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**MATURITY AND EXPERIENCE IN DOMESTIC BURGLAR CRIME SCENE
BEHAVIOUR**

by

GLEN DORAN

A thesis submitted to The University of Huddersfield
as partial fulfilment of the requirements of
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

(Revised)

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92,369 words

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“No man ever steps in the same river twice, for it’s not the same river and he’s not the same man.”

Heraclitus (544-483 BC)

Abstract

Domestic burglars have presented a motivational mixture of acquisitive gain and interpersonal transaction but have often been differentiated by levels of perceived competence, acknowledging skills accrued through experience, often in neglect of the psychological underpinnings. In parallel, McAdams (1997) stressed the experiential nature of personal narratives, suggesting that a psychological and behavioural development could be tracked across offending histories. Offender narratives research however, has often centred on single crimes or brief periods of offending and has yet to fully address developmental processes. The thesis therefore, examined how levels of maturity, quantitative and qualitative aspects of previous offending and previous domain-specific experience affected development in domestic burglar behaviours, within a framework of narrative-based behavioural themes. Behaviours recorded by police in 673 solved domestic burglaries were utilized, together with the burglars' prior offending records.

Extensive Smallest space analysis revealed that for maturity, the adaptive theme was dominant, particularly in younger burglars, while the less task-focused expressive theme increased in percentage in older offenders. This was opposite to the linear, novice-to-expert ascension anticipated in experience-based typologies. Domestic burglary experience prompted expediency in adaptive offenders, continually developing aptitude in conservatives, but no form of development in expressives. Maturity produced a small degree of age-related behavioural change, while burglary experience led to perceptual and procedural developments, within task-focused themes only. Experience did not correlate with maturity, resulting in the conclusion that previous allusions to experience had in truth, been differentiations in narrative roles, the dominant behavioural influencer. This revised interpretation of behavioural development held substantial implications for the understanding of domestic burglar behaviour, and the effects of maturity and experience. Equally, the thesis presented a valuable fresh insight into domestic burglary narrative roles, which remained consistent with McAdams' developmental framework.

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Maturity and experience in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour

1	Domestic burglary and a rationale for the identification of maturity and experience in crime scene behaviours	1
1.1	<i>Why study domestic burglary?</i>	1
1.2	<i>The cost of domestic burglary</i>	2
1.3	<i>Frequency and detection rates</i>	5
1.4	<i>A theoretical rationale for the study of maturity and experience in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour</i>	8
1.5	<i>A practical rationale for the study of maturity and experience in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour</i>	11
1.6	<i>Thesis chapter guide</i>	12
2	From novices to experts: Maturation processes and experience-based typologies of domestic burglars: A review of the current knowledge base	15
2.1	<i>Motivations for domestic burglary</i>	15
2.2	<i>Perceptual decision-making processes in domestic burglary</i>	18
2.3	<i>Repeat victimisation</i>	21
2.4	<i>Procedural decision-making processes in domestic burglary</i>	22
2.5	<i>Offending behaviour and characteristics</i>	24
2.6	<i>Narrative theories</i>	27
2.7	<i>Narrative theories in domestic burglary</i>	30
2.8	<i>Identifying experience within a narrative framework</i>	32
2.9	<i>The age-crime curve</i>	33
2.10	<i>The age-crime curve and domestic burglary</i>	35
2.11	<i>Participation and frequency</i>	35
2.12	<i>Cognitive differences in adolescent offending</i>	36
2.13	<i>Maturation and dynamic personality traits</i>	41

2.14	<i>Desistance</i>	42
2.15	<i>Primary and secondary desistance</i>	43
2.16	<i>Desistance and narrative theory</i>	45
2.17	<i>Differentiation by experience</i>	46
2.18	<i>Psychopathy</i>	49
2.19	<i>Adult-onset offending</i>	51
2.20	<i>Knowledge and experience</i>	54
2.21	<i>Differentiation by experience</i>	55
2.22	<i>Domestic burglary experience in action</i>	57
2.23	<i>Versatility-specialisation</i>	60
2.24	<i>Summary</i>	63
2.25	<i>Hypotheses</i>	65
3	Concerns with domestic burglary in the southern policing district of a northern city, and current datasets	67
3.1	<i>The southern policing district of a northern city</i>	67
3.2	<i>Data</i>	69
3.3	<i>Domestic burglary data</i>	75
3.4	<i>Dataset A – Domestic burglary offences, 2010-2014</i>	75
3.5	<i>Dataset B – The offending histories of domestic burglars</i>	78
4	A methodology: The use of secondary data and multidimensional scaling procedures to identify maturity and experience in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour	80
4.1	<i>Investigative psychology and the necessity of alternative research methods</i>	80
4.2	<i>Primary data</i>	81
4.3	<i>Secondary data</i>	83
4.4	<i>Aims and definitions</i>	87
4.5	<i>A rationale for the use of secondary data derived from police records</i>	88
4.6	<i>The use of solved or unsolved offences</i>	89
4.7	<i>A rationale for a narrative framework</i>	91
4.8	<i>Method – Smallest space analysis</i>	93
4.9	<i>Partial order scalogram with coordinates (POSAC)</i>	94

5	A narrative framework for behavioural themes, derived from domestic burglary crime scene behaviour	.....	96
5.1	<i>Introduction</i>	.....	96
5.2	<i>Aims</i>	.....	102
5.3	<i>Data</i>	.....	102
5.4	<i>Method</i>	.....	103
5.5	<i>Hypotheses</i>	.....	105
5.6	<i>Results</i>	.....	105
5.7	<i>Smallest space analysis</i>	.....	110
5.8	<i>Conservative tragedy</i>	.....	112
5.9	<i>Integrative irony</i>	.....	114
5.10	<i>Expressive romance</i>	.....	115
5.11	<i>Adaptive adventure</i>	.....	116
5.12	<i>Behavioural distribution between narrative-based themes</i>	.....	118
5.13	<i>Scales</i>	.....	120
5.14	<i>Discussion</i>	.....	123
5.15	<i>Theoretical contribution</i>	.....	126
5.16	<i>Methodological contribution</i>	.....	127
5.17	<i>Limitations</i>	.....	128
5.18	<i>Future studies</i>	.....	128
5.19	<i>Conclusions</i>	.....	129
5.20	<i>Hypotheses revisited</i>	.....	129
6	Maturity and development in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour	.....	131
6.1	<i>Introduction</i>	.....	131
6.2	<i>Aims</i>	.....	134
6.3	<i>Data</i>	.....	135
6.4	<i>Method</i>	.....	135
6.5	<i>Hypotheses</i>	.....	136
6.6	<i>Results</i>	.....	136
6.7	<i>Narrative-based behavioural themes and offender age-groups</i>	.....	138
6.8	<i>Smallest space analysis</i>	.....	142
6.9	<i>Domestic burglary crime scene behaviour in the 10-17years age group</i>	.....	142
6.10	<i>Domestic burglary crime scene behaviour in the 18-21years age group</i>	.....	145
6.11	<i>Domestic burglary crime scene behaviour in the 22-30years age group</i>	.....	147
6.12	<i>Domestic burglary crime scene behaviour in the 31-40years age group</i>	.....	150

6.13	<i>Domestic burglary crime scene behaviour in the 41-66years age group</i>	152
6.14	<i>Discussion</i>	154
6.15	<i>Theoretical contribution</i>	159
6.16	<i>Methodological contribution</i>	160
6.17	<i>Limitations</i>	161
6.18	<i>Future studies</i>	161
6.19	<i>Conclusions</i>	162
7	Quantitative aspects of general offending experience, and development in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour	163
7.1	<i>Introduction</i>	163
7.2	<i>Aims</i>	166
7.3	<i>Data</i>	167
7.4	<i>Method</i>	167
7.5	<i>Hypotheses</i>	168
7.6	<i>Results</i>	168
7.7	<i>Narrative-based themes and previous offending frequency groups</i>	170
7.8	<i>Zero previous offences</i>	174
7.9	<i>1-2 previous offences</i>	176
7.10	<i>3-5 previous offences</i>	178
7.11	<i>6-10 previous offences</i>	180
7.12	<i>11-20 previous offences</i>	183
7.13	<i>21-96 previous offences</i>	186
7.14	<i>Discussion</i>	188
7.15	<i>Theoretical contributions</i>	195
7.16	<i>Limitations</i>	197
7.17	<i>Future studies</i>	197
7.18	<i>Conclusions</i>	198
8	Qualitative aspects of general offending experience and development in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour	199
8.1	<i>Introduction</i>	199
8.2	<i>Aims</i>	202
8.3	<i>Data</i>	202
8.4	<i>Method</i>	204
8.5	<i>Hypotheses</i>	204
8.6	<i>Results</i>	205
8.7	<i>Historic offending styles for domestic burglars</i>	206
8.8	<i>Participation in historic offending styles</i>	209

8.9	<i>The relationship between historic offending style and domestic burglary behavioural theme</i>	212
8.10	<i>Expressive 100% historic offending style</i>	215
8.11	<i>Expressive historic offending style</i>	217
8.12	<i>Expres-instru historic offending style</i>	219
8.13	<i>Split historic offending style</i>	221
8.14	<i>Instru-expres historic offending style</i>	223
8.15	<i>Instrumental historic offending style</i>	225
8.16	<i>Instrumental 100% historic offending style</i>	227
8.17	<i>Discussion</i>	229
8.18	<i>Theoretical contribution</i>	235
8.19	<i>Limitations</i>	236
8.20	<i>Conclusions</i>	237
9	Domain-specific experience and development in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour	238
9.1	<i>Introduction</i>	238
9.2	<i>Aims</i>	241
9.3	<i>Data</i>	242
9.4	<i>Method</i>	243
9.5	<i>Hypotheses</i>	244
9.6	<i>Results</i>	244
9.7	<i>Behavioural themes and previous domestic burglary offending groups</i>	245
9.8	<i>First-time domestic burglars</i>	249
9.9	<i>1-3 previous domestic burglaries</i>	252
9.10	<i>4-8 previous domestic burglaries</i>	255
9.11	<i>9-12 previous domestic burglaries</i>	259
9.12	<i>13-20 previous domestic burglaries</i>	262
9.13	<i>21-33 previous domestic burglaries</i>	265
9.14	<i>Discussion</i>	267
9.15	<i>Methodological contribution</i>	275
9.16	<i>Theoretical contribution</i>	275
9.17	<i>Limitations</i>	277
9.18	<i>Future studies</i>	277
9.19	<i>Conclusions</i>	278
10	Maturity and experience in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour	280
10.1	<i>Summary of findings</i>	280
10.2	<i>Aims</i>	281
10.3	<i>Data</i>	288

10.4	<i>Method</i>	.....	289
10.5	<i>Hypothesis</i>	.....	291
10.6	<i>Results – Maturity and development in the Adaptive behavioural theme</i>	.....	292
10.7	<i>Maturity and development in the Conservative behavioural theme</i>	.....	300
10.8	<i>Maturity and development in the Expressive behavioural theme</i>	.....	305
10.9	<i>Behavioural development in domestic burglary narrative-based themes</i>	.....	311
10.10	<i>Discussion</i>	.....	316
11	Contributions, considerations and conclusions	.....	327
11.1	<i>Theoretical contributions</i>	.....	327
11.2	<i>Methodological contributions</i>	.....	332
11.3	<i>Practical contributions</i>	.....	332
11.4	<i>Limitations</i>	.....	335
11.5	<i>Future studies</i>	.....	337
11.6	<i>Conclusions</i>	.....	338
	References	.....	342

Tables

1.1	<i>Estimated cost of domestic burglary against Burglary other (derived from Brand & Price, 2005)</i>	3
1.2	<i>The anticipation and emotional impact of property related offences (derived from Brand & Price, 2005)</i>	4
1.3	<i>Anticipation costs and cost of the physical/emotional impact in violence against the person offences (derived from Brand & Price, 2005)</i>	4
1.4	<i>Reported offences and detection rates for burglary offences in England & Wales, 2011/12</i>	7
1.5	<i>Methods of burglary detection in England & Wales, 2011/12</i>	7
5.1	<i>Crime scene behaviours of domestic burglars and frequency of occurrence (n = 673 domestic burglary offences in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014)</i>	106
5.2	<i>Comparison of Conservative tragedy behaviours between the present thesis and Canter & Youngs (2009)</i>	113
5.3	<i>Comparison of Integrative irony behaviours between the present thesis and Canter & Youngs (2009)</i>	114
5.4	<i>Comparison of Expressive romance behaviours between the present thesis and Canter & Youngs (2009)</i>	115
5.5	<i>Comparison of Adaptive adventure behaviours between the present thesis and Canter & Youngs (2009)</i>	117
5.6	<i>Approach and entry behaviours in domestic burglary divided by behavioural theme</i>	118
5.7	<i>In-crime domestic burglary behaviours divided by behavioural theme</i>	119
5.8	<i>Property related domestic burglary behaviours divided by behavioural theme</i>	120
6.1	<i>Age groups of domestic burglars with frequencies of offending and percentages (n = 673)</i>	138
6.2	<i>Frequency and percentage presence of behavioural themes within domestic burglar age groups (n = 673 offences)</i>	139
6.3	<i>Chi-square tests of association between maturity groups and narrative-based behavioural themes in domestic burglary crime scene behaviour (n = 673)</i>	141
6.4	<i>Core domestic burglary behaviours per age group with frequencies and narrative-based themes (A = Adaptive, C = Conservative)</i>	157
7.1	<i>Frequency of previous offending groups for first-time domestic burglary offenders in 2010-2014 with frequencies of offending and percentages (n = 169)</i>	170
7.2	<i>Frequency and percentage presence of behavioural themes in previous offending frequency groups (n = 169 offenders)</i>	171
7.3	<i>Chi-square tests of association between frequency of previous offending groups and narrative-based behavioural themes in domestic burglary crime scene behaviour</i>	173

