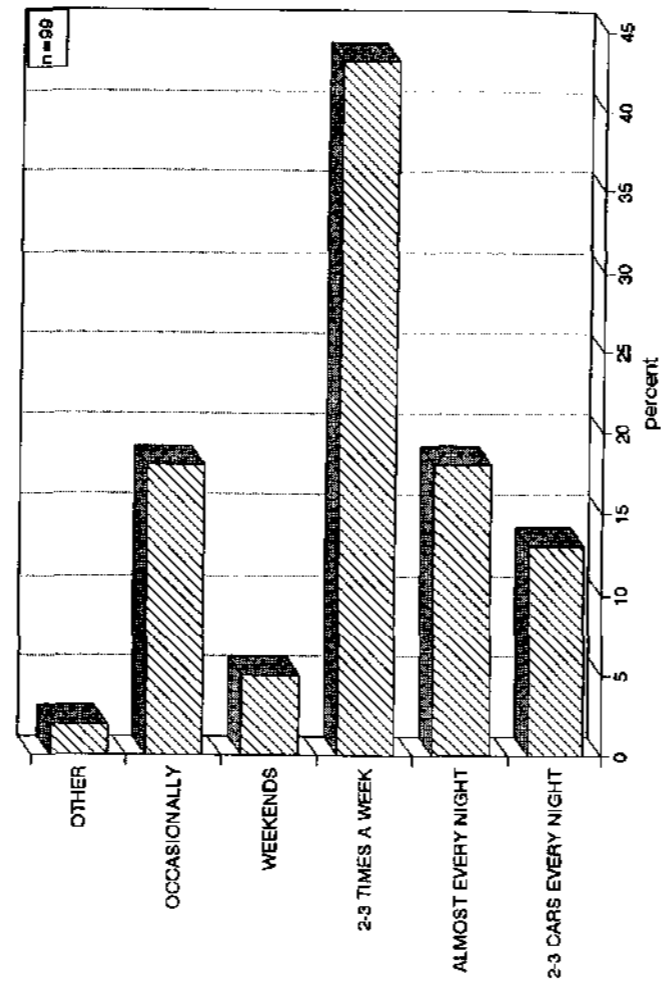


Figure 2.4
Frequency of offending (peak of career)



Contact with the police

Twenty-one per cent of the sample had never come to police notice—15 of them under 18 years old. Twenty-five had been caught once, and 15 twice; fourteen had come to police attention more than eight times. The chance of having been caught increased with age; few older offenders had escaped the attention of the police altogether. All told, four out of five of the sample had been caught by the police at least once, though given the nature of the sampling this is little guide to 'true' apprehension risks.

Still offending?

At the time of interview, 60 per cent of the sample (n = 97) said that they were not now involved in car crime, though it is uncertain, of course, how many of these were giving a 'desirable' answer—and in any event two-thirds of the desisters had given up only in the last few weeks. Twenty subjects (21%) said they had desisted for six months or more—fairly evenly spread throughout the 15 to 25 year age group. Six of the 18 desisters aged 21-25 years had stopped for more than two years. Desistance is considered further in Chapter 3.

Experience of other crime

The extent to which car crime offenders form a discrete group specialising in car crime or also engage in other types of crime is considered in Chapter 3. Suffice it to note here that many of the sample had been involved in other crimes including burglary (35%), ramraiding (20%) and 'other thefts' (11%).

Social background

A number of recent studies of car crime acknowledge the importance of looking at the social background of offenders. For example, McCullough and Schmidt (1990), describe the historical and political context of car crime in West Belfast and suggest that structural and long lasting problems such as unemployment cannot be ignored. Spencer (forthcoming) identifies inadequate schooling, unemployment and poor leisure facilities on the Pennywell estate in Sunderland as contributing factors, and Briggs (1991) also draws on the theme of social deprivation, highlighting problems of inadequate opportunities for excitement and status. The present research was designed to explore three particular aspects of offenders' social background—home, school/work and leisure. It should be noted, as pointed out in Chapter 1, that as the sample mostly came from the lower socio-economic groups the data presented here reflects that bias.

Home

Most of the sample (76%) were living with parents or in homes of their own at the time of the interview; six per cent were currently living in children's homes and nine per cent were in hostels. Not surprisingly, most of those aged 19 or under (70%) lived with one or both parents; 44 per cent lived with both parents and usually siblings, and 26 per cent lived with one parent and, in most cases,

siblings. Of those over 19, under a third remained with parents. Thirty-seven percent had moved on to live with partners (30% having children also) and most of the rest lived alone or with friends.

Although over three-quarters of the sample (76%) said that people at home knew about them taking cars, many added that the family knew only of the times when they had been caught and had no idea of the full extent of their involvement in car crime. Those who said that people at home did not know about them taking cars (19%) often mentioned being afraid of their parents finding out—several people said that they thought (their parents would 'kill' them should they ever find out. More than three-quarters (71%) of those whose families were ignorant of what was happening were from homes where no one else was said to be involved in car crime, and almost half (42%) were aged 15 to 16 years. Older offenders were more likely to have families who knew about their activities—presumably because their repeated offending inevitably came to light eventually.

Of those who said that people at home knew about their offending, 59 per cent said that they were angry and upset—and indeed for a few people getting into trouble at home had been enough to stop them taking cars (see Chapter 3). Of those whose families were very bothered something under half acknowledged that they were powerless to do much:

They didn't like it at all. They said there's nothing they could do but they stuck by me when I was doing it and going to court.

They used to nag me a bit till I was about 18, but now they know they can't stop me.

They hate it, they don't like it at all, they shout at me but they don't actually ground me—if you're going to ground someone you're just going to make them more angry inside.

If they start giving you a hard time for it, you just rebel and go out and do it more.

They'd turn round and say 'If you take another one we're going to tell the police'. They were trying to talk me out of it and get me to do other things but they obviously saw it wasn't going to stop me because I was getting a buzz out of nicking cars.

The ultimate sanction—that they had been kicked out of home—was reported by 12 per cent of the sample. Some said that their car crime activities had escalated after being excluded from the family home:

My mother kicked me out once and I went berserk—started pinching cars more and more.

My parents lost all respect for me. They told me they didn't want me at home any more. I was homeless on my 16th birthday. I can see they did it for my own good now.

Only 11 per cent of the sample said that people at home were not or would not be bothered about them taking cars. Some of these were simply told to take responsibility for themselves:

They don't react any more because they say 'it's your life, do what you want with it'. I think that's fair enough because it stops them worrying.

My old man said 'At least you didn't get caught for it—I can't really give you a hard time because I used to do it'.

In some of these cases, people at home had expressed the view that they did not want to know anything at all about the offending and merely advised offenders not to get caught and to be careful to avoid having an accident.

