

# Unlicensed driving: a scoping study to identify potential areas for further research



**Ross Silcock Limited**



**Social Research Associates**

**Association of British Insurers**

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**Foundation for Road  
Safety Research**

# Unlicensed driving: a scoping study to identify potential areas for further research

This report is intended to identify issues related to unlicensed driving which appear to merit further research. Whilst indicative of the scale of the problem, the report does not provide firm conclusions on the subject.

Authors: David Silcock, Anna Sunter and Chris van Lottum,  
Ross Silcock Limited  
Kris Beuret, Social Research Associates



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## Summary and conclusions

- Unlicensed driving is widespread. There were almost 380,000 proceedings in 1996 and estimates from a variety of sources suggest that perhaps only 1 in 6 unlicensed drivers are prosecuted each year.
- With skilled interviewers it is relatively easy to find and talk to people who are driving unlicensed or have done so in the past. There appears little social stigma from this offence.
- Of unlicensed drivers brought to court, around 13 per cent have been disqualified. The great majority are provisional licence holders driving without a full licence, not displaying L plates or being accompanied by a qualified person.
- Unlicensed driving is closely linked to uninsured driving. There were more than 500,000 proceedings for uninsured driving in 1996.
- From an analysis of a sample of Northumbria Police data, around 90 per cent of unlicensed drivers were also uninsured.
- Unlicensed drivers who are prosecuted are predominantly male and young. Northumbria Police data show 90 per cent of prosecutions are against males, of whom approximately three quarters are aged 30 or under and one third are under 21. However, interviews suggest that the problem may be more widespread.
- Unlicensed drivers appear to come from all social groups.
- Access to a parent's car seems to be a facilitating factor.
- Interviews with 50 unlicensed drivers and 20 Approved Driving Instructors revealed some interesting pointers as to motives, but due to the small sample these features are only indicative:
  - unlicensed drivers appear to have a high opinion of their driving skills
  - unlicensed drivers are more likely to agree with statements supporting aggressive driving styles
  - some take the theory test early and have an unrealistic assessment of their ability to pass the practical test in the time available
  - difficulties some have with the theory test (perhaps linked to literacy) also appear to lead to unlicensed driving
  - the cost of tests and lessons deter some and leads to unlicensed driving
  - the risk of being caught and the perceived low penalties are poor deterrents
- There is no evidence available to link unlicensed driving with disproportionate accident risk. It is unknown whether unlicensed driving leads to more road accidents than a similar amount and mix of driving by licensed but otherwise similar drivers.



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# AA Foundation for Road Safety Research

The AA Foundation for Road Safety Research was formed by the AA in December 1986 as part of its continuing efforts in the road safety field and as a major contribution to European Road Safety Year.

Registered as a charity (number 295573), the objectives of the Foundation are:

to carry out, or procure, research into all factors affecting the safe use of public roads;

to promote and encourage the safe use of public roads by all classes of road-users through the circulation of advice, information and knowledge gained from research;

and

to conceive, develop and implement programmes and courses of action designed to improve road safety, these to include the carrying out of any projects or programmes intended to educate young children or others in the safe use of public roads.

Control of the Foundation is vested in a Council of Management under the chairmanship of Kenneth Faircloth OBE with day to day activity being the responsibility of the Foundation Management Committee. The Research Advisory Group, members of which include academics, road safety practitioners and health and transport industry professionals, recommends topics worthy of research to the Management Committee.

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AGF (now part of Allianz-Cornhill), Bishopsgate, Commercial Union (now part of CGU), Corinthian, Cornhill (now part of Allianz-Cornhill), Eagle Star (now part of Zurich), GAN, Guardian, Hiscox, Iron Trades, Norman, Orion Personal (now part of Guardian Insurance), and St Paul International (no longer operating independently).

# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Background

Unlicensed driving is a matter of concern for several reasons. It is possible that drivers who have not undergone appropriate training and testing may be deficient in some aspect of the knowledge and skills required to drive safely and efficiently. Also, drivers who are unauthorised may have less incentive to comply with road traffic laws in that they would not be influenced by the rewards and penalties set up under the licensing system. On this argument, drivers who do not hold a valid licence may disregard the threat of licence sanctions or the benefits of reduced insurance premium due to not having made a claim. Conversely, it can be argued that people who knowingly drive whilst unlicensed or uninsured may take more care in order to avoid prosecution.

It is noticeable in the literature that the term “unlicensed” is used interchangeably to mean several things. To avoid confusion, the term “unlicensed” driving in this report consists of the following three main subcategories, as follows:

- A) Drivers who drive but who have never possessed any form of licence;
- B) Drivers who have previously held a licence but who have been disqualified; and
- C) Drivers possessing only a provisional licence but who, nevertheless, drive unaccompanied.

As shown later in this report unlicensed driving often goes hand in hand with uninsured driving, and absence of a road fund licence. As a result insurers and government lose revenue. The majority who do pay their motor insurance also pay more than they need as a consequence of insurers’ contributions to the Motor Insurers Bureau<sup>1</sup>.

At present, the Driving Standards Agency estimate that approximately 500,000 people have taken the new written driving test since it was introduced in July 1996, but may not benefit from this as they seem unlikely to complete the practical driving test within the permitted timescale.

As part of a research study of speeding for the AA Foundation for Road Safety Research, Ross Silcock Limited and Social Research Associates discovered a disturbing tendency for (particularly young male) drivers to admit to driving whilst unlicensed. As a result the AA Foundation agreed to fund a preliminary investigation of the extent and nature of unlicensed driving. At the same time, the Association of British Insurers (ABI) were considering commissioning a similar scoping study. The AA Foundation and the ABI subsequently agreed jointly to commission this report.

## 1.2 Objectives

The principle aim of this research is to investigate the extent and nature of unlicensed driving. It has been undertaken over a limited period to a modest budget, and the report is best described as a scoping study.

The objectives of the research can be summarised as:

- a) to investigate the scale of the problem; and
- b) to investigate potential motives for unlicensed driving.

<sup>1</sup> The Motor Insurers Bureau is the national guarantee fund, established to compensate the victims of uninsured and untraced motorists.



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The research comprised the following elements:

- a review of published literature on the subject;
- analysis of published statistics;
- analysis of a sample of data from the Northumbria Police area;
- interviews with a small sample of unlicensed drivers and ADIs; and
- background interviews with senior police officers and motor insurers.

Ross Silcock undertook the literature review and analyses of existing data. The interviews with unlicensed drivers and Approved Driving Instructors (ADIs) were carried out by Social Research Associates. This report is submitted jointly by the two firms.

## Chapter 2 Scale of the problem and published research

### 2.1 Incidence of unlicensed driving

It is difficult to assess the overall incidence of driving licence offences. As has been observed, it is not easy to detect and enforce driving licence offences without the random checking of documents (Forsyth and Silcock, 1988). However statistics are available describing the numbers brought to court, which, all those consulted acknowledge, underestimates the scale of the problem.