7.4	<i>Core domestic burglary behaviours per frequency of previous offending group and narrative-based themes (A = Adaptive, C = Conservative, E = Expressive)</i>	193
8.1	<i>Historic offending style labels and definitions for 2010-2014 domestic burglars in the southern policing district of a northern city</i>	210
8.2	<i>Frequency and percentage presence of behavioural themes in historic offending style groups (n = 393 offenders)</i>	213
8.3	<i>Chi-square tests of association between historic offending style and behavioural theme in domestic burglary</i>	214
8.4	<i>Core domestic burglary behaviours per previous offending style and narrative-based themes (A = Adaptive, C = Conservative, E = Expressive)</i>	233
9.1	<i>No. previous domestic burglary offences prior to the 2010-2014 offence (n = 673)</i>	245
9.2	<i>Frequency and percentage presence of behavioural themes in previous domestic burglary frequency groups (n = 673 offences)</i>	247
9.3	<i>Chi-square tests of association between frequency of previous domestic burglary groups and narrative-based behavioural themes in domestic burglary crime scene behaviour</i>	248
9.4	<i>Core domestic burglary behaviours per previous domestic burglary frequency group and narrative-based theme (A = Adaptive, C = Conservative, E = Expressive)</i>	269
10.1	<i>Example of maturity/experience profile for offender aged 18-21 with 9-12 previous domestic burglary offences</i>	289
10.2	<i>Comparison of most frequently occurring crime scene behaviours for maturity and experience groups for domestic burglars with an Adaptive behavioural theme</i>	311
10.3	<i>Comparison of most frequently occurring crime scene behaviours for maturity and experience groups for domestic burglars with a Conservative behavioural theme</i>	314
10.4	<i>Comparison of most frequently occurring crime scene behaviours for maturity and experience groups for domestic burglars with an Expressive behavioural theme</i>	315

Figures

1.1	<i>Most frequently reported offences in England & Wales, 2011/12</i>	6
3.1	<i>Frequency of offences, per offending category occurring in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 21,105)</i>	70
3.2	<i>No. of offences per individual offender in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (N = 12,802 offenders)</i>	72
3.3	<i>Historic offending of individuals who offended in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (N = 199,859 offences)</i>	73
3.4	<i>No. of historic offences per individual for those who had offended in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (N = 9968 offenders)</i>	74
5.1	<i>An SSA of burglary actions</i> Reproduced from Canter & Youngs (2009, p263)	98
5.2	<i>Frequencies of crime-scene behaviours relating to entry into the premises (n = 673 domestic burglary offences in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014)</i>	107
5.3	<i>Frequencies of crime-scene behaviours (n = 673 domestic burglary offences in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014)</i>	108
5.4	<i>Frequencies of crime-scene behaviours relating to property stolen (n = 673 domestic burglary offences in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014)</i>	109
5.5	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 673)</i>	111
5.6	<i>Frequency (and percentages) of behavioural themes in domestic burglar offences committed in the southern policing district of a northern city 2010-2014 (n = 673)</i>	121
6.1	<i>Ages of offenders responsible for solved domestic burglary offences in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014</i>	137
6.2	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders aged 10-17, in the southern policing district of a northern city 2010-2014 (n = 62 offences)</i>	144
6.3	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders aged 18-21, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 240 offences)</i>	146
6.4	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders aged 22-30, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 204 offences)</i>	148
6.5	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders aged 31-40, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 111 offences)</i>	151
6.6	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders aged 41-66, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 56 offences)</i>	153
7.1	<i>Frequency of previous offending for first-time domestic burglary offenders in 2010-2014 (n = 169 offenders)</i>	169

7.2.....	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with 0 previous offences, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 13 offences)</i>	.....175
7.3.....	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with 1-2 previous offences, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 34 offences)</i>	.....177
7.4.....	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with 3-5 previous offences, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 25 offences)</i>	.....179
7.5.....	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with 6-10 previous offences, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 36 offences)</i>	.....181
7.6.....	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with 11-20 previous offences, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 32 offences)</i>	.....184
7.7.....	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with 21-96 previous offences, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 29 offences)</i>	.....187
8.1.....	<i>Previous conviction by offence type in criminal histories of offenders who committed domestic burglaries in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 393).</i>	.....206
8.2.....	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of domestic burglary offender's historical offence types (n = 393 offenders)</i>	.....207
8.3.....	<i>Distribution of offending styles in the criminal histories of domestic burglars in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 393 offenders)</i>	.....211
8.4.....	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with Expressive 100% historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 28 offences)</i>	.....216
8.5.....	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with Expressive historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 56 offences)</i>	.....218
8.6.....	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with Instru-Expres historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 31 offences)</i>	.....220
8.7.....	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with split historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 55 offences)</i>	.....222
8.8.....	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with Instru-Expres historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city 2010-2014 (n = 77 offences)</i>	.....225

8.9	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with Instrumental historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 301 offences)</i>	.....226
8.10	<i>Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with Instrumental 100% historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 34 offences)</i>	.....228
9.1	<i>Smallest space analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglary in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 – Offenders with 0 previous domestic burglary offences (n = 222)</i>	.....250
9.2	<i>Smallest space analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglary in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 – Offenders with 1-3 previous domestic burglary offences (n = 215)</i>	.....254
9.3	<i>Smallest space analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglary in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 – Offenders with 4-8 previous domestic burglary offences (n = 140)</i>	.....257
9.4	<i>Smallest space analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglary in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 – Offenders with 9-12 previous domestic burglary offences (n = 51)</i>	.....260
9.5	<i>Smallest space analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglary in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 – Offenders with 13-20 previous domestic burglary offences (n = 31)</i>	.....263
9.6	<i>Smallest space analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglary in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 – Offenders with 21-33 previous domestic burglary offences (n = 14)</i>	.....266
10.1	<i>Quantitative and qualitative partitioning axes for behavioural profiles in POSAC</i>	.....291
10.2	<i>A partial order scalogram with coordinates (POSAC) of the age groups and frequencies of previous like offences for 296 domestic burglars with dominant Adaptive behavioural themes in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014</i>	.....293
10.3	<i>Partitioned item diagram for age group at time of domestic burglary for Adaptive offenders (frequencies) (n = 296)</i>	.....295
10.4	<i>Partitioned item diagram for frequency of previous like offending at time of domestic burglary offence for Adaptive offenders (n = 296)</i>	.....297
10.5	<i>Partitioned item diagram for frequency of previous like offending at time of domestic burglary offence for Adaptive offenders (n = 296)</i>	.....298
10.6	<i>A partial order scalogram with coordinates (POSAC) of the age groups and frequencies of previous like offences for 146 domestic burglars with dominant Conservative behavioural themes in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014</i>	.....300
10.7	<i>Partitioned item diagram for age group at time of domestic burglary for Conservative offenders (frequencies) (n = 146)</i>	.....301
10.8	<i>Partitioned item diagram for frequency of previous like offending at time of domestic burglary offence for Conservative offenders (n = 146)</i>	.....303
10.9	<i>Partitioned item diagram for frequency of previous like offending at time of domestic burglary offence for Conservative offenders (n = 146)</i>	.....304

10.10	<i>A partial order scalogram with coordinates (POSAC) of the age groups and frequencies of previous like offences for 39 domestic burglars with dominant Expressive romance behavioural themes in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014</i>	.....306
10.11	<i>Partitioned item diagram for age group at time of domestic burglary for Expressive offenders (frequencies) (n = 39)</i>	.....307
10.12	<i>Partitioned item diagram for the frequency of previous like offending at time of domestic burglary offence for Expressive offenders (n = 39)</i>	.....308
10.13	<i>Partitioned item diagram for frequency of previous like offending at time of domestic burglary offence for Expressive offenders (n = 39)</i>	.....310

1

Domestic burglary and a rationale for the identification of maturity and experience in crime scene behaviours

1.1– Why study domestic burglary?

The principle aim of the thesis was to obtain a greater understanding of how factors of maturity and experience affected the crime scene behaviours of a population of domestic burglars. To do this, the psychological underpinnings and developmental factors in such behaviour needed to be fully appreciated against a backdrop of the far-reaching impact the offence has been seen to create. Why should domestic burglars warrant the continued attentions of Investigative psychologists or academics in related fields above those who partake in other forms of offending? Indeed, why should it be the focus of the present thesis? Well, foremost is the potential societal virtue inherent in the challenge. Domestic burglary in short hurts, on individual, community and societal levels. It hurts many, both economically and emotionally. Obviously, it has a negative impact on those who fall victim to it, but arguably more so than any other form of offending, it can affect those who have not yet been subject to its consequences, and those who never will. To fear victimisation in the home reaches further into the psyche of the individual than concerns for most other forms of offending. Despite greater academic and criminal justice system attention than ever before, detection rates for domestic burglary have remained low, and generally static for the past thirty years. It is incumbent therefore, on both bodies to try to progress, to dig deeper into the motivations of those who would commit domestic burglary and to gain a greater comprehension on an investigative level of how they can be identified. From the psychologist's perspective, this would begin with the analysis and interpretation of consistencies and variations in behaviours exhibited by individuals during their domestic burglary offence.

1.2 – *The cost of domestic burglary*

The cost of all forms of crime can be seen to be experienced in different ways by three different sections of society. *Potential victims* incur expenditure in the anticipation of victimisation through preventative measures (i.e. alarms, CCTV cameras, other security equipment), in steps taken to offset the consequences of that victimisation (such as insurance premiums), and emotionally, through an interminable fear of crime and subsequent reduction in the quality of life. *Actual victims* felt its costs through the more overt damage, destruction or loss of property, and through time spent dealing with the aftermath of victimisation. Finally, *society* bore the cost of the response to crime, through agencies assigned to seek out and administer justice, such as the police, crown prosecution service, courts, prisons and probation services. A comparison of the breakdowns of estimated costs between domestic and other forms of burglary offending (commonly at commercial premises or non-dwellings such as garden sheds, referred to by the criminal justice system and hereafter in the present work as ‘burglary other’ offences), highlights some key similarities and differences.

The prospect of the occurrence of either offence would appear to hold some significant concerns for the victim, in that a sizable expenditure was made prior to any victimisation, in the anticipation or hopeful prevention of its occurrence. Equally, expenses incurred by criminal justice agencies as a response to either form of the offence were estimated to be the same, demonstrating that a comparable legal process was followed up until the point of sentence. The major difference however, was in the consequential emotional impact experienced. Although financial cost for emotional impact might seem somewhat subjective, the £550 loss incurred by the victim as an estimation of the costs of dealing with the impact of the offence, greatly outweighed the zero estimated costs for burglary other offences. Whilst the loss of or damage to commercial property or premises would no doubt be impactful, this was not experienced in the same way as an intrusion into an individual’s home.

Table 1.1: *Estimated cost of domestic burglary against Burglary other (derived from Brand & Price, 2005)*

Category of cost	Domestic burglary Best estimate (£ per incident)	Burglary other Best estimate (£ per incident)
<i>In anticipation of crime</i>	430	950
Defensive expenditure	330	900
Insurance admin	100	50
<i>As a consequence of crime</i>	1,400	1,200
Value of property stolen	580	-
Property damaged/destroyed	270	1,200
Property recovered	-20	-
Lost output	40	40
Emotional impact	550	-
Victim services	4	-
<i>In response to crime</i>	490	490
Police activity	240	240
Prosecution	8	8
Magistrates court	5	5
Crown court	10	10
Jury service	2	2
Legal aid	20	20
Non-legal aid defence	7	7
Probation service	20	20
Prison service	160	160
Other CJS costs	10	10
Total estimated costs	2,300	2,700

As Brand & Price (2005) highlighted, the aims of the criminal justice system were to not only fight crime, but also the fear of crime, and the latter was stridently evidenced in the domestic burglary victim's preventative efforts, and in the consequential emotional affects. Domestic burglary could have a significant impact on confidence in the criminal justice system as an entity.

On a societal level, Brand & Price (2005) estimated that the overall cost of all crime to the economy of England and Wales in the year 2000 was approximately £60 billion, of which the greatest percentage was incurred through personal crimes, from murder (£1 million approx. per offence), through to

common assault (£500 approx. per offence). Burglary, in all its guises accounted for only 8% of that total, but differences in the victim's perception of domestic burglary were further demonstrated in a comparison with the relevant costs of other property offences.

Table 1.2: *The anticipation and emotional impact of property related offences*
(derived from Brand & Price, 2005)

Property crime	In anticipation of crime Defensive expenditure	In anticipation of crime Insurance admin.	In consequence. Emotional impact
Domestic burglary	330	100	550
Theft – non-vehicle	-	20	100
Theft of vehicle	370	320	890
Theft from vehicle	40	20	180
Att. Theft from vehicle	20	9	120
Criminal damage	10	20	200

Table 1.3: *Anticipation costs and cost of the physical/emotional impact in violence against the person offences* (derived from Brand & Price, 2005)

Personal crime	In anticipation of crime	Physical/emotional impact
Homicide	0	700,000
More serious VAP	10	97,000
Sexual offence	2	12,000
Robbery	40	2,400
Common assault	0	240
Less serious VAP	0	120

Domestic burglary ranked second only to theft of vehicle in terms of defensive expenditure, insurance administration costs and in the extent of the emotional impact in consequence of the offence. Given that many vehicles were stolen as part of 'Hanoi' style domestic burglaries, in which the property was entered in search of vehicle keys, and the vehicle was then subsequently stolen, this pointed to domestic burglary being one of the most traumatic property offences that an individual could fall victim to. Offences involving violence against the person (VAP) generally displayed a much higher cost of

emotional, and physical impact, but it was only the most serious of these offences which demonstrated an impact greater than that of domestic burglary. So, in terms of the lasting effects on the victim, a domestic burglary could be seen to be akin to some of the less serious forms of physical violence against a person, something that could not be said with regards to a burglary other offence.