Family involvement in car crime

A third (33%) of the sample said that others in the family, usually a brother or cousin, also look cars or had done so in the past. One person said that he had been pressurised into stealing by his father who was an experienced car thief. Yet even those with others already involved in car crime said that their family was or would be angry and upset about their own involvement (34%¹⁰). Several older people said that if their own children started taking cars they would be very hard on them:

I'd give him hell. My advice would be 'Touch a car—steal another car and I'll break your arm'. Maybe that's a bit rough but it's fun to steal a car if you're that age and be able to drive around with your mates . . . I would stamp on it if it was my son, because I've actually been there, I know what it's like.

In summary, then, two-thirds of the sample were living with one or two parents when interviewed. In three-quarters of cases, people at home knew about their involvement in car crime, and one in three interviewees had other family members involved in similar offences. Family members were less likely to know what was going on when the family was criminally uninvolved, or when offenders were relatively young. When families did know, most felt angry, upset or unhappy about it. Relatively few (12%) excluded the offender from home. There was little evidence that families were indifferent to the offending or uninterested in stopping it. However, if the offender chose to ignore the family view it appears that there was little that parents felt able to do about it. Some families clearly felt their hands were tied by their responsibilities as primary carers and protectors—responsibilities which might be seen at odds with throwing the offender out of the home, bringing in the police, or instituting care proceedings.

School and work

Although no questions were asked specifically about experiences at school, several people said they regularly took time off school in order to take and drive cars:

Figure 3.1
Main reasons for initial involvement

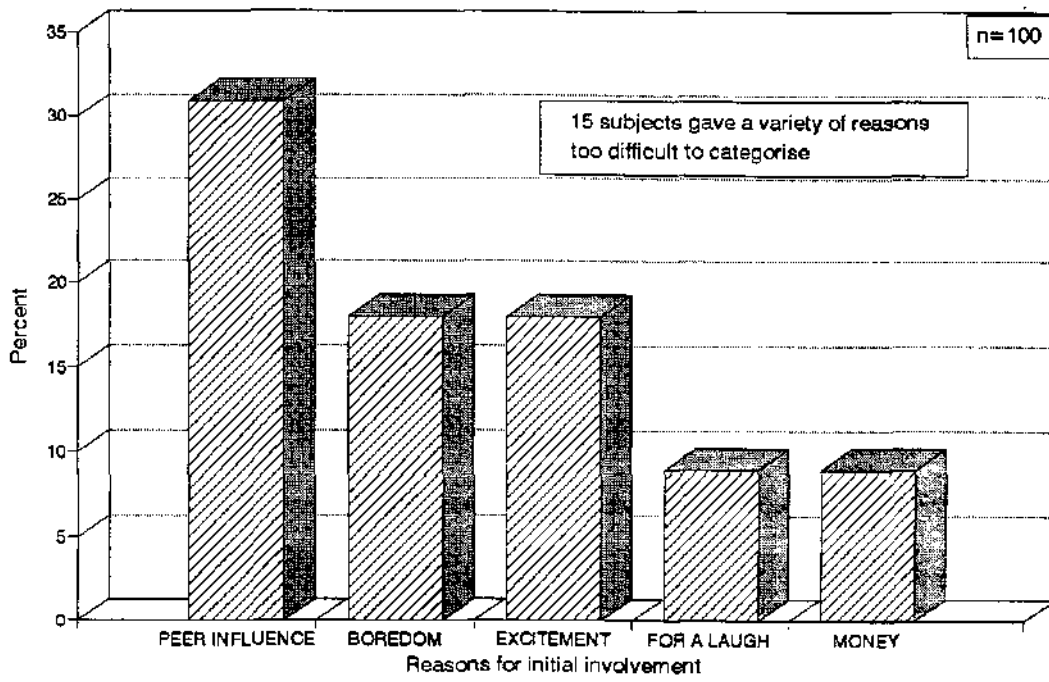
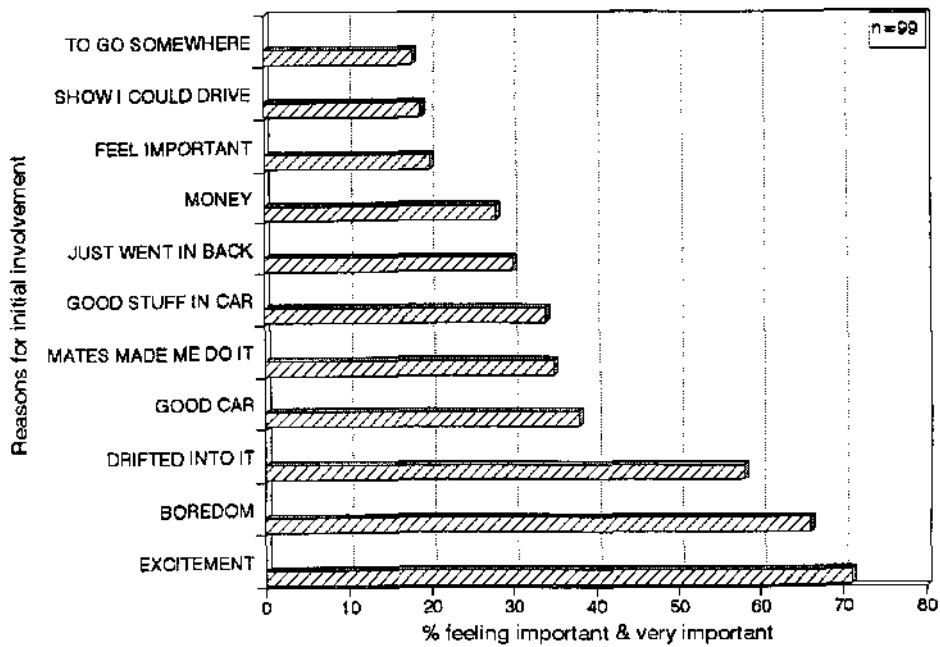


Figure 3.2
Further reasons for initial involvement



Peer influence

As seen, nearly a third of offenders cited 'peer influence'¹ as their main reason for getting involved in car crime, though it was clear that this denoted more of a gradual and subtle 'drifting in' process than direct pressure from peers to conform with offending behaviour:

Because everyone else was doing it . . . you just followed suite.

Most of the kids were car thieves . . . it was just something I started doing.

I did it to be one of the boys. You see all your friends doing it and they come home and they tell you all about it. And then you slari thinking 'well shall I go and get one?'

A third (33%) of those who said that others were important also stressed the need to impress and be accepted by a group of mates as the most important reason for getting involved in the first place:

All my mates my age were getting into it same as me—only to be up with the boys. In a way you're driving so you think you're a man—it seems you're grown up.

I wouldn't have got involved on my own because I was so insecure—I just wanted to be liked. I used to do anything for my mates really, whatever they were doing, whatever they were getting up to, I'd get up to as well. That's what everybody wants when they are young—to be liked. The brainboxes of this world and the kids that get on with their work just aren't liked. I think really deep down there was only one or two of us that was really into taking the car, the rest of us was just doing it because we were just following the crowd, you know like following the leader.

