

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

A flash car cruising down the Street
 going really fast Just Missing My feet
 I came round the Second corner
 When all of a Sudden I hit My friend Lorna
 I stole a car it was red
 then all of a Sudden Lorna Was dead.
 (anonymous response by a ten year old to the drama workshops of Theatre Adad - fieldnotes)

It has been one of the organising principles of this thesis that the UK has a car culture which is influenced both by the material products of the car culture and media images of the United States of America. However, there are real differences between the two cultures, not least the space available for roads and attitudes to the regulation of cars and driving. This car culture both produces and is produced by the use of cars in this country. That use includes those uses which are known as joyriding and those that might be known as joyriding, were it not in cars owned by the user. In the next section some of the key points emerging from Chapters 5, 6 and 7 are discussed. This will lead in turn to a discussion of the policy issues and to the further research that might need to inform policy decisions and also the research needed to further the thesis, irrespective of policy relevance.

In Chapter 5 a range of theoretical positions were explored to see what they might say about joyriding as it might be popularly defined. In conclusion, left realism was seen to be an appropriate framework within which to locate an explanation of joyriding as crime but a left realism that took account of the emerging sociology of masculinities and the pervasiveness of car culture. Such has been the concentration in this thesis on the society point of the 'square of crime' (rather than the victim, the offender or criminal justice system) that it has overflowed into other areas of sociology and beyond which have transgressed criminology. These transgressions, particularly consideration of green issues has lead me to define joyriding sometimes polemically as an expressive car use which would also make connections with its emotional cousin 'road rage' and the carefree motoring that car and petrol adverts promise.

As Naffine notes of her book:

Feminists have never been good observers of disciplinary boundaries and the benefits of their indiscipline are revealed here... It is an effort to persuade the members of the discipline of the intellectual benefits of a more modest and self-reflexive criminology which acknowledges its exclusions, its limitations and its silences. (1997:12)

These too are my ideals. Like the joyrider I have not observed the proprieties. I have taken from a number of perspectives and disciplines. I have taken and abandoned standpoints. My initial gaze was upon the joyrider, but quickly moved to those who worked with them and theorised in a limited way about them. The experience of

fieldwork refined these positions. I became aware that rather than studying the criminality (that criminologists are supposed to study) I was studying men and that my own masculinity could not be denied. I therefore turned the gaze upon myself - my own masculinity, occasional criminality and ongoing, but quieter, pleasure in car use - which lead in turn to the consideration of theories of masculinities which helped me return my gaze not to the criminal but to criminology and criminologists. That is "an alternative approach that incorporates reflexive textual analysis into a wider collective project" (Hopper,1995:58). Nelken's reflexivity "invites the theorist to be more *reflective* about the point and manner of his or her theorising" (1995:9).

For the political project of liberating women "feminists have insisted that there can be no radical separation between the criminologist and the objects of her inquiry" (Naffine,1997:29). However, for pro-feminist reasons I decline to align with my fellow man so to aid self-reflexivity I adopt a green standpoint and, following Stein and Plummer's (1996) call for 'a more queer sociology', also adopt/adapt a queer one to deconstruct my own position and those of others. This influence can be seen in the analysis of culture and the recognition that car use is about desire or 'delight' as Richards has it (1994)

Like Naffine I am critical of both the empirical and appreciative strands of male criminology, and like her I do not deny the importance of both. I have not been empirical because I accept the work of the empiricists as set out in Chapters 2 and 3. I recognize the value of appreciative studies discussed in Chapter 7 but am concerned not to take the standpoint of the joyrider because there have been enough views from the boys.

Of appreciative studies, Naffine says:

It is, therefore, unlikely that these efforts of the new men of criminology to bridge the cultural gulf between themselves and the working class offender were ever entirely successful. Certainly, there was no real sense of the criminologist going native, abandoning the privileges and cultural advantages of the academic male (and neither has this academic female). (1997:42)

Her parenthetic comment signals that she is not claiming a superior understanding to those who 'were there' or 'got their hands dirty'. She is suggesting that, perhaps, they should have 'gone native'. My experience of fieldwork was not sufficient for me to speak about youthful working class joyriders, let alone for them. However, I recognised that I was already a native of the world of men, car users and consumer of cultural products such as car adverts and film. Indeed I had during this time become a native of the world of criminology. It is for these reasons that much of Chapter 7 is given over to unpicking the masculinities portrayed in criminological work - the masculinity involved in being a criminal and that involved in being a criminologist. As Naffine says:

the academics' desire to find rationality and purpose in the deviance of youth (despite its surface appearance of senseless crime) was possibly itself a desire to find in those youth the very qualities which the academic male still most admired in himself - intellectual reason rather than, say, animal

spirits or something deeply alien, perhaps deeply different which could not be encapsulated in an academic treatise. (1997:43)

Men (and women) are offered two overlapping masculine positions within the criminological family - the Father or the Brother. The Father is usually associated with the authoritarianism of the State and its correctional project - though more benign roles are possible (which might be thought of as the Uncle). In my anti-authoritarianism I am a bad son so might be expected to take the part of the other bad sons - joyriders, in this case - and be their brother. The influence of feminism and a concern for the environment has made me wish to avoid both this hegemonic and subaltern (sibling) masculinity. The experience of becoming a father during fieldwork brought home some of these contradictions but reinforced my resolution not to follow the two models for masculinity (and their associated research methods) that criminology offers. However, my intention is not simply to invert previous criminologies in offering a new paradigm. The intention is to recognize the reality of crime but also the reality of environmental pollution. Joyriding should not and cannot be collapsed into car use or car culture but the risk of appearing to do so has been taken in this thesis to emphasize continuity and generality.

Those whose cars are stolen are not only victims of the thieves but also of their dependency on their cars which has been constructed through the discourse of advertising and the material utility of private transport. Crime and fear of crime and the unreliability of public transport amplify that utility.

The cultural analyses of car culture hinted at in earlier chapters and explored more fully in this chapter might be called post-modern. That would be mistaken. My relativism in respect of the closeness of joyriding to other aspects of car culture is part of a wider critique of that car culture. Like Naffine's use of Foucault and Derrida to deconstruct rape my 'linguistic turn' does not signal an abandonment of realism. She criticises left realism for its failure to read feminism and its assumption that taking crimes against women seriously was sufficient. I think that these faults are remediable and see this thesis as partially redressing this "major omission from the writings of realists who express a sympathy with feminism is any interest in the connection between men, masculinity and crime." (Naffine, 1997:28-29)

In Chapter 6 it was concluded from both the literature and observation that motor projects can work but that they do not do so simply by the provision of the car but by offering a male workspace. That is, in the absence of paid work or networks of family and friends, projects offer a chance for young men to relate to each other, to other men in the project and a wider male world - through the common language of the car. If this were forty years ago then this would be enough. For some supporters of motor projects this is enough. In a narrow criminal justice sense this is enough but today the concerns of women and for the environment demand a voice too. These two concerns have given a focus to the concept of car culture used in this thesis. Within car culture joyriding, other motoring offences and motor projects do not appear as separate legal and criminological

offences or deviance on the one hand and appropriate 'alternatives' to custody or community penalty on the other but of a piece.

