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Problem-Oriented Guides for Police
Problem-Specific Guides Series
No. 46

Thefts of and from Cars on Residential Streets and Driveways

by Todd Keister

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About the Problem-Specific Guides Series

The *Problem-Specific Guides* summarize knowledge about how police can reduce the harm caused by specific crime and disorder problems. They are guides to prevention and to improving the overall response to incidents, not to investigating offenses or handling specific incidents. Neither do they cover all of the technical details about how to implement specific responses. The guides are written for police—of whatever rank or assignment—who must address the specific problem the guides cover. The guides will be most useful to officers who:

- **Understand basic problem-oriented policing principles and methods**. The guides are not primers in problem-oriented policing. They deal only briefly with the initial decision to focus on a particular problem, methods to analyze the problem, and means to assess the results of a problem-oriented policing project. They are designed to help police decide how best to analyze and address a problem they have already identified. (A companion series of *Problem-Solving Tools* guides has been produced to aid in various aspects of problem analysis and assessment.)

- **Can look at a problem in depth**. Depending on the complexity of the problem, you should be prepared to spend perhaps weeks, or even months, analyzing and responding to it. Carefully studying a problem before responding helps you design the right strategy, one that is most likely to work in your community. You should not blindly adopt the responses others have used; you must decide whether they are appropriate to your local situation. What is true in one place may not be true elsewhere; what works in one place may not work everywhere.

- **Are willing to consider new ways of doing police business**. The guides describe responses that other police departments have used or that researchers have tested. While not all of these responses will be appropriate to your particular problem, they should help give a broader view of the kinds of things you could do. You may think you cannot implement some of these responses in your jurisdiction, but perhaps you can. In many places, when police have discovered a more effective response, they have succeeded in having laws and policies changed, improving the response to the problem. (A companion series of *Response Guides* has been produced to help you understand how commonly-used police responses work on a variety of problems.)

- **Understand the value and the limits of research knowledge**. For some types of problems, a lot of useful research is available to the police; for other problems, little is available. Accordingly, some guides in this series summarize existing research whereas other guides illustrate the need for more research on that particular problem. Regardless, research has not provided definitive answers to all the questions you might have about the problem. The research may help get you started in designing your own responses, but it cannot tell you exactly what to do. This will depend greatly on the particular nature of your local problem. In the interest of keeping the guides readable, not every piece of relevant research has been cited, nor has every point been attributed to its sources. To have done so would have overwhelmed and distracted the reader. The references listed at the end of each guide are those drawn on most heavily; they are not a complete bibliography of research on the subject.

- **Are willing to work with others to find effective solutions to the problem**. The police alone cannot implement many of the responses discussed in the guides. They must frequently implement them in partnership with other responsible private and public bodies including other government agencies, non-governmental organizations, private businesses, public utilities, community groups, and individual citizens. An effective problem-solver must know how to forge genuine partnerships with others and be prepared to invest considerable effort in making these partnerships work. Each guide identifies particular individuals or groups in the community with whom police might work to improve the overall response to that problem. Thorough analysis of problems often reveals that individuals and groups other than the police are in a stronger position to address problems and that police ought to shift some greater responsibility to them to do so. Response Guide No. 3, *Shifting and Sharing Responsibility for Public Safety Problems*, provides further discussion of this topic.

The COPS Office defines community policing as "a policing philosophy that promotes and supports organizational strategies to address the causes and reduce the fear of crime and social disorder through problem-solving tactics and police-community partnerships." These guides emphasize problem-solving and police-community partnerships in the context of addressing specific public safety problems. For the most part, the organizational strategies that can facilitate *problem-solving* and *police-community partnerships* vary considerably and discussion of them is beyond the scope of these guides.

These guides have drawn on research findings and police practices in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia. Even though laws, customs and police

practices vary from country to country, it is apparent that the police everywhere experience common problems. In a world that is becoming increasingly interconnected, it is important that police be aware of research and successful practices beyond the borders of their own countries.

Each guide is informed by a thorough review of the research literature and reported police practice and is anonymously peer-reviewed by line police officers, police executives and researchers prior to publication.

The COPS Office and the authors encourage you to provide feedback on this guide and to report on your own agency's experiences dealing with a similar problem. Your agency may have effectively addressed a problem using responses not considered in these guides and your experiences and knowledge could benefit others. This information will be used to update the guides. If you wish to provide feedback and share your experiences it should be sent via e-mail to cops_pubs@usdoj.gov.

For more information about problem-oriented policing, visit the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing online at www.popcenter.org. This website offers free online access to:

- the Problem-Specific Guides series
- the companion *Response Guides* and *Problem-Solving Tools series*
- instructional information about problem-oriented policing and related topics
- an interactive problem-oriented policing training exercise
- an interactive *Problem Analysis Module*
- a manual for crime analysts
- online access to important police research and practices
- information about problem-oriented policing conferences and award programs.

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The project team that developed the guide series comprised Herman Goldstein (University of Wisconsin Law School), Ronald V. Clarke (Rutgers University), John E. Eck (University of Cincinnati), Michael S. Scott (University of Wisconsin Law School), Rana Sampson (Police Consultant), and Deborah Lamm Weisel (North Carolina State University.)

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Cynthia E. Pappas oversaw the project for the COPS Office. Research for the guide was conducted at the Criminal Justice Library at Rutgers University under the direction of Phyllis Schultze. Suzanne Fregly edited this guide.

Contents

The Problem of Thefts of and from Cars on Residential Streets and Driveways

What This Guide Does and Does Not Cover

This guide begins by describing the problem of theft of and from cars in residential neighborhoods and by reviewing factors that increase its risks. It then identifies a series of questions to help you analyze your local problem. Finally, it reviews responses to the problem and what is known about these from evaluative research and police practice.

Theft of and from cars in residential neighborhoods is only one of a number of vehicle-related problems that occur in residential neighborhoods that the police must address. This guide is limited to addressing only the harms created by theft of and from cars in streets and driveways in such neighborhoods. It does not cover thefts in parking facilities, except where especially relevant. Related problems not directly addressed in this guide, each of which require separate analysis, include:

- carjacking
- insurance fraud[§]
- burglaries to garages and outbuildings
- injuries or deaths resulting from stolen vehicle pursuits
- thefts of and from commercial vehicles
- thefts of motorcycles, all-terrain vehicles or bicycles
- speeding in residential areas.