Several people said that it was the companionship of mates which made up for the instability caused by parents breaking up:

I wasn't getting any response from my parents at all because they were going through their own problems . . . the only input I was getting was from my friends. I went along and sort of wanted to see how important I could feel because of what I was doing when I was with them.

Boredom and excitement

Although the search for fun and excitement is, of course, characteristic of young people, Chapter 2 showed that boredom was a major problem for those without money and jobs and that taking cars was often seen by many of the sample as a way of 'curing' boredom. This view is further supported by findings from a recent survey of a thousand 16-25 year olds on 'young people and crime' (NOP, 1991). In the present study, for some it was the prospect of driving that made taking cars so exciting:

It was just for the buzz—the enjoyment of driving.

Since I was about 14 I wanted to get in cars and drive . . . it's not worth going out and nicking a car unless you enjoy driving or something.

For others, the excitement lay in fear:

The first time I was really nervous and shaking like a leaf all the way through but as soon as I'd parked the car up, I went 'Yeah! Great! I can't wait to do it again'.

Some people described taking cars as more than a cure for boredom—as an adventure in its own right, a chance to go away, for instance:

We wouldn't stay around here, we'd go to a seaside town—go on the beach and go swimming.

We'd tour all round the country, go from place to place running them out of petrol, gelling another one and carrying on.

Passion for cars

How far a heightened degree of interest in cars might be a spur to car crime was considered by asking subjects when they had first become interested in cars and whether or not this was linked with the onset of their offending. Just over a third of the sample did not report any particular early interest in cars: their current interest seemed more exclusively linked with criminal activity. But some two-thirds—across a span of age and car crime experience—said that they had a keen interest in cars from an early age:

I used to go to Brands Hatch with me Dad and I said hello to James Hunt. I've been addicted to cars since I was a right little kid, but I've never had the opportunity to have my own car and that's the only thing I ever really did ever want.

I was driving tractors when I was nine and then one day he asked me to move his car and it was totally different. It was a smoother engine, it went faster and I thought 'Wow, I could like this'. He used to let me take it up and down the lane when I was about 11 and I used to give it hell. In them days I used to have to get behind a wheel and if I couldn't get people to lend me their car, I'd go and nick one.

The vast majority who reported a pre-offending interest in cars rejected the idea that this was particularly implicated in the onset of their criminal behaviour—though there was a hint of a regional difference in that 12 of the 29 Newcastle subjects (41%) felt their previous interest in cars was linked to their eventual offending.

To sum up, first experiences of car crime were overwhelmingly in the presence of other more experienced peers and for many peer influence was very important in their initial involvement. It is difficult to say whether peer influence is more important for car thieves than for other 'apprentice' offenders, though clearly the present sample relied greatly on others in learning

Sometimes I don't believe what people leave in their car like—they leave bags, sports bags, brand new coats, coats in the back seat and that . . . brand new leathers and handbags and that sitting in the back of a car.

Stealing from cars was an activity that ran parallel to stealing cars themselves. Seventy-six per cent of subjects said that they had broken into cars merely to steal items without intending to steal the car itself. Of these, nearly half did it regularly, and for the duration of their car theft career; only 22 per cent said they had done this occasionally. Eleven subjects said that their involvement in car crime had started with theft from cars.

While a great number of incidents resulted in driving the car away, the financial rewards of stealing from the stolen cars was obviously seen as an essential perk by at least a third of the sample. Some even saw it as an essential source of income:

I'm not working and my social at the moment's been stopped. Normally, I go out once a week and do a stereo run and I'll nick about 40-50 stereos in a night. They're all to order—I don't nick cheapies anymore.

'Professional' car crime

A tenth of the sample mentioned specifically that a feature of their career development was that they went on to selling cars for profit—one of the activities conventionally seen as a component of 'professional' car crime (Clarke, 1991). Selling cars or their parts for profit also arose in connection with questions about the destiny of cars once they had been stolen. Thirty-five per cent of the sample (n = 98) reported that having taken a car they used it for 'professional' theft activities. (It was clear that many of these engaged in more than one of the following activities, but stated their preferred one.) Most often this involved taking the car to a garage to strip it and sell the parts (n = 15), or taking it to a receiver (n=10). Six subjects mentioned 'ringing' the car—changing its identity using false number plates and documents and selling it on. Four subjects mentioned experience of doing 'insurance jobs'—ie, destroying a car so that the owner could claim from an insurance policy.

Though nine out of ten of the sample made money from car theft by selling radio/cassette players and items found in the car, the third of 'professionals' (as they shall be termed hereon) represent a departure in terms of career and motivation to activities more obviously linked with organised financial gain. The following quotes illustrate the range of their activities:

I look for wheels, smart interior, things like that because I strip the cars I do, and sell the parts.

I've learnt through the years that I can make a lot of money out of cars. Say you asked me for an RS Turbo and you wanted the engine, interior, bonnet, back hatch and wheels. I'd say £1000. You couldn't buy it for that, it would cost you six.

First of all it was for 'joyriding' and impressing friends and then it progressed up to stealing cars for the money . . . people wanting cars to sell on . . . I used to phone someone up and he used to tell me what car he would want, what colour, year, make . . . so I'd go out and steal a car like an XR3 which is nippy, will stick to the road and could be handled very easily, so if I did get a chase I could get away. And then I'd look for Cosworths, turbos, Mercedes, BMWs, those sorts of cars . . . sometimes they were going abroad.

I change all the number plates and sell it as a new car. I'd buy a knackered out Mark 2 liscori for £30 so I've got the documents, then I go and nick a tidy liscori but with the number plates and aluminium plates cut out of the chassis of the old car. I take it up to a car auction and I sell it.

Though age and experience were implicated in theft for profit to some degree, they had less influence than might be expected. Half those who mentioned stripping cars for parts were relatively young, at 16 to 18 years old. Similarly, those who had been involved in 'ringing' cars were evenly distributed between ages 16 and 22. One of the respondents doing 'insurance jobs' was 16. The single activity where age and experience appeared more strongly implicated was selling the car to a receiver. Those involved were mostly aged between 18 and 25, and eight out of the 10 had been involved in theft for four years or more. Numbers are small for definite conclusions, but there is a suggestion within subjects' reports that a reputation as a good car thief had to be achieved before being approached by a receiver to steal to order:

. . . through the people you know and meeting other people, it progresses from 'I know someone who wants those wheels' to 'I know someone who wants the whole car'.

I'm just starting to get into the serious part of pinching cars now like ringing them up by myself and that . . . This bloke just came up to us, I knew him anyway, and says can you pinch us an XR2 and I'll give you £150. I said no problems and I asked him what he was doing like and he explained everything, how to get plates everything . . . I still pinch odd ones just to frisk about in for a bit of fun.