Although Brand & Price's figures were only estimations, and related to offence data collected between 1999-2000, it is worth noting that those costs have since been re-evaluated (Home office, 2011), as have the methods of calculation. In 1999-2000, the estimated overall cost to all parties of a domestic burglary was £2,300. By 2011, that estimation had risen with inflation to £3,925, and that of a burglary other to £4,608. Thus, both offences had a significant financial impact, but it was, and remains the extensive emotional, and on occasion physical impact, and the subsequently negative effect on public confidence in the criminal justice system that has led to tougher sentences being imposed for domestic burglary offences. This also demonstrates why a continued search for an increased knowledge of the perpetrators of such offences could serve a significant societal, as well as academic purpose.

1.3 – Frequency and detection rates

Burglary remains a prevalent offence both in the U.K. and worldwide, which also serves to fuel the public's anticipation of its occurrence. In the year 2011/12, a year relevant to the parameters of the thesis' data, a total of 3,976,312 offences were recorded in England and Wales. Of those, 501,053 (12.6%) were burglaries, inclusive of domestic and other offences (Taylor & Bond, 2012). Fig. 1.1 documents the standing of both offences in the most frequently reported of that year. Compounding the public's concerns were however, persistently low rates of detection. In 2011/12, the overall rate of detection for all crime stood at 28%, a figure that has been relatively stable over the preceding decade.

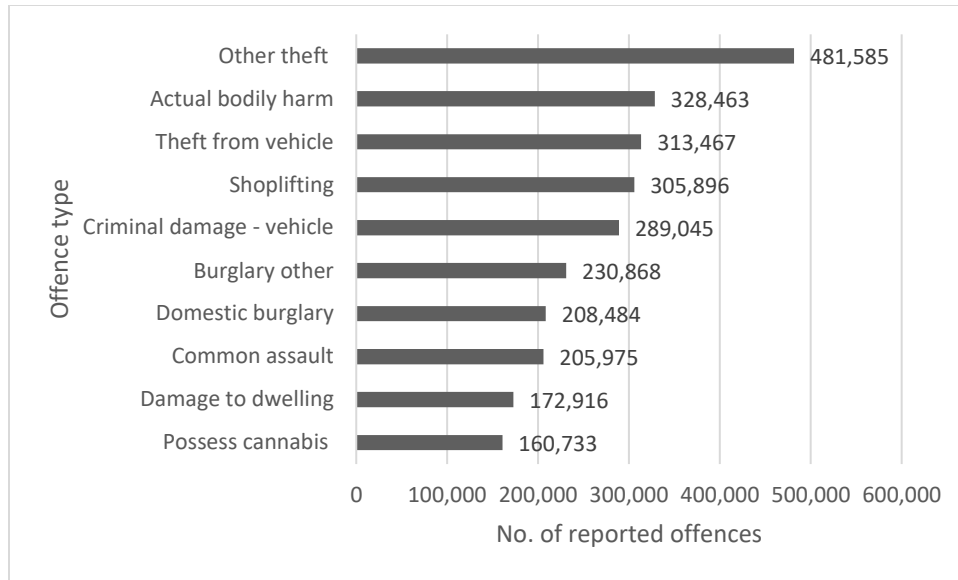


Figure 1.1: *Most frequently reported offences in England & Wales, 2011/12*

The detection rate for burglary over the same period ranged between 13-17%, standing at 13% in 2011/12. This could be further divided into a 16% detection rate for domestic burglary and only a 10% rate for burglary other offences. Of the ten most prevalent offence types listed in fig.1.1, only other theft (6%), theft from vehicle (9%) and criminal damage – vehicle (10%) presented lower or comparable rates of detection. In the case of burglary, this might be in part attributable to the fact that many offences were only discovered post-event, and so relied on the police’s ability to secure forensic, CCTV or eye-witness evidence, things which might simply not exist or that the savvy offender may otherwise be adept at circumventing. A breakdown of the frequencies and detection rates of different types of burglary offence documented some notable distinctions in the number of offenders brought to justice. Of note was that the strands of the offence with the highest detection rates – aggravated burglaries and distraction offences wherein the offender typically posed as a bogus official to gain entry, both included some form of interaction with the victim, potentially enabling their identification.

Table 1.4: *Reported offences and detection rates for burglary offences in England & Wales, 2011/12*

Offence type	Reported offences	Detections	Detection rate (%)
Domestic burglary	198,854	34,571	17%
Attempt domestic burglary	40,291	3,902	10%
Distraction burglary	4,467	874	20%
Attempt distraction burglary	368	88	24%
Aggravated domestic burglary	1,337	451	34%
Burglary other	223,152	23,156	10%
Attempt burglary other	32,474	1,907	6%
Aggravated burglary other	110	39	35%

Burglary other offences occurred more frequently and had a considerably poorer rate of detection than domestic offences. Nevertheless, rates for either offence remain low, but even these figures could be masking the true effectiveness of the police deterrent.

Of the 501,053 total burglary offences in 2011/12, only 65,460 detections were brought about using conventional methods; these being by charge or summons, caution, penalty notices (PNDs), or by being later taken into consideration (TICs). The processing of TICs has proved an efficient police method of clearing up outstanding offences and involves offering a charged offender a chance to 'clean slate' any other outstanding offences. The individual would then receive one, usually reduced sentence for all offences, and would then be free from the prospect of further prosecution upon being released.

Table 1.5: *Methods of burglary detection in England & Wales, 2011/12*

Detection method	Frequency
Charge/Summons	37,465
Caution	3,087
TIC	24,419
PND	17
Non-sanction detection	472
Total:	65,460

Table 1.5 presents the breakdown of detection methods used for burglary offences in 2011/12. This breakdown shows that 24,419 (37.3%) burglaries were detected as TIC offences rather than through the offender's guilt being proven or admitted in the courts. Thus, the number of burglaries detected through effective investigation was much lower and would stand at 41,041 without the addition of TICs, an overall detection rate of only 8.2%. This would mean that burglary would have the second lowest detection rate out of the ten most prevalent offences shown in fig. 1.1, above only other theft. Low detection rates may influence an offender's decision to engage in domestic burglary offences, particularly in the case of repeat offenders. They could also affect the behaviour enacted as part of a domestic burglary offence, with offenders potentially emboldened by the perception of a low risk of being apprehended. An individual who was aware of the police's difficulties in proving such offences may take specific steps to thwart those efforts further.

1.4 – A theoretical rationale for the study of maturity and experience in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour

Such low rates of detection are especially concerning given the amount of theoretical advancement that has taken place, both in terms of domestic burglar and general offender spatial behaviour in recent decades. Cohen and Felson's (1979) Routine activity theory (RAT) has provided a consistently effective (Bernasco & Nieuwbeerta, 2004, Levine & Lee, 2009) platform for accounting for an offender's choice of victim from the seemingly limitless options available to them and suggested that suitable targets were not selected at random. Choices were fuelled by the spatial experiences and cognitive reasoning of the perpetrator, though not necessarily at a level of consciousness, as with the attendant evaluation of cost

and benefit (Lundrigan & Canter, 2001). Many offenders therefore operated in a tightly restricted geographical area, bound internally by familiarity and experience.

Burglary was distinct from many offences in this respect, in that rather than asking the offender to identify a suitable victim at a favourable time and place, it presented innumerable static options across which the cost-benefit balance could be assessed. Despite this awareness of geographical constraints, detection rates have not significantly improved, indicating that even when the pool of potential offenders was considerably reduced, much was still unknown about the individual(s) responsible. It is in the examination of the distinctive actions of the individual themselves then that theoretical research promises to be of the greatest practical value.

Psychological studies have often sought to establish a behavioural consistency, by examining whether offenders assigned to the same typology would exhibit the same traits across multiple offences, thereby identifying them as being the work of at least the same 'type' of offender and demonstrating that the individual's static characteristics could be illuminated through understanding consistent behaviour. Ultimately however, a high number of studies found a greater amount of consistency in inter-crime geographical and temporal proximity, and there was either a low or negative consistency for traditional *modus operandi* (MO) type behaviours found in target choice, method of entry or property stolen (Bennell & Jones, 2005, Goodwill & Alison, 2006, Fox & Farrington, 2012, Bennell, Mugford, Ellingwood & Woodhams, 2014). It has been noted (Bennell & Jones, 2005) that where and when to offend were decisions that the offender could exercise considerable control over, being as they were made prior to and away from the scene of the crime and were not subject to the same environmental or situational influences of actual crime scene behaviours. High levels of consistency in highly controllable decision making was something that had already been noted in personality psychology (Hetteema & Van Bakel, 1997).

Such typology-based studies have consistently sought to differentiate recognizably distinct forms of the domestic burglary offence based on the level of domain-specific competence exhibited by the offender. Maguire & Bennett (1982) identified *low-level amateurs*, *mid-level professionals* and *high-level professionals* by means of their effectiveness and awareness of the possibilities of detection. Cromwell, Olsen & Avary (1991) drew similar distinctions between the *novice*, *journeyman* and *professional*, as did Walsh (1986) with *novitiate*, *pillagers* and *breaksmen*, and Merry & Harsent (2000) with *low-craft* and *high-craft* domestic burglars. These studies carried with them an implicit assumption that a skilled domestic burglary was the product of experience. Thus, as a craft that needed to be honed over repeated action, domestic burglary behaviours could betray an individual's level of experience, and thereby reduce the pool of likely offenders yet further.

An alternative approach to understanding offending behaviour, both theoretically and methodologically has emerged through the development of narrative theories, which instead of measuring behavioural consistency across offences, adopted McAdams' (1993) theory of all behaviour being the enactment of an enduring and crucially, ever-developing life story that every individual created to make sense of their place in the world. In this context, a behaviour could have a different meaning to the offender when conducted in different situations or emotional states. To understand the offender, the broad theme of their behaviour must be instead appreciated. McAdams (1993) declared that all narrative stories were made up of themes of agency or communion. This was applied to criminal behaviour by Canter (1994), who interpreted agency as the degree to which the offender imposed their will on either the victim or their environment in the pursuit of their goals. This was labelled 'task-focus', which could incorporate factors such as the offender's degree of intelligence or education (Canter & Youngs, 2009). Communion became intimacy, or the degree to which the offender was aware of the victim's standing in the offence, or to the impact of their actions. Canter & Youngs (2009) concluded that

all criminal behaviour was enacted under narrative themes made up of combinations of high or low degrees of task focus and victim awareness.

As documents of a life-course based on different levels of task-focus and intimacy, narratives could better incorporate the effects of maturity and experience in their inherently developmental nature than typologies which assumed that experience manifested itself uniformly at different stages. If narrative roles were the various roads on which an offender's criminal behaviour would travel over a life-course, then behavioural attributes based on levels of maturity and experience needed to be assessed in the context of those different roads. This would enable the researcher to not only identify the point at which the individual was in their journey, but also the likely road ahead. This then, was the theoretical rationale for the study of maturity and experience within a narrative framework, in domestic burglary crime scene behaviour.

1.5 – A practical rationale for the study of maturity and experience in domestic burglar crime scene Behaviour

The present thesis sought to locate itself as much as possible in the 'real world' setting, so that any findings would be of both theoretical and practical value. This is a central tenet of Investigative Psychology research, that the analysis of offending behaviour would relate in some way to the investigative process. The legal parameters of domestic burglary have shaped the police-recorded information that was the source material for the research towards the end purpose for which it was initially captured, retrieved or found (Lee, 2000). The ways in which domestic burglary was experienced necessitated its further study, making the offence both a complex and intriguing enactment of multiple psychological processes, and equally, a prominent and persistent public fear. This presented the opportunity for academic challenge, theoretical advancement and societal utility in equal measures.

Detection rates imposed restrictions on what was, or what could be known about the offence and the responsible offenders. They were the yardstick by which the acquisition and application of knowledge could be measured. In eschewing more traditional research methods, the thesis was conducted under the full consideration of all the attendant influences and parameters of its data source. Ultimately, police services do not generally maintain detailed records on an individual's characteristics, except for cases involving extremely distinctive behaviour. They do however, keep records of a person's previous offending. With so many potential suspects likely to be living in proximity to the offence location, an ability to discriminate between offenders on levels of experience drawn from records of crime scene behaviours would indeed be a powerful tool.

1.6 – Thesis chapter guide

Chapter one introduces the aims of the thesis, outlining the theoretical and practical need for the examination of maturity and experience in domestic burglary.

Chapter two details the current arguments and presents a review of the literature on motivations and decision making in domestic burglary, adolescent offending, the age-crime curve, desistance and persistent offending, adult onset offending, narrative theories, expertise and experience and the versatility-specialisation debate.

In *chapter three*, the socioeconomic and geographic characteristics of the city from which the data was produced are outlined, providing an understanding of the landscape in which the examined domestic burglary offences were committed. This chapter also covers a detailed description of the datasets utilized in the thesis, which provided an almost unprecedented level of information on solved domestic burglary offences, the responsible offenders and their previous offending records.

Chapter four provides the methodology for the forthcoming analysis and begins by examining the data source itself. A critical appraisal and rationale are provided for the use of police records – a secondary data source – and solved offences, as opposed to other recognized methods of data collection. A further rationale is then outlined for the innovative use of a narrative framework, and the employment of multidimensional scaling procedures in the subsequent analysis of behavioural development at different stages of maturity and experience.

In *chapter five*, the crime scene behaviours documented in all domestic burglary cases within the first dataset are content analysed, and behavioural themes identified. These are then compared and aligned to a narrative framework for the subsequent examination of maturity and experience.