#### 2.1.1 Home Office figures

Home Office statistics show that licence, insurance and record keeping offences in England and Wales constituted the second largest offence group in 1996 after parking offences, comprising 1.3 million offences, or 22 per cent of all offences dealt with. However, difficulties may arise in disaggregating these data due to the way in which licence offences are classified. When looking at 1996 statistics from the Home Office, it is difficult to unravel incidences of unlicensed driving from licence related offences in general as unlicensed driving is not recorded separately in the 5 sub-categories. This can be seen in Table 1 (for 1996), where unlicensed driving falls into the two categories entitled "Driving while disqualified" and "Driving or causing or permitting another person to drive other than in accordance with the licence".

**Table 1**  
**Offence Group 7,**  
**driving licence**  
**related offences 1996**

Driving licence offence	Total proceedings	Total findings of guilt
Driving while disqualified	49,763	40,162
Driving or causing or permitting another person to drive other than in accordance with the licence	214,067	122,736
Failing to produce driving licence	110,519	49,510
Driving after false declaration as to physical fitness etc	24	10
Other driving licence related offences (excluding fraud and forgery)	3,287	1,934
TOTAL	377,660	214,352

Source: Supplementary Home Office Tables 1996, Table 2

Note: the table shows numbers of proceedings, not number of persons. Multiple offences occur.

Before the end of 1992 it was easier to assess the incidence of drivers driving on a provisional licence but not in accordance with the rules for learner drivers (ie alone or with a person not authorised to accompany learner drivers). Provisional licence proceedings were entered into a separate category, as can be seen in Table 2 below. This table has been included to give an approximate picture of what might be expected regarding the incidence of provisional licence driving offences in today's statistics. However, given that licence, insurance and record keeping offences fell by 5 per cent from 1,372,000 in 1995 to 1,304,000 in 1996, it is not possible to draw any firm conclusions about what the number of provisional licence offences might currently be as it is not known whether these figures would follow the same trend.

**Table 2**  
**Offence Group 8,**  
**provisional licence**  
**offences 1992**

Offence type	Total proceedings	Total findings of guilt
Not accompanied by qualified person	44,515	31,680
Carrying person not qualified	1,624	1,332
Driving without L plates	50,897	37,502
Other provisional licence offences	711	527
TOTAL	97,747	71,041

Source: Supplementary Home Office Tables 1992

From examination of this table, it appears that driving without L plates and not being accompanied by a qualified person were the principal offences within Group 8. It can be seen that:

- Driving without L plates accounted for approximately 52 per cent of all proceedings for provisional licence offences and constituted the largest sub-category of offences. Roughly 74 per cent of these proceedings led to findings of guilt; and
- Not being accompanied by a qualified person accounted for approximately 45 per cent of all proceedings for provisional licence offences. Roughly 71 per cent of these proceedings led to findings of guilt.

All the offences under Group 8 in Table 2 (provisional licence offences) now come within the second entry under Group 7 (driving licence related offences) in the 1996 data in Table 1, following amendment of the Road Traffic Act 1988 by Section 17 of the RTA 1991. Hence, no separate statistics are currently available for provisional licence offences.

As can be seen above, Home Office statistics (1996) show that 13 per cent of proceedings for driving licence offences are for driving while disqualified (after having had a driving licence withdrawn by the Courts). This compares with 15 per cent for a sample of Northumbria Police data.

### **2.1.2 Northumbria Police data**

Although little detailed work has been carried out in Great Britain to assess the incidence of unlicensed driving, one study found that the great majority of driving licence offences (which constituted 15 per cent of proceedings against adults for all Northumbria traffic offences in 1985) in the Northumbria area are “driving unaccompanied and not displaying an “L” plate as a learner” (Forsyth and Silcock, 1988). Anecdotal evidence from police sources suggests that a similar pattern prevails today.

As part of the current research Northumbria Police kindly supplied current information on the profile of unlicensed drivers which is discussed later in this report.

### **2.1.3 Data from other countries**

Work carried out in America indicates that the problem of unlicensed driving may be quite common. According to a USA questionnaire survey conducted in 1983 in order to investigate the amount and type of driving by teenagers, “considerable illegal driving” was reported by unlicensed drivers – both those with learners permits and those without (Williams *et al.*, 1984). Furthermore, unlicensed driving, especially in combination with alcohol, has been identified as the largest traffic safety problem both in USA and Europe (Goldberg, 1997).

### *Scale of the problem and published research*

In Australia another study was carried out to examine the incidence of driving without a valid licence (Carseldine *et al.*, 1992). Licence data were collected as part of stationary random breath testing in Sydney and revealed that the level of unauthorised driving was 2.4 per cent, which may be lower than for the State as a whole. However, it is unclear what proportion of this consisted of younger drivers who had never held a licence.

A further study in Australia found that 36.4 per cent of 1552 people taking part in a mail survey admitted driving while disqualified (Robinson, 1977) while a more recent Australian study of 1313 disqualified drivers confirmed this, with 35.8 per cent admitting driving at least once while disqualified (Smith and Maisey, 1992).

## 2.2 Incidence of uninsured driving

### 2.2.1 Home Office data

Insurance offences are classified as Offence Group number 9 in Home Office figures. Uninsured driving is closely linked to unlicensed driving (see section 4). Although uninsured driving is a significant problem, the extent of the problem can only be estimated as much of the available data is either imprecise or open to misinterpretation. Part of the reason for this is that the offence may only be discovered when there is an accident or when drivers are stopped in connection with some other vehicle related offence.

Home Office data are divided into two main areas as can be seen in Table 3, below. In 1996 there were 415,015 proceedings for using a motor vehicle uninsured against third party risks. Of these, 64 per cent led to findings of guilt. In the case of "Other insurance offences" only 25 per cent of proceedings led to findings of guilt.

**Table 3**  
**Offence Group 9,**  
**vehicle insurance**  
**offences 1996**

Vehicle insurance offence	Total proceedings	Total findings of guilt
Using motor vehicle uninsured against third party risks	415,015	264,636
Other insurance offences	133,372	33,772
TOTAL	548,387	298,408

Source: Supplementary Home Office Tables 1996, Table 2

Note: the table shows numbers of proceedings, not number of persons. Multiple offences occur.

### 2.2.2 Motor Insurers Bureau figures

The number of convictions reported by the Motor Insurers Bureau (MIB, 1998) of around 250,000 per annum, derived from some 20 million vehicle checks, may give some indication as to the scale of the problem. MIB report that DVLA estimate that currently about 1.5 million vehicles are being used without tax. If it is assumed that these vehicles are also uninsured, then this latter figure might give a more reliable guide as to the extent of uninsured driving, implying that perhaps only 1 in 6 of uninsured drivers are convicted.

Both the MIB and the Association of British Insurers have concluded on the basis of the available information that uninsured driving is about 4-6 per cent of the population. Based upon a vehicle population of about 30 million, this produces a similar figure of 1.5 million uninsured vehicles.