Ramraiding

Using a stolen car to smash into and steal from commercial premises is a difficult activity to locate on the professional/non-professional continuum. Whilst one aim of ramraiding is unquestionably to make money, the stolen car is not itself the source of profit, but rather a means to it, albeit lending a strong element of excitement to the escapade as well:

I love doing it . . . I would do the driving in the van. We'd take two cars like six people, three in one, three in the other. I would drive up, drive in the shutters, pull out . . . four people running in the shop filling the cars

up. Like we'd time each other—three minutes, in and out in three minutes. I like the noise of the alarm bells ringing . . . it's good.

Twenty subjects chose to define themselves as ramraiders, and eight had engaged in other professional activities as well (two stripped cars, two ringed cars, four sold to receivers). As might be expected, they were also more experienced: 13 out of 20 having been involved for at least four years. From subjects' accounts, it appeared that the concept of ramraiding embraced both organised money making and thrill to some degree, but either way it seems linked to progression in the car crime career. If ramraiding is classified as a 'professional' thieving activity and added to the other profit-making activities described by subjects, a total of 47 per cent of the whole sample could be seen as having engaged in professional car crime.¹

There was some evidence that ramraiding was more common in the North of England sample, but numbers were too small to draw firm claims.

Changing motives in career progression

While the main incentives to begin stealing cars were seen to be the example of peers, boredom and potential excitement, it is clear that the motivational underpinnings become more complex as the theft career progresses. Typically, after about a year, skills seem to have improved sufficiently to allow thieves to steal better cars, and with greater speed. For many (45), these improved skills are harnessed to increase the thrill of theft. But for at least a third of thieves, they are also a means of turning theft into financial gain. In other words, while expressive needs are still part of the equation, there is a shift in balance towards instrumental needs.

The distinction between taking cars for the thrill of driving and taking them primarily to earn money is reflected in the fact those who do it for money were often highly critical of joyriders:

They realise they're twats. I mean what they're doing up in Birmingham and Manchester . . . it's stupid looking for police chases. It's making it harder for people like me who make a living out of it.

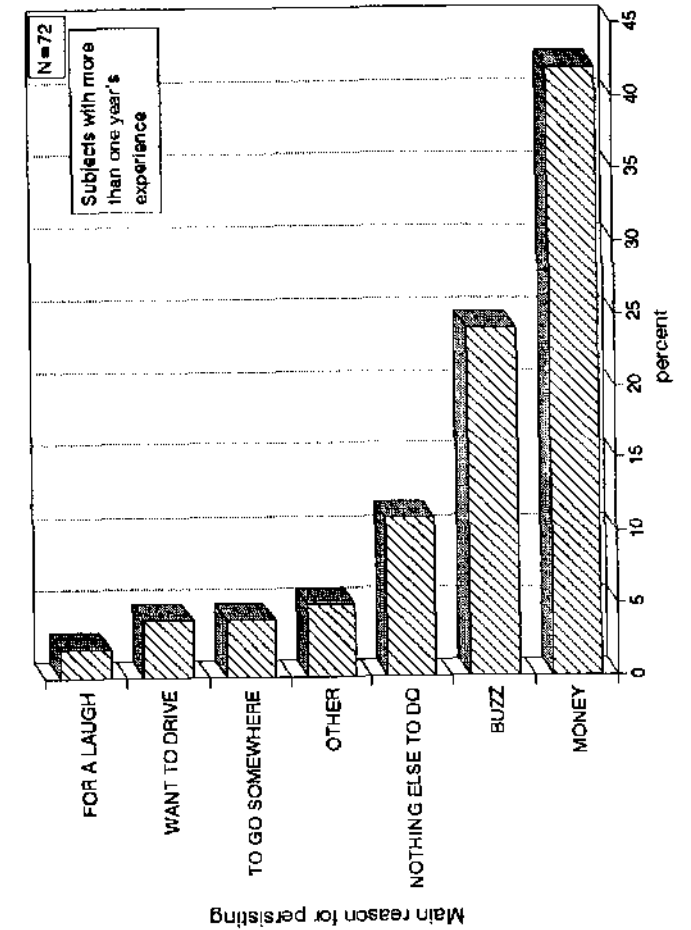
A lot of people take cars just to drive around to joyride but they don't think positive like where are they going to get some money from.

This picture is supported by answers to a specific question on the main reason for persisting in car crime. Figure 3.3 looks at the motives of those who had at least one year's experience in car crime, the point around which competence appeared to improve.

Clearly, for many (42%), money has now overtaken 'the buzz' and having 'nothing else to do' as the main feature of continued involvement in car crime.

¹ Eight out of 20 ramraiders, as said, were already included in other professional categories (which they were more likely to engage in than ramraiding). They are, of course, counted only once.

Figure 3.3
Main reason for persisting in car crime



Interestingly though, of those citing money, only about half had become involved in 'professional' car crime. The money to be made on a more casual basis, such as by stealing goods from the car, was obviously a powerful motivator as well:

People don't steal cars just to joyride because they're bored, they steal because they've got no money, they can't see any other way of getting out . . . It's a combination of boredom, loss of money, nowhere to go, nothing to do.

We'd take stereos, tapes, stuff that we could carry. We'd usually keep it for a couple of days and if we hadn't sold it in a couple of days we'd usually chuck it. But we'd keep the tapes anyway and put the stereos somewhere until somebody wanted one for their car.

Of those not citing money as their main motivator, three-quarters had no 'professional' theft experience; they continued to steal cars for the buzz, the majority being engaged in performance driving. In fact, of all the 'performance drivers' in the sample, only a third reported money as the main motivator.

Again, subjects were then asked to rate another ten possible reasons for continuing car crime. For those with at least one year's experience, Figure 3.4 illustrates that although boredom ('just something to do') and excitement are again rated very highly, their importance had diminished somewhat in comparison to initial reasons for offending. Rather, material gain features prominently, achieved through selling parts of the car and/or stealing goods from the car. To 'sell the car' received a less significant response, perhaps reflecting its more exclusive nature in comparison to other forms of pecuniary car crime. The most common response of all, nonetheless, was that 'It's so easy you can't resist the temptation'—a clear pointer for car manufacturers and owners.

In sum, then, as experience of car theft develops, motives for persisting change somewhat. Excitement and release from boredom remain heavily implicated, as does peer influence. However, widening experience undoubtedly opens up many possibilities for being financially rewarding by stealing. This becomes the primary motivator for a substantial proportion of the sample, though it does not necessarily ensure that they will progress to more organised 'professional' car crime.

This said, it would be unwise to underestimate the considerable personal pay-offs in terms of intense excitement, status and self-esteem recurrent throughout subjects' accounts of thieving cars. A discussion of this element of car crime and the somewhat compulsive behaviour it fuels follows.