Lets be clear, many joyriders - like many young and old men - are sexist, racist and homophobic. Their interest in cars - whether in: their external symbolism of success and power; the internal working of the combustion engine; the means of getting from A to B or of thumbing a nose at male or maternal authority - is anti-social at the level of the individual victim, communities and ultimately the planet. Many of those that work with them are not well disposed to feminism or to environmental concerns but anyone who owns or uses a car cannot absolutely condemn them or attempts to help them that draw on the common car culture.

From a feminist and environmental perspective it is very tempting to reject motor projects as macho and environmentally unfriendly - they are. The subject of the environment is too large to tackle in this concluding chapter but a few words on working with men are appropriate here. There are now projects seeking to work on issues of masculinity with young male offenders. The London Borough of Sutton's Pitstop Programme takes joyriders away on an adventure training week in collaboration with Deerbolt Young Offenders Institution and the Durham Fire Service. It only uses cars in a staged rescue to bring home the 'reality' of car accidents to the young men. It has yet to be evaluated but its input on issues around masculinity are to be applauded. Youth workers deal with the age group most at risk of taking cars without consent; some are now addressing these issues. Boyle and Curtis (1995) set out guidelines for working with boys that include the prescription to get the work with girls established first. This is obviously a problem with motor projects where both the self-selected and authority-referred client group will be overwhelmingly male. Just as this thesis has had to take into account issues of gender without including women so motor projects will need to pull off the difficult trick of working on gender largely in the absence of women.

It would be unfair to bus unwilling women or girls in and not all projects have women workers - and it would be unfair to expect her to represent 'Women'. Motor projects, much like domestic violence projects, will need men to work on men and masculinities (Newburn and Mair, 1996). These concerns even appear in the conclusions of Graham and Bowling's study (1995:xiv) for 'encouraging desistance from offending: Suggestions include bridging schemes, such as the French system of foyers, which provide temporary accommodation coupled with training and employment; better preparation for early fatherhood and for parenting teenagers; and encouraging fathers as well as other male adults to support and 'parent' young adult males in the community and provide responsible masculine role models.

Leaving aside the residuary sex-role content it was clear from fieldwork that motor projects provided elements of training and employment and the opportunity for

young men to be 'parented' or even to 'brother' each other. It is these elements that need to be drawn out.

The reading of discourse and psycho-analysis allied to the work of Connell discussed by Jefferson and set out in Chapter 7 would need a life history approach to set out the differing masculinities of joyriders and other car users but the structural elements can be used to suggest that one of the reasons why joyriding and road rage are condemned with such vehemence is that there is a desire to split off the 'badness' of our own driving and project it onto others. Moreover, a rising green consciousness makes us aware that bad driving extends beyond failing to signal, jumping red lights and exceeding the speed limit but the recognition that merely by driving we may be 'bad'. Car use not only relates to Connell's structures of labour and power but also cathexis. We are emotionally attached to our cars - roadrage and joyriding are, in part, emotional responses (Groombridge, 1996 and 1998).

Moreover, contrary to the nostalgia of both marxist and conservative cultural critics motorists increasingly experience directly the fact that the car never had a use-value and has become an alienated object of purely exchange value. The car never had a use value, its value has always been symbolic. As the figures for the UK's 'car dependency' show the use has been manufactured - Downes (1966:204) noted the theft of cars by thieves "pressured by commercial-ideological forces into thinking he needs one" and Pearce and Thornton (1980:12) said "the desire to possess a car is knowingly implanted" . Whilst advertising may have become increasingly postmodern the car is profoundly modern. These issues are discussed more fully below.

Discussing the depiction of masculine heroism in contemporary film Sparks expresses disappointment that, 'no currently important criminological position numbers the assimilation of screen imagery in any very prominent place among its explanatory resources' (Sparks 1996:351). He goes on to use film theory, specifically feminist film theory, to explore the appeal of such heroes and the light this throws on the debate about 'violence'.

Such contributions could be seen in terms of a 'transgressive criminology' (Cain 1990a) but also in terms of an emergent 'cultural criminology' which Ferrell & Sanders claim:

...provides criminologists the opportunity to enhance their own perspectives on crime with insights from other fields, while at the same time providing for their colleagues in cultural studies the sociology of culture, media studies, and elsewhere invaluable perspectives on crime, criminalisation and their relationships to cultural and political processes. Bending or breaking the boundaries of criminology to construct a cultural criminology in this sense does not undermine contemporary criminology as much as it expands and enlivens it. (1995:17)

The influence of early British cultural studies (for instance, Cohen 1973; Willis 1978; Hebdige 1979 and Hall and Jefferson 1993) on Ferrell & Sanders and their

contributors is such that it might be better to speak of a re-emergence of cultural criminology.

The following discussion of joyriding and gender in advertising is offered as a heuristic. It is not argued that car advertising explains, or causes, joyriding but car adverts provide a useful insight into 'car culture' and some of the changes going on within it. Sometimes they can be seen to follow developments within 'car culture' or borrow from the wider popular culture. That is the advertising media constitutes and is constituted. For instance, a recent set of VW television adverts for the Golf Match, which might be called respectively 'Sales Rep' and 'Housewife' clearly take their style from the BBC TV series the *A to Z of Motoring* which interviewed people about their cars whereas a series of Peugeot 106 adverts takes its visual style and even some plotlines from the film *Thelma and Louise*. Connell notes that in 1984 he saw a poster that crudely appealed to masculine violence. It showed a car being fired from a pistol with the caption 'The Trigger is under your right foot' (1987:133). The emphasis on speed - in visuals, soundtrack and slogans - has become less popular though it was only a few years ago that Vauxhall advertised the Calibra on posters by juxtaposing it with a roadside speed camera.

The Golf Match is the largest car marketed at women and the advert is explicit. The woman is plain and in her mid to late forties but both the action and dialogue indicate her husband is plainer still. He is boring and miserly. He resists purchasing the car so she buys it and her lines are delivered from the driving seat as she drives. She has clearly spent over £10,000 of her, or their, money on something for herself. Previous Golf adverts have been criticised for showing a woman throwing off her wedding ring but deciding to keep the car.