## 2.3 Linkage between offences

### 2.3.1 Northumbria Police data

According to Northumbria Police traffic offence data, driver licence offences are often accompanied by insurance and vehicle test offences. A small sample of 1997/98 data from the Northumbria prosecutions data base has been analysed. From a sample of 159 male drivers aged under 21 years committing driving licence offences, 91 per cent also committed insurance offences and 49 per cent vehicle test offences. From a further sample of 150 male drivers aged over 31 committing driving licence offences, 84 per cent committed insurance offences and 57 per cent committed vehicle test offences.

Northumbria police traffic offence data further reveal that 15 per cent of proceedings for driving licence offences were for driving while disqualified and that, of these, 78 per cent committed other offences and 49 per cent more than one other offence. From a further sample of male drivers aged over 31 years, 18 per cent were found to be driving while disqualified. Of these, 41 per cent committed other offences and 11 per cent more than one other offence. It appears that driving while disqualified is slightly more prevalent among the older group, as would be expected due to greater exposure to risk over the additional years.

In the sample of male drivers aged under 21 years, the most frequently occurring other offences were taking a vehicle without consent and drink driving. The over 31 years sample contained no offences related to taking a vehicle without consent but did contain eight counts of drink driving.

Appendix A presents the data summarised above.

## 2.4 Summary of the scale of the problem

It appears from the above information that unlicensed driving is widespread. Estimates suggest that perhaps 1.5 million people are driving without insurance and linkages between offences makes it likely that most of these are also unlicensed.

However there is no information which establishes whether this behaviour results in higher (or lower) than expected numbers of accidents. There is a presumption that driving whilst not properly qualified/entitled to do so is unsafe, but no data exist to test this hypothesis.

A further area which needs to be investigated is whether there is a particular type of driver who is likely to drive unlicensed. The following section considers this aspect.

## 2.5 The Influence of age, sex, employment and driving history

### 2.5.1 Northumbria Police data

The accident risk of new drivers is considerably higher than for experienced drivers (McKenna, 1998). Although it is possible to separate young drivers from new drivers, it is generally the case that new drivers are also young drivers.

Several of the main problems which have been identified with the ways in which young drivers tend to drive are as follows (McKenna, 1998):

- They drive too close to vehicles in front;
- They are more inclined to traffic violations in general such as running red lights; and
- They have poor hazard perception skills. It has been observed that, although drivers of the 17–24 year old age group may be technically efficient, they may be considered a problem due to their lack of awareness of hazard perception and their reduced ability to react to developing hazards ahead (Norris, 1998).

Given that many young drivers are driving without licences and therefore without expert guidance, it is possible that any unsafe driving practices will not be addressed or corrected

### Scale of the problem and published research

until the drivers are apprehended by the police. By this time it may be too late to prevent accidents and/or injuries from occurring.

Although very little research has produced information regarding the characteristics of drivers who choose to drive unlicensed, one British study carried out in the Northumbria area has indicated that the majority of driving licence offenders are in the 17–24 years age bracket, the most popular age for learner drivers (Forsyth and Silcock, 1988). More recent data for the period August 1997 to July 1998, supplied by Northumbria Police from their prosecutions data base revealed the following (Table 4).

These offences are committed predominantly by males (90 per cent of driving licence offences and 93 per cent of insurance offences). Of the males, approximately three quarters are aged 30 or under, and one third are aged under 21.

**Table 4**  
**Prosecutions for driving licence and insurance offences in the Northumbria Police area, August 1997 – July 1998.**

	MALE DRIVERS				
	Age				
Offence	Under 21	22–30	31–52	53–73	Total
No driving licence	2,529 (32%)	3,360 (42%)	1,918 (24%)	143 (1.8%)	7,950 (100%)
No insurance	4,196 (31%)*	5,578 (42%)	3,276 (25%)	216 (1.6%)	13,266 (100%)

	FEMALE DRIVERS				
	Age				
Offence	Under 21	22–30	31–52	53–73	Total
No driving licence	217 (26%)	377 (45%)	225 (27%)	14 (1.7%)	833 (100%)
No insurance	264 (26%)*	500 (48%)	258 (25%)	10 (1%)	1,032 (100%)

Source: Northumbria Police

\*It is worth noting that a number of the under 21s could be driving on their parents' insurance, whereas the 22–30 age group are more likely to have to pay their own way so may decide to take the risk of not paying for insurance.

### 2.5.2 Other countries

According to Robinson (1977) people in Australia who drive while disqualified tend to be:

- Less than 40 or over 60 years of age;
- Unmarried or separated from the marital partner;
- Employed as:
  - Unskilled workers
  - Skilled trades people
  - Members of the armed services
  - Professional drivers
  - Students or unemployed;
- Disqualified two or more times previously; or
- Convicted for less serious offences.

In contrast with this, a further Australian study concluded that although survey results showed that Monday to Thursday nights had somewhat higher than average levels of unauthorised driving, targeting enforcement on specific time periods, vehicle types or driver age groups was not supported by the results (Carseldine *et al.*, 1992).

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Anecdotal evidence from the MIB suggests that many drivers who are pursued for uninsured driving are also young males, and often are unemployed.

## 2.6 Motivation

### 2.6.1 Published research

Two Australian studies have been useful in highlighting reasons for driving while disqualified. Robinson (1977) found that drivers who admitted driving 20 times or more while disqualified stated the main reasons as:

- Exceptional circumstances;
- Employment-related circumstances; and
- “All transport features” (meaning not specified).

7.2 A survey carried out by Smith and Maisey (1992) found that drivers reported driving while disqualified as follows:

- For work purposes:
  - 15.7 per cent drove 1–5 times, during the period of disqualification;
  - 8.9 per cent drove 6–99 times; and
  - 8.8 per cent drove 100 times or more.
- For family and social activities:
  - 20.7 per cent drove 1–5 times during the period of disqualification;
  - 6.6 per cent drove 6–99 times; and
  - 4.9 per cent drove 100 times or more.

## Chapter 3 Interviews with unlicensed drivers and ADIs

### 3.1 Unlicensed drivers

Fifty interviews were carried out, with the emphasis on interviewing young drivers. Potential interviewees were approached in Further Education Colleges in Watford (Hertfordshire) and Stamford and Caythorpe (Lincolnshire). Many of the young people at these colleges, although listed as students, were on day release courses. A profile of the interviewees is provided in Table 5. Other interviewees were contacted in pubs, clubs, and community associations. The aim was to obtain a range of interviews with unlicensed drivers and no claim is made that the overall sample is representative of all unlicensed driving. In particular, young people under 17 who were involved in stealing cars to drive were excluded. The preference was to talk to 'ordinary' drivers who were driving without legal licences. Although only 50 private individual in-depth interviews were carried out, many other discussions were held about the subject with groups of people in the interviewing environment. Text in *italics* below contains quotations from the interviewees.