The role of compulsion in car crime

Studies on burglary (Nee and Taylor, 1988b; Bennett and Wright, 1984) and shoplifting (Carroll and Weaver, 1986) have strongly suggested that target selection in these crimes tends to be less of an opportunistic whim, than the

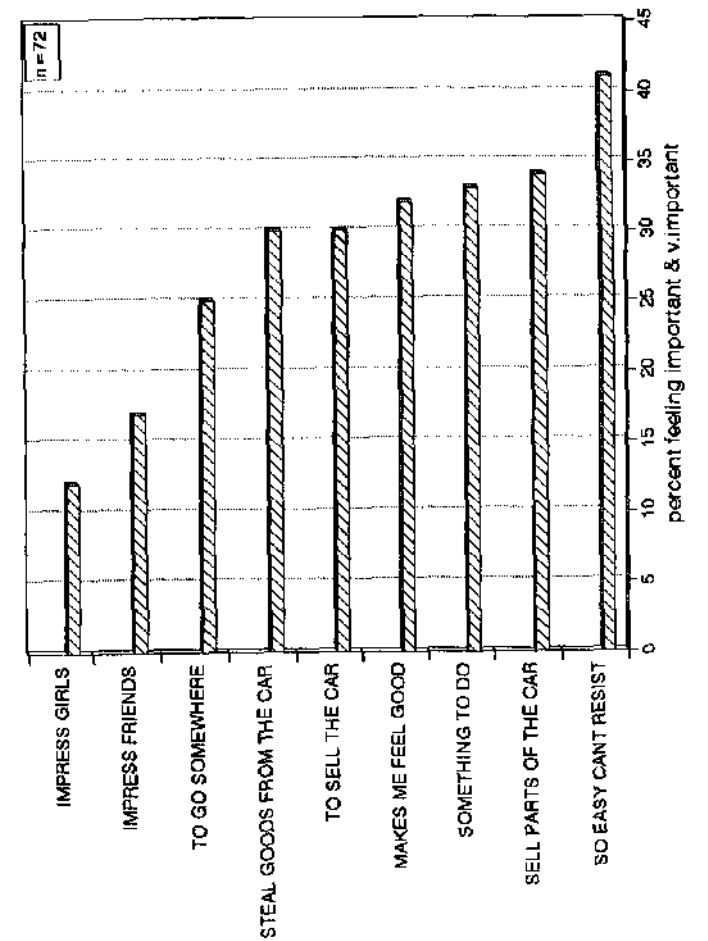


Figure 3.4
Further reasons for continuing

result of a more rational series of decisions to offend, beginning away from the scene of the crime, and ending as a response to learned cues at the crime site about the likelihood of success (see Cornish and Clarke, 1986, for a more detailed discussion of the 'rational criminal').

Car thieves are clearly not indiscriminate in their choice of targets either, and engage in some forward thinking. Also, their accounts suggest that plentiful opportunities and the ease of acting upon them are undoubtedly big spurs to offending—perhaps more so than in relation to some other crimes. At the same time, their accounts paint a picture of quickly falling prey to the heightened emotional 'buzz' of thieving and driving at speed. The combination of what is perceived as unlimited opportunity and personal gratification, seems to lead to a degree of offending that may be described as more compulsive in nature than is the case with other acquisitive crimes:

I used to (be worried about it) when I used to do it all the time. That's when I started taking Ma's (car) out because I used to sit in the house and the keys used to be on the table and the car used to be just outside and I couldn't stop myself.

It is important to proceed with caution in any discussion of 'compulsive' behaviour and crime. It is unlikely from subjects' accounts that any were exhibiting what could be called a true compulsion in the clinical sense. (The suggestion that car theft constitutes compulsive or addictive behaviour is certainly often made more casually than any existing research evidence suggests.) McCullough *et al* (1990) noted that, like any other adolescent behaviour, car crime can be engaged in with great 'ferocity and commitment', but saw it as closer to any other adolescent infatuation than to addiction. Forty-one per cent (n = 94) of the sample did feel that being 'hooked on' cars was a possibility, either because they had experienced an overwhelming need themselves or had witnessed it in others.¹ A further indication of this came about when asked if anything else felt as good as stealing cars (n = 69). Forty-four subjects said that nothing felt as good and a further 12 said that only the effect of drugs was comparable. This said, it is not helpful for present purposes to 'diagnose the condition', but to acknowledge the role of excitement and other 'psychological' rewards in car crime in comparison to other crimes. The implications of this for preventive policy are addressed in Chapter 6.

Substance misuse and car theft

In the context of heightened emotion in car crime, it was important to find out to what extent, if any, alcohol and drugs were implicated on the occasions of theft. Fifty-eight per cent (spread equally across age groups) said that they did not use drugs or alcohol in connection with car theft. About a third of the

¹ There was no relationship here with substance misuse—about half of those who felt it was possible to become 'hooked on' cars used drugs, half did not.

sample (32%) regularly used drugs (14% in combination with alcohol), most commonly before stealing the car and then continuing while driving around. Unfortunately, there are no figures regarding drug use among the general population with which to compare these figures, but, in any event, they suggest a potentially treacherous combination of inexperienced driving, impaired ability, and increased confidence. Only six respondents claimed to use alcohol alone before and during stealing cars, though this figure should be treated with caution given that an estimated six per cent of 'normal' males aged 17-24 drive while over the legal limit on a regular basis (Goddard, 1991).

One in ten of the sample admitted to using cannabis on its own when they were stealing cars, and a rather larger proportion (14%) to combinations of cannabis, alcohol and glue. Drug and alcohol was common across all age groups, though cannabis use was most concentrated amongst the 15-20 year olds. Those from the Midlands (15 out of 21) were less likely and those from the South-West (10 out of 22) slightly more likely to use drugs and alcohol in conjunction with car crime. Though questions about general drug use were not asked, four subjects mentioned that they did use drugs, but not in connection with stealing cars:

(I'd use) not very strong stuff, just cannabis. A lot of my mates take acid and would be driving around while they're tripping, but I was too scared of the drug.

Experience of other crime

An issue of particular interest in relation to career progress is whether or not the present sample of thieves specialised in car crime, or were involved in a mixture of other offences. Thirty-two subjects had no experience of other crime. The rest, including those who now specialised in car crime (see next section), had mostly committed a mixture of crimes, the most common being burglary (n = 35), or ramraiding (n = 20—though 11 ramraiders had done nothing else but car theft). Eleven subjects had committed other thefts, mostly comprising of shoplifting and a further 11 were not specific about their other crimes. On occasions, a car was stolen for other purposes, particularly by more experienced offenders. Nearly half the sample admitted to having stolen a vehicle to commit other offences, most often burglary.

Car crime specialists?

Respondents (n = 97) were asked if they had specialised in car crime to the exclusion of other crimes and just over half (n = 53) said that they had. This is not to say that specialists denied other offending entirely—though 10 of the 53 made mention only of ramraiding (arguably simply a developed form of car crime—which is certainly how most of the ramraiders saw it). Apart from ramraiding, only a quarter (n=13) of the specialists admitted to having experimented with other crime, usually burglary. Nearly all of this group said they experimented after their car crime career had begun, though car theft was more attractive to them and they had reverted to it:

I tried other things like burglaries, theft from shops, commercial burglaries and I never really got into it. I couldn't get to grips with the way to do it. With cars it was so easy. You'd just walk up to it, put a screwdriver in the lock, unlock it, put a scaffold bar in the ignition, whack it off, black box it ... the car's started and you're off. With things like burglaries there's more to watch out for. If the house or shop is alarmed, you have to cut the alarm and they're more difficult than on cars.