The ages of individuals at the time of their domestic burglary offending are documented in *chapter six*, and crime scene behaviours within narrative-based behavioural themes at different stages of maturity are identified.

Chapter seven focuses on the quantitative aspects of previous non-burglary offending and evaluates crime scene behaviours for offenders with different frequencies of historic offending.

This is followed by *chapter eight*, in which the qualitative aspect of previous offending is examined. Offenders are differentiated by thematic consistencies in their choices of previous offences and domestic burglary crime scene behaviours are compared between groups.

Chapter nine focuses on domain-specific offending experience and its effects on subsequent crime scene behaviours.

The results presented in previous chapters are summarised in *chapter ten*, and are drawn together into a cohesive whole, presenting the thesis' findings on the nature the co-occurrence of maturity and experience within behavioural themes.

Chapter eleven assesses the contribution made by the thesis and draws final conclusions.

2

From novices to experts: Maturation processes and experience-based typologies of domestic burglars

A review of the current knowledge base

2.1 – Motivations for domestic burglary

In psychological terms, domestic burglary is distinct in many key areas from other forms of offending, but remains a prevalent, heavily consequential (economically and emotionally) and frequently undetected crime. It is at its core acquisitive and predominantly financially motivated (Fox & Farrington, 2012), and one that if placed with other acquisitive offences on the continuum of willingness or propensity to interact with the victim, would be situated towards the lower end with only fraud below it, but with extortion, aggravated burglary and robbery all likely to feature consistently greater levels of offender-victim interaction (Canter & Youngs, 2009). Domestic burglary however, has long been recognized as a distinctly interpersonal transaction (Canter, 1989), whether viewed from the perspective of the victim or offender.

To fully comprehend the complexity of the transaction, the meaning of the offence to both the offender and victim must first be evaluated. A dwelling is also a home, a place of familiarity and security. The home has been described as a spatial metaphor for knowledge; it is familiar, it is known. Beyond its boundaries lies the dangerous unknown. Kearon & Leach (2000, p462) explained that “The invasion of the known by the unknown causes deep uncertainty: it is uncertainty itself.” With that comes anxieties regarding safety. “Specifically, burglary is so emotionally and physically upsetting because it stimulates a sort of existential dread or ‘bad faith’: ontological security is immediately, instantaneously and lastingly revealed for the necessary fiction that it is.” (Kearon & Leach, 2000, p466). As such, the home represents a significant physical and psychological boundary, with meaning to a person’s sense of

identity and well-being. It is perhaps unsurprising that victim surveys have often found invasion of privacy to be considered one of, if not the worst aspect of victimisation (Maguire & Bennett, 1982, Mirlees-Black, Mayhew & Percy, 1996).

The impact of the loss of material objects should be no less respected. Sentimental items are often invested with memories and sensory value and can become part of a person's cognitive identity. The loss of such items can be experienced as a psychological and emotional amputation (Kearon & Leach, 2000). Certainly, from the victim's perspective, a domestic burglary can often be viewed and felt as an attack on the self by an outsider: an interpersonal experience. The removal of any property may fulfil the criteria of an acquisitive crime as in many other forms of offending such as fraud, extortion, theft from shop or vehicle, and interpersonal transaction coupled with loss of property can be seen in a more direct, physical form in robbery offences. The distinction between robbery and burglary however, is in the former's willing confrontation with the victim, something that is explicitly avoided in the latter. It is the invasion of an individual's sense of familiarity, safety and self, and removal of conduits of emotion and memory from a space considered sacred that encompasses the unique interpersonal nature of burglary.

In several studies (Cromwell, et al, 1991., Bennett & Wright, 1984, Hearnden & Magill, 2004, Wright, Decker & Geis, 2011) offenders have been asked to describe their motivations for committing domestic burglary offences, and their responses have primarily favoured acquisitive gain. Wright, et al. (2011) discovered a form of perceived financial necessity for their actions, either to pay bills and eat, or as was also attested, to fund drug habits or settle drug-related debts. Other incentives have included such gains as could be derived from peer recognition, such as in increase in social status or relief from peer pressures as has been recognized as a frequent motivating factor in juvenile or adolescent offending (Grasmick & Bursik, 1990). The influence of experience on motivations was highlighted in Hearnden & Magill's (2004) study, in which 31% of novice burglars stated that they had been influenced to offend by

friends, with a further 18% motivated by boredom. Zero percent of more experienced burglars reported these motivations. In contrast, only 23% of first-time burglars offended to pay for drugs, as opposed to 71% of more experienced burglars. Thus, reasons for committing domestic burglary were subject to development. While there is always the concern with interview-based studies such as these, as highlighted by De Gregario (2009), that offenders may offer accounts that in some way rationalize or legitimize fundamentally illegitimate actions, there were others who admitted that the proceeds were spent on maintaining a lifestyle of expensive clothes and popularity. A lesser number of individuals noted other motivations:

“It wasn’t just getting money . . . It was the thing of doing it, the thrill out of going in (the house) and doing it. I guess it was a challenge.” – No.55 (Wright, et al., 2011, p46).

“It’s just a thrill going in undetected and walking out with all they shit.” – No.22 (Wright, et al., 2011, p46).

In both quotes, there was an implied enjoyment in the act itself, and within that, it could be inferred comprehension of the interaction with the victim. Satisfaction was derived not just from stealing, but in stealing from another, and going undetected. Critically, when asked why they chose domestic burglary over other offences, many stated that the offence had simply become familiar to them, because either it was easy, or they felt they had become skilled at it.

“It’s kind of getting a speciality or a career. If you’re in one line, or one field, and you know it real well, then you don’t have any qualms about doing it.” – No.100 (Wright, et al, 2011., p46).

This basis would appear to make more sense to the acquisition-motivated individual, viewing their burglaries almost as a paid line of work. Committing burglaries for the thrill or to demonstrate their dominance of the victim’s private space would not seem to fit quite as well with ‘speciality’ or ‘career’ analogies. Between the motivation for acquisitive gain and/or interpersonal transaction however, a wide scope of potential differentiation existed (Canter & Alison, 1999). The extent to which the offender asserted their presence in that transaction, or sought to increase its impact, or otherwise was focused on their own needs or material gain was likely to have a direct effect on both the meaning of the offence to the offender, and in the manner which it was conducted. Domestic burglary then, had the capacity to be about both the pursuit of material gain or interpersonal transaction, or indeed a certain combination of both. This was an activity that could be undertaken for different motivations; for material or personal gain, the satisfaction derived from the dominance of the interpersonal transaction, or indeed a combination of these goals.

2.2 – Perceptual decision-making processes in domestic burglary

The decision to commit a domestic burglary, whether drawn from financial necessity, desire or by a more personal motive has frequently been found to have been made at a physical and temporal distance from the scene of the eventual crime (Bennett & Wright, 1984). This can be viewed as the first stage in a cognitive mechanism that moves the offender towards, and eventually through the commission of the crime. The subsequent stages have been described as perceptual and procedural decision-making processes (Topali, 2005).

The perceptual stage narrowed the selection of a suitable target area down, based on an assessment of attractive or deterrent cues. Attraction cues might be the perceived affluence of an area, or ease of access/egress, while deterrents could be a belief that an area was well monitored or had few suitable routes of escape. The key element was the offender's own perception of these cues that conditioned any subsequent cognitive functioning, and in turn produced procedural decisions or actions undertaken during the offence itself (Topali, 2005). Hearnden & Magill (2004) concurred, finding that attraction elements frequently outweighed potential deterrents and were based primarily on a subjective belief that desirable goods would be present. Less than one-fifth asserted that their burglary was a completely pre-planned event, but only a quarter described a spur of the moment occurrence. Equally, the type of target differed, based on personal beliefs in acceptability and suitability. Many other interview-based studies have supported the assertion that these decisions were often made within the parameters of the individual's own routine activity space. Cohen & Felson's (1979) routine activity theory had posited that an offender identified future targets or opportunities to commit crime as they went about their daily non-criminal routines. The location of the offence then, was not random. The selection was fuelled by the spatial experiences and cognitive reasoning of its perpetrator, although that reasoning may not necessarily take place at a level of consciousness (Lundrigan & Canter, 2001). Cornish & Clarke's (1986) Rational choice theory would also point to the influence of situational or environmental factors in an individual's target selection process. Here, the individual could be expected to choose the location that presented the best chance for success, when assessed against the potential for failure or detection from within their field of awareness. Missing from either theory however, was the offender's own level of motivation to actively identify such targets, as opposed to simply discovering them in their daily routine. In answer to this, criminology research has frequently looked outside of itself to the behavioural ecology of animal food sourcing strategies, with Optimal foraging theory (OFT) providing an analogous link to property crime.

It has long been noted that in the animal kingdom, many species follow a recognisable routine in their search for food, which OFT would document and predict through the resolution of three concerns; what the animal chose to eat, from where they obtained it and the length of time spent in that area. In the domestic burglary context, these could be translated as choice of specific target, choice of offending 'patch' and then length of time (potentially measured in number of offences committed) in this 'patch'. Fertile domestic burglary 'patches' would naturally be those which offer either an abundance of high value target addresses, or else those which were poorly guarded; the assumption being that the burglar, much like the foraging animal would gravitate towards those areas which have previously afforded success. When gains became a little harder to come by, the offender like the animal would seek out opportunities elsewhere (Bernasco, 2009). OFT has previously been used to highlight periods of specialisation in a crime type by offenders, or in the case of domestic burglary, spatial-temporal patterns of victimisation (Bernasco, 2007), wherein locations in a proximity were targeted within a tight time frame – sometimes within the same 24-hours.

In some respects, the situational factors unique to burglary might promote this phenomena in perceptual decision making by the domestic burglar. If a street robber identified a favourable location to commit offences away from watchful eyes, they would still have little control over how many suitable victims presented themselves in that location before police or other watchdogs became aware of the situation. In the case of burglary, a switched-on offender might be presented with numerous static options in an area, which would be there to exploit until authorities were alerted to the problem. In short, the offender did not have to lie in wait for a suitable target to make themselves available (Nee, 2015).

2.3 – Repeat victimisation

In keeping with OFT is the widely recognized prevalence of repeat or near repeat offending in relation to property crime, something which was drawn to broader academic and practitioner attention by the Kirkholt burglary prevention project (Forrester, Chatterton & Pease, 1998), which found that a small percentage of the population withstood a large percentage of crime through repeated victimisation, and that the best predictor of future victimisation was prior victimisation. Polvi, Looman, Humphries & Pease (1990) found that the greatest threat came after the initial offence, with 28% of follow on offences occurring within 48 hours, and 100% within the same month. That this occurred within such spatial and temporal proximity was supportive of the maximisation of vulnerable or profitable areas that were the central feature of OFT. This can be explained psychologically by what Bernasco & Nieuwbeerta (2005) described as event dependence in which familiar burglar targets simply require less cognitive assertion than those that necessitated the acquisition of fresh information. Indeed, this was further supported by Ashton, Brown, Senior & Pease (1998) in accounts obtained directly from the offenders themselves. The most prominent reasons for repeat victimisation were because the first was easy or profitable, or that the second time would become easier due to familiarity with the lie of the land. Other explanations offered were that it was known that previously stolen goods had since been replaced, or that the offender held some form of a grudge against the occupants. Grove, Farrell, Farrington & Johnson (2012) explained that some properties, by their vulnerabilities or appearance of affluence 'flagged' themselves as appealing to multiple offenders, and once they became as such they were subsequently targeted on repeated occasions, effectively Optimal foraging theory in action.

Near repeat victimisation expanded on this understanding to explain why multiple properties were often targeted in a proximity to each other. Targets with matching characteristics may also appear familiar, therefore easier and less cognitively demanding (Townesley, Homel & Chaseling (2003). This

could be developed further to include the same make of vehicle as previously targeted, or the same type of door or window to exploit.

Optimal foraging theory and studies of repeat/near-repeat victimisation therefore provide a rich understanding of perceptual decision-making in domestic burglary offending and refuted the belief that properties were selected at random. It might therefore also be projected that the same 'success breeding success' philosophy would also be applied to procedural decision-making processes.

2.4 - Procedural decision-making processes in domestic burglary

Procedural decision making began when the offender arrived in the identified target area, with the intention to commit the offence. Several researchers (Bennett & Wright, 1984, Nee & Meenaghan, 2006) have noted that few offenders had a specific address in mind, and so enter a process of appraising attractive-deterrent factors of each potential target. This stage has often been compared favourably to rational choice theory (Cornish & Clarke, 1986), based on a simple economic model of costs versus benefit. The costs being the time and energy required to complete the task and the risks of apprehension. The benefits being the financial, or emotional pay-off or peer approval (Canter & Youngs, 2009). The rationality however, must be considered within the context of the offender's cognitive processes, which may have been subjected to other influences such as fatigue, drug misuse or physical or mental illness; or, in the case of a noted number of offenders a situational physiological or emotional arousal (Nee, 2015). The assumption of a basic costs-benefit logic therefore, was simplistic and presumed that the offender has an encyclopaedic knowledge of the pros and cons of all possible opportunities within the target area, something which Canter & Shalev (2008) pointed out had long been established as being beyond the cognitive reach of any human being. Indeed, Cornish & Clarke (1987) acknowledge that the offender was very often in possession of only a small amount of relevant

information and therefore, exhibited a 'bounded', rather than normative rationality. Equally, the weight attributed to each factor may shift the costs-benefit axis accordingly. Previously, burglars had been found to focus more on cues relating to financial gain than the risk of being caught (Nee & Meenaghan, 2006), something that might be indicative of their level of criminal experience.