**Table 5**  
**Profile of interviewees**  
**by age, occupation**  
**and sex**

#### Age

Under 17	3
17–20	32
21–29	8
30–59	6
60–69	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>

#### Occupation

Non-manual	4
Manual	4
Unemployed	3
Student	39
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>

#### Sex

Male	35
Female	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>50</b>



### **3.1.1 The incidence of unlicensed driving**

Driving without a licence seems widespread. With skilled interviewers, it is relatively easy to find and talk to people who either have done this in the past or are currently doing it. The study was not designed to quantify this figure but the impression gained is that many young people do it during a one to three year period when they are learning to drive but that by the time they reach the age of 20, most have passed their test. On the other hand there also appears to be some older drivers who have been driving without a licence for a long time and have no immediate intention of obtaining a licence.

### **3.1.2 Characteristics of unlicensed drivers – socio-economic**

Young unlicensed drivers appear to come from all social backgrounds and from both sexes, although men are more prevalent.

The relative cheapness of second hand cars also encourages unlicensed driving especially amongst young people. (Amongst those interviewed there were people who had purchased viable cars for less than £40.) In addition some young people are given their own car before they pass their driving test. Another factor is the growth in the number of households with more than one car – this often results in the second car, in which the young person is used to practising, being temptingly available when parents are out in the main family car.

*I drive my parents' car – it's a Jaguar XJS and I do it for a variety of reasons, curiosity, enjoyment, – it makes socialising easier and it also means that practice is easier due to the expense of lessons.*

*Everybody does it round here.*

*I bet there's no-one in this canteen who hasn't done it at some time. People think nothing of it. If you want to nip down to the town you do it.*

Apart from young drivers, there are also indications that there are other groups with a higher than average propensity to drive without licences. Examples are older people with “deviant” lifestyles, ethnic minority groups, people whose licences had been curtailed on health grounds and rural residents. The survey size was not large enough to allow these sub-divisions to be fully explored but a range of “clues” and possible explanations have emerged.

For example, in rural areas there is stronger pressure on people who need to get around.

*I've never got around to taking my test – I'd probably fail and so I don't want to waste the money. When my husband went away to work on the rigs I had to get around – there's no buses here. It'd be embarrassing to take lessons now anyway – they all think I've passed in the village.*

*We all know how to drive round here – there's plenty of off road tracks and I was driving a tractor when I was ten. I suppose I'll take the test one day but I'm not too bothered at the moment – I've got better things to spend my money on.*

Some drivers from ethnic minority groups also suggested social and cultural reasons for unlicensed driving in their communities.

*I didn't want my family, especially my husband and mother-in-law, to know that I'd failed the driving test yet again, so I said I'd passed and I've been driving ever since (6 years).*

*Sometimes it takes a while for the different traditions to seep in – where I grew up in Uganda driving tests were not a feature and that attitude is still there amongst some people in our community.*

### Interviews with unlicensed drivers and ADIs

*Life for black people is hard – we always have to struggle and we rely on ourselves when we can – so we see the driving test system as part of the white people’s system and manage without it.*

Another group where people amongst whom long term unlicensed driving was apparent were those who led a more generally deviant life style which included practices such as working whilst claiming benefits, pilfering, etc.

*I aim to avoid bureaucracy as much as possible – I keep away from forms and officials and live my own life independently without all that hassle including driving.*

### 3.1.3 Characteristics of unlicensed drivers – attitudes to driving

There is evidence that unlicensed drivers have a higher opinion of their driving skills in comparison to the general driving population.

*I hate to brag but even though I’ve no licence, I’m better than a good few on the road.*

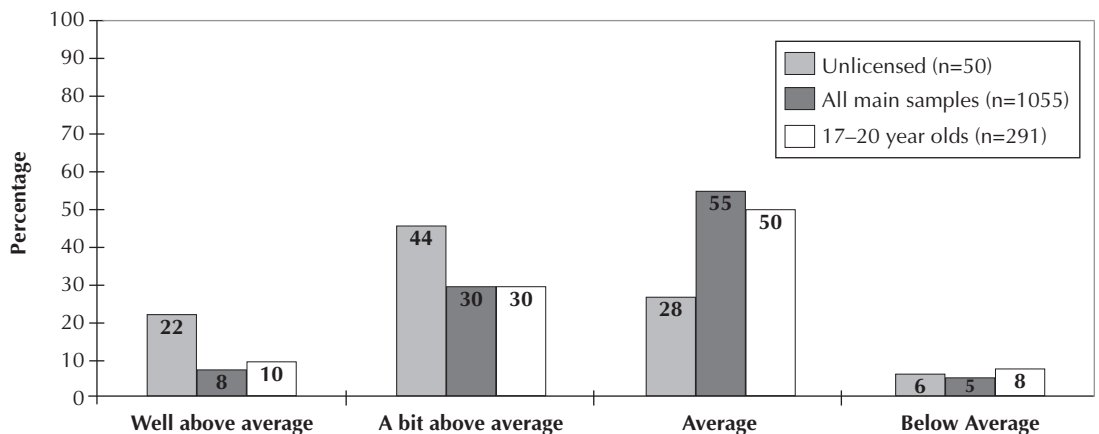
*I’ve been driving for a couple of years now since I was 17 – although I say it myself I’m a natural but some of those driving test people don’t like passing young people – so I’m not bothering.*

*I’m simply stating fact when I say I’m a very good driver – my reactions are brilliant – when I failed the test I couldn’t believe it – the guy obviously had personal problems – I’ve no faith in the system now.*