§ As many as 10 percent of all reported thefts of automobiles are fraudulent. Vehicle owners may stage a phony theft of their vehicle because they are no longer able or willing to make the required vehicle loan payments, or in order to defraud their insurance carrier for financial gain. Consequently, at least some portion of what is perceived to be a vehicle crime problem might in fact be an insurance fraud problem (Arizona Criminal Justice Commission, Statistical Analysis Center, 2004).

www.baitcar.com

Not all car thieves are non-violent criminals. Stolen cars are used as tools to facilitated other crimes such as drug trafficking or as "getaway" vehicles in robberies or burglaries.

§ Thefts from vehicles are variously referred to by police around the country as "vehicle burglaries," "vehicle larcenies," "car cloutings" (St. Louis), and "car prowls."

Some of these related problems are covered in other guides in this series, all of which are listed at the end of this guide. For the most up-to-date listing of current and future guides, see www.popcenter.org.

General Description of the Problem

Theft *from* parked cars§ is one of the most common complaints received by police in residential neighborhoods. According to U.S. Department of Justice statistics, these types of crimes make up some 36 percent of all larcenies reported to the police. Crimes in general and property crimes in particular tend to be underreported to authorities. As a result, the problem may be worse than it appears in statistics reported by police. In the United Kingdom, a nationwide survey found that only 47 percent of all car crime was reported to the police. In contrast, nearly all thefts of cars are reported to the authorities, because of the significant monetary loss and insurance company reporting requirements.

Thefts from vehicles usually involve small dollar values in terms of the property stolen, but they take up considerable police resources and increase residents' fear of crime. These thefts excepted, crime rates in suburban residential neighborhoods are otherwise low. However, recurring thefts from cars in a residential community can erode residents' feelings of safety and security, as well as their confidence in police and other authorities.

While generally a more significant problem in metropolitan areas, thefts of cars also pose a significant crime problem in many suburban jurisdictions. Cars are generally stolen for one of three purposes: (1) for temporary transportation, such as use in another crime or for "joyriding"; (2) to strip the car of its valuable parts for resale; (3) to re-sell it, often disguised as a legitimate car. The vast majority of car thefts are committed for transportation or "joyriding."[1] Stolen cars generate higher insurance costs, inconvenience, and financial losses for car owners as well as the risks to the safety of police officers and other motorists from stolen vehicle pursuits.

Factors Contributing to Thefts of and from Cars on Residential Streets and Driveways

Understanding the factors that contribute to your problem will help you frame your own local analysis questions, determine proper effectiveness measures, recognize key intervention points, and select appropriate responses. Where and when cars are parked are probably the most significant factors that offer opportunity to thieves.

Location

At single-family residences. Because suburban residential areas are relatively safe and quiet, residents can become complacent about car security. They may leave their car doors unlocked or the keys in the ignition. Oftentimes, their homes' exterior lighting is wholly inadequate. Overly tall shrubbery and other brush on the premises can provide thieves with cover. An entire neighborhood filled with unlocked cars and poorly lit homes, with plenty of cover, is an inviting scene for a thief.

On the street. National Crime Survey data indicate that most car thefts (37 percent) occurs on the street outside the victim's home.[2] A study conducted in the United Kingdom revealed that a car parked on the street is much more likely to be targeted by criminals than a car parked in a driveway, as can be seen in Table 1.[3] Hampshire (United Kingdom) police discovered that nearly one-half of all car crimes in Portsmouth occurred on only about 10 percent of the city's streets and that the pattern was even further concentrated within those streets.[4]

Table 1. Risk of Car Theft by Parking Location in England and Wales (1982-1994)

Location	Thefts per 100,000 cars per 24 hours
Home garage	2
Home carport/drive	40
Home street	117

Cars in residential locations that are adjacent to lower-tier socioeconomic neighborhoods (which often have higher crime rates) are generally more vulnerable. Thieves who reside in the high-crime neighborhoods need only walk a few blocks to search for items or cars to steal. They have the advantage of being familiar with the area.

Residential subdivisions. Residential subdivisions surrounded by rural lands and not served by public transportation are less likely to suffer from chronic car crime. Thieves would have to travel to the location, and then walk around in unfamiliar neighborhoods where they are more likely to appear out of place and attract suspicion. Also, these areas often have no sidewalks, so pedestrian traffic in general draws attention.

Time

Thefts of and from cars in suburban residential areas generally occur at night. This is because it is the time most cars are present in these areas, as well as the fact that darkness provides cover for the thieves. In residential areas that contain multi-family apartment complexes, parking lots can be vulnerable to thefts during the day because there are many people using the lots, thus providing anonymity to the offender. Some special events that draw large numbers of vehicles to an area also generate high volumes of thefts from cars.[5]

Type of Car

Data on the most frequently stolen new cars and parts are compiled by the Highway Loss Data Institute (www.iihs.org) and the Insurance Information Institute (www.iii.org) and are published annually online. Data on the theft of older model cars are reported by the National Insurance Crime Bureau (NICB) (www.nicb.org). In general, older

models of cars are more often stolen than more recent models because fewer of them contain in-built anti-theft devices, and thieves learn that particular models of cars are easier to steal than others. However, newer models may be targeted for theft if they contain expensive components in great demand (on the next page).

§ The Highway Loss Data Institute reported that the 2002 and 2003 Nissan Maxima was most often targeted for theft of its high-intensity discharge headlamps in 2003.

Items Targeted for Theft

Frequently, thefts *from* cars will occur in clusters. Numerous larcenies may be reported during the early morning hours when one or more thieves have passed through a neighborhood looking for property to steal. In general, two kinds of property are stolen: personal items and car components. Personal items that owners may leave in their cars include loose change, laptop computers, portable music players, and wallets or pocket books. The United Kingdom Home Office reported that personal valuables inside the passenger compartment accounted for 35 percent of items stolen, while stereo components made up 27 percent of the stolen items.[6] Compact discs as well as car stereo parts and accessories can easily be traded for cash at second-hand music stores or pawnshops. These items can also be difficult to trace, as few owners take the time to record the serial numbers of after-market stereo components. Targeted car components change as the different features become highly valued. For a time stereo equipment was targeted, but now air bags and expensive parts such as high-intensity discharge or xenon headlamps are prized.[§] The National Insurance Crime Bureau (NICB) reports more than 75,000 thefts of airbags annually.[7] Many of the techniques associated with stealing cars for parts or resale differ from thefts of personal items from cars.[8]

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A Ford Mustang stripped of its airbags and other interior components.

Understanding Your Local Problem

The information provided above is only a generalized description of the problem of thefts of and from cars in residential neighborhoods. You must combine the basic facts with a more specific understanding of your local problem. Analyzing the local problem carefully will help you design a more effective response strategy. Your main emphasis should be on understanding the environmental settings in which the thefts occur in your suburban residential communities, and identifying those people in your community who can help change those settings.