There was no strong evidence that those with experience of 'performance driving' were more likely to be specialists, or that specialists engaged more in 'professional' theft—with the exception of those who worked for receivers who were more likely to be specialists.

However, some distinctive features of those who defined themselves as specialists emerged. First, they had longer than average experience (Figure 3.5). For instance, 25 per cent had a career span of at least five years, whereas this was the case for only 15 per cent of those who were 'into' burglary (n = 26), and two out of 11 of 'other thieves'. Secondly, specialists were more likely to begin their criminal career with car theft (92% had done so, as against 42% of others). Thirdly, while specialists did not begin to offend any earlier than others, they drove illegally on the road earlier: 40 per cent had done so by the age of 14 (the youngest at 10), as against 28 per cent of non-specialists (the youngest at 12). Fourthly, and perhaps most importantly, specialists appeared to offend more often. For instance, 61 per cent said they stole cars at least two or three times a week—much higher than among non-specialists (37%). The greater criminal activity of specialists is no doubt a factor in stronger parental reaction to their offending. A full 63 per cent of specialists said their parents felt angry or upset by their thieving, in contrast to 37 per cent of non-specialists.

Specialisation appears to have roots in an unusual degree of interest in cars before thieving starts. (Sixty per cent of those who ended up as specialists had a childhood interest in cars, as against 37 per cent of non-specialists.) This early interest was reflected in their job aspirations when younger: 40 per cent of specialists aspired to some car-related occupation—be it motor mechanic, rally driver or simply 'something to do with cars'—as against 18 per cent of non-specialists. This early interest in cars maintained itself too: 59 per cent of the specialists most wanted to be currently engaged in a car-related activity, a higher figure than for others (41%).

In sum, then, just over half the sample considered themselves to be car crime specialists, concentrating more or less exclusively on stealing cars. They were more likely to have been interested in cars from an early age and aspired more strongly to (legal) car-related jobs when young. They were much more likely to have begun their offending career with car crime, and to have sustained a more active career, offending for longer and more often.

To what extent might the degree of specialism in this group of offenders be unusual? Several studies have looked at the degree to which offenders

Figure 3.5
Length of involvement: specialists and non-specialists

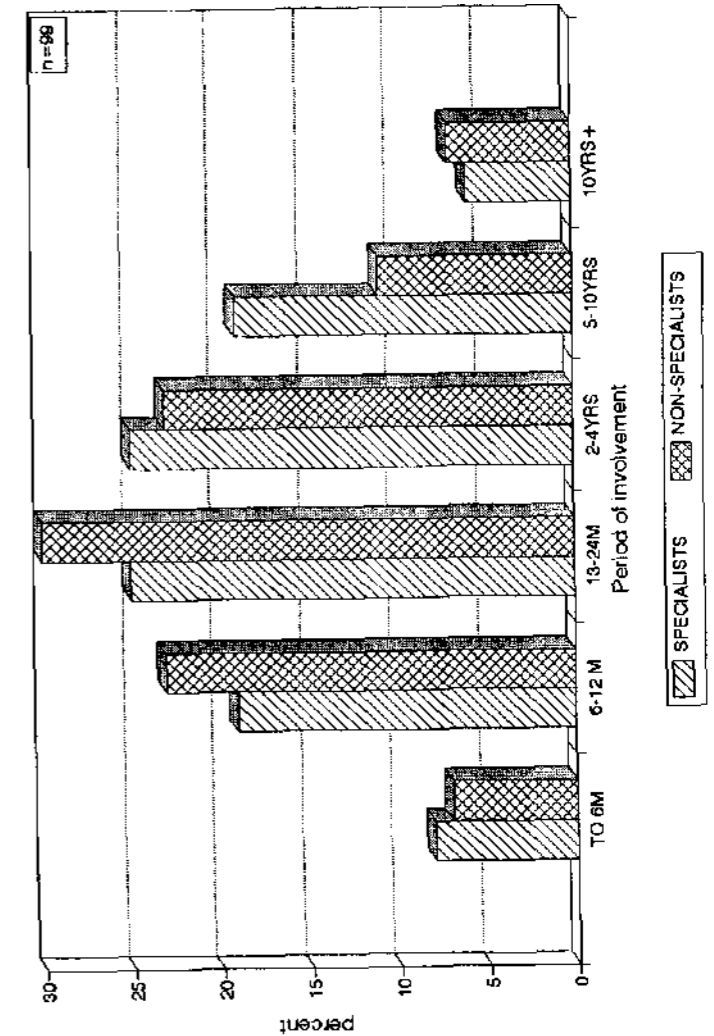


Table 4.1
'What would put you taking off a particular vehicle?'
(n = 94)

Nothing	29
Alarms	49
Unpopular make	10
Know owner	2
Age of vehicle	2
Disabled badge	2
Location	1
Other	5
Total	100

cars, with some models as much as 10 times as likely to be stolen. As will be seen, offender responses in this study matched well with the data contained in the *Index*.

Similar to other studies, cars most often targeted by the current sample were 'easy to steal' (32%) and 'fast/performance cars' (36%). Others said they first took cars which were easy to steal, then, as they gained experience, moved on to high performance cars (17%):

At first it was just easy targets—Cortinas with sloppy locks and things. Then it moved on to getting just what I wanted—anything I fell like driving.

When asked which vehicle makes/models they were most attracted to, 43 per cent replied Fords, 15 per cent Vauxhalls and 10 per cent mentioned both—a combined total of 68 per cent:

I look for sporty types like XR2s, RS Turbos, two litre Cortinas, Escorts. I just walk around the streets at night.

That easy cars are targeted is not surprising; nor that fast /performance cars are wanted, much as they are by a large proportion of the young male population generally. The success of the car manufactures, media and advertising agencies in turning fast cars into objects of desire clearly affects not just potential customers, but also those who are barred from legitimate access to cars either for economic reasons or because they are below the legal age for driving.

Why do Fords and Vauxhalls feature so prominently in this and other studies even when the figures are adjusted to take account of the large numbers on the road? Part of the answer seems to be that they are considered particularly easy to steal:

I just look for cars that are easy to nick—cars that aren't alarmed, general stuff like Fords and MGs and Austins that are easy to get into. Nissans,

Toyotas—mainly Japanese makes like Subaru are really hard to get into because they've got awkward locks.