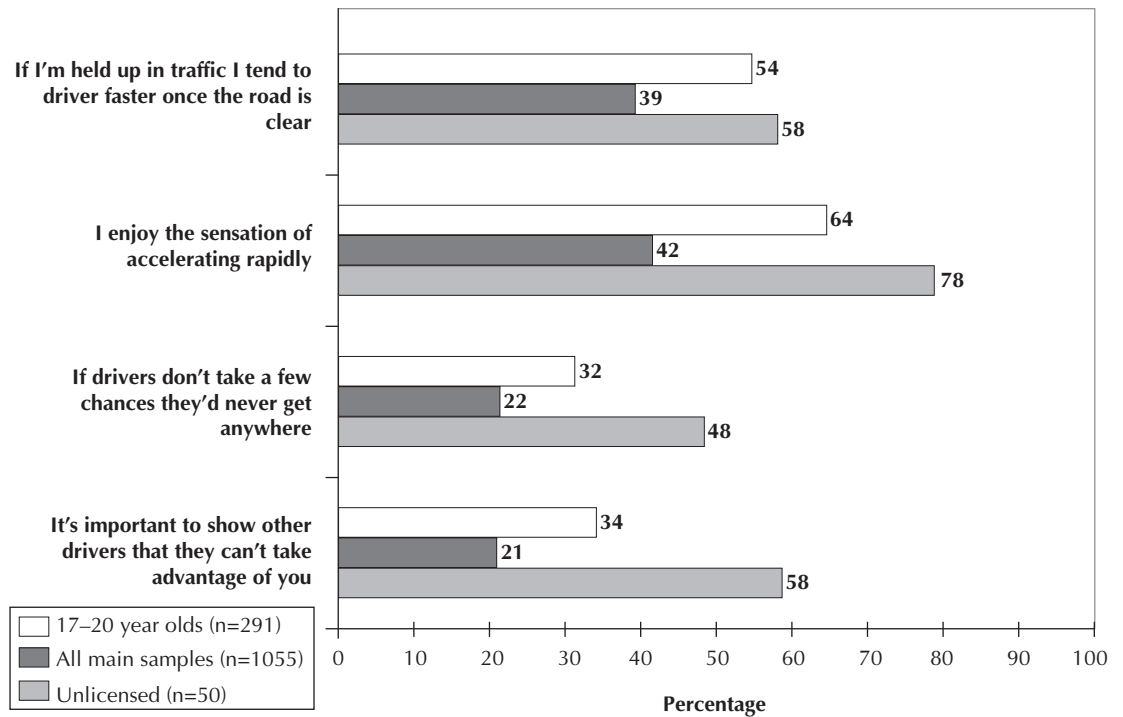
The tendency to have a higher than average opinion of driving ability is also substantiated by the quantitative results. For example the figure below gives comparisons of self-assessment ratings for driving ability of the unlicensed drivers and licensed drivers (both in general and for 17-20 year olds) found in the interviews carried out for the AA Foundation for Road Safety Research speeding study (Silcock *et al.*, 1999).

The unlicensed drivers were also more likely than the general sample to exhibit aggressive attitudes. For example 58 per cent of the unlicensed drivers agreed that “*it is important to show other drivers that they can’t take advantage of you*” compared to only 21 per cent of the main sample and 34 per cent of the 17-20 year olds in the main speeding survey (Silcock *et al.*, 1999). Similar differences were apparent in relation to other statements.

**Figure 1**  
**Self assessment of driving ability: comparisons between licensed and unlicensed drivers**



**Figure 2**  
Percent agreeing with statement: unlicensed drivers compared to licensed drivers



### 3.1.4 Accident and prosecution rates

Thirty-four per cent of the unlicensed interviewees had been in a road accident, 24 per cent whilst driving without a licence and 18 per cent had prosecutions or points on their licence. These rates are similar to the proportions found in the interviews carried out in the Speeding project.

Many of the unlicensed drivers said they made a conscious effort to drive in a manner which would not draw attention to themselves. In many cases this often meant driving more carefully and not drinking and driving but it also implied keeping a look out for police and avoiding times and places where police were likely to be.

*I don't think I'll ever get caught – anyway I always drive within the speed limit and I'm a good driver.*

*I've been driving on my own for ages but I stick to the speed limit because I don't want to draw the attention of the police.*

## 3.2 Reasons for unlicensed driving

### 3.2.1 The two-part theory and practical test

The division of the driving test into two parts appears to encourage the practice of unlicensed driving. Some people take the theory test very early (for example immediately they reach seventeen) and have an unrealistic assessment of their chances of taking the practical test within the time scale.

*Why cancel the theory test pass if the two years runs out – it's not my fault that there's a two month delay between booking and sitting the practical test.*

*I had meant to take the practical but I've been off work and can't see myself affording it now.*

*I rushed out and passed the theory a week after I was 17 – we had done some of it at school but then I just didn't get round to having lessons and taking the practical. I suppose I will one day but I don't fancy starting the whole lot again.*

### **3.2.2 Difficulties of passing the theory test**

The difficulty of passing the theory test (pass rates have declined from 67 per cent in July 96–March 97, to 63 per cent in April–March 1998) also leads to unlicensed driving. Some people who are deficient in literacy find it difficult to pass the theory test. In addition some feel very aggrieved when this happens, especially if they consider themselves to be good drivers. Others were reluctant to let it be known that they failed.

*I think the theory test is too hard, everyone knows I'm a good driver including my boss but I can't be doing with all that writing.*

*I always kept away from schools so I'd never be able to pass the theory – it's not fair because as a builder I simply couldn't manage without driving. It's not right that they should put all that reading in – the old system of asking you questions was much better.*

Indeed for some, failure in the theory test (with its relatively universal standard), tended to be considered more 'shameful' than failure in the practical test which could always be attributed to bad luck from various sources (grumpy examiner, nervousness, freak road conditions, sexism, racism, etc.). People who held this latter view were also more likely to perceive the practical test as unfair.

*The examiner was clearly sexist and expected women to fail more than men. I was going to complain about some of the remarks. You ought to be able to ask for a woman examiner.*

*I could tell the guy didn't like blacks by the way he spoke to me – I knew I was going to fail before we left the test station.*

### **3.2.3 The cost of taking tests**

The cost of taking the tests is another common reason for unlicensed driving. Young people especially find it difficult to afford both driving lessons and the cost of taking the practical test. The latter is often not just a question of the test fee but also the lesson beforehand and the use of the driving school car for the test itself.

*I'd planned to take the practical test whilst I was away at College but there's never any money left for it. To be frank I think it'll have to wait until I finish in three years unless I have some left with a job in the summer.*

*It's Catch 22 – I need the car to get to college but I can't afford to take the test because I am at College.*

### **3.2.4 Attitudes to enforcement**

Another factor is the lack of thought given by many unlicensed drivers to the possible consequences of their action. The impact on others due to invalid insurance cover was rarely considered and even less concern was expressed about the effects of self-injury. Older drivers who had driven without licences in the past often spoke about their subsequent concern on realising these implications.

*The only thing that bothers me is what if I run over someone with a family to support and there's no insurance – I would feel bad about that.*

*When I had the prang which wasn't even my fault last year, I must admit I did think about what would happen if I'd been seriously injured – no insurance cover I suppose.*

The fact that with unlicensed driving the insurance would be invalid did not seem to occur to most young people. Others were concerned about this aspect and it was one of the major motives for eventually taking a driving test. This motive should also be seen in the light of the fact that many did not realise that there was a national compensation scheme to meet the problem of uninsured accidents. Had they been aware of this the motive to take a test might have been lower.

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The likelihood of getting caught and the penalties if caught were both considered acceptably low risks by many interviewees. Indeed in the latter case, savings on insurance which often accompanied unlicensed driving were considered cost effective even if the offence came to light.

*What have I got to lose – taking my licence away when I haven't got one anyway!*

*I haven't started driving lessons yet but I drive around all the time – Mum's car is available a lot – my dad knows I do it so it's easy. If I get caught I might not be able to get a licence so then I'll probably carry on driving without a licence.*

*I got insured as a learner with a provisional licence and the car was already taxed. Eventually the insurance ran out and I was stopped but I only got six points and a £100 fine so I made a profit.*

*I took a test nine years ago and failed. I thought I could drive OK even though I failed and as I'd just bought a car I went on driving it. Just think of all the money I've saved even if I do get caught – in any case I wouldn't let on about how long I'd been doing it – I'd just say I'd just started learning again.*

*Finally after 20 years I got caught driving without a licence last month and fined – I'm worried about how to pay the fine and there certainly won't be enough money around to take the test as well so I'll just have to go on doing it to get to work.*

For many young people, who were driving family cars illegally, the wrath of parents was seen as a greater fear than legal constraints.