Other adverts for smaller cars often feature women as potential owners or drivers. Ford have recently advertised their smallest car, the Fiesta, by showing a young attractive female secretary taking the initiative to drive to Paris to meet her (female!) boss to deliver the slides that the boss had overlooked and would need to give a presentation. Whilst both women are attractive this advert otherwise appears to subvert the normal boss/secretary gender expectations; and why they might be in Paris. A lesbian subtext seems unlikely given that heterosexual women have only just become targeted as purchasers of cars rather than lounging seductively over their bonnets. However, since the two protagonists are women and no male character is wheeled on to assure us that one of the women is, or will be, 'his' the potential for a lesbian reading is not dispelled.

Adverts by Ford for the next car up in the range, the Escort, also feature a lot of women but they are talking about a man called Alex - seen driving the car homophonically called the LX - and having fun at the expense of their exasperated male boss who wants the car or - the queer reading is possible - does he want the man? Alex appears straight - the women fancy him - but the boss is ineffectual and held in contempt by the women who tease him with sightings of the car (man?).

In the sketchy 'readings' above the possibilities of various masculinities and femininities are raised to show that 'queer' readings are possible by reading 'across the grain'. The absence of black or Asian drivers or passengers is so total that it is not possible to read the adverts for hidden black themes. Indeed, recently black groups complained about the latest Vauxhall Astra advert. It features 2,000 babies being addressed by their 'leader' in a parody of a political rally about the safety virtues of the car (they should demand not one, but two side impact bars). None of the babies appears to be from an ethnic minority.

The 'readings' that follow the themes of gender and joyriding are explored by concentrating on the Peugeot 106 *Thelma and Louise* adverts and the recent Nissan Micra campaign. From time to time reference will be made to earlier adverts for the same car or to other adverts for other cars where there are similar elements, suggestive of a shared discourse. It will also be necessary to refer to other advertised products and to give some brief description of the 'plot' as adverts are too ephemeral for it to be assumed - as other texts might be - that they will be well known to all audiences. Moreover, whilst the adverts often feature foreign locations only adverts that have appeared on UK television are discussed here.

There have been a series of TV adverts for the Nissan Micra. The earliest showed a woman throwing a guitar and a record player out of a beachside house. A man arrives in a car to witness this. There is only music - no dialogue - and then, the voice-over 'Ask before you borrow it'. Clearly he has borrowed her car. Other adverts in the series show a man arriving at a mansion in the car, a sexily dressed woman and he devour fruit - and each other in mutually lustful gazes - and make to go upstairs when she produces a pair of handcuffs. A sophisticated man he merely raises an eyebrow. She cuffs him to the bannister before going upstairs - alone! Cut to the mirror, on which is written, in lipstick, 'Ask before you borrow it'. Another for the Micra 'Vibe' has a young man driving the car and suffering pains that distract him from his driving and eventually cause him to stop the car and leap out in pain - but also laughing. He 'knows', and we see, that his girlfriend has a 'voodoo' doll of him in which she is sticking pins. The closing music is an update of the theme tune to the sixties TV series *Bewitched* and again the advert finishes with the admonition, 'Ask before you borrow it'. He too, has failed to ask his girlfriend before 'borrowing' it. In the advert for the Micra 'Hollywood' a man is blown up and engulfed in flames. We discover that he is a stuntman only when he lands safely and steps from his fireproof suit. He drives home to be thrown out of the window into the swimming pool by a woman. The slogan reminds him (male viewers) 'Ask before you borrow it'. The most recent poster campaign repeats the mantra, 'Ask before you borrow it' over a man clutching his groin in pain.

The slogan 'Ask before you borrow it' may also be intended to echo a recent sportswear advert which has Charles Berkeley, a black basketball superstar, praising the product before suggesting, not that we buy it but that we 'Earn them'. Now this can be

construed as referring to the protestant work ethic - work hard to buy the things you need - or more directly to the meaning of work in athletic terms - to work out, to train - which itself can be related back to capitalist rationality. However, it is more likely that the slogan refers to the practice of urban youth who short-circuit the economic system by stealing sportswear, particular expensive trainers. An irony, of course, is that the majority of those who wear athletic gear - stolen or not - have already short-circuited the athletic system. They have borrowed - or in stronger language, stolen - the image of the athlete. They need only to wear the gear to show that they are athletes, that they work out. Possession is nine tenths of the law; if we have got them then we must have earned them. Whether trainers or cars, both are texts to be consumed, 'read' or 'taken without consent'.

Clearly these women are cross that these men have taken their car but the manufacturers are also anxious to sell to men - hence the centrality of the male figure, the only one we see driving the car in all these adverts. It is her car yet he has taken it without consent. 'Taking without consent' is the nearest the law gets to defining joyriding. So the men in this series of adverts are 'joyriders' as legally defined. These adverts sum up the relative positions of men and women in 'car culture' today but as we shall see the Peugeot 106 seem more adventurous.

Whilst the Micra adverts refer obliquely to car theft (the poster excepted) others are less subtle. A recent Ford Escort TV advert directly referred to the possibility of theft of the car. Our hero the (male) doctor is visiting a patient (elderly female) on a high-rise estate. We see two youths 'hanging around' on his arrival. He parks the car. Through her net-curtain we catch sight of the young men walking round the car. We 'know' this is a prelude to them stealing it. The patient expresses her concern but the Doctor is confident that his wise purchase will be resist their efforts. The patient is reassured - we are reassured. All will be well. At the same time a campaign in women's magazines advertised the same car also by referring to the fear of theft. The picture shows a young man apparently attempting to break into a car with a screwdriver. The 'worm's eye' view is such that we are looking up at him. His head, and therefore any hope of identifying (with) him is distant and obscure, his feet large. The accompanying slogan claims, 'We've found a way to make some men impotent'; the screwdriver held level with his genitals is bent. The phallic potency of the woman car owner is threatened but that of the male car manufacturer is such that he can protect 'his' women from 'his' sons.

Whilst women do not get to drive in the Micra adverts discussed above other advertisers allow women to 'borrow' this male possession. Peugeot in their 106 adverts seek to associate their cars with an existing cult film classic which has strong feminist overtones. In the first advert of the series our British 'Thelma' and 'Louise' travel through America parodying episodes in the film. The film features attempted rape, murder in self defence and armed robbery but in the adverts a hairdryer stands in for a gun - it is given to a bald man. The pretensions of other men are punctured with humour. In the adverts the Highway Patrol man does not get locked in the trunk of the car but, he is also treated

less than seriously by the heroines. We even discover that one of them has been sleeping with the other's boyfriend but this is overlooked as the pleasure of the trip and the sense of getting away from it all (from men, and, without the hairdryer, femininity?) takes centre stage. Just as the film has lesbian undertones which may be dispelled by the heterosexual activities of the 'couple' so Peugeot's 'buddies' flirt with the men they ridicule. This is a holiday from responsibility, from repercussions, even romance but it is temporary. The fantasy is attached to the car and reality returns all too soon. But they can return anytime they turn the keys in the ignition. However, Spelman and Minow (1995) note that the middle class pleasure in the film - on which the advert is based - is based on the distance achieved by featuring working class women.