In most cases, the main problem will be theft *from* cars, and you should try to determine the kind of offenders involved (e.g., transients, drug addicts, juveniles). On the other hand, if the problem is mainly theft *of* cars, you will need to determine the motive, whether for joyriding, for transport, or for profit. The principal indicators of motive are recovery rates, though the model stolen will also help determine the motive because certain kinds of thieves favor certain models, which vary according to how easy they are to steal, or the valued parts that they contain.[9]

Stakeholders

Determining which individuals and groups have a stake in the problem and its resolution is an important first step in collecting information about the problem. In addition to criminal justice agencies, the following groups are likely to have some stake or interest in the problem because they may be able to effect changes in the environmental settings in which the thefts occur. Without their help, you will be limited to reactive responses to calls for service and to making occasional arrests, without the ability to implement any changes in the environment that may prevent the thefts from occurring. Stakeholders include:

For Driveways

- homeowners or tenants
- home insurance companies.

For Streets

- town supervisors
- building surveyors
- traffic engineers
- urban planners
- local community groups.

For Both Locations

- auto insurance companies
- car owners.

Gathering Intelligence

The most important first step must be the collection of relevant data. It is only through the systematic collection of information concerning characteristics of location, times and methods used by offenders that a clear picture of the problem will emerge. This information can then be used both to inform local car owners and residents of the problem as well as to train police officers.

In many densely populated areas, thefts *from* cars go uninvestigated if there is no information from the victim as to the identity of the perpetrator. Frequently, police departments do not even send an officer to the scene to investigate or to interview the victim. Reports on these types of offenses are often simply taken over the telephone and entered into the departments' records. While this sort of action may be pragmatic in overburdened police agencies, when attempting to address a specific problem it causes the loss of a great deal of information that may be of assistance. Identifying one or more perpetrators can alleviate a problem by removing the offender and providing insight into the characteristics, motives, and methods of operation of the thieves. Furthermore, the collection of intelligence concerning the scene of the theft may also help in prevention if the information is routinely shared with a crime analyst, who may help, using mapping techniques, to identify risky locations. (See *Crime Analysis for Problem Solvers in 60 Small Steps* at www.popcenter.org/learning/60steps for further guidance on problem analysis.) The following specific intelligence collection methods may be particularly useful for this type of problem:

- Sending an officer to each report of theft from a car can provide an opportunity for the police to uncover details about the crime not likely to be discovered

by telephone. It provides the officer an opportunity to interview neighbors and perhaps uncover additional clues or additional crimes. Moreover, such responsiveness demonstrates to the residents that the department takes their concerns seriously and is implementing measures to help.

- Forming a task force to investigate car crimes in the target area can be an effective way of concentrating effort into solving the crimes. A group of officers and detectives who have the opportunity to focus on a single problem can develop a clearer picture of the overall pattern. They can coordinate their efforts and synthesize information from multiple sources without the distraction of handling numerous other calls and investigations.

- Interviewing offenders as to their motivation and methods can help police develop new approaches to the problem, and to determine which efforts they have employed are effective and which are not.[§] The San Diego police used this method and determined that the perpetrators in their area typically focused on apartment complexes, worked in pairs and traveled to the area by car from several miles away.[10,§§] These same interviews conducted by San Diego detectives revealed that a single pair of offenders was often responsible for dozens, sometimes hundreds of theft incidents. This is consistent with a large body of research that shows that a small proportion of offenders is responsible for the vast majority of crime.[11] Gathering detailed information from offenders can reveal the type of offender and suggest proper courses of action. For example, if your analysis reveals that professionals are stealing vehicles

§ See Problem-Solving Tools Guide No. 3, *Using Offender Interviews to Inform Police Problem Solving*, for advice on how to conduct such interviews.

§§ Police researchers in the United Kingdom used an alternative method of gathering intelligence against professional car thieves; they distributed questionnaires to police investigators who dealt with car crime and collected data about their knowledge of offenders. Among other information, the study indicated that joyriders tend to graduate to other vehicle crimes, and it identified common traits of facilities used as chop shops (Hinchliffe, 1994).

for stripping or resale, investigation can focus on identifying suitable locations for the thieves to carry out such an operation.

Asking the Right Questions

The following are some questions you should ask in analyzing your particular problem of thefts of and from cars on suburban residential streets or driveways, even if the answers are not always readily available. Your answers to these and other questions will help you choose the most appropriate set of responses later on.

Incidents

- Is theft *of* cars or theft *from* cars the primary problem? (Different offender motivations may suggest particular responses.)
- What factors explain why some offenses were successfully completed and others were not (e.g., presence of alarms on vehicles, witnesses deterred offenders)?
- What percentage of offenses has not been reported to police? (You will need to survey area residents to learn this information.) Why have some offenses not been reported to police?
- Are there other incidents, unknown to your department, being investigated by another police agency?
- Are thefts occurring simultaneously with other crimes or events (e.g., vandalism, thefts of other property, burglary to houses)?
- How is entry gained into the vehicle? By unlocked doors or open windows, or by forced entry?

- Where has any stolen property been recovered (e.g., chop shops, pawn shops, other resale shops, offenders' homes)?
- How is stolen property disposed of (e.g., offenders keep it for their own use, sell it, or trade it for other valuables)?

Offenders

- Are the offenders drug addicts looking for money to purchase their drug of choice?
- Are they transients passing through the area to another particular location, such as a bar or apartment complex?[§]
- Are the offenders juveniles who are more likely to be out on weekends?
- Are the car thieves professionals who are selecting particular cars or car components?
- Are the cars being stolen for transportation/entertainment ("joyriding")?
- What other crimes or problems are offenders involved in? (Understanding this might provide insights into the types of offenders.)
- Are the offenders locals or outsiders?

Victims

- Are particular vehicle owners repeatedly victimized?
- Do certain victim behaviors contribute to thefts (for example, leaving keys or valuables plainly visible in vehicles)?

§ The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Department found that transient alcoholics who made a daily trip from the shelters along an abandoned rail line to the city's downtown office parking areas primarily caused their theft from vehicle problem. Part of the solution was to deny access to the rail line by installation of a new trolley system (Clarke and Goldstein, 2003).

Thefts of Cars

- Which models are stolen?
- What proportion of stolen cars is recovered?
- Which models are less likely to be recovered?
- How soon are they recovered?
- Where are they recovered?
- Are they damaged?
- Have items been stolen?