*If my parents knew – they'd kill me but I only do it in my Mum's car when they're both out in Dad's car, so I know they won't know.'*

However, in other cases, parents knew and at least tacitly condoned the practice.

*My parents know I do it – they realise I have to get out and about.*

Some unlicensed drivers always drove with a partner who had a licence and had been doing so for many years. Others, especially young people, felt it was acceptable to drive with a friend who had passed the driving test even though not for a sufficient time to legally accompany an unlicensed driver.

*I've been driving on a provisional licence for about 18 months. It started when my girlfriend was away and I took her car into town one evening to meet someone. I got stopped by the police and they asked me to produce documents. I had to make up a story about who I had in the car to my girlfriend and in the end got her to say it was her to the police. In the end nothing happened and I got away with it but it persuaded me to take the test after that.*

Those who had been “caught” often managed to avoid the consequences by giving the name of a licensed driver who subsequently presented their own documents at the police station in lieu of the unlicensed driver.

*I was driving on my provisional licence and ditched the car when speeding with five young lads in the car – we had smashed jaw bones and broken ribs. I got away with it – one of the lads who had passed a few months before said he was driving. We ended up with only caution points.*

*I got stopped and I took my brother's documents into the police – he looks like me.*

*I use my sister's licence and insurance – I know everything about her so there's no chance they'll find out.*

It was also possible to manipulate other aspects of the administrative system to obtain insurance, MOT and a road tax disc without also having a full licence.

### *Interviews with unlicensed drivers and ADIs*

*I used my brothers driving licence to get the MOT and insurance.*

*I get someone else to tax it for me.*

### **3.3 Interviews with ADIs and others**

In addition to the 50 interviews with unlicensed drivers, 20 interviews were carried out with ADIs from a range of geographical areas. Finally a small number of supplementary interviews were carried out with local police, sixth form teachers, social workers, insurance brokers and post office counter staff to obtain background information in interpreting the views of those interviewed more formally.

The ADIs interviewed were aware of the problem of unlicensed driving and could all give examples.

*I've had five people recently who have driven and only now thought about taking the test – one man has been doing it for 20 years and another lady for ten years.*

*There's no group who don't do it. One young girl pupil wouldn't say boo to a goose but drives all weekend on her own.*

*I constantly see people driving when they don't have full licences. One of my pupils always jumps into her own car and drives off.*

Nevertheless there was no agreement about the extent of unlicensed driving. Some ADIs felt the incidence was high but the majority felt it was not extensive. To some extent views depended on area and client base. It was also agreed that the ADIs did not see a cross section of the population but those who paid for lessons and that this might bias their views.

The ADIs also had views about what encouraged unlicensed driving and their views generally substantiated the results of the interviews with unlicensed drivers.

For example some thought that the theory test was deficient.

*Some people don't understand the theory questions – so many are poorly educated but don't like to say so – they just tick at random and you realise they can't read properly.*

*People aren't used to all this studying – I've seen them puzzling not just about reading the questions but the idea of multiple choice. It's no wonder they get fed up and just start driving – some of them are very good drivers anyway.*

*They know the answers but they can't get them down.*

*One girl was so nervous she failed her theory three times – she's going to the doctors to get something to calm her down. Yet she's a really good driver and would have no trouble in passing the practical.*

Other ADIs made the point that the theory and practical tests were too remote from each other, and that passing the theory encouraged unlicensed driving.

*The theory test is a waste of time – 17 year olds swot up and pass the test then forget it all but meanwhile they think they know it all and start driving*

*Lots of people feel they are entitled to drive after passing the theory test.*

*All the ADIs I know would prefer the theory and the practical on the same day*

Many ADIs also explained unlicensed driving in terms of cost.

*The practical test is too expensive if you take account of lessons and car use.*

*I know a lot of customers who can scrape up the £10 for the odd lesson but they never get the full amount for the test together.*

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*If they keep failing the practical they end up giving up but then get tempted to drive especially if they failed through nerves and are actually quite good. I've had one bloke who has failed four times and I see him driving all the time.*

Paradoxically in the light of views about the role of cost in encouraging unlicensed driving, a number of ADIs also made the suggestion that the problem would be solved if qualified ADIs were the only people allowed to give lessons.

*The rules about teaching driving need to be changed – there should always be dual control then it would be clear who was a learner driver. As things stand it's too easy for young people to go out with mates and kid themselves that it's legal and the police certainly don't have time to bother with who is eligible.*

In addition the ADIs condemned legal deterrents.

*If people have no licence to start with, what use is a ban?*

*I see unlicensed drivers going around here all the time but the police have too much else on their plate to worry about that – apart from the real criminal boy racer types, the others tend to behave themselves anyway.*

The ADIs also explained unlicensed driving in terms of failure in the practical test.

*People fail and don't want to let on to others.*

*Some take it and fail and can't face admitting that they don't know it all – many don't come back.*



## Chapter 4 Issues for further research

### 4.1 Summary of issues

The interviews reported in Chapter 3 are based on a small sample and should only be seen as an element of a scoping study for identifying a number of issues worthy of further research.

The practice of unlicensed driving is growing and becoming more socially acceptable, especially amongst young people. However, the extent to which people will eventually pass the driving test, having started out as unlicensed, is unknown.

The structure, content, cost, examining procedures and the link between the theory and practical test are related to some aspects of unlicensed driving.

Research is also required to understand the range of reasons for unlicensed driving amongst different groups. Apart from the widespread incidence amongst young people, there is also a need, for example, to explore the extent and reasons for unlicensed driving amongst elderly, disabled and ethnic minority groups.

For many unlicensed drivers, enforcement and penalties are not strong deterrents and in addition there are also administrative loopholes which some exploit. There appears to be a general laxity in the system of checking the validity of documents and their ownership – for example it is claimed to be straightforward for an unlicensed driver to pass himself off as a friend (with a licence) and later present the friend's documents at a police station.

Broader social attitudes, especially amongst peer groups, about what is acceptable and unacceptable disregard of the law are also an influence. Lack of awareness of the insurance guarantee scheme run by MIB persuades some people to stop unlicensed driving on ethical grounds. Others do not think about the potential consequences of unlicensed driving when they are young and feel concerned when they grow older and look back.