The second advert, 'Thelma and Louise in Louisiana', uses the, now established, characters to show off the 106 'Mardi Gras'. In their journey across America they miss a sign banning cars and end up amongst the floats and jazz bands in a New Orleans parade. The 'mistake' allows them, in the spirit of carnival, to drive where they should not. In the parade they also take on the more stereotypical role of women - that of object to be looked at, but make the most of it with a regal wave.

In the film *Thelma and Louise* drive their Thunderbird into the Grand Canyon presumably to their deaths and, more importantly no sequels. In the advert 'Thelma and Louise: The End' our heroines, and their car, are apparently asked to star in a film. Cranking up the postmodern irony the film in which they are to star is clearly *Thelma and Louise*. The set is for the final, fateful, shot where Thelma and Louise outrun the forces of law and order only by ending their lives. When it comes to the shoot it is clear they are only stand-ins (the stunt theme used, not only by Nissan, but in recent Volvo adverts too) for the real stars. Feeling let down our advert heroines drive towards the edge at high speed only to drive through what turns out to be a painted set of the Grand Canyon. Our fears that they too will die prove groundless; a sequel or a series is possible for them. These women do not pay the price that society demands of women who break the law - the criminal law and the laws of gender appropriate behaviour. It is safe and desirable for women to drive men's cars and laugh them to scorn. Buy a 106 be a 'laddette' is the message - identify with the glamour of the film heroines but not the criminal activities portrayed which are comically undermined.

Whilst the film *Thelma and Louise*, may allow no sequel the characters have now appeared in a fourth advert. In this the wide open spaces of Australia - and with it the automotive dystopia of the *Mad Max* films, already pastiched in Fosters Lager adverts - are conjured up. Our brunette heroine dreams that her boyfriend suggests they marry and take off for Australia before returning home to have children. This helpfully reassures women that no lesbian reading is intended - she has a boyfriend, Tony - but also suggests that she is not yet ready to be tied down by domestic responsibility. She is a free agent and her status as a car user guarantees that. She awakens from her reverie to see the boyfriend in drag - with a blonde wig - driving the car. The focus dissolves and the dream

ends, it is her blonde friend driving the car. The camera draws back to reveal that they have company - two men and a sheep (!). This final shot initially reassures us that whilst she confuses her best friend with her boyfriend in drag they can both pick up men - literally as passengers. The car is big enough for a couple of hunky Australians - but also raises, and does not dispel the prospect that these are not sheep shearers but sheep shaggers. This advert is the first in which men have been allowed in the car - albeit in drag or as passengers.

An earlier Peugeot 106 advert featured a female executive sexually harassed at work, returning home only to be met by her husband demanding to know what is for supper. This potentially feminist scenario might be resolved in real life by the woman going to a solicitor, by murder or an affair, but in the advert her solution is none of these; she drives her car out into the desert - on her own. She does not endanger her reputation or body by taking a male companion or her sexuality by taking a female companion. She takes action but only to end up passively sitting in the car. There has been no sequel to this advert.

Nissan Micras are not the only cars to be 'borrowed'. The Renault 5 Campus is so attractive that two Grizzly Bears take one for a drive, making fun of the authority of the Park Ranger like their cartoon ancestors, Yogi and Booboo. Since bears cannot own cars they have taken this one without consent so they too are joyriding. The episode with the bears and much of the advertising discussed here has a strong fantasy element. One reason for this is the Independent Television Commission's Code of Advertising Standards and Practice which (standard 21) states:

- a) No advertisement may encourage or condone dangerous, inconsiderate or competitive driving practices or breaches of the Highway Code.
- b) References to power or acceleration in advertisements for motor cars or automotive products must not imply that speed limits may be exceeded and there must be no accompanying suggestion of excitement or aggression.

However, their additional guidance (note 4) accepts that 'Sequences which are clearly fantasy ... do not normally cause difficulties'. The argument here is not that these adverts breach the standards in any legal sense but their deconstruction reveals both overt and covert Derridean 'traces' of the suppressed behaviour in which even references to 'safety' signify 'danger'.

The car adverts aimed at women run a risk. Men who drive those cars may feel feminised or women may take the apparent message of autonomy seriously and head off around America on their own or together - riding for joy? The stereotypical 'danger' of women taking the wheel is their alleged bad driving. The motoring offence figures - in 1994 96% of those found guilty of causing death or bodily harm were men and 97% for dangerous driving (Home Office 1995) - give the lie to this but surely no advertiser is going to try and sell women cars by raising this canard.

The nearest that an advertiser comes to suggesting that women are bad drivers is the latest Fiat Punto advert, but it does so, only to resoundingly quash it. A man awakes to realize that his girlfriend has already got up. We flash back to her driving. He is nagging, 'mirror', 'signal' from the passenger seat. We flash forward to her driving round the courtyard where she has placed objects of particular sentimental value to him to form an auto test. She races amongst the 'cones' formed by his guitar and record player (the same as those thrown out of the house in the Nissan advert?). He comes down to the courtyard (having put on her night dress in his panic) and embraces her admitting she is a good driver.

What remains the same in car adverts whoever they are aimed at is the obviousness of the need for a car. So much is obvious in all advertising. However, not only is the particular model of car the one that should be bought these adverts advertise motoring more generally - the freedom of the open road. That freedom to drive is, in reality, increasingly hedged around with regulations, road works and other traffic - hence both joyriding and road rage - yet car advertising hardly acknowledges this change. Those adverts that do recognize these frustrations then play on the quality of their seats, in car entertainment systems or air-conditioning. The analysis of car adverts above suggests the freedom from constraint promised by driving raises the same freedom from constraint that is elsewhere called joyriding. This possibility is raised in the adverts but disavowed - only partially? - through humour and fantasy.

The disrupted gender conventions in the ongoing Peugeot *Thelma and Louise* adverts may require the sort of exegesis that has attended the film itself. The reference to joyriding in the Nissan adverts could not be much clearer but in the most recent one it is made yet more explicit. The opening shot is black and white - it is a CCTV monitor recording the progress of a young man around a car lot. The voice-over refers to the way to take away a car. The man tries the handle, gets in. The picture becomes full colour as the salesman offers him the keys for a test drive. Normality - legal and chromatic - is restored. Moreover, no woman appears in this advert so the gender regime is restored too.