Perhaps surprisingly, there has been relatively little analysis on the domestic burglars' actions and decision-making processes whilst inside an attacked property, albeit with a few notable exceptions – Nee & Meenaghan (2006), Wright & Decker (1994) and Clare (2011). From those studies, it could be ascertained that the domestic burglar has four pivotal points of procedural decision making to address during the commission of the offence. This would be point of entry, search route adopted once inside, selection of items and exit route, including escape from the surrounding area. At this stage in the process, the offender's decision making was most vulnerable to being 'bound' by levels of stress or arousal, and by the need for urgency. Three-quarters of burglars in Hearnden & Magill's (2004) study targeted the rear of the property, regardless of level of experience. In terms of targeted property, only a third of burglars at all levels of experience stated that they targeted specific items of property, although large numbers confessed that they were unlikely to ignore small, easily movable items of high value, such as cash (96%), laptops (90%) or jewellery (82%).

Due to the sheer prevalence of domestic burglary offences, both in the U.K. and elsewhere, some commentators (Bennell & Jones, 2005) have concluded that the probabilities of deriving distinctive behavioural styles, capable of discriminating between offenders was greatly reduced, and yet, as Canter & Youngs (2009) attested, it is a crime type that was prevalent in the offending histories of a diverse array of offenders, including violent and drug offenders, and rapists, and was therefore likely to have been conducted in numerous different ways and for a variety of reasons. As such, there was a high probability of heterogeneity amongst offending behaviours. When considering what could be ascertained about an offender from their known in-crime behaviours, academic research has for many

years concerned itself with the identification of inherent personal characteristics as a means of illuminating the motivations for and meaning of the offence to the responsible individual.

2.5 – *Offending behaviour and characteristics*

Deriving inferences about an individual's character from their actions may well be a natural element of human perception and has been noted at least as far back as The Old Testament, wherein Gideon observed men who knelt to drink from the river and concluded that this revealed them to be secret idolaters, and therefore less committed or trustworthy soldiers (Canter & Youngs, 2009). In terms of criminal investigation, such considerations have proved to be a staple talent of the likes of Sherlock Holmes and countless other fictional detectives, before receiving a fresh impetus in recent decades as the central tenet of what is referred to as 'offender profiling'. More empirical methods followed and despite its longstanding place in human cognizance, researchers have continually wrestled with a recognized difficulty; "this simple aim (of deriving characteristics from action) leads to many complex and unanswered questions." (Farrington, 2007, p496).

Canter's (1994) actions→ characteristics (A→C) equation unpacked those complexities into four distinct concerns. *Salience* – which actions were significant to the offender's character? *Differentiation* – which actions singled out the responsible offender from others who committed like offences? *Consistency* – if actions were indicative of personal characteristics, then it would follow that certain actions would persist across multiple offences or situations. *Inference* – what could be deduced about the offender's character from the relevant actions? Such are the theoretical and methodological debates attached to each question however, that they have not yet been furnished with decisive conclusions.

Consistency and distinctiveness have garnered the most attention and in the main, results have been encouraging. Davies, Wittebrod & Jackson (1997) found that offenders who exhibited violence in stranger rape were three and a half times more likely to have previous convictions for violence than those who did not, whilst Canter & Fritzon (1998) found support for prevalent distinguishing characteristics in certain types of arsonist, results later substantiated by, Häkkänen, Puolakka & Santtila (2004). Goodwill, Stephens, Oziel, Yapp & Bowes (2012) differentiated distinct typologies of street robber, whilst Salfati & Canter (1999) discovered significant links between crime scene actions and the characteristics of offenders in stranger murders. Differing methodological approaches however, have not always resulted in consistent findings across different datasets, as demonstrated by the influence of environmental and contextual differences on consistency in Sorochinski, Salfati & Labuschagne's (2014) study of South African homicides. When behaviour-derived characteristics were used to link different offences to a common offender, neither Mokros & Alison (2002) nor Woodhams & Toye (2007) drew any support for an actions-characteristics link across different offending domains. In Bennell, et al. (2014) review, linking accuracy was found to be greater for interpersonal crimes than property offences, which may have been due to a variety of reasons. Except for homicide, most interpersonal crimes would feature a victim who could describe the actions of the offender, hopefully in some detail, whilst many property offences might only be discovered later, leading to a post-hoc interpretation of events from what had been left behind. It may also be simply that property crimes inherently demand a far more restricted set of necessary behaviours, leading to less distinction between offenders. Such concerns, together with some varied results have lead some commentators to conclude that efforts to link offences by means of a behavioural consistency and distinction have been based upon "a system of flawed assumption" (Chifflet, 2014, p6).

Contemporary research in personality psychology would agree with Chifflet to some extent but has indicated that any flaw that may exist was not in the assumption itself, but moreover in its application in

the criminal context. Many studies of consistency have relied upon a typically 'trait' based methodology, prevalent in personality research in the 1960s, whereby cross-situational consistency of behaviour was explained by the individual's predisposition to certain types of behaviour (e.g. to be introverted, or conscientious - Cervone & Shoda, 1999). Accordingly, offenders with an aggressive disposition would be inclined towards aggressive behaviours across different offences and in everyday non-criminal situations. Such a pre-determined standpoint was refuted by Mischel (1968), who argued that there was little empirical evidence in support of this assumption, despite it underpinning personality research for the previous fifty years. Behavioural traits were inferred by the perceiver, not observed directly (Mischel, 1999), and as such were done so free from the situational, environment or experiential influences which could have contributed to their occurrence. Social scientists hailed this as the triumph of the 'power of the situation' (Mischel, 2009), a perspective that might be considered the opposite to the consistency assumption; or it would be *if* in fact the prevailing understanding of Mischel's work was a true interpretation of his standpoint:

"Whether you like it or not, the first half of Mischel's famed volume did not argue that cross-situational consistency in personality functioning is low. It argues that cross-situational consistency in personality functioning is low when one searches for consistency through the lens of global, nomothetic trait constructs. When one tries on different lenses, things clear up." (Orom & Cervone, 2009, p239).

Mischel's call was for an increased understanding of the individual's perception of a given situation, which would lead to the definition of a distinct and stable pattern of varying behaviours in any situation which was perceived by the individual in the same way. This could be encapsulated in an 'If . . . then' scenario regarding the individual's character. I.e., 'if person A is ignored, she will become annoyed' (Cervone & Shoda, 1999). If offender B is disturbed, he will become aggressive. These findings were later developed into the Cognitive-affective Processing System (CAPS) by Mischel & Shoda (1995), which

provided a nuanced explanation of cross-situational variation or stability in personality and discrepancies in individual perception (Huprich & Nelson, 2015). Mischel's work on conditional behavioural consistency accommodated considerations of developing skill levels through experience, wherein it is pre-supposed that any across-crime behavioural consistency would be based to some extent on what has previously proved successful. Differences in behaviour would be in the form of the adoption of new skills and the development of perceptual and procedural decision-making processes. Thus, behavioural 'traits' would not be expected to be as consistent as the motivations that underpin them. A greater consistency, Mischel would argue, could be found in the motivations for and meaning of the offence to the perpetrator, rather than in behavioural 'traits' which may have been subjected to misinterpretation, or else be motivated by a variety of different factors.

2.6 – Narrative theories

An alternative approach to understanding the psychological underpinnings of offending behaviour has been through the development of narrative theories. This has addressed some of the concerns raised about trait-based studies – chiefly, that the salience of certain behaviours may be entirely different to different offenders. Behaviour was instead viewed in the context of an individual's unfolding life story, within which certain consistent themes may emerge, and therefore single, or 'traits' were not direct indications of character, but needed to be interpreted as part of the overall narrative. By adopting this approach, narrative theories would appear to have more scope to accommodate the influences of additional factors such as environmental differences of behavioural development through increased experience.

McAdams (1997) described the development of such stories as taking place within the lives of all individuals over three stages. The pre-mythic stage occurred in childhood in which all material regarding

the self and that person's position and meaning in the world was gathered. The mythic period followed in the late adolescent – early adult years and continues until late adulthood. In that time, the life-story, or narrative was continually revised and updated to accommodate each positive or negative experience. Finally, in the post-mythic stage the creation of the narrative myth gave way to reflection and making sense of the life as a linear whole. As outlined by McAdams (1997), the personal narrative was a ship on the sea of experience, from its initial development, through constant revision it was swayed and realigned by the internal effect of all that the individual encountered. Behaviour was the physical enactment of the narrative *at that point in its development*. Narrative themes have often been associated with the characteristics of the individual, but they were also a snapshot of those characteristics at a specific moment in time and under very particular circumstances. This would be true for criminal behaviours whether they were captured through the post-offence recollections of the offender, or through evidence of their behaviour recorded at the crime scene.

Initial implementations of the narrative approach to criminal behaviour (Canter, 1994) sourced information directly through the interviewing of offenders, removing to some degree the post-hoc, interpretative element of associating behaviour with character. In exploring not only the commission of the offence itself, but that offence's place and significance in the story of the perpetrator's life, Youngs & Canter (2012a, p234) determined that "offending is the enactment of a narrative rather than the narrative being an interpretation of the context out of which the offence has emerged."

Beginning with McAdams' (1993) assertion that autobiographical stories could be divided into competing themes of agency and communion, Canter (1994) recognized that there was a limited number of narrative roles available to the offender during their criminal activities. Agency, in a criminal context could be reinterpreted as potency – the imposing of the offender's will and mastery of the victim or environment to fulfil their goals, while communion, or intimacy, would refer to the degree of relevance the offender afforded the victim. High levels of intimacy would equate to an awareness of the

victim's presence or place in the offence, and the impact made by the offender's actions (Youngs & Canter, 2012b).

Four distinct roles were identified through the literary device of Frye's 'Circle of Mythoi' (Frye, 1957, in Canter, Kaouri & Ioannou, 2003), which cemented previous assertions that narrative roles, as provided by the offender were "embedded in a social matrix" (Canter & Youngs, 2009, p122), in that they aligned with fictional archetypes. The roles were made up of: *Revenger* (high potency/high intimacy), *Adventurer* (low potency/low intimacy), *Professional* (high potency/high intimacy) and *Victim* (Low potency/High intimacy) and could be assigned to individual offenders based on their description of their thoughts and emotions throughout the commission of their crimes.

Across studies which centred on narrative roles in committing offences (E.g. Youngs & Canter, 2012a, 2012b) and criminal life narratives (Canter & Youngs, 2015), a consistency in themes was established, demonstrating that they were frequently endemic to the individual and would therefore suggest that some level of motivational or behavioural consistency may coincide. The inductive challenge of the process would then be to link actions to narrative, not characteristics. This suggestion was given more power by the findings of both Agnew (2006) and Presser (2009), who both concluded that the offender's inner narrative could be a cause or instigator of crime, acting as a distorting prism from which the offender can assign justification for their actions.

A central criticism of the use of narrative theory for offenders has been the questionable validity of the accounts provided. The process of question and answer between interviewer and interviewee could precipitate certain distortions through the impact of social conventions, which might cause the offender to attenuate certain aspects to make them appear justifiable. Considering this Canter & Youngs (2015) undertook the 'Life as a film' (LAAF) procedure, wherein incarcerated offenders were asked to reply to

the question: “*If your life were to be made into a film, what type of film would that be and what would happen?*” (Canter & Youngs, 2015, p223). Results revealed that most offenders opted for an established genre, and divulged a story of tragedy, but ultimate self-mastery. Such a method appeared to reduce the pressure for social desirability in Q & A, by positioning the offender as an observer to the action. Canter & Youngs measured neutralization qualities inherent in the offender’s ‘film’, attending to some of the concerns raised by Presser (2009). This method, together with Presser’s (2009) re-conceptualization of the narrative as an antecedent to offending strongly suggested that future research with perhaps further methodological innovation could provide additional inferential detail from narrative roles, providing positive implications for future studies of offending behaviour.

2.7 – Narrative theories in domestic burglary

Canter and Youngs (2009) acknowledged that there had previously been frequent use of skill-level to differentiate between domestic burglary offenders but pointed to some significant concerns with this approach. Firstly, the concept of ‘skill’ encompassed several abilities, from degree of planning, to dexterity and the avoidance of detection, each of which involved a different psychological process and origin. Secondly, and fundamental to studies based on the analysis of police-recorded information, recorded behavioural information often only reflected the level of skill required to complete the task, not that which have been at the offender’s disposal. A highly skilled offender would be unlikely to spend time picking a lock if there was an open window available. Canter and Youngs (2009) therefore identified degree of focus as a more accurate parameter than skill, and one which can incorporate the many different psychological processes. The question for the present study however, was whether that degree of focus demonstrated a correlation with the offender’s level of experience; experience being a distinct

attribute from skill. Canter and Youngs' (2009) narrative action system (NAS) model for domestic burglars offered some indication of how the two qualities might relate to each other.

Psychologically, burglary itself has been recognized as a fundamentally 'adaptive' endeavour, in that at its core it emerged from the external availability of desired goods and was brought about by the individual's response to external cues. Canter and Youngs' (2009) analysis, derived from an initial study by Merry & Harsent (2000), uncovered four narrative themes, which reflected both the degree of focus and the offender's awareness of the attacked premises as the victim's home. The Conservative mode featured a high degree of offence focus, with a lack of awareness of the victim, producing efficient offences centred on technical competency and careful selection of both target and goods. This was coupled with a tragedy narrative, which saw a focus on wealthy targets who served to accentuate the offender's perception of their own deprivation. An adaptive mode featured the same degree of task focus, but with full awareness of the victim and their home. This awareness manifested as an alertness to potential risk. Adaptive offenders were focused on the maximum possible yield. The adventure narrative saw the adaptive offender derive satisfaction from their dominance and control of the environment. Integrative offences emerged from a lack of task focus and a lack of awareness of the premises being someone's home. The source and location of these states were both internal – an attempt to alleviate a negative internal state, and a focus only on their own immediate needs. The integrative mode was coupled with the irony narrative, in which the individual viewed themselves as a powerless victim of circumstance in which all actions were thereby justified. This could frequently result in offences committed against those known to the suspect, together with a failure to evaluate risks of detection. Finally, the expressive mode coupled a lack of task focus with an overall concern for impacting on the outside world – or in this case, the victim of the offence. The adjoining romance narrative meant the offender saw themselves as being on a heroic mission to impact on the victim and

demonstrate their power and proficiency. Frequently, this manifested as dangerous behaviours such as climbing and a carelessness in the task itself.