#### 4.1.1 Potential links with accidents

Unlicensed driving may be considered a serious problem not only because of its inherent illegality and association with uninsured driving, but also due to associated safety risks. It has been estimated that:

- In Sweden approximately half of all drunken driving takes place with drivers who do not have a valid driving licence (Goldberg, 1997).
- Also in Sweden, unlicensed driving has been estimated as the cause of 100 deaths and 2500 injuries per year at a cost of more than one billion US dollars (Goldberg, 1995). As this represents approximately one sixth of road deaths, a rough equivalent in Great Britain, when adjusted upwards for the 3,765 total road deaths in one year (1995), would represent over 600 deaths caused by unlicensed driving.
- In the USA, in 1995, more than 10,000 lives were lost in fatal accidents with unlicensed drunk drivers (approximately a quarter of all road deaths in that year). The equivalent figure in Great Britain would therefore be over 900 deaths if this rate prevailed.
- In Britain, within the Northumbria Police area, driving licence offences were linked with 15.6 per cent of injury accidents (Forsyth and Silcock, 1988). If this rate were generalised to the whole of Great Britain, this would produce a figure of more than 37,000 injury accidents.



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- In 1990 in Australia, approximately 1 in 20 drivers and motorbike riders involved in a fatal or serious injury crash<sup>2</sup> did not have a valid licence for the vehicle they were driving. In Great Britain, were this 5 per cent to apply, there would be around 2,250 fatal or serious crashes per annum in which one or more drivers/riders was unlicensed.

It is unclear in most of the above studies what proportion of the unlicensed drivers are younger drivers who have never held a full driving licence. Furthermore, although such data suggest that unauthorised driving may be a significant safety problem, and it has been suggested that crash statistics be used as a surrogate measure of the extent of unlicensed driving (Carseldine *et al*, 1992), these measures may not give an accurate indication of the scale of the problem. This is because it is not known whether drivers without valid licences are under or over represented in traffic offence or crash statistics. The incidence of unlicensed driving, and in particular the miles driven by unlicensed drivers, is not known. As a result the extent to which it contributes to road accident statistics remains unknown.

#### **4.1.2 Motivation and attitudes**

The motives for unlicensed driving are not well understood. The sample survey reported here provides some pointers, but a larger survey is needed to provide a basis for statistical inference. Knowledge of motives and attitudes would help to inform policy initiatives aimed at reducing unlicensed driving.

A further area that requires investigation is the issue of whether addressing motivational factors and attitudes is the best approach to take when dealing with unlicensed driving. As a result of the problems observed in the driving of young drivers, it has been suggested that they would benefit from further training in hazard perception (McKenna, 1998). Such training has been observed not only to improve hazard perception skills but to reduce speeds also. On the basis of this, it has been recommended that hazard perception be incorporated into the theory test. Furthermore, it has been suggested that a scheme of graduated licensing be introduced whereby young drivers would be limited as to, for example, the hours they could drive, age of accompanying passengers etc. (McKenna, 1998).

An obvious concern with graduated licensing, or making the current driving test more difficult, is that it could increase the extent of unlicensed driving. There is some evidence from our limited surveys that this would happen. It should be remembered that any additional training requirement is likely to produce extra costs for young drivers who generally have little money to spare. There is therefore a risk that such a plan would lead to an increase in the number of young drivers driving without licences (or full licences in the case of graduated licensing), defeating the object of improving safety on the roads.

#### **4.1.3 Proposed measures for keeping unlicensed/disqualified drivers off the road**

Due to evidence that suspension or cancellation of licences is ineffective in keeping drivers from driving, it has been recommended in Victoria State, Australia, that legislation be introduced for the automatic impounding of registration plates of drivers' vehicles in all cases where offences lead to the suspension or cancellation of licences (Victoria Parliament Joint Select Committee on Road Safety, 1978). This sanction is more applicable in jurisdictions where the registration plate is changed annually as part of the taxation system. In the UK, where licence plates are for the life of the vehicle, a more appropriate sanction would be withdrawal of a tax disc.

<sup>2</sup>A serious injury crash is classified as a crash in which at least one person is killed or admitted to hospital.

### *Issues for further research*

An electronic driving licence which has a smart-card chip built in and can replace the ignition key and wheel lock in the car has been proposed in Sweden. The system may then effectively stop unlicensed driving, which is important in preventing some incidences of drunk driving (Goldberg, 1997).

In the UK currently motor insurance is taken out by an individual. Were this to be changed to a system which links insurance to the vehicle, and this data were available via DVLC to the police (including the named drivers or categories of drivers to which the insurance applied), it would provide immediate information as to the insurance status of a vehicle. This would simplify matters for the police with respect to enforcement, and given the close link between uninsured and unlicensed driving, may also facilitate stricter enforcement of driving licence regulations.

However, as has been observed before, any enforcement strategy used will depend largely upon the attitudes of traffic constables for its success (Forsyth and Silcock, 1988). Interviews with police officers conducted in 1988 have, for example, revealed that 11 per cent of traffic constables felt that the 1988 penalty (£24 fine or 3 points endorsement) was too harsh for failing to display L plates – a misinformed approach given the strong link previously mentioned with injury accidents (Forsyth and Silcock, 1988).



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# Appendix A: Analysis of Northumbria Police records

## 1 Northumbria Police traffic offence data

The data were supplied in four categories, and is shown in the following tables:

Table 1.1: Sample of males aged over 31 apprehended without driving licence

Table 1.2: Sample of males aged under 21 apprehended without driving licence

Table 1.3: Sample of males aged over 31 apprehended for speeding offences

Table 1.4: Sample of males aged under 21 apprehended for speeding offences

Two things are immediately obvious. Firstly drivers over the age of 31 are, on average, apprehended for fewer other offences than those under 21. Secondly fewer of those apprehended for speeding are apprehended for other offences than those without driving licences. However, the initial reason for which the police stopped each of the multiple offending drivers is unclear.

### 1.1 Driving licence offences

Tables 1.1 and 1.2 show that driving licence offences are often accompanied by insurance and vehicle test offences. Of those drivers under 21 committing driving licence offences 91 per cent committed insurance offences and 49 per cent vehicle test offences; and those over 31, 84 per cent and 57 per cent respectively.

**NOTE: Reference to *other offence* in relation to driving licence offences below excludes insurance and vehicle test offences.**

Driving licence offences can be broken down into three categories: driving whilst disqualified; driving otherwise than in accordance with licence; and failure to produce licence on demand.

#### 1.1.1 Driving whilst disqualified

Fourteen per cent of the offenders in the under 21 sample committed this category of offence. Of those 78 per cent committed other offences and 48 per cent more than one other offence. This differs from the over 31 sample where 18 per cent committed this category of offence. Of those only 41 per cent committed other offences and 11 per cent more than one other offence. In both samples most of the offenders in this category unsurprisingly committed insurance offences but very few vehicle test offences.

In the under 21 sample the most prevalent other offence was taking without consent (TWOC) both with and without aggravation: 11 counts, followed by drink driving accounting for a further three offences. The over 31 sample contained no TWOC offences but did contain eight counts of drink driving.

#### 1.1.2 Driving otherwise than in accordance with licence

Eighty per cent of the offenders in the under 21 sample committed this category of offence. Of those 48 per cent committed other offences and 24 per cent more than one other offence. This differs from the over 31 sample where 71 per cent committed this category of offence. Of those only 25 per cent committed other offences and 8 per cent more than one other offence.

As a result of the high number of offenders in the sample committing this category of licence offence, we can see a pattern emerging in the behaviour of two different types of offender, namely: those committing insurance offences only and those committing insurance *and* vehicle test offences.

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In the under 21 sample the most prevalent other offences were:

- i) for those committing insurance offences only – TWOC, 19 counts, and drink driving, six counts; and
- ii) for those committing insurance *and* vehicle test offences – vehicle excise offences, 11 counts, and vehicle defects 32 counts (including lighting offences).

Similarly, for the over 31 sample, those committing insurance *and* vehicle test offences – there were 6 counts of vehicle excise offences and 9 counts of vehicle defects (including lighting offences).

#### **1.1.3 Failure to produce licence on demand**

Six per cent of the offenders in the under 21 sample committed this category of offence. Of those 11 per cent committed other offences but none committed more than one other offence. This differs from the over 31 sample where 11 per cent committed this category of offence. Of those 12 per cent committed other offences and none committed more than one other offence.

#### **1.2 Speeding offences**

Tables 1.3 and 1.4 show that those apprehended for speeding by police officers either; commit more offences than those caught on camera (unlikely); or the police officers are able to observe more serious vehicle defects and/or offences and take action.

Conversely it can be seen that those drivers caught on speed enforcement cameras are either; not committing other offences (unlikely); or are not apprehended for possibly more serious offences such as drink driving or driving without due care.

What is clear is that although speed enforcement cameras can effectively catch those drivers breaking the speed limit, it is likely that more serious offences go unchecked in some cases.

**Table 1.1**  
**Sample of males aged**  
**over 31 apprehended**  
**without driving**  
**licence**

SAMPLE SIZE	150 males (420 offences)					
	807/01		807/02		807/03	
CODE	807/01		807/02		807/03	
OFFENCE	Driving whilst disqualified or obtaining licence whilst disqualified (or aid/abet)		Driving otherwise than in accordance with licence (or cause/permit/aid/abet)		Fail to produce licence	
DRIVING LICENCE OFFENCES	27 males (29 offences)		106 males (107 offences)		17 males (17 offences)	
INSURANCE OFFENCES	24 (25)	2 (3)	19 (19)	73 (73)	1 (1)	7 (7)
VEHICLE TEST OFFENCES		2 (3)		73 (73)	1 (1)	2 (2)
OTHER OFFENCES	11 males (16 offences)		26 males (35 offences)		2 males (2 offences)	
Males committing more than one offence (excluding those shown above)	9 (10)	2 (6)	6 (6)	16 (23)	1 (1)	1 (1)
Taking without consent	1	2	-	7	-	-
Aggravated taking without consent	-	-	1	-	-	-
Vehicle and excise licence offences	1	-	3	6	-	-
Dangerous driving	-	1	-	1	-	-
Unfit to drive – drink or drugs	-	1	-	-	-	-
Drink drive	7	-	1	1	-	1
Driving without due care	-	-	-	2	-	-
Motor vehicle defects	-	-	1	5	-	-
Lighting offences	-	-	-	4	-	1
Speeding	-	-	-	2	-	-
Other traffic offence	-	2	-	2	-	1
Other offences	2	2	-	-	-	-

(Data supplied by Northumbria Police)



**Table 1.2**  
**Sample of males aged**  
**under 21**  
**apprehended without**  
**driving licence**

SAMPLE SIZE CODE	150 males (420 offences)						
	807/01		807/02		807/03		
OFFENCE	Driving whilst disqualified or obtaining licence whilst disqualified (or aid/abet)		Driving otherwise than in accordance with licence (or cause/permit/aid/abet)		Fail to produce licence		
DRIVING LICENCE OFFENCES	23 males (24 offences)		127 males (129 offences)		9 males (9 offences)		
INSURANCE OFFENCES	22 (23)	1 (1)		43 (43)	70 (70)	1 (1)	7 (7)
VEHICLE TEST OFFENCES		1 (1)	-		70 (70)		7 (7)
OTHER OFFENCES	18 males (31 offences)		61 males (117 offences)		1 males (1 offence)		
	17 (30)	1 (1)	-	29 (49)	27 (60)	4 (8)	1 (1)
Males committing more than one offence (excluding those shown above)	11	-	-	15	14	2	-
Taking without consent	3	-	-	12	-	-	-
Aggravated taking without consent	8	-	-	7	-	1	-
Vehicle and excise licence offences	1	-	-	2	11	-	1
Dangerous driving	-	-	-	2	2	2	-
Unfit to drive – drink or drugs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drink drive	3	-	-	6	-	-	-
Driving without due care	2	-	-	1	1	2	-
Motor vehicle defects	-	-	-	4	19	-	-
Lighting offences	-	-	-	1	13	-	-
Speeding	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Other traffic offence	6	1	-	8	10	-	-
Other offences	7	-	-	6	3	3	-

(Data supplied by Northumbria Police)

Appendix A: Analysis of Northumbria Police records

**Table 1.3**  
**Samples of males**  
**aged over 31**  
**apprehended for**  
**speeding offences**

SAMPLE SIZE	150 males (157 offences)	
CODE	816/01	816/11
OFFENCE	Speeding	Speed camera offences
<b>SPEEDING</b>	104 males (104 offences)	46 males (46 offences)
<b>OTHER OFFENCES</b>	7 males (7 offences)	–
Males committing more than one offence (excluding those shown above)	–	–
Taking without consent	–	–
Aggravated taking without consent	–	–
Vehicle and excise licence offences	–	–
Dangerous driving	–	–
Unfit to drive – drinks or drugs	–	–
Drink drive	1	–
Driving without due care	2	–
Motor vehicle defects	–	–
Lighting offences	–	–
Fail to produce driving licence	2	–
Other traffic offence	2	–
Other offences	–	–

(Data supplied by Northumbria Police)

**Table 1.4**  
**Samples of males**  
**aged under 21**  
**apprehended for**  
**speeding offences**

SAMPLE SIZE	160 males (184 offences)	
CODE	816/01	816/11
OFFENCE	Speeding	Speed camera offences
<b>SPEEDING</b>	123 males (123 offences)	37 males (37 offences)
<b>OTHER OFFENCES</b>	17 males (23 offences)	1 male (1 offence)
Males committing more than one offence (excluding those shown above)	3	–
Taking without consent	–	–
Aggravated taking without consent	–	–
Vehicle and excise licence offences	1	1
Dangerous driving	2	–
Unfit to drive – drinks or drugs	–	–
Drink drive	3	–
Driving without due care	3	–
Motor vehicle defects	9	–
Lighting offences	1	–
Fail to produce driving licence	1	–
Other traffic offence	2	–
Other offences	1	–

(Data supplied by Northumbria Police)