As well as ease of theft, however, it may be that offenders have more knowledge of and feel more confident around makes such as Ford and Vauxhall, which could be even more disproportionate in numbers in their rather poor home environments than on the road generally. Other makes—for example for continental and Japanese manufacturers—are likely to be under-represented, which may reduce offender's confidence in their ability to enter and start them.¹ This view is reinforced by the fact that after Fords and Vauxhalls, Austin/Morris cars were mentioned as easiest and most popular to steal. The prominence of particular models in less affluent locations has significance for the calculations contained in the *Index*, since although adjustments were made for the over-representation of Fords and Vauxhalls on the road, this was a global rather than area-based calculation.

Data from the *Car Theft Index* shows too that older makes—also likely to be over represented in the offender's home environment—are particularly vulnerable to car crime.

In sum, then, three types of car seem particularly at risk: first, older cars which may be easier to steal; secondly, familiar cars, with which offenders feel comfortable; and thirdly, performance/sporty cars which offenders would like to own if given the opportunity.

Crime prevention issues

Vehicle security: locks

Methods of car theft matched those found in other studies. For this sample, the most common method of getting into cars was to force the door lock, using a screwdriver (53%) or keys (18%), (keys being more likely to be used by older offenders). Others were not specific about their technique for gaining entry (24%). Only two per cent said that they broke a window to get into a car—most presumably avoiding this because of the noise and the visible signal given to others, including the police, that the car had been stolen. Those who had were in the younger (15-17) age groups, reflecting their lack of expertise.

Many offenders expressed incredulity at the ease with which locks could be picked or forced using any key or a screwdriver:

Ford. Always a Ford—they are just so easy. The locks normally fall apart, (here's nothing to them.

The first car I nicked was a Vauxhall Viva, I opened it with my garage key, which surprised me.

¹ For despite the view offered above, it seems that locks on other, for example Japanese, makes are not objectively 'more awkward'.

been involved with the police, in the context of the generally large number of offences claimed to have been committed, risks for particular incidents of theft seemed remote.

In any event, a high proportion (89%) said that the risk of apprehension did not deter them. Within this number 12 per cent thought that even if the police did get on to them that they would be able to get away; seven per cent claimed that the risk of being caught made things more exciting for them.

The risk of being caught

For a number of reasons, the actual chance of being caught and sanctioned can only be roughly estimated from official statistics on recorded crime and offenders proceeded against. For one, a proportion of offenders will come to the attention of the police, but will fall out of the tally of persons 'proceeded against'¹ in that they will be informally cautioned, or be subject to a police decision to take no further formal action. Table 5.1 nonetheless gives a rough indication of risks of sanction based on 1990 figures. The shift should be noted between *offences* (Row A), and *offenders* (Row B onwards). Since there is no

Table 5.1
Number of offenders dealt with for theft and unauthorised taking of motor vehicles, 1990 (1)

A. Offences recorded by the police (2) (3)	494,000	
B. Offenders informally cautioned or no further action taken	unknown	
C. Offenders cautioned	10,000	
1. % offenders cautioned of offences cleared		7.8%
2. % offenders cautioned of recorded offences		2.0%
D. Offenders found guilty	22,000	
1. % offenders found guilty of offences cleared		16.8%
2. % offenders found guilty of recorded offences		4.4%
E. Offenders cautioned and found guilty (4)	32,000	
1. % offenders of offences cleared		24.6%
2. % offenders of recorded offences		6.4%

Notes:

1. Figures rounded to nearest 1,000. Percentages based on more precise numbers.
2. These offences cover both triable either way offences of theft of a motor vehicle, as well as the summary offence of 'unauthorised taking of a conveyance'. The vast majority of 'motor vehicles' will be cars. So too will 'conveyances', though the term also covers non-motorised vehicles (eg, trailers, farming conveyances, etc).
3. The number of offences recorded by the police is not an exact tally of offences committed since some offences will fail to enter police records because they are not reported by victims. In the case of theft of cars the number not reported is likely to be small.
4. There will also be a number of offenders who are taken to court but not found guilty, or whose cases are discharged; others will be informally cautioned by the police.

accurate count of the number of offences each offender is responsible for, the percentages given of those who are proceeded against are only suggestive of the 'likelihood of sanction'.

On the face of it, about six per cent (one in sixteen) of all offences committed result in an offender being either formally cautioned or convicted. This figure will give pause for thought in any debate about the certainty of sanction, though it probably underestimates the risk of sanction in a given year. Some offenders dealt with will have more than one offence set against them; and a number of others may be subject to some police action (eg, an informal caution), but not enter the formal count.

Police chases

Of particular concern in the policing of car theft are chases involving stolen vehicles and the danger they pose to offenders, the police and the public. Almost all the interviewees (91%) reported that they had been chased by the police, 72 per cent more than once. It is hard to say whether there was an element of exaggeration here.

Thirty-one per cent of the sample (n = 95) reported that getting caught or chased by the police was the worst thing about their experience of car crime (though being chased and getting away was the best experience for 14%). This challenges the view that offenders like to be chased, as does the fact that less than 10 per cent said they deliberately provoked the police into chasing them, just 'for the buzz':

It was just like a game—me and the old bill, getting them to chase you and things like that.

When the adrenalin starts flowing, that's it, there's no stopping. When you're being chased by the police and they've got their blue light flashing behind you, and you're going 80 miles an hour through a little street—I mean there's nothing that compares with it.

For many, being chased involved a mixture of fear and excitement:

When you get chased by the police, it's very, very scary. Everyone says 'Oh I beat the police' and all that, but you actually get in a car with someone who's being chased and they're unbelievably scared. A lot of them are close to being physically sick. The stereo gets turned off, everyone sits and looks tense and nervous, no one says anything. Once you've got away from the police it's 'Ah, yeah—great!' Its hard to think that five minutes ago they were almost being sick with fear.

You notice they're behind you and you think 'shit'. The boys in the car start wondering what's going to happen, then I put my foot down and shoot off like that. The buzz that you get is unreal because you think you're on a good buzz, but you are also on a bad buzz because you're thinking 'Am I going to get caught?'.

6 Discussion

The final chapter considers the implications of the research findings for four aspects of the response to car crime: first, the scope for curbing car crime through deterrent sentences; secondly, reducing the 'criminality' of those involved in car crime; thirdly, preventive measures aimed to reduce the opportunity for car crime—referred to here as situational prevention; and fourthly, the implementation of situational prevention methods.

Sentencing and the criminal justice system

It is often suggested that one possibility for reducing car crime might be for the courts to pass tougher sentences on offenders. However, both our research and earlier work on deterrent sentencing (Beyleveld, 1980; Brody, 1976) suggests that there is only limited scope here. This study helps throw some light on the reasons for this.

Increasing the risks of getting caught

The offenders in this sample were not asked to estimate the likelihood of their getting caught for any specific act of car theft (and their perceptions would have varied anyway depending on the particular circumstances of the theft). But, in estimating their 'career risk' generally, just over a fifth (22%) felt that they would be caught in the end, with the remainder either thinking they would escape detection altogether, or closing their mind to the issue.