The degree of awareness of the premises as the victim's home would appear to emerge from the individual's acceptance of the offence as an interpersonal transaction, a fundamental, psychological distinction between offenders. Differences in an offender's interpretation of their life story, incorporating degrees of task focus and victim awareness, raised a question that was central to the concerns of the present study; how does an individual's understanding of themselves change over time and with developing experience? The high degree of task focus found in the conservative or adaptive action systems might manifest as competency or an alertness to risk, both suggestive of a level of insight into what was required and how to succeed. This may be indicative of the experienced offender. The lack of task focus found in the integrative and expressive systems, which could result in a failure to consider risk, or demonstrations of power in the face of full risk awareness may equally be indicators of a lack of task experience. Experience then, could be considered as a contributor to the narrative, and in turn behaviour, as opposed to an alternative instigator of action other than the individual's life-story. The narrative would therefore provide a framework under which behaviour could either remain consistent or develop through increasing experience.

2.8 - Identifying experience within a narrative framework

Before evidence of experience could begin to be identified, the very nature of experience itself must be considered. A behaviour that may be construed as the result of experience may in fact be a product of advancing maturity. In younger offenders, the changing cognitive and social pressures that have been identified as potential precursors or contributory factors to offending, might frequently run concurrent with increasing offending experience. So, before the influence of experience could be assessed it must

be ascertained which, if any behavioural differences occur due to cognitive changes related to maturity, and which emerged from offending experience.

Offending experience itself could also be considered from several perspectives, aside from age-related considerations. Patterns of life-course offending could be assessed by both quantitative and qualitative measurements, prompting the question as to whether behavioural changes were observed most readily after an increase in the frequency of offending, or due to the nature of the previous offending. Finally, would be the question as to whether domestic burglary behavioural development was more likely to emerge from general, or domain specific offending experience. Could offending tactics and skills be transferable from other domains? Each of these questions could be housed under a narrative framework, on the understanding that maturity and experience were both contributory factors to the ever-evolving life-story, from which behaviour emerged. This presented a complex mix of behavioural influencers. Which could provide cognitive explanations for behavioural consistency or development.

2.9 – The age-crime curve

It has long been recognised that a strong correlation existed between age and offending behaviour. Or, more specifically, that a great deal of offending began in early-mid adolescence, and rose to a peak in late adolescence, before presenting desistance, or a rapid dissipation into eventual desistance (Agnew, 2006, Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983). Only a small number of offenders had been observed to persist beyond those boundaries (Moffitt, 1993). The age-crime curve has been described as “the most important empirical regularity in criminology” (Nagrin & Land, 1993, p331), in its depiction of the aggregated trajectory of offending histories. Since it was first observed by Quetelet (1831), the curve has become the abiding focus of numerous studies (Moffitt, 1993, Piquero, Farrington & Blumstein, 2003, Petras, Nieuwebeerta & Piquero, 2010, Sampson & Laub, 2005), with a broad consensus that

involvement in crime most typically advanced during adolescence and reaches a peak at around the age of seventeen (Sweeten, Piquero & Steinberg, 2013). Hirschi & Gottfredson (1983) presented age-crime curves which were highly comparable across two continents and 150 years, which led them to conclude that the curve was a) invariant across time and demographics, b) non-interactive with other potential influences, as covariates of offending were subject to change, the robust nature of the curve indicated that it was unaffected by them, and c) it was inexplicable, in that no existing theories of precursors to crime were sufficient to explain the age-crime correlation's prominent nature. Since that time, these theories have been challenged both for their methodological rigour (Steffensmeir, Allan, Harer & Streifel, 1989), and in the all-encompassing nature of the claim. More recently, Sweeten, et al. (2013) found that 69% of factors leading to desistance in individuals aged 15-25 could be attributed to accompanying sociological or psychological pressures. Thus, many researchers have taken a contrary view to Hirschi & Gottfredson and highlighted alternative explanations for the curve.

The aggregate basis for the curve has raised concern. Blumstein (1986) noted that the sudden fall in offending in early adulthood could be accounted for by the large number of desisting offenders and could disguise the continuing efforts of others who persisted. Two dimensions to the curve were therefore identified; participation and frequency (Petras, et al., 2010). Participation referred to the number of active offenders at any given age, while frequency accounted for the number of offences committed. Participation was therefore responsible for the high peak, while frequency could document the offences of those who continued into adulthood (Laub & Sampson, 2003). It has been further hypothesized by Blumstein, Cohen & Farrington (1988) that the two dimensions would be prompted by different psychological factors; those which caused someone to begin offending were not necessarily those which prompted an increased frequency of offending. Petras, et al. (2010) found that the curve held for both dimensions, albeit with significant individual variations. More recently, Loeber, et al.

(2015) noted a peak in participation between 13-15years, slightly at odds with the peak in frequency, at 16 years.

2.10 - The age-crime curve and domestic burglary

Differences in the structure of the curve have also been noted between different offending domains. Steffensmeir, et al. (1989) found a peak for burglary took place in adolescence, with 50% of arrests taking place before the age of 18 and 75% before 25. Arson, robbery and handling had a slightly later peak, and drugs offences peaked on the boundary between adolescence and adulthood. Violent offences did not reach their peak until the mid-to-late 20s. With regards to domestic burglary then, Steffensmeir's curve provided an aggregated representation of a typical offending trajectory, beginning in early adolescence and progressing into early adulthood. Individual deviations from that pattern were uncommon.

2.11 – Participation and frequency

For Blumstein, et al. (1988) the crucial point was that peaks in participation and frequency did not have to coincide. The generally recognized decline in participation in offending in early adulthood would mask the potentially frequent persistent offending of others in any aggregated statistical measure such as the age-crime curve. Thus, participation demonstrated a robust correlation with age, which frequency did not necessarily do. The two dimensions were therefore not bound to share the same etiological elements (Blumstein, et al., 1988).

Studies that have sought to understand the personal characteristics of persistent, frequent offenders have not necessarily been supportive of any argument for an experiential development leading to

expertise, finding instead that extended offending patterns were produced by low self-control or impulsivity. This would be consistent with both Gottfredson & Hirschi's General theory on crime (1990) or certain elements of psychopathy, in which offending emerges from constant, immovable traits, rather than developing narratives. Donnellan, Ge & Wenk (2002) measured personality traits amongst non-offenders and delinquents at the start and end of a 20year period and found that much of the same cognitive elements found in delinquents were found, in a greater extent in those who were frequent, chronic offenders. Those with poor social bonding, low self-control and a rejection of pro-social values were generally delinquent in adolescence. Those with the lowest scores in each of these tended to have the highest frequencies of offending. Property offences such as burglary tended to occur in tight sequences of frequency, which were not consistent with the age-crime curve (Elonheimo, et al., 2014).

Ramoutar & Farrington, (2006) found a total of twelve variables which could be significantly related to *participation* in property offending, ranging from excitement, a challenge, to monetary gain – all consistent with psychological elements of adolescent offending. Only two traits however, were significant for *frequency* in property offending – impulsivity and bravado at avoiding detection, which were not entirely suggestive of an extended learning process over time or experience. Their findings would point to participation in offending being motivated by a mixture of social, psychological and environmental factors, whereas frequency in offending would appear to be primarily motivated by psychological reinforcements and internal reactions to peer approval. At present, there would appear to be a gap in theories of individual frequency of offending which could provide a greater insight into the internal processes at work.

2.12 – Cognitive differences in adolescent offending

If then, most domestic burglars were adolescents, then their motivations for offending could be

expected to be influenced by the noted pressures and cognitive development processes associated with that age group. Leverso, Bielby & Hoelter (2015) cited four identified differences in adolescent cognitive processes when compared with that of adults.

Future orientation was the rubric under which several cognitive, attitudinal and motivational constructs were collated, documenting an individual's ability to foresee future events resulting from current behaviour. Studies employing various approaches found that the ability to do so, or to plan ahead increased with age, typically around early adulthood (Wilson & Daly, 2006). A lack of such foresight in juveniles or adolescents has been explained by limitations in memory (Cauffman, Steinberg & Piquero, 2005) or by the restrictions of limited life experience (Gardner, 1993). Steinberg, et al. (2008), found that younger adolescents (aged 13 and below) demonstrated a greater tendency to select immediate, smaller rewards than greater, but delayed rewards and were less aware of long term consequences of actions than those aged 16 and over, who in turn did not perform as well as adults. This suggested that the intervening years of 13-16 were a critical period of change in respect of these attributes and could be seen to share the immediate personal gratification and lack of task focus attributes with Canter & Youngs' (2009) Integrative irony narrative.

Peer influence has been recognized as a powerful factor in drawing young people towards offending and has been divided into four mechanisms; *peer pressure*, involving direct efforts to influence attitudes and behaviours, *modelling* in which attitudes and behaviours desired by others were presented before them, *antagonistic behaviour*, wherein ridicule and teasing were used to coerce the behaviour of others or to maintain social hierarchies, or *structured opportunities*, wherein an individual was introduced to a situation which enabled or necessitated a particular behaviour without it being directly enforced. Examples of this would be the inviting of an adolescent to a party where alcohol or illicit drugs were

actively in use (Brown, Bradford, Bakken, Ameringer & Maho, 2008), or in the present context, where the individual was co-opted into the commission of an offence.

Other researchers have developed models around the pursuit of reward associated with emulating behaviour (Gibbons, Pomery & Gerrard (2008), or a desire for a positive self-image premised on the need to conform (Blanton, Stuart & Van den Eijnden, 2001). Regardless of the parameters, each could be defined by a perception that the focus of desire – be it acceptance, status, self-esteem – was under the control of the influencer, encapsulated in social psychology's power acceptance theory (Vargas, 2011). The perception that the adolescent individual's own power could only be delivered to them through the influencer was what prevented lower status members of a group from simply leaving. Therein lay an indication of the power and reach of peer influence. Vargas found that disadvantaged members of groups which featured an imbalance of power were susceptible to all forms of influence, while those in more power-balanced groups were seen to exercise a greater autonomy. Monahan, Steinberg & Cauffman (2009) concluded that when susceptibility to peer influence was considered specifically in relation to offending, the most vulnerable were those in early adolescence up to the age of 14, which it was noted coincided with the primary years for immediate reward seeking and lack of future orientation. Beyond that age, resistance to peer influence increased through mid-adolescence and into early adulthood.

For some time, the populist view of adolescence being a time of engaging in risk taking behaviours had been largely supported in academic research. Elkind's (1967) concept of adolescent invulnerability provided a two-fold theoretical basis; *the imaginary audience*, in which adolescents saw themselves as being as central to the thoughts of others as they were to themselves, and *the personal fable* in which their own perceived uniqueness meant that the bad things that happened to others could not befall themselves. Despite being largely based on anecdotal evidence, the

concept of adolescent invulnerability was generally supported (see: Blum & Resnick, 1982, Whitely & Hern, 1991) in both academia and in public policies, where restrictions have regularly been placed on the freedoms of adolescents (legal age to drive, drink or smoke) in the belief that they are unable to fully comprehend the inherent risks. Empirical studies conducted by Quadrel, Fischhoff & Davis (1993) and Beyth-Marom, Austin, Fischhoff, Palgren & Jacobs-Quadrel (1993) questioned the basis of this notion, and found that quantitatively, decisions to undertake or reject risk taking behaviours were not dissimilar between adolescents and adults. Recent advances in neuroscience have helped to provide an improved understanding of decision making processes (Shulman & Cauffman, 2014). Those processes could now be divided into two distinctions; deliberative decision making, wherein time was taken, and options were weighed before a decision was reached, operating within the parameters of conscious awareness (Evans, 2003). A second mechanism, intuitive decision making operates outside of conscious awareness, absorbed information quickly through observation and could produce an emotional or impulsive response (Klaczynski, 2005). Shulman & Cauffman (2014) described an asynchrony between the two, with the latter formed by the socioemotional system which was triggered in puberty, and that strengthened those connections in the brain which respond to social or emotional stimuli. The former however, operated under the cognitive control system, which developed from childhood, but did not reach maturity until early adulthood. This provided a modulating effect on emotional or impulsive responses. Adolescents were thereby predisposed, Shulman & Cauffman argued, to a period of high reward-seeking and low self-control in the gap between the onset of puberty and full maturation of the cognitive control system. Earlier studies have by their formal nature, elicited deliberative responses rather than intuitive, which were more likely to be engaged in risky decision making. Shulman & Cauffman's hypothesis was supported by their finding that the tendency to put more weight in reward over risk peaked at the age of 20. Although an age most typically considered as early adulthood, this nevertheless, left adolescents exposed to the same decision-making frailties prior to the full ascension of

the cognitive control system. This distorted perception of risk in adolescents appeared to be commensurate with the expressive narratives heroic mission to impact on the outside world, coupled with an overriding failure to consider the potential pitfalls of dangerous behaviours.