Thefts from Cars

- Are there favored methods of gaining entry to cars?
- What is stolen?
- Where and how are items fenced?

Locations/Times

- Do the thefts occur in streets or driveways or both?
- Is the problem confined to parking lots in or around apartment complexes?
- Is the problem confined to streets in single-family residential areas, or driveways of single-family residences?
- Where are the thefts occurring? On which streets? Is there a pattern or hot spot?
- During what time of day, day of the week, days of the month, and months of the year do the crimes most commonly occur?
- Do offenses occur during special events (e.g., nearby sporting or other entertainment events, or large parties)?
- What is the character of the surrounding neighborhood?

Conditions Facilitating Theft

- What are the most likely routes of ingress and egress in the area for thieves?
- What are the typical vehicle traffic patterns in the area (e.g., one-way streets, cul-de-sacs, heavy or light traffic)?
- What are the typical pedestrian traffic patterns in the area?
- What are the lighting conditions (on the streets and around houses) at the time of the offenses?
- What type of concealment is available to thieves (e.g., heavy foliage, dark areas, buildings, walls and fences)?
- Are there parking facilities nearby that might offer more secure parking?

Current Responses to the Problem

- Are residents aware of the problem? If so, how concerned are they about it?
- What actions, if any, have residents and vehicle owners taken to prevent thefts?
- Are other groups involved and/or calling for an improved response to the problem?
- What actions have police taken to address the problem?
- What number and percentage of offenses have been cleared by arrest?
- What have been the typical outcomes of criminal prosecutions of offenders?

Measuring Your Effectiveness

Measurement allows you to determine to what degree your efforts have succeeded, and suggests how you might modify your responses if they are not producing the intended results. You should take measures of your problem *before* you implement responses, to determine how serious the problem is, and *after* you implement them, to determine whether they have been effective. All measures should be taken in both the target area and the surrounding area. For more detailed guidance on measuring effectiveness, see Problem Solving Tool Guide No. 1, *Assessing Responses to Problems: An Introductory Guide for Police Problem-Solvers*.

The following are potentially useful measures of the effectiveness of responses to thefts of and from cars:

- Fewer thefts reported to police
- Fewer related crimes in the area (e.g., vandalism, other thefts, burglary)
- Reduced value of stolen property
- Reduced concern among area residents about the problem
- Reduced theft reports to car insurance companies
- Fewer complaints from concerned citizens, community groups, or elected officials about the problem.

The following measures, while not direct measures of effectiveness, may indicate progress toward reduced thefts:

- Increased calls for service (reflecting more witnesses to theft)
- Increased apprehensions of suspects
- Increased recovery of stolen property
- Fewer poorly secured cars or items left in view
- Less evidence of glass from broken windows or windshields.

Responses to the Problem of Thefts of and from Cars on Residential Streets and Driveways

Your analysis of your particular problem should give you a better understanding of the factors contributing to it. Once you have analyzed your local problem and established a baseline for measuring effectiveness, you should consider possible responses to address the problem.

The following responses, drawing from a variety of research studies and police reports, provide a foundation of ideas for addressing your particular problem. Several of these responses may apply to your community's problem. It is critical that you tailor responses to local circumstances, and that you can justify each response based on reliable analysis. In most cases, an effective strategy will involve implementing several different approaches. Law enforcement responses alone are seldom effective in reducing or solving the problem. Do not limit yourself to considering what police can do: give careful consideration to who else in your community shares responsibility for the problem and can help police better respond to it. The responsibility of responding, in some cases, may need to be shifted toward those who have the capacity to implement more effective responses. (For more detailed information on shifting and sharing responsibility, see Response Guide No. 3, *Shifting and Sharing Responsibility for Public Safety Problems*.)

General Considerations for an Effective Response Strategy

While there are a number of effective responses to protect cars that are parked in parking lots or facilities, there are fewer clearly effective solutions that local police can implement to prevent thefts from residential streets and driveways. The streets on which cars are parked may be wide or narrow, treed or bare of vegetation, and lit or unlit; the risks of theft vary according to these environments. The fact that streets and the driveways attached to them are accessible to everyone makes cars very vulnerable. Probably the most effective response for car owners is not to park their cars in the open streets or driveways. Of course, many car owners, especially in more densely populated residential areas, are forced to park on the streets because they do not have garages or driveways.

The capacity to prevent theft of cars and their components at the local level is limited, especially when cars are parked on the street where they are easily accessible at any time of the day, with few obstacles in the way of the thief. The solution in large part depends on car manufacturers, who have begun in recent years to design cars that are much more secure from theft, and on car insurers, who have demanded that cars be designed with security as a major concern, just as they did previously in regard to car safety.[12] Obviously, at the local level, police must respond to the problem regardless of the level of security built into the cars in that vicinity.

Because there is little evaluative research available on this problem, it is uncertain how effective many of the responses described below are. They are nonetheless grounded in accepted crime prevention principles.

1. Promoting sales of cars with in-built security systems. The most effective techniques that have reduced car theft over the last three decades have been car security systems installed by manufacturers. These systems have included:

- Steering column locks, which require an ignition key to unlock steering, have been shown as far back as 1970 to be effective in reducing car theft in Europe.[13]
- Tracking systems, which use a transmitter within the car to send Global Positioning System (GPS) signals reporting the vehicle location to police, have been found effective in locating the stolen car.[14]
- Electronic immobilizers, which disable the electrical systems at several points, require the owner to authenticate with a transponder or PIN-code to start the car. Immobilizers have reduced car theft in Western Australia, where their installation has been mandated not only for newly manufactured cars but for older models as well.[15]
- Car ID security measures include inscribing ID information on car parts or on cars themselves using micro-dot technologies, as well as automatic license plate recognition and VIN etching. There is some initial evidence that these new technologies may work.[16]

The majority of these effective responses for reducing thefts of cars require national or statewide action, which may be beyond the reach of your local agency.[§]

§ Reforms such as tightening vehicle registration rules require legislative or state agency action.

There are also some after-market security devices and systems that enjoy wide popularity. These include:

§ See Problem-Specific Guide No. 18, *Burglary of Single-family Houses*.

- Mechanical barriers or locks where the steering wheel or brake pedal is "locked down" with a bar. These should be effective, especially as we know that steering column locks work, but there is no evaluative research available. The common sense advantage of these devices is that they are clearly visible to thieves who may prefer to steal a car that is unlocked and without any visible security system.
- Sirens and pager alarms that signal a break-in to the owner. No evaluative research is available as to effectiveness.
- Steering column collars that make access to the ignition electronics more difficult.