None of this is to argue that car adverts cause car crime or bad driving far less represent an outbreak of feminism. They do, however, form part of a 'car culture' which both influences and is in turn influenced by people's car use. In short, cars are often stolen for the same reason that they are bought and they are largely bought for the reasons hinted at in advertising. Cars can be seen as a 'magical solution' more widely. The extent of implicit and explicit support for unnecessary, illegal or carefree/careless driving in advertisements, popular and high culture and years of observation of my own and others driving suggests that the term 'car culture' is inadequate and that the expression 'joyriding culture' might be more appropriate. We live in a 'joyriding culture' which encourages all men and some women drivers to see the realization of their emotional satisfactions - hence roadrage and joyriding - through ownership or use of a car.

Lyng and Mitchell (1995) persuasively argue that the Harley-Davidson motor cycle company drew on the 'outlaw', Hells Angels image of the criminalised 'one percent' in its return to profitability and expansion into clothes and perfumes. The bikes were technically inferior to Japanese ones but sold on image. Cars too are sold - and stolen - on image. The argument here is that whilst cars are advertised in ways that draw on legitimate - but increasingly questioned - activities such as motor racing or enjoyment of the countryside the connection with more 'subterranean' pleasures or joys cannot be easily disavowed.

An example from a completely opposed theoretical tradition illustrates some of these issues. Clarke (1996) seeks to argue the relevance of opportunity reduction against 'crimes by the public'; to do this he shows that where detection rates are low and opportunities widespread deviance and conformity fall into a normal distribution. The example he chooses - and he recognises the danger of trying to extrapolate from it - is speeding by cars and trucks in Illinois. Whilst he persuasively argues for normal distribution from a mass (nearly 22 million) of observations he passes very lightly over the extent of offending revealed. The median speed accorded well with the speed limit (65 mph for cars and 55 for trucks) but the normal distribution means roughly equal numbers of offenders and non-offenders. Indeed, as Clarke notes in a footnote, whilst 3 million traffic and parking offences were brought before the courts of Illinois: this is less than the total number of speeding infractions observed in the present samples, which were collected for only a portion of the year (four one-week periods) at ten monitoring stations on only one class of highway (the rural interstates consisting of 1,760 miles of roadway). (1996:175)

Adding in the missing weeks and the missing miles - and not counting those who normally speed but were only counted conforming - adds up to massive law breaking in the face of, what Clarke notes are, "significant legal penalties and insurance costs" (1996:174).

Further evidence for the pervasiveness of car culture and joyriding in cultural products are widespread. In an article in *Mizz* magazine ('Would you accept a lift from these boys?' Issue 213, 26 May - 8 June 1993) quotes from Paul, Jamie, Perry, Richard, and James (their real names were used in the article) give some insight into joyriding and the ways in which the motor project helped them stop stealing cars. These quotes could have come from either my fieldnotes or the literature discussed in Chapter 2 but there is additional material. Some of that material is in the text but the rest has to be 'read' from the pictures and the context of the magazine. It is clear that the magazine wanted a 'hook' that would attract its young women readers. The front cover 'come on' screams "JOYRIDERS - THE FRIGHTENING TRUTH - Don't get in a car with these boys" yet the preamble to the article more teasingly suggests a certain romantic heroism, "...Jenny Cockle talks to the boys who were prepared to sacrifice their freedom for the sake of impressing the girls in a flashy motor...". Not only does this run contrary to the

literature's emphasis on the personal 'buzz' to be gained from joyriding or the pressure of mates but misrepresents the balance of the interviews. Only James (aged 16) talks about girls:

nicking cars really helps you get into nightclubs, especially if you pull up in a nice Sierra or something. If me and my mates ended up taking some girls home afterwards, we used to stick a cab aerial on the back so that if we were chased by the police, the people in the back could say they thought they were getting a cab.

Moreover, the boys chosen for the interviews and picture were neither the youngest or oldest but all 16 and 17. They are arranged leaning on a car looking up at the camera much like a pop group posing for publicity pictures. Given the target market of the magazine and its normal content the boys are commodified as surely as those pop groups, and despite - or indeed, because of - the 'warning' about them they are glamorised.

The literature on youth culture frequently makes much of the soundtrack that music provides and often those youth cultures centre on a particular musical style - such as punk or gansta rap. The Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994 (CJPO) was in part prompted by a moral panic about 'rave' culture and specifically attempts to give a legal definition to the musical style by reference to 'repetitive beats'. One of the leading bands that makes such music is the Prodigy.

Their album 'Music For The Jilted Generation (XL Recordings XL114) features tracks which celebrate youth culture and its resistance to the law. Reviewing it in the Times (!) (16 July 1994), David Sinclair, writes:

Liam Howlett, the young producer and keyboard operative better known as the Prodigy, is not the first popular musician who has presumed to speak for a generation. Pete Townsend articulated the frustration of the mods in the 1960s [...]. An intrinsic part of such an exercise is the drawing up of battle lines. The picture on the inner sleeve of the Prodigy's album, which has topped the chart in its week of release, shows a large gathering of youths in a field, defending a pair of skyscraper speaker stacks from a warlike posse of police in full riot gear. The jilted generation's fight for the right to party starts here. The music is dressed up along similarly confrontational lines. The turbo-charged techno rhythms and ululating vocal calls [...] are freighted with a quasi-revolutionary message of defiance. Disrespect for the law is a recurring theme, from the sampled noise of a smashed window which measures out each bar of "Break And Enter" to the racing pulse of "Speedway (Theme From Fastlane)" which glorifies the perilous pleasures of joyriding.

Further the cover notes also include this message from the band, "HOW CAN THE GOVERNMENT STOP YOUNG PEOPLE HAVING A GOOD TIME. FIGHT THIS BOLLOCKS." and the track titled 'Their Law' opens with the words "What we are talking about here is a total lack of respect for the law" and is the 'repetitive beats' are occasionally interrupted by chants of "Fuck them and their law". The track on joyriding that Sinclair refers to could as easily be about motor racing as the major sampled sound is

that of a speeding car approaching and receding but the other sampled sound of a car alarm gives the game away.