Finally, as a distinct, but frequently co-occurring element of adolescent offending, a lack of *impulse control* has been at the heart of a theoretical debate between mainstream and crime-orientated psychology. As with risk-taking, impulse control has often been attributed to the lack of development of cognitive control systems, and with the release of dopamine in the sub-cortical reward centres of the brain. Romer, Duckworth, Sznitman & Park (2010) noted however, that risk-taking behaviours were not necessarily a result of neglecting to consider the consequences, but rather, of an inaccurate benefit/cost assessment which lent undue weight to the rewards on offer. Failing to consider consequences at all formed part of a different psychological process, which fell under the rubric of rash impulsiveness (Reyna, et al., 2011). In the correct circumstances, risk-taking, goal-orientated behaviour could be beneficial to the individual, such as in a sporting or competitive context (Pfeifer & Allen, 2012). Rash impulsiveness on the other hand, generally resulted in maladaptive behaviours, such as unprotected sex or drug misuse (Romer, Reyna & Pardo, 2016). In light of this, Romer, et al. (2016) were able to differentiate rash impulsiveness from risk-taking behaviour, identifying elements of rash impulsiveness as *urgency* – acting on impulse, even when negative consequences ought to have been apparent, *lack of premeditation* – action without prior consideration, *lack of perseverance* – giving up when a task becomes boring or difficult and *impulsive choice* – as with future orientation, selecting a smaller more immediate reward over a larger one that was subject to a delay. Once again, impulsiveness could be a contributory factor in both the integrative irony's need for immediate personal gratification, or the expressive quest's lack of risk consideration. Thus, identified cognitive deficits in adolescents share striking similarities with the two narratives which lack task focus, suggesting that the life story an

offender adopted for themselves may well have links to their age, which in turn was suggestive of a changing personal narrative over time.

2.13 – Maturation and dynamic personality traits

Gottfredson & Hirschi's General theory on crime (1990) positioned such a lack of self-control as a life-course characteristic capable of explaining criminal behaviour, but this has been described by some (Blonigen, 2010) as an obstructive misconception in criminological research, and it was pointed out that in the field of clinical psychology, personality traits have for some time been regarded as dynamic, transient constructs, built on multiple covariant factor. He further stated that a normative decrease in personality dimensions had been frequently observed in the late adolescent to early adulthood years of 18-25 and was coupled with concurrent social and biological mechanisms corresponding with the age of criminal desistance. There would appear to be little consensus in current literature as to whether a lack of impulse control could be solely viewed as a product of age and cognitive development. Romer, et al. (2010) found that impulsiveness was mediated by negative experience, which is in contradiction of the neuro-development argument, which would state that only maturation, not learning could achieve such a thing, whereas Leverso, et al.'s, (2015) findings were supportive of GTC, identifying impulsiveness as the only prominent trait linked to adolescent offending that persisted into adulthood. Nevertheless, current understanding holds that rash impulsiveness was one of the key elements of juvenile or adolescent offending.

2.14 – *Desistance*

The term 'desistance' has been accepted across several fields as the passage of an individual's cessation from crime. And yet, it's deceptively broad definitional qualities have led to some disparity in its application. To desist infers a progressive, time-relevant state in which one was now refraining from behaviour in which one had previously partaken. Desistance arrives with no promise of permanence, in the way 'termination of offending' might imply. Maruna (2012) suggested that a person involved in a permanent cessation of offending had undertaken a behavioural and psychological development that is ill-served by such a definition. That no adequate term has been found to fully encompass the breadth of the endeavour, illuminated to Maruna a cultural assumption about the intractability of deviance. Such definitional uncertainty has presented the question of whether desistance was an event, or a developmental process (Lussier, McCuish & Corrado, 2015). Event desistance, Lussier, et al. (2015) attested was uncommon, indicating that the more accurate understanding was of a transitional state. In terms of the prolific number of juvenile and adolescent offenders who then desisted, or entered the progress of desistance in early adulthood, a growing number of studies have identified sociological explanations for the phenomenon (Savolainen, 2009, King, 2013).

Firstly, Laub & Sampson (2001) proposed that low rate offending in adolescence was normative, and thus theories of why it occurred were of limited value. By the same rationale, exploring reasons for its decline or conclusion in early adulthood were equally redundant. An activity undertaken by so many in their teenage years naturally dissipated under the social controls experienced by many young adults. This view notwithstanding, a substantial amount of research has developed a solid base of understanding of the underlying causes. Social structures, such as employment or marriage have been recognized as having a negative effect on offending rates (Bottoms, Shapland, Costello, Holmes & Muir, 2004). As young adults entered the employment market or settled into family life, their time was occupied by more legitimate activities, and peer groups change. In parallel, the perceived consequences

of criminal action may rise considerably, as in anticipation of the loss of employment or the ending of a relationship. These are examples of Hirschi's (1969) social controls, but also incorporate the risk/reward rational choice decision, and elements of peer influence, which by young adulthood was believed to be less acute. Equal to this was the formal deterrent role (Lussier, et al., 2015) which suggested that successive arrests for multiple adolescent offences could have a delayed deterrent effect. Although sanctions for adult offences are likely to be greater, certainty of arrest has already been noted (Intravia, Jones & Piquero, 2012) as a greater deterrent than sanction severity. In these circumstances, it emerges from raised police awareness, increasing arrests and a growing belief that they would be unlikely to get away with additional offences. It was theorised that the risks then, both informal and formal, have by adulthood increased to the extent that they outweigh the rewards. In practical, domestic burglary terms, the 'three-strike' sentencing rule, whereby a conviction for a third domestic burglary offence attracted, but for exceptional circumstances, a minimum three-year custodial sentence may contribute to that realisation. This period was also part of a maturation process (Lussier, et al., 2015) in early adult years in which the individual gains emotional stability and was more future orientated, due in part to the maturation of the cognitive control system (Shulman & Cauffman, 2014).

2.15 – Primary and secondary desistance

Drawing from earlier work by Lemert (1951), Maruna, Immarigeon & LeBel (2004) have expanded on the notion of the process by delineating between primary and secondary desistance. Primary desistance would be any break or pause in offending, something most offenders did at some point in their offending history. Secondary desistance however, required a much greater internal investment.

The movement from the behaviour of non-offending to the assumption of the role or identity of a "changed person" . . . Maruna, et al., 2004, p19.

Secondary desistance then, required an individual to transform. As opposed to merely being restricted by various controls, this required a distinct process to take place within the individual. Paternoster & Bushway (2009) elucidated by drawing on principles of social psychology for their identity theory. Each person had a *working self*, an inner understanding of who they were which guided their behaviour. They asserted that an offender might view themselves as an individual who partook in criminal behaviour, if that behaviour was seen to be of greater benefit than cost. A build-up of negative experiences however, such as frequent arrests and increased recognition would promote feelings of dissatisfaction.

The *positive self* was the idealised version whom they imagine they will be one day. The *feared self* is the opposite, the worst possible outcome for themselves that could be envisaged. The positive self provides optimism for the future, but if recent failures make the feared self seem like the most likely outcome, the person may begin to believe that a change was necessary. Paternoster & Bushway (2009) denied that a conventional life became more appealing, only that the accumulated cost of the criminal life began to weigh heavy. Nor did they suggest that this occurred in a moment of epiphany, but more as a part of a gradual process, conducive to moving towards Maruna's secondary desistance; a process which may be interrupted by several relapses or temporary abandonment along the way. Here was a further rational choice for the offender, following many previous ones which had always favoured reward over risk. Now, imbued with more future orientation, the offender was cowed by the accumulated costs. Social controls might have served to highlight those costs, guiding the individual into initial, primary desistance. The length of this process was indeterminate, as was the gap between primary and secondary desistance. The answer to the question, as to whether social, environmental or psychological influences were the primary cause of desistance would seem to lie with the individual. Each of the documented factors discussed in sections 2.7-2.13

presented the late adolescent – early adulthood period as one of significant cognitive upheaval, due to a complex of internal and external factors, all of which could be seen to lead to not only changes in behaviour, but also in the perception of self and the individual's role in society. This would therefore suggest that maturity could have a substantial influence on any behaviour enacted out of an evolving personal narrative.

2.16 – Desistance and narrative theory

A common theme amongst both sociological and cognitive explanations for desistance was a shift in the balance between the rational choice of risk and reward. Legitimate social structures such as marriage and employment increased the potential for loss to an individual who might be considering offending, whilst cognitive processes in early adulthood increased future orientation, effectively endowing the individual with an increased ability to foresee long term consequences of their actions.

It would seem possible therefore, that offenders who presented different intensities of offending, would hold different views of themselves and their place in the world, and thus, those at different experiential points in their offending may also hold onto different self-images. Young offenders in an ascending offending pattern might be enamoured by their ability to impact on the outside world. Desisting offenders might hold societal influences responsible for their lapses into recidivism, while persistent offenders might consider themselves efficient professionals. It was significant therefore, that the pursuit of personal reward (either material or internal) and absence of risk awareness feature so heavily in the integrative irony and expressive quest narratives, suggesting that offenders exhibiting those psychological facets have not yet experienced or at least benefited from the cognitive maturation process. Whilst increased future orientation and perception of risk cause a great many adolescent offenders to desist in the early adult years, the process did not appear to occur for the most serious or

chronic adolescent offenders. Lussier, et al. (2015) found that only 25% of incarcerated youths interviewed, abstained from offending when they reached adulthood. The remainder, possibly through being incarcerated appeared to have been exempt from the normative social and developmental processes that occurred to others, which might also indicate more individual, psychological differences between offenders.

A more inclusive perspective however, could be that the same developmental processes did occur, but influenced the behaviour of more persistent individuals in different ways. Increased future orientation and perception of risk could cause those individuals, not to desist but to develop a greater task focus and the adoption of risk-protective behaviours – both key elements of the conservative tragedy and adaptive adventure narratives. The reward must be greater to offset the increased awareness of risk, and thus an increase in task focus could emerge from the maturation process and continued offending experience. This would demonstrate a progression through the learning and developmental processes described in studies of expertise. It would seem therefore, a natural progression of different quantitative patterns of offending, based on different cognitive processes and outside influences would produce different narrative themes in the offender's view of themselves. Only impulsivity, as the one personality trait recognized as persisting from adolescence into adulthood could prove an exception to this theoretical structure and would echo Canter & Youngs' (2009) concerns with the skills required for the task were not always equivalent to those of the individual. An experienced, yet impulsive offender may still be tempted by that open window or unlocked door.

2.17 – Persistence and narrative theory

Within this current perspective, the divergence in desisting and persisting offenders would be attributed, at least in part to a shift in the perception of both risk and reward brought about by either

the maturation process or by increased offending experience. An enhanced perception of risk prompted many to desist – in that by early adulthood they had too much to lose by continued offending. The same processes however, caused others to continue, albeit with a progressive understanding of the mitigation of risk, or a focus on the type of increased reward that would justify such risk.

Laub & Sampson (2001) found that the adoption of the desistance process in early adulthood occurred so frequently as to be considered as normative, but research that has sought to identify cognitive or social differences in desisting/persisting offenders could offer some insight into elements of an individual's background or character which may ultimately contribute both to the risk/reward assessment in early adulthood, and ultimately to a broader, narrative experience. Most prominently, Moffitt (1993) developed the dual taxonomy of adolescence-limited (AL) and life-course persistent (LCP) pathways, based on their appearance on the age-crime curve. LCP offenders were observed to have the lowest onset age and committed a multitude of different offences over much of their lifetime. Their behaviours were identified as being born out of cognitive deficits such as an uncontrolled temperament and hyperactivity, and negative social factors such as low social-economic status, poor parenting or a disruptive family life (Farrington, Ttofi & Coid, 2009), as well as underlying neuropsychological developmental issues. AL offenders, in contrast, started later in mid-adolescence. In the main, their offending consisted of joining in with others, possibly LCP offenders, due in large part to social pressures, or engaged in behaviours that mimicked adults, such as drug use or underage sex, which was a product of the maturity gap. Once adulthood was reached, peer influence and age-related frustrations eased and so they turned away from offending. Moffitt contended that AL individuals made up most offenders, accounting for the steep rise in the curve, but by the early 20's, 50% of all offenders had desisted. By 28, 85% had. A substantial number of subsequent studies have lent support to Moffitt's typologies (e.g. Tibbets & Piquero, 1999, Barnes & Beaver, 2010), although others have suggested that

they failed to entirely capture the diversity of developing offending patterns (Eggleston & Laub, 2002, D'Unger, Land, McCall & Nagin, 1998).

It would seem logical then that narratives featuring the pursuit of personal reward or lack of risk awareness such as the Conservative tragedy theme would be evident in young offenders on both sides of Moffitt's taxonomy – Adolescent limited and Life-course persistent offenders. Their behaviour within offences committed at comparable ages or levels of criminal experience would be very similar, yet some individuals, potentially identifiable by a lower onset age or the early cognitive deficits outlined by Moffitt would reject desistance in favour of becoming more risk or reward aware. Thus, crime scene behaviours would develop and change.

Similarly, Farrington's integrated Cognitive Antisocial Potential (ICAP) model worked from a base principle of antisocial potential (AP), a label used to describe an individual's propensity for criminal or antisocial behaviour. Short-term AP was influenced by situational elements such as peer influence or opportune targets, whilst long-term AP was the result of developmental factors such as impulsivity, low social skills and lack of social bonding (Farrington, 2005). ICAP theory was a more refined advancement of Moffitt's taxonomy, providing cognitive and sociological detail to the defined adolescent-limited and life-course persistent offender roles.