New technologies have shown promise in reducing car theft.[17] The local police role with respect to car security systems might be to advocate their use by local car owners.

All of the above systems, whether manufacturer installed or added later, may be effective against theft of cars, but they will do little to prevent theft from cars.

As we have seen, cars are generally safer in driveways than parked on streets, but this will depend to some extent on the length of the driveway, shrubbery, lighting, and other factors that affect natural surveillance. Some preventive responses to protect driveways have been found effective—such as those that increase the risk to the offender in carrying out burglaries of single-family houses[§]—there is little research that evaluates the

responses outlined below. Many of the examples reported are of promising programs, but because they were not scientifically evaluated it is difficult to rule out other explanations of reported effectiveness.

Many common sense techniques may be applied locally, though they may often depend on car owner and property owner action in order to implement them. In fact, some police agencies have found that community residents do not secure their personal property as well as they should.[18] Unsecured cars, cars with valuables left in plain view, poor house and street lighting, and vegetation or other features that provide concealment for thieves are commonplace. Thus, educating citizens often plays a central part in any prevention program adopted by a local police department.[19]

2. Partnering with business. Insurance companies bear much of the cost of thefts, and they may assist police at a local level by providing financial resources and reporting insurance fraud. Insurance companies are becoming more directly involved in crime prevention measures, which is part of a trend of increasing involvement on the part of businesses in combating crime.[20] Police in Colorado Springs (Colorado) were able to obtain unmarked cars for their auto-theft patrol units at no cost from automobile insurance companies.[21] Special skills and techniques are needed in developing business partnerships.[§]

3. Promoting securely designed neighborhoods. Taking a long-term view, police can work with property developers and community planners to make sure that new residential developments are designed to create more "defensible space" where cars can be more safely parked and do not have to be parked on open streets.[§§]

§ Problem-Solving Tools Guide No. 5, *Partnering with Businesses to Address Public Safety Problems*, describes the steps police should take in developing productive relationships with businesses.

§§ See the website of the International CPTED (Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design) Association at www.cpted.net for further information about the relationship between neighborhood design and crime.

4. Educating patrol officers about car theft patterns. Educating patrol officers as to the nature and extent of the car crime problem can aid in producing more arrests and alleviating public concerns. Information concerning the methods of operation of the thieves and the characteristics of offenders, if known, and any information concerning likely suspects, can be passed on to officers who patrol the problem area. Little scientific evidence exists to demonstrate the effectiveness of such training. However, common sense dictates that if officers can be educated about a problem with a minimum expenditure of resources, they should be more effective at countering the problem.

- San Diego police instituted a one-day training session for its officers who were patrolling a district that had experienced more than 1,500 thefts from cars in one year—all within one square mile.[22]
- The California Highway Patrol instituted a 40-hour Vehicle Theft Investigation Course, held nine times per year, as part of a multi-faceted effort to reduce car crime.[23]

Specific Responses to Reduce Thefts of and from Cars on Residential Streets and Driveways

The specific responses are classified into three areas: security, education, and enforcement. However all three are closely related, and it is likely that any program aimed at reducing thefts of and from cars will include responses from all three areas.

Security

5. Improving lighting. Most thefts from cars in residential neighborhoods occur at night because this is when most cars are present in these communities and because of the anonymity that darkness provides. Improved street lighting and illumination of private property removes one of the thief's greatest allies—the cover of darkness. A study in the United Kingdom found that, of offenders who targeted cars in residential areas for theft, 80 percent limited their activities to the hours of darkness.[24] Well-lit streets and homes increase the risk of detection and can act as a deterrent to would-be offenders. Research has demonstrated the positive effects of improved street lighting in reducing criminal activity.[25]

- Working with local town or village officials to add additional street lighting to a problem location can serve to make criminals uncomfortable as they walk the streets looking for targets.[§]
- Encouraging homeowners to install and utilize additional lighting around their homes can also deter thieves. Including this information in town newsletters and flyers, and during presentations at community meetings, are effective means of disseminating this information.

[§] Henrico County, Virginia police (2001) coordinated a program in which homeowners shared the costs of additional street lighting to deter thefts from cars.

Todd Keister

At this suburban home, the configuration of the house, the fencing and vegetation makes the vehicles observable only from the street. The motion light (on the garage) could help to deter a thief.

6. Removing vegetation and other cover. Thieves looking for quick and easy items to steal choose targets where the risk of detection and apprehension is low. Trees with low branches and high shrubs that obscure the view of the property from the street can provide a thief with concealment. Simple trimming or removal of such vegetation, or alteration of other structures that give cover to thieves, can deprive potential criminals of concealment.[26] Tips regarding this subject can be included in flyers and presentations to citizens and groups.

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Vegetation and carport structures such as those pictured here can provide cover for thieves. Encouraging property owners to remove or modify such features can help reduce the occurrence of theft.

Local public works or highway department officials may be able to aid in trimming low branches along the street or other vegetation in undeveloped areas to improve visibility and remove readily available concealment for thieves.[27]

7. Changing or restricting traffic patterns. A key concern for thieves is a rapid means of escape after the event or in the case of discovery. Thieves operating in cars can be discouraged if their potential escape routes are restricted. Dead-end streets afford only one means of ingress and egress, and they also increase the likelihood of drawing attention to any particular car entering the roadway. Streets can be closed to through-traffic by local ordinance,

thereby creating both restricted traffic flow and a basis for officers to stop violators and discover perpetrators in the area. Closing streets and diverting traffic can be difficult and complicated and its long-term effects are yet to be evaluated.§

§ See Response Guide No. 2, *Closing Streets and Alleys to Reduce Crime* for a more detailed account of this response to a variety of problems.

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Parking lot barriers such as these can serve as a method of ensuring access to only authorized vehicles. They also create the appearance that the area is "secured" in some way.

8. Installing and monitoring video surveillance (CCTV). Video surveillance devices can provide a low-cost method (compared to using manpower) of providing 24-hour monitoring of streets. While these devices may not record a criminal act, they could potentially aid the police in identifying a car or known individual that is in the area where the crimes are occurring and who has no reasonable cause to be in such place. However, it is unclear under what circumstances and what specific locations video surveillance may be effective.[28] Although the cameras provide 24-hour coverage, unless dozens are employed the odds of capturing a crime on video are negligible. It is likely that video surveillance in itself may be ineffective in identifying and apprehending offenders, depending on the locations, a fact that offenders quickly discover.[29] However, new technologies for deciphering unusual movements in video images may increase the effectiveness and efficiency of these devices in the future.