Research suggests that one of the most important constraints on potential offenders is the belief that they will be caught (Walker, 1991; 1985). Most of the offenders in the study considered the prospect of being caught for stealing cars as highly unlikely—if they considered it at all. The admittedly rough estimate of a six per cent 'actual' chance of being sanctioned for an individual offence (ie, the proportion of recorded offences ending in a conviction or a caution) does little to belie offenders' optimism about escaping legal sanction.

How can the chances of apprehension be improved? Clarke (1991) describes various measures such as informant hotlines, sting operations, 'gotcha cars' and vehicle tracking devices. The present research can offer little in the way of comment on these initiatives, though Clarke concludes that while each may meet with some measure of success 'the scope for increasing the risks of detection and arrest is small'. As certain locations and types of car were

identified as being at high risk of car theft it may be that policing can be better targeted and also, as offenders appeared confident that the police were unlikely to apprehend a sensibly driven stolen vehicle, officers given training in what to look for in identifying a vehicle as possibly stolen.

Penalties for car crime

Offenders were asked about the penalties they expected to receive if caught and how they saw these in terms of deterrence. For the half who did not think about how they would be punished if caught, penalties seemed of little consequence as a factor influencing offending. Of the remainder, 50 per cent said they were deterred by custody, and 25 per cent by fines/driving bans. None reported being deterred by probation, community service or cautions.

What offenders say and what they do may be very different things, of course. It is far from clear that greater use of custody would achieve any deterrent impact, as offenders already seem to overestimate the risks of a custodial sentence. On the other hand, offenders' apparent disregard of community penalties may reflect their ignorance about what is involved and the effect it may have on them.

Offenders' attitude to car theft

Most of the offenders interviewed considered it wrong to steal cars, but few felt the offences to be serious. Among their peers little or no stigma attached to their behaviour, indeed quite the opposite—status and respect rather than censure were apparent. A few offenders expressed the view that attitudes to car crime were hardening. This was based on increased media reporting of 'joyriding' deaths and the stiffer penalties introduced by the Aggravated Vehicle-Taking Act. This indicates that efforts to bring home to offenders the serious nature of the offences—through education and publicity—may be worth pursuing. It should include mundane details of the harm suffered by victims of car crime, as well as reports of shocking incidents involving stolen cars.

Such a policy may help to build a changing climate of offender opinion on the seriousness of car theft—a long-term educative effect of the type which has, for example, produced promising results in reducing drink-driving offences (see Riley, 1991). The significance of legislation such as the Aggravated Vehicle-Taking Act, aside from retribution or 'just deserts', may be not so much in any deterrent pay-off, but in the longer term shifts in attitudes that it helps to achieve.

When interviewees were asked why they had given up car crime, or why other people might give up, increased maturity and responsibility were given much greater prominence in their answers than the effect of penal sanctions. Linking this with the group nature of much car theft, the influence of peers in starting off the car crime career, and the young age of first involvement, underlines the

the police to trace stolen wheels more easily. Evidence suggests that factory marking of components is successful in reducing thefts of car parts, but manufacturers are said to be hostile to the idea, mainly on grounds of cost (Clarke, 1991).

Linked to this is the need to curtail the numerous outlets for the proceeds of car crime, from both casual (radio/cassette players etc) and more 'professional' pursuits (either whole cars or their parts). Unfortunately, the demand for such merchandise is so great that this is likely to be very difficult. Foster (1990) describes the activities of one such outlet in South-East London in detail, where stolen car radios can be sold all day, and on average two stolen cars per week and the parts of several are dealt with. This said, sustained effort to increase control over second-hand car and car parts trading and scrap-yard dealing must have some pay-off.

Vehicle Watch

The study suggests that Vehicle Watch has failed as yet to have any significant impact on car crime offenders in this study, though future success would not be ruled out by these results. At present, implementation is patchy and inconsistent; for instance, in some areas stickers are free, in others they have to be paid for. Some degree of national coordination might result in wider take-up and better sharing of good practice. Vehicle Watch also needs to be evaluated properly.

Car parks and street parking

This and other studies have suggested that cars parked in car parks and those parked overnight in the street are frequently targeted by thieves, though without an accurate 'baseline' of number of cars parked in different locations at different times, this can only be a rough guide. The risks of on-street residential parking could be reduced by longer-term measures to improve street lighting and to incorporate secure parking provision in housing design. The more immediate option—which has been incorporated into the publicity initiatives mounted in Car Crime Prevention Year—is to encourage those with access to garages or off-street parking to make regular use of it and to promote busy rather than quiet parking sites where possible.

The subject of car park vulnerability has been extensively covered in a recent Home Office study (Webb *et al.*, 1992). Our offenders' accounts endorse the recommendations made there for better security and car park management. There may well be added benefits in terms of reducing other crime, and for lessening the sense of insecurity which certain types of public car parks induce, particularly among women.

Implementing preventive measures

Crime prevention messages have been directed primarily at manufacturers and owners—manufacturers being encouraged to make more effort, owners to take more care.

Car manufacturers

According to the offenders interviewed, car security is lamentably weak. The study confirms the ease with which offenders are able to enter and start vehicles. The results here suggest that most cars can be stolen using a few simple tools, with door and ignition/steering locks offering little resistance. Action by manufacturers seems long overdue. Several areas of improvement have already been mentioned (eg locks, alarms, immobilisers, and wheel protection); and others have been singled out elsewhere (eg boot security, and laminated side windows, Southall and Ekblom, 1985).

Motor manufacturers have traditionally been reluctant to improve car security—arguing that customers are resistant to the cost and that crime prevention is the job of the police. However, the 1988 British Crime Survey found that 64 per cent of car buyers would be willing to pay for extra security (Clarke, 1991) and manufacturers are now coming under increasing pressure—both from central government and insurance companies—to accept responsibility for enhanced car security. This, together with anticipation of EC regulations and customer concern about car crime, all appear to be making manufacturers reconsider their position. There are signs that better security is now being incorporated into car design. Material on risks and good security practice has featured in many of the publicity initiatives mounted during Car Crime Prevention Year, though continuing efforts will no doubt be needed to influence drivers' behaviour.

How far improved security will lead to spiralling levels of sophistication between thieves and manufacturers remains to be seen. Professional thieves are likely to pose the biggest 'displacement' threat, but the evidence of this study suggests that other offenders might be outwitted. Only simple tools were used by the interviewees and none reported using 'slim jims' or universal key sets, let alone electronic gadgetry such as 'code grabbers' that open central locking systems and override alarms. This leaves aside, however, the question of displacement to other less well-protected vehicles. If better security of newer cars ensues, this will need to be monitored, for instance through examining changes in the age of vehicles stolen.

Car owners

Although purchasers of new vehicles may well benefit from better levels of protection against car theft, it will be some years before offenders are faced with only 'harder' targets. For instance, by 1996, roughly 40 per cent of cars on the road will have been manufactured in 1992 or later, which will still leave