Loeber, et al. (1993) put forth three pathways which began with disruptive behaviour in childhood. The overt pathway documented a progression from low levels of aggression, through to fighting and later more serious violent offences in adulthood. A covert pathway could be traced from the early telling of lies and minor instances of theft prior to adolescence, through damage and fraud offences into large scale theft and burglary. Finally, an authority conflict pathway began with stubbornness and disobedience towards authority figures. Importantly, an individual could experience elements of each pathway simultaneously. Authority conflict, as detailed by Loeber, et al. (1993) could also be viewed as

a precursor to behaviours noted by Sherman (1993) in Defiance theory, which sought to explain the differential effects of formal sanctions on adult offenders. Sherman suggested four required conditions for defiance; the individual must perceive that the received sanction was unfair and stigmatizing, the individual must deny the shame created by the sanction and they must have experienced poor social bonding. Sherman presents the primary mechanism as being shame, or its denial thereof, which when combined with the strength of the individual's social bond produced either a conforming or defiant, persisting response (Bouffard & Piquero, 2010). Strong social bonds might allow the offender to reintegrate, and avoid the stigmatizing label, leading to some level of desistance, but if bonds are poor, perceptions of the sanction being unfair could lead to defiance. This, together with the loss of additional social capital experienced after sanction could lead to the offender feeling justified in committing further offences. Such theories suggested that narratives developed out of a combination of cognitive functioning and social pressures in the early years of an offender's life, or the pre-mythic stage. Integrative or expressive themes would be likely to be prevalent in teenage or young adult offending for both AL and LCP offenders. For the former, this would occupy the extent of their offending histories until the maturation process and pressures of adulthood ended their criminal activities. For the latter, the same process or pressures would trigger a learning process resulting in more skilful offences.

2.18 – Psychopathy

Psychopathy has for some time been recognized as an integral construct in criminal psychology, but it is only in recent years that its place within persistent criminality has been acknowledged. Its potential however, has not made it exempt from concern about its application and validity. As Skeem & Cooke (2010) attested, on a practical level those concerns have centred on the utility of the measure used to define it. For many years, the PCL-R checklist has been used as the measure of a psychopathic

personality disorder. Antisocial behaviour was viewed as an equally valid indicator as were underlying emotional traits. Thus, crime was all but inextricably linked to psychopathy. Recently, it has been acknowledged that criminal behaviour was most likely to be a correlate of psychopathy, not a component (Skeem & Cooke, 2010), as in, committing several crimes does not make you a psychopath, and having a psychopathic personality disorder does not necessarily make you a persistent offender. A great many however, who have such a disorder do commit many offences. Recent studies have examined the strength of the correlation by removing all antisocial behaviour elements of the checklist and testing the remaining elements with LCP, or serious offenders. Tendencies attributed to a psychopathic personality disorder include:

“Low empathy, a conning and manipulative personality, ego-centricity, impulsiveness, and low affect, and behavioural elements such as sexual promiscuity, juvenile delinquency and criminal versatility”
(Fox, Jennings & Farrington, 2015).

As such, Fox, et al. (2015) noted that many of the traits described in theories on persistent offenders overlapped with those of psychopathy. Again, this does not equate to all persistent offenders being psychopaths, but it was hypothesized that persistent offending, for a small number could be explained by this disorder. Hare (1991) stated that although only 1% of the general population were estimated to be psychopathic, research had indicated that they were responsible for up to 50% of violent crimes in the US. Many persistent offending theories featured elements of peer influence, and here it was suggested that psychopathic tendencies in an individual such as charisma, impulsiveness and narcissism may cause non-delinquent adolescents to gravitate towards them. In relation to Interactional theory, children demonstrating unemotional behaviour and callousness may not achieve a successful bond with parents and thus, may be more isolated. Poor temperament, low arousal and hyperactivity were noted elements of both the social developmental model and psychopathy, and with regards to ICAP,

psychopathy demonstrated a strong correlation with long-term AP. Loeber's overt developmental pathway would fit with displays of aggression and narcissism, and finally, in relation to Moffitt's taxonomy, the most frequent offending patterns were strongly correlated to the highest psychopathy scores in childhood (Fox, et al., 2015). Psychopathy traits overlap frequently with those put forth in theories of persistent offending. Whilst they are to be recognized as two separate constructs, there is a strong likelihood that a small contingency of life-course persistent offenders could fall into the psychopathic classification.

2.19 – Adult onset offending

Possibly the greatest point of contention in research into life course offending research has been around the status of adult onset offenders – those individuals who chose to begin offending in adulthood, having demonstrated no previous propensity for crime. The debate has divided academic opinion into two distinct camps, which has not only diverted many of the dominant life course theories into polemic arguments, but have also been based on contrasting methodologies, which has also prompted further debate.

It has been argued that academic research had for some time neglected adult onset offending in favour of a developmental focus on adolescence, long recognized as the time of greatest social and psychological flux (Eggleston & Laub, 2002). This perspective has been supported by a consistent number of studies which have highlighted surprisingly high percentages of adult onset offenders which were contrary to those encountered in previous research. Skardhamar (2014) found that a quarter of all adult offenders committed their first offence over the age of 30, Blumstein, Cohen, Roth & Visher (1986) identified 50% of adult offenders as initial adult onsets, and Kratzer & Hodgins (1999) found that 78% of females and 55% of males began offending in adulthood. One theoretical explanation for adult onset

offending was Sampson & Laub's (1993) age-graded theory of informal social bonding. Many of the life events that if present, acted as controls in early adulthood – employment, a stable relationship, a conforming circle of friends – could in their absence, or by their removal reduce the strength of social bonds and lead an individual into offending. Interactional theory (Thornberry & Krohn, 2005) expanded on this by identifying adult onset offenders as 'late-bloomers', who in adolescence had been 'cocooned' from offending by strong family ties or attachment to school, which when later removed left them exposed. Early psychological predictors of adult onset offending lent weight to this school of thought, with Pulkkinen, Lyyra & Kokko (2009) citing neuroticism, nervousness and emotional instability in early factors, which when combined with strong family and school ties might prevent the adolescent from mixing in deviant peer groups.

Behavioural differences have also been noted in the frequency and type of subsequent offending and adult onsets have been shown to specialize more, with a lower frequency due to limited experience (Beckley, et al., 2016). Adult onsets were twice as likely to engage in violence, weapons or drug offences as adolescents (Beckley, et al., 2016), but conversely, were considerably less likely to commit burglary (McGee and Farrington, 2010). This further supported individual agency and the dynamic nature of criminal propensity contained within an age-defined framework, differentiating the adult onset offender from others. In contrast, a second theoretical base has formed along more developmental lines, largely in accordance with Gottfredson & Hirschi's GCT (1990). The propensity to engage in antisocial behaviour, inclusive of criminal enterprises was believed to form in early life. Low self-control was a relatively stable trait, predisposing an individual towards offending behaviour. Put simply, adult onset offenders were no different to adolescent onset offenders and were highly likely to have engaged in offending or antisocial behaviour throughout their adolescence, albeit on a scale that did not justify a conviction, or that simply went undetected (McGee & Farrington, 2010). As with the sociological

argument, this has found empirical support across several other studies (Robins, 1978, Le Blanc, 1997, Sohani, Paternoster, McGloin & Bachman, 2014, Sapouna, 2015).

Attempts to reconcile the two schools of thought have highlighted critical methodological concerns. Many studies that found support for the actual existence of adult onset offenders have been based on official records. Hence, undetected or unrecorded offending was not included. Moffitt (1993) found the average onset of offending in official records was five years behind the actual first offence obtained through self-report studies. Equally, an additional unresolved dilemma was the age used to divide adolescence from adulthood. Whilst several researchers (Sapouna, 2015; Carrington, Matarazzo & DeSouza, 2005; Sampson & Laub, 2005) have defined the commencement of adulthood as per the legal age of majority at 18, McGee & Farrington (2010), supported by Sohoni, et al., (2014) have argued that 21 represented a better parameter for adult concerns. Education was more likely to have given way to a place in the work force and living with parents was more likely to have been superseded by an adult relationship. Arnett (2000) felt that modern adolescence was now a prolonged experience and argued that 25 would be a more suitable demarcation. Eggleston & Laub (2002) countered with the rationale that offenders who committed their initial crime at 18 were already 'late starters', given the normative age of initiation was in mid-adolescence and so this group should be considered separately to adolescent offenders. Hence, research into the prevalence of adult onset offending has yielded varying results. Due to such heterogeneity, the strength of any resultant argument was open to debate. Adult onset offending therefore, remains a point of contention in the study of life-course offending. Of note, however, is that several recent studies which have taken account of the above concerns (Sohani, et al., 2014, Wiecko, 2014, Sapouna, 2015) have each found greater support for the developmental school of thought, suggesting that the aetiology of adult onset offending was at least influenced by both internal and external processes experienced prior to the first conviction.

Most offending histories have been observed to follow a recognisable pattern, although with some exceptions. The most common pattern would be of a sharp escalation in offending in adolescence, which peaked at around the age of seventeen, before then declining into eventual desistance. Explorations of societal pressures and restrictions, and cognitive development processes have offered some explanations as to why this might be so. Narrative theories have concurrently offered life-course theories on offender characteristics which were born out in crime scene behaviours. With individuals offending at different rates, in different ways and through different motivations however, crime scene behaviours within a narrative context would be expected to divergently evolve not only through the individual's ages within the different stages of the maturation process, but also through increases in offender experience and expertise. Thus, research into this form of behavioural development could provide a valuable contribution to the understanding of behavioural difference amongst domestic burglars.

2.20 – Knowledge and expertise

The nature of knowledge is a panoptic psychological concept, defined as “acquired information that can be activated in a timely fashion to generate an appropriate response” (Charness & Scultetus, 1999, in Lewandowsky, Little & Kalish, 2007, p83). Its acquisition has been observed to progress along a developmental trajectory, from a “dualistic, objectivist view of knowledge to a more subjective relativistic stance and ultimately to a contextual, constructivist perception of knowing.” (Hofer & Pintrich, 2002, p7).

Recently, but stemming primarily from earlier studies by Chase & Simon (1973), expertise has been widely accepted as the combination of an individual's knowledge and task-specific reactions (Ericsson & Lehmann, 1996), rather than innate, genetically predetermined talent. Glaser & Chi (1988) also included

cognitive mechanisms integral to performance such as memory capacity and pattern perception as further underlying qualities of expertise. A domain of expertise could be any endeavour for which a level of performance could be measured (Ericsson, 2006), but recurrent findings have suggested that expertise was invariably domain-specific, with little evidence of skill levels being transferred from one activity to another. Chess masters were found to possess an advanced perceptual superiority in their recall of patterns of pieces, but this did not transfer to other domains, based as it was on the organisation of their existing knowledge as opposed to overarching perceptual ability (Chi, Glaser & Farr, 2014). The nature of expertise however, was fragile, with an inflexibility of strategy when a task strayed from the individual's knowledge base, and equally, the expediency gained from advanced processing skills could produce error, zeroing in on key elements of the knowledge-base, but often at the expense of all other considerations (Lewandowsky, et al., 2007). A more in-depth exploration of this was presented by Moxley, Ericsson, Charness & Krampe (2012) in their examination of the initial (intuitive) and final (deliberative) decisions made by expert and tournament level chess players. In easy situations, the experts frequently made good intuitive decisions, with only a slight improvement after a period of deliberation. For difficult situations, deliberative decisions presented vast improvements. Easy and difficult decisions for tournament players were poorer, but less so after deliberation. Hence, intuitive decision making was often sufficient for the expert when the decision was easy, but experts and non-experts alike benefited from deliberation when the subject matter was outside the knowledge-base of either group.

2.21 – Differentiation by experience

The significance of the role of experience, or domain specific knowledge in domestic burglary may be ascertained through the ways in which earlier typology-based studies sought to differentiate groups of

offenders. Homicide offenders have been distinguished by the location chosen for their crime, as in Tita & Griffith's (2005) *Internal, Predatory, Intrusion, Offence mobility* and *Total mobility* sub-groups. Street robbers have been delineated by their initial interaction with the victim, as in *Blitz, Confrontation, Con* or *Snatch* (Smith, 2003), and arsonists have been differentiated by their underlying motive, as in *Acquisitive, Vindictive, Instrumental* or *Cathartic* (Barker, 1994), or a combination of motivation - *Instrumental* or *Expressive* - and target choice - *object* or *person* (Canter & Fritzon, 1998). From this it can be understood that different elements of different offending domains hold a common significance to sub-groups of offenders.

In comparison, attempts to assign typologies to domestic burglars have centred largely on the offender's evident degree of skill and by implication, experience. Maguire & Bennett (1982) found distinctions between *Low-level amateurs, Mid-level professionals* and *High-level professionals* through their skill-levels and awareness of risks. Walsh (1986), noted *Noviate, Pillagers* and *Breaksmen* as positions on a scale of burglary competence, while Cromwell, et al. (1991) recorded the *Novice, Journeyman* and *Professional*. Later, Merry & Harsent (2000) distinguished between *Low-craft* and *High-craft burglars*. It would seem therefore, indicative of the nature of domestic burglars that while the elements of offending highlighted in other domains – location selection, victim interaction and motive – were all likewise, pertinent to the further understanding and differentiation of domestic burglars, so many previous researchers chose to define those elements under the rubric of domain-specific experience. The inference to be drawn from this was that domestic burglary, perhaps more than other types of offending, was one that could be honed and crafted over time. A first-time offender was unlikely to start as a *High-level professional, Breaksman* or *High-craft offender*, as they would lack the requisite base of knowledge and skill. Rather than maintain a rigid offending style, the persistent burglar must be progressive to accentuate the possibility of great reward and mitigate the chances of apprehension.

2.22 – *Domestic burglary experience in action*

Moving beyond typology-based studies, there has in recent years been a growing body of research which has highlighted experiential differences in the decision-making processes and behaviours of domestic burglars. The focus has primarily been on the perceptual processes which led the offender to the target location. Beginning largely with interview-based studies with mainly convicted offenders, methodological and technological advances have allowed for the use of simulations to determine which cues for burglary would