The primary utility of video surveillance lies in increasing potential offenders' perceived risk of getting caught, rather than in real-time monitoring for identification or apprehension of offenders. Prominently posted signs indicating that the area is under surveillance, combined with media publicity, may enhance the effect of video surveillance, though evaluative research has produced mixed results. Finally, the installation of video cameras in some suburban neighborhoods may be opposed by local citizen groups because of their intrusiveness. Their acceptance would most likely depend on how serious the problem of theft of and from cars was in the neighborhood.§

§ For a comprehensive assessment of using video surveillance see Response Guide No. 4., *Video Surveillance of Public Places*.

§§ See Response Guide No. 5, *Crime Prevention Publicity Campaigns*, for further information about the effectiveness of publicity campaigns.

Todd Keister

The use of video surveillance cameras such as the one pictured above may serve as a visual deterrent to thieves and a reminder that someone may be watching or recording their activities.

Education

9. Alerting car owners about theft problems and educating them about known risk factors and effective prevention. Car owners often do not secure their personal property as well as they should.[30] Educating them on how to protect their cars and their contents has been used as part of an overall police program to reduce the thefts from cars.[31,§§] The first step is to ensure that car owners and area residents are aware that a problem exists. When

community members are aware of a car crime problem, they are more likely to take measures to secure their property. Effective information sharing networks may also help in spreading the word. Although some studies (most of which lack control groups) have suggested that owners may take more precautions in protecting their cars after an educational program,[32] others suggest that publicity campaigns on their own are unlikely to be effective. A review of two studies conducted in the United Kingdom revealed no significant increase in the number of locked cars, following publicity campaigns.[33] Thus, relying on a publicity campaign to solve the problem should only be one part of a larger overall effort to reduce car crime.[§] Some approaches to educating the public about car theft and theft from cars are:

- distributing information flyers and brochures to residences in areas experiencing thefts from cars[34,§§]
- attending community meetings and making presentations regarding the nature and extent of the problem and steps vehicle owners can take to guard against theft
- erecting signs warning citizens parking in a shopping mall lot not to leave valuables in their vehicles[35]
- issuing press releases to newspapers, radio, and television media outlets
- holding press conferences along with local government officials and/or community groups
- placing notices in neighborhood and association newsletters
- placing notices on the windshields of unsecured vehicles and those with valuables in plain view, indicating that the vehicle was vulnerable to theft[36]
- enclosing information about insurance discounts available to customers who have anti-theft devices installed on their vehicles in regular insurance company mailings.

§ See the Hampshire Constabulary's (2004) *Operation Cobra* for an example of a comprehensive car crime publicity campaign.

§§ Vehicle theft prevention brochures are available online at no charge from the National Crime Prevention Council (www.ncpc.org) as well as the National Insurance Crime Bureau (www.nicb.org).

Among the most important messages to convey to car owners are the following:

- Vehicles are safer in a garage, more at risk in a driveway, and much more at risk on the street.
- Buying a late model car will also ensure that modern security systems have been installed. Checking the ratings of most stolen models may also indicate to the owner what cars are at risk.
- If car owners must park their cars on the street, advising the installation of after market security systems, especially those that are clearly visible to the thief, is probably better than nothing.

Enforcement

10. Increasing patrols. While the effectiveness of increased patrols as a means of deterring crime has not been established, there are some occasions where they may be useful, particularly when crime analysis data can demonstrate a clear pattern of thefts in certain locations and at certain times. Monitoring the results of intensive patrols is important, especially as they demand considerable police department resources. For this reason they are only of use as temporary solutions and do not solve the problem in the long term.

- Unmarked patrol units can be used to monitor the area and to track and identify suspicious individuals in the neighborhood.
- Coral Springs, Florida police utilized foot patrols and bicycle-mounted officers in their Forest Hills Initiative aimed at reducing thefts from cars.[37] These types of patrols not only increase the opportunity for police to discover offenders, but also improve their chances of apprehending these perpetrators who typically are on foot.

11. Prosecuting offenders. Working with local prosecutors to ensure aggressive prosecution and punishment may temporarily remove prolific offenders from the community and serve as a deterrent to others. Some argue that lack of prosecution results in low levels of fear of arrest among offenders. However, the British Home Office found that, among offenders involved in stealing cars, fear of apprehension and punishment was not a significant deterrent; though when asked if a new law mandating stiff penalties would deter them, over half of the thieves interviewed said that it would.[38] One police agency in the United Kingdom devised a flyer to be given to auto theft offenders released on bail, which warned that they would be closely monitored, and advised them of the consequences of breaking the conditions of their release.[39]

12. Using "bait cars." Placing cars in plain view can provide a target for police to observe and catch offenders in the act. Maintaining cars under continuous surveillance is labor-intensive, although technological innovations such as GPS tracking and cars that automatically broadcast to patrol cars when they are broken into have made this easier. Some research has suggested that this type of program might be effective in reducing car crime.[40] This response is more effective when it is known what type of car is most often targeted for theft, or when a particular area is experiencing a very high volume of thefts from cars. In British Columbia, Canada, police officials have formed a task force of seven provincial and local police agencies that utilize bait cars which, when stolen, immediately notify dispatchers and transmit their position via GPS tracking. Once police are in place behind the car, the engine is disabled with the click of a mouse button, allowing apprehension without the concern of a pursuit situation developing.[41,§] While this technique

§ The IMPACT Team in British Columbia has launched a website (www.baitcar.com) where citizens can view in-car video of the thefts and subsequent arrests involving bait cars. The site includes crime prevention tips, and has generated thousands of daily hits. They have recently launched new initiatives including bait Alternative Terrain Vehicles, motorcycles, boats, and snowmobiles.

offers promise in reducing or eliminating high speed car chases, there is to date no research to demonstrate that this approach reduces or prevents car theft.

13. Tracking stolen goods. Local pawnshops and second-hand stores that trade in the most frequently stolen items, such as compact disks and car stereos, should be contacted directly. Not only can they be checked for any identifiable items (most states require pawn brokers to record the identity of all persons delivering property to them, and to show their records to the police upon demand), but police can also use the opportunity to educate store owners about the problem, enlist their aid, and/or warn them of the consequences of receiving stolen property.

Responses With Limited Effectiveness

14. Warning offenders. Most thieves are aware of the threat of apprehension and prosecution. Installing Neighborhood Watch signs or other devices to warn offenders generally does not act as a significant deterrent[42] to experienced offenders who realize that detection and apprehension are unlikely, and that prosecution is even less likely.

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Neighborhood Watch signs are ubiquitous in many suburban areas and are generally ineffective, as suggested by the graffiti on the sign.