There are a number of problems with the Prodigy's position here. Whilst their music is popular with the age group most involved with joyriding the literature on joyriding makes no mention of music and my observations suggest no particular allegiance to one musical style over another. The road safety literature does, however, relate use of in-car entertainment to bad driving (AA, 1992) but again makes no mention of musical style. Such considerations have not prevented compilations of music to drive to being marketed under the BBC motoring programme *Top Gear* name. The second problem is that of politics. Whilst joyriders may support rave culture - or, at least, the right to party - and many take drugs their adherence to car culture sits uneasily with other 'greener' parts of youth culture associated with 'rave' culture and others criminalised by the CJPO such as hunt saboteurs and anti-road protestors etc. Pop music offers another version in Pulp's *Joyriders* "Mr we just want your car cos we're taking a girl to the Reservoir" but conclude "It's a tragedy" (*get frisky with PULP* Loose Records 1995) It is political naivety to equate the right to party with a right to joyride. Irrespective it shows the entry of joyriding into popular culture. Another example is the film *Shopping* which features the lives of Billy, Jo, Monkey and Be Bop who ramraid. It was not critically well received. Hailed as the Welsh *Trainspotting* (drug culture as normal) *Twin Town* features joyriding in Swansea.

More complex is *Car* is a three part dance programme performed by the six women comprising the Cholmondeleys; choreographed by Lea Anderson it comprises parts: 'Car Wars'; '15 minutes of Fame' and 'Dada Eco-Car (a respiration comedy)'. It has played free (sponsored by Saab) to outdoor audiences in a dozen venues, including a Saab dealership! Each part stands on its own but all centre on a car which is the subject of the pieces but also physically a platform, a prop and barre for the dancers individually and in ensemble. The performance (3pm Sunday 20 August 1995, Royal Festival Hall) is reviewed with additional material from an article on 'The Motor Car in Art' by Peter Conrad (The Observer, 16 July 1995).

In 'Car Wars' the car arrives. It is driven and occupied by the dancers wearing tight, rouched black outfits which only reveal the eyes and mouth. The early movements suggest the effects of speed on the human body but on coming to rest the occupants dark clothes and watchful air might be that of bank robbers. They writhe in and out of every door and the boot like so many maggots.

In '15 minutes of Fame' the dancers are dressed as Jackie Onassis Kennedy reminding us of what Conrad calls her "bad trip in a motorcade". They pose, they pout, they wave regally from the car and slither over the car not like maggots but models. They bask in the glare of a flashlight for their fifteen minutes then turn it interrogatively on the other occupants of the car like so many police officers looking into steamed-up cars. All

the time the opened boot window is being decorated with celebrated 'car' victims such as James Dean and JFK but not Barthes, who likened the car to a cathedral but was more mundanely run down by a laundry truck.

The final part 'Dada Eco-Car (a respiration comedy)' most clearly suggests a critique of the car. As the subtitle suggests and the throat clutching, eye-covering, heart-pounding, pulse-checking and retching actions of the increasingly hyper dancers underlines cars kill in more ways than one. It is also in this section that the most literal interpretation is offered as placards are shown to the audience. They read: '100 yards'; '50 yards'; 'CRASH'; 'JOY-RIDE'; 'DRIVE BY SHOOTING'; 'RAM RAID'. Only 'ROAD RAGE' and 'ASTHMA' are missing.

Moreover, the official use of media in the form of road safety and car crime prevention campaigns can also be subject to the cultural readings. The use by the Home Office (1988) of the expression 'macho' and 'unmanly' by Cooper (1989) and newspaper condemnations of the Sunday Times (11 September 1994) of 'foolish boys' suggest that there is a recognition - at one level - of the reality of male involvement. However, this is the angry Father talking to his boisterous sons or the voice of hegemonic masculinity to subordinated masculinity. However, slightly more subtle uses of this recognition of specific masculinities can be found in Hackney Safer Cities street poster advertising campaign against street robbery. Aware of the racist use of crime statistics for 'mugging' but also recognising that involvement they use the language of the street to suggest that it is 'manly' not to mug with the slogan "Respect not Robbery". This is a positive invitation to resume the 'cool pose' of black masculinity not a challenge to that manliness. Further, but unexpected, cultural products of car culture are the poems of the children exposed to the anti-joyriding message of Theatre Adad. One is quoted at the head of this chapter. Some further examples are discussed below. A wider message on driving can be read from this poem that doesn't explicitly mention joyriding.

This a rap all about death
People dying without a last breath
Screeching on the concrete wall
they're not really tough at all.
It's hard to believe this all goes on.
Very short lives now they're gone
This is our message to you out there
to all you people cause care.
More didactic and bloody but reminiscent of anti-drug slogans.
Safe driving is a must
or you might get bust,
Don't go fast around the bend
or you might lose your best friend,
Don't go joyriding if you care
or you might end up a wheel chair
You must be nuts
If you want us to see your guts

So just say,
 NO!!!
 Equally hard-hitting is this contribution which reflects the reality of peer pressure and holds out the prospect of heavenly judgement.
 This is a story all about me,
 How my life was mucked up
 when I saw a car key,
 I stood there staring, daring
 if I should,
 My friends provoked me to
 drive around the wood,
 I jumped in the car sped
 all around,
 Then I ran into a river and
 then I drowned,
 I went up to heaven but
 they said 'NO' you belong
 down below.

A more earthly justice is handed out in this rap.

There was once two boys (men) who thought they were Flash so they stole a car and gave it a bash. they thought they were rude they thought they were bad but they were really mad. they were going to fast round the Bend they made and accident they couldn't Mead (mend). They went to court Felling right divs now they are banged up in the nick.

policy implications

Simply derived from the recognition that motor projects can help young men stop stealing or reduce the numbers of cars they steal and the manner in which they are driven one obvious policy recommendation would be to increase resources for motor projects. Recognising the extent to which motor manufacturers are 'responsible' through poor car security and increasing both the desire and practical need for the car a levy might be suggested on motor manufacturers to support these and other efforts at crime prevention and road safety.

Already these proposals extend across disciplinary and funding boundaries without taking on board issues around: class, 'race', gender, sexuality and the environment. It is the contention of much of this thesis that joyriding should be seen holistically within car culture and so solutions should be too. However, for practical reasons they are discussed below separately. Put bluntly though - and making explicit the lurking positivism in my argument - whatever policies are applied to the car will determine car use, including all illegal car uses such as what is known as joyriding.

The appointment of John Prescott as Deputy Prime Minister in the incoming Labour Government with responsibility for overseeing policy on transport and the environment is welcome. The Guardian (6 May 1997) notes "the Labour government will

end the Conservatives 18-year-old love affair with the car and tilt the balance in favour of public transport." The, Jaguar-driving Prescott, is recorded as saying "We want to improve public transport and make it more attractive so that people will use their cars less". The first moves in this direction were reported in neo-Orwellian terms "Two wheels good, four wheels bad: Business set out vision for green commuting with bike loans, public transport and car sharing" (The Independent, 5 June 1997). The report set out the plans of seven companies (including the Royal Mail, Boots and NatWest Bank) to reduce car use by their employees. Hewlett-Packard's Bristol staff are expected to use bicycles 20%, public transport 7% and car sharing 70% of the time for commuting. In the same month the Royal Automobile Club has relaunched itself as a mobility rather than motoring organisation. Indeed this 'wise use' form of environmental thinking may not be dominant but has increasing utility for companies that can no longer embrace 'environmental management', nor face State controlled 'ecological modernism' in the face of calls for 'environmental justice' (Harvey, 1996).

Returning to advertising we see some of these themes played out in the latest BT and the Fiat Bravo adverts. BT have good business reasons for apparently subversively asking: "Why not change the way we work?". Their telecommunications business can only benefit from giving up private car use, and indeed public transport. The posters ask the question over pictures of massive traffic jams (often sited on jam-prone, sclerotic, arterial roads) or huge queues on train station platforms. Fiat's advert unconsciously undermines the need for a car in using an internet theme. We only ever see the cars on the computer screen; secondly, even then, they are not pictured on a road but on a concreted or tarmac area where they can perform their *car de deux* and finally why would we need a car if we were 'hooked-up' to the Net? The man in the advert clearly works at home. (Groombridge, 1998)

If car adverts are revealing so much anxiety about car use then there should be no need to ban them, but like cigarette advertising (note the close connection with motor racing) it should be considered. More ludic suggestions would look to the many feminist and environmental graffiti campaigns against poster adverts. A more radical use of the law might see a return to the 'Red Flag Acts' requiring each car to have three attendants. Plans for car sharing and legally enforced 'full-cars-only' lanes (like bus lanes) are echoes of this legislation.

It is a pity that the intertwined nature of transport and environment is noted without noting the interplay of the car with crime and crime prevention too. Cars are the site of crime, a source of crime, transport for crime and the divider of communities into car-owning and non-car owning classes as well as (through road building) the creator of townscapes which give rise to fear -one of the main reasons for not using public transport is fear of crime. A rare exception are Hamilton and Hoyle who consider the following in their discussion of transport policy:

Out of their cars, people would become more visible, and we could feel, and be, safer. Children could be able to play on the street. The attraction of living in cities would increase. Money could be saved by the disappearance of car-crime, and of the carnage on the roads. Police-time could be directed away from motorways. (1997:96)

Clearly, if taking and driving away cars is about how some young men construct their own masculinity within a car culture then both masculinity and car culture should be in the dock too. The Government's strategy has been to: improve the security of cars by privately embarrassing the motor manufacturers to take some responsibility for appropriate levels of security for purchases that rival houses for their expenditure; 'outmacho' offenders in the toughness of penal sanctions and further alienate them by likening them to hyenas and metaphorically telling any motorist who fails to take their crime prevention advice that 'they asked for it'. This or similar approaches are proposed for all crimes and have been widely criticised by criminologists, penal reform groups, judges and clergy.

Subjects to the caveats of temporary support for motor projects the main conclusions of this thesis locate the problem of joyriding well outside the narrow concerns of the criminal justice system it is for these reasons that other areas like education, transport and environment policy are briefly explored below. Building on the work of Ignition (see Chapter 1) it is essential that education about the car and road safety be incorporated into the curriculum at an early stage but there is a real danger that with such schemes being backed by motoring organisations and sponsored by motor manufacturers the emphasis will be on the safe use of cars rather than problematising the safety and utility of the car itself. Just as the Vegetarian Society and the Meat and Livestock Commission fight over the right to propagandise in the classroom so Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth will need to move the debate beyond road safety to the safety of the road. Linking in transport policy would see fewer children being driven to school by their harassed parents and therefore less exposure to their bad driving habits.

Under education it is also necessary to consider the early years experience of children, especially boys. Parenting, particularly by men needs to address these issues. Everyone understands the issues involved in the debate about toy guns yet no-one questions the appearance of cars in childrens' stories - often driven by animals! - or the huge numbers of toy cars bought for or given to boys. It is not enough to say that families need fathers as some on the right say but to explore what being a man means (Salisbury and Jackson, 1996).

Jones (1993) proposes a radical rethink of the problem of car crime. He suggests: improved income for young people; lowering the minimum driving age; state funded insurance for young drivers; cheap and efficient public transport; a new range of low cost vehicles; and a whole range of welfare measures related to housing, employment and training. Most of these suggestions are consonant with the findings of this research.

However, there remain problems. Surely we don't want anymore cars or any more young and experienced drivers. As it is there are lots of cars, they are easy to steal and expensive to run legally. Access to cars then is rationed by money. It is also rationed by age. This is clearly not a fair way to ration access to something that everyone either wants or has become dependent upon (joyriders as much as the motorised sales force). Moreover, if public transport was not only good but popular then there would be less need to take cars solely to get from A to B and fewer cars to steal but given the attractions of car culture it is doubtful whether busses would attract joyriders, those that work with them, many men and increasing numbers of women. That said public transport is to be supported in its own right.

further research: the remaining gaps

Specific policy-orientated research aimed at informing the policy issues discussed above is clearly needed. Moreover, many of the issues raised in Chapter 3 have gone unanswered in the attempt to theorize how men should research men (Chapter 4), how definitions of joyriding should be broadened (Chapter 5), how motor projects do work, but do so contrary to the long term aims of feminism and the environment (Chapter 6) and how masculinity has been dealt with implicitly and explicitly in criminology (Chapter 7). Furthermore new questions have arisen.

It is clear that in dealing with many of these issues theoretically the aetiological element is absent; but neither was the hypothesis that joyriding is done because it is easy and fun and may yield a profit contradicted. The comparative element is missing too. Issues of 'race' and gender have been raised but gone unexplored. The reading of car culture suggests that black men and all women have been excluded from its expressive elements or those expressive elements find other forms than joyriding. It has not been possible to test these hypotheses but a useful purpose has been served in raising them as the current literature studies only the joyriding that comes before its eyes.

Clearly too, the whole concept of car culture demands international comparisons. Is joyriding different in the United States or the various countries of continental Europe because of different car cultures? This has been suggested but remains untested. Wolf (1996) sets out some of the different histories (and therefore cultures) of transport usage in the United States and Europe but discusses joyriding as if it only appeared in Britain in 1991 before spreading to Germany later. Reference to the history in Chapter 1, the work of Gibbens (1958) or even Hartley's (1994) antipodean reading reveals the error here. These errors aside it is interesting that both joyriding and, indeed, road rage are treated as part of the history of transport.

As the analysis of car advertisements at various points have indicated, and the futurist Mr Toad confirms, the main reason for buying, renting or stealing a car may be rationalised as transport but this neutral mobility may also be analysed as transgression.

Another direction which this thesis could have taken would have been to take the issue of mobility more seriously. This would have allowed for a consideration of whether the Internet and mobile phones are the new driving/joyriding. Once the preserve of yuppies and drug dealers the mobile 'phone is fast becoming an essential item. Small and light it is often stolen from cars but eventually communications technology offers the prospect of a virtual mobility. This seemingly democratic movement will, however, contain gendered, class, 'race' and age structures within which action is taken. Some will seek to live within those structures through theft or fraud.

It is a further irony that whilst some look to the future with mobile phones, computer hacking and the internet as ways forward others are returning to the past. Chapter 5 opened with a quote on the pleasures of riding a horse. Those pleasures have not diminished but remain class-based, which might explain the response of the authorities to the apparent increase reported in the Guardian (13 June 1997) of horse riding by young people in a working class estate near Cardiff. Gwent police are considering using the Town Police Causes Act 1847 against 'furious riding'. The headline is "Neighbours rein in joyriders of the Wild West of Wales" and PC Ewan Jones is reported as saying,

A lot of these riders don't even have a saddle for their horses. We have clamped down on motor cycle riding and this is the result of that. Some youths worked out that you don't need tax or documents for these animals.

A traditional criminological explanation of this might concentrate on the 'buzz' of riding a horse. That would be sufficient for many, particularly policy makers. However, the approach taken here would emphasize the class issues of horse ownership and the not-unproblematic issue of car-versus-horse ecology but might particularly want to examine how the usual association of horses and ponies with girls was squared by the boys. One potential explanation is hinted at in the coverage - the counter association of horses with cowboys.

Conclusion – the end of the road

The intention was never to seek an etiology of joyriding - like Ruggiero (1996 & 1997), I question etiologies of 'deficit' - but this thesis has clearly moved on from a simple attempt to problematise joyriding. A long-term aim had also been to contribute to a nascent 'green criminology'. Here it has not been possible to move towards that but an underpinning green sentiment has informed the discussion of 'joyriding culture' and has provided a standpoint which stands outside the 'subjective' but differs from the traditional standpoint of the social 'scientist'. It was always obvious - though unremarked - that masculinity had something to do with car use and car crime. It was not clear when I started that so much of the thesis would relate to masculinities in theory and practice. In short three theses have been presented here: first, a critical criminological account of a real problem (joyriding); second, a policy-oriented discussion of one means of dealing

with joyriding (motor projects) and; third, a contribution to the ongoing critique of criminology for its failure to focus on issues of gender in theory and methodology. An old metaphor relates to the difficulty of riding two horses; here my difficulty has been driving three cars. In this context the extent to which these vehicles are in future taken, with or without my consent, will be the measure of my success. The worst fate would be to be permanently parked in a library.

The final conclusion from this attempt to 'do' criminology is that criminology fundamentally misperceives itself. From the proto-criminologies of conservatism and classicism through biological and psychological positivism, sociological positivism (including its sub-cultural variants), conflict, marxist, radical, critical, administrative or control theories to the cynicism of right realism and the continued optimism of left realism, criminology has either sought to explain crime, criminals or criminalisation. Feminist perspectives have rightly criticised all those attempts for their sexism but, as Heidensohn (1994) gloomily notes, have not supplemented, let alone supplanted the criminological mainstream.

Whilst some standpoint feminists might reject criminology because of its specifically masculine bias others (Smart, 1990) reject it for its modernism, specifically its incipient positivism. However, both the discipline and its feminist critics share a conception of criminology; the concept that criminology presents to the world. Whether it seeks to explain, interpret, deconstruct, cure or correct crime, criminality, criminal justice or criminalisation, criminology - in its various guises - resolutely focusses on crime, deviance, censure or problematic situations. This, of course, seems obvious. Do not all disciplines focus on the subject of that discipline? Maybe, but, like the watched pot that never boils crime is too elusive for such single-minded study. When we focus exclusively on crime we often learn more about class, 'race', gender, sexuality, power, the media. Criminology is a lens which brings many things into focus. What it fails to bring into focus is 'crime'.

Smart (1990:84) may conclude that "it is very hard to see what criminology has to offer feminism" but ironically her work has found a voice within criminology. Perhaps, the reason that she is so perceptive about crime and criminology is because she has turned her back on it, only occasionally spinning round to catch it running away. In that moment she sees more than those who confront it head-on. Equally, whilst her postmodern feminism necessarily employs a compound lens it often reveals more about the periphery (crime and criminology being only one example) of her gaze than what she is looking at. Cain (1990a) talks about looking outside criminology - to transgress it - to bring about the successor science, others see criminology as a rendezvous subject where experts from other disciplines look in and move on. Whether looking in or out, 'crime' continues to elude us. My attempts to study the crime of joyriding ended up illuminating car culture and masculinities. More might have been learnt about the 'crime' of joyriding by catching glimpses of it from elsewhere, from other perspectives.

Collier (1995) comes close to recognising some of this. He notes that "the 'respectable' masculinity of the man of law was set against something else; the irresponsible and sexually licentious 'dangerous classes' " (209) and "as criminologists we come up against our familiar friend (or enemy?) time and again - the 'unreconstructed' (a telling phrase) 'dangerous' masculinities of a 'wild' and 'disorderly male youth." (210). He may talk about being a criminologist but his work on the construction in law of the family man and his deconstruction of the politics surrounding single motherhood, the valorisation of 'father-presence' and the operations of the Child Support Agency actually tells us much more about crime and criminology than had he focussed on them.

Collier's work on 'family man' and this thesis all in their different way look mostly at masculinities but in the area of law and crime, without concentrating on law and crime. Thus, unlike Smart, I am not suggesting a break with criminology but certainly a break from criminology. During that break the main concern should be men and masculinities but given the observations of feminists on the similarities between masculinity and crime it will not be surprising that the areas in which men and masculinities might best be studied will be where they deviate, break the law, commit crime, police, prosecute and investigate crime, even do criminology. However, this should not be seen as a return to ongoing Boy's Own stories. Women must not be ignored in this but neither should they just be 'added in' nor compared to men but we should also recognize that criminology's 'other' is not 'woman' but 'criminal'.

And despite being a white, middle-age, middle-class, straight, house-owning, car-owning male I too make the claim to be an exile and agree with Naffine's closing words: The final message of this story, then, is a simple one, though modern criminology has found it difficult to grasp. The most pressing intellectual and ethical obligation on those of us who wish to persist with the study of crime, its meanings and reasons, is to bring women (and other exiles) in from the cold. In order to know more about who we are as criminologists, about the very nature of our enterprise and whether it is worth pursuing at all, we need to open up the conventional borders of the discipline. We must let the exile bear witness. (1997:153)