15. Diverting youthful offenders. Diverting youthful offenders involved in car crime to programs designed to provide them with a positive outlet for their energies and interests is intended to discourage them from continuing to engage in crime. Unfortunately, most research has demonstrated that these programs have a limited or no effectiveness in reducing car-related crime. A review of diversion programs in the United Kingdom found no evidence for their effectiveness in reducing joyriding.[43]

Some examples of diversion programs aimed at young auto thieves are:

- The youth and probation services in High Wycombe, United Kingdom initiated a program known as Skidz, that provides at-risk young people with free access to automotive mechanical training and driver education, as well as literacy and job training services.[44]
- Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Williams Lake, British Columbia discovered through their analysis that young First Nation males were responsible for the majority of the rampant auto theft in the area. Working with tribal leaders from the nearby reservation, they established programs for diversion of first offenders. In addition, they set up programs of educational and cultural exchange between members of the civilian and law enforcement communities of the city, and with the youth of the reservation. The result was a reduction in the car theft rate and improvement in overall relations between the two communities.[45] This finding remains tentative however, because of lack of controls in the research design.

16. Implementing "Vehicle Watch" programs. This approach involves a voluntary agreement between the police and citizens who permit the police to stop their cars without cause if it is seen in operation during certain late-night hours. A special sticker identifies the car. A study in the United Kingdom suggests that the risk of theft can be reduced over the short term.[46] However, the results are inconclusive,[47] and other research using interviews with offenders indicates that these stickers can easily be defeated by covering them with another sticker or simply scraping them off. In another U.K. study of offender attitudes, 82 percent of car thieves stated they would not be deterred by cars carrying the vehicle watch sticker.[48]

Michael Scott

A rear window decal indicates the vehicle owner grants permission to police to stop the vehicle if it is seen being operated during late night hours.

Appendix: Summary of Responses to the Problem of Thefts of and from Cars on Residential Streets and Driveways

The table below summarizes the responses in this guide, the mechanism by which they are intended to work, the conditions under which they ought to work best, and some factors you should consider before implementing a particular response. It is critical that you tailor responses to local circumstances, and that you can justify each response based on reliable analysis. In most cases, an effective strategy will involve implementing several different responses. Law enforcement responses alone are seldom effective in reducing or solving the problem. *Because of the lack of evaluative research all responses are considered to be of uncertain effectiveness and should be adopted on an experimental basis with a high premium placed on carefully measuring their success or failure.*

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If…	Considerations
General Considerations for an Effective Response Strategy					
1.	19	Promoting sales of cars with in-built security systems	Make theft of cars more difficult	…manufacturers design security into cars	Local police limited to educating car owners about theft prevention
2.	21	Partnering with business	Increases resources available to address problem	…police and businesses understand one another's interests	Requires time and effort to develop close relationships with business
3.	21	Promoting securely-designed neighborhoods	Provides secure places to park cars	…local police work with developers and planners in initial design of neighborhoods	Requires expertise in crime prevention through environmental design
4.	22	Educating patrol officer about car theft patterns	Enhances officers' abilities to detect and prevent car crimes	…training supported by reliable data and knowledge	May add training costs

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If…	Considerations
Security					
5.	23	Improving lighting	Increases risk of detection to offender	…homeowners install and utilize additional lighting around their homes and/or local townships add additional street lighting	Local townships may lack funds for additional lighting; homeowners may also lack the funds or motivation for installation of additional lighting
6.	24	Removing vegetation and other cover	Increases chances of thief's discovery	… homeowners are made aware of the benefits	Requires time and effort from homeowners and/ or public works agencies
7.	24	Changing or restricting traffic patterns	Makes it more difficult for thieves to escape the scene of the crime	…entrance and exit points of parking lots and housing subdivisions are limited	Changing traffic patterns may be inconvenient for local residents; may require government approval
8.	25	Installing and monitoring video surveillance (CCTV)	Increases offenders' perceived risk of apprehension	…cameras are visibly placed in residential streets combined with signs or media publicity regarding their presence	Cameras must be visible in order to be effective; privacy concerns; sprawl of suburban areas requires many cameras and signs
Education					
9.	26	Alerting car owners about theft problems and educating them about known risk factors and effective prevention	Increases likelihood car owners will take effective measures to prevent car crime	…with cooperation of mass media and local community groups	Outreach activities are demanding in cost and time to police; difficult to get car owners to implement security procedures

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If…	Considerations
Enforcement					
10.	28	Increasing patrols	Increases the risk to offenders and helps inform officers of risky locations in neighborhood	…foot and bicycle patrols are employed along with volunteer units to patrol areas	Availability of manpower and overtime funds for increased patrols; rarely a long-term solution
11.	29	Prosecuting offenders	Increases perceived costs to offender	…repeat offenders are targeted for full prosecution	Prosecutor's office must be fully aware of the community and/or political concern to reduce theft
12.	29	Using "bait cars"	Provides a target for thieves and a means for police to rapidly respond and apprehend offenders	…the cars are equipped with high-tech features such as GPS tracking, automatic alerts to dispatchers or patrols, and remote disabling of the car's engine	High cost of bait car units; placement of the bait car in a widely dispersed community
13.	30	Tracking stolen goods	Discourages thieves from selling stolen property	…police educate store owners about the problem	Cooperation of store owners may be compromised by fear of prosecution
Responses With Limited Effectiveness					
14.	30	Warning offenders	Intended to increase the perceived risk of apprehension and punishment	…offenders are genuinely unaware of the risk of arrest and punishment and risk is not negligible	Most thieves are aware of the risk of apprehension and prosecution

Response No.	Page No.	Response	How It Works	Works Best If…	Considerations
15.	31	Diverting youthful offenders	Provides attractive venues for youths seeking excitement	…youthful offenders are motivated by legitimate alternatives to crime	
16.	32	Implementing "Vehicle Watch" programs	Intended to increase risk of apprehension by police		Stickers are easily defeated by scraping or covering

Endnotes

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[2] Harlow, 1988 cited in Clarke and Harris (1992a).
[3] Clarke and Mayhew (1998).
[4] Hampshire Constabulary (2004).
[5] Hampshire Constabulary (2004).
[6] Vehicle Crime Reduction Action Team (1999).
[7] Klein (2004).
[8] Tilley (1993); Clarke and Harris (1992a); Clarke and Harris (1992b).
[9] Clarke and Harris (1992a).
[10] San Diego (California) Police Department (1997).
[11] Brighton and Hove (UK) Partnership Community Safety Team (2004).
[12] Newman (2004).
[13] Webb (1994).
[14] Ayres and Levitt (1998).
[15] Brown (2004); Carroll (2004).
[16] Henderson, et al. (2004); Whitley, et al., 2002, cited in Linden and Chaturvedi (2005); Brown (2004).
[17] Henderson, et al. (2004); Whitley, et al., 2002, cited in Linden and Chaturvedi (2005); Brown (2004).
[18] Fresno County (California) Sheriff's Department (2002).
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[20] Roach-Anleu, Mazerolle and Presser (2000).
[21] Ricks (1991).
[22] San Diego (California) Police Department (1997).
[23] International Association of Chiefs of Police (2005).
[24] Light, Nee and Ingham (1993).
[25] Welsh and Farrington (2003).
[26] Smith (1996).

[27] Carrollton (Texas) Police Department (2005).
[28] Phillips (1999); Webb, Brown and Bennett (1992).
[29] Tilley (1993).
[30] Fresno County (California) Sheriff's Department (2002).
[31] San Diego (California) Police Department (1997); Coral Springs (Florida) Police Department (2003).
[32] Barthe (2004).
[33] Clarke and Harris (1992a); Clarke and Harris (1992b).
[34] Fresno County (California) Sheriff's Department (2002); Carrollton (Texas) Police Department (2005).
[35] Edmonton (Canada) Police Service (1994).
[36] Coral Springs (Florida) Police Department (2003); Carrollton (Texas) Police Department (2005).
[37] Coral Springs (Florida) Police Department (2003).
[38] Nee (1993).
[39] Lancashire Constabulary (2001).
[40] Sallybanks (2001).
[41] Integrated Municipal Provincial Auto Crime Team (2005).
[42] Rosenbaum (2003).
[43] Sugg (1998).
[44] NACRO (1999).
[45] Royal Canadian Mounted Police (1997).
[46] Honess and Maguire (1993).
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Recommended Readings

- **A Police Guide to Surveying Citizens and Their Environments**, Bureau of Justice Assistance, 1993. This guide offers a practical introduction for police practitioners to two types of surveys that police find useful: surveying public opinion and surveying the physical environment. It provides guidance on whether and how to conduct cost-effective surveys.

- **Assessing Responses to Problems: An Introductory Guide for Police Problem-Solvers**, by John E. Eck (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2001). This guide is a companion to the *Problem-Oriented Guides for Police* series. It provides basic guidance to measuring and assessing problem-oriented policing efforts.

- **Conducting Community Surveys**, by Deborah Weisel (Bureau of Justice Statistics and Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 1999). This guide, along with accompanying computer software, provides practical, basic pointers for police in conducting community surveys. The document is also available at www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs.

- **Crime Prevention Studies**, edited by Ronald V. Clarke (Criminal Justice Press, 1993, et seq.). This is a series of volumes of applied and theoretical research on reducing opportunities for crime. Many chapters are evaluations of initiatives to reduce specific crime and disorder problems.

- **Excellence in Problem-Oriented Policing: The 1999 Herman Goldstein Award Winners.** This document produced by the National Institute of Justice in collaboration with the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services and the Police Executive Research Forum provides detailed reports of the best submissions to the annual award program that recognizes exemplary problem-oriented responses to various community problems. A similar publication is available for the award winners from subsequent years. The documents are also available at www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij.

- **Not Rocket Science? Problem-Solving and Crime Reduction**, by Tim Read and Nick Tilley (Home Office Crime Reduction Research Series, 2000). Identifies and describes the factors that make problem-solving effective or ineffective as it is being practiced in police forces in England and Wales.

- **Opportunity Makes the Thief: Practical Theory for Crime Prevention**, by Marcus Felson and Ronald V. Clarke (Home Office Police Research Series, Paper No. 98, 1998). Explains how crime theories such as routine activity theory, rational choice theory and crime pattern theory have practical implications for the police in their efforts to prevent crime.

- **Problem Analysis in Policing**, by Rachel Boba (Police Foundation, 2003). Introduces and defines problem analysis and provides guidance on how problem analysis can be integrated and institutionalized into modern policing practices.

- **Problem-Oriented Policing**, by Herman Goldstein (McGraw-Hill, 1990, and Temple University Press, 1990). Explains the principles and methods of problem-oriented policing, provides examples of it in practice, and discusses how a police agency can implement the concept.

- **Problem-Oriented Policing and Crime Prevention**, by Anthony A. Braga (Criminal Justice Press, 2003). Provides a thorough review of significant policing research about problem places, high-activity offenders, and repeat victims, with a focus on the applicability of those findings to problem-oriented policing. Explains how police departments can facilitate problem-oriented policing by improving crime analysis, measuring performance, and securing productive partnerships.

- **Problem-Oriented Policing: Reflections on the First 20 Years**, by Michael S. Scott (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2000). Describes how the most critical elements of Herman Goldstein's problem-oriented policing model have developed in practice over its 20-year history, and proposes future directions for problem-oriented policing. The report is also available at www.cops.usdoj.gov.

- **Problem-Solving: Problem-Oriented Policing in Newport News,** by John E. Eck and William Spelman (Police Executive Research Forum, 1987). Explains the rationale behind problem-oriented policing and the problem-solving process, and provides examples of effective problem-solving in one agency.

- **Problem-Solving Tips: A Guide to Reducing Crime and Disorder Through Problem-Solving Partnerships** by Karin Schmerler, Matt Perkins, Scott Phillips, Tammy Rinehart and Meg Townsend. (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 1998) (also available at www.cops.usdoj.gov). Provides a brief introduction to problem-solving, basic information on the SARA model and detailed suggestions about the problem-solving process.

- **Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies**, Second Edition, edited by Ronald V. Clarke (Harrow and Heston, 1997). Explains the principles and methods of situational crime prevention, and presents over 20 case studies of effective crime prevention initiatives.

- **Tackling Crime and Other Public-Safety Problems: Case Studies in Problem-Solving**, by Rana Sampson and Michael S. Scott (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2000) (also available at www.cops.usdoj.gov). Presents case studies of effective police problem-solving on 18 types of crime and disorder problems.

- **Using Analysis for Problem-Solving: A Guidebook for Law Enforcement**, by Timothy S. Bynum (U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2001). Provides an introduction for police to analyzing problems within the context of problem-oriented policing.

- **Using Research: A Primer for Law Enforcement Managers**, Second Edition, by John E. Eck and Nancy G. LaVigne (Police Executive Research Forum, 1994). Explains many of the basics of research as it applies to police management and problem-solving.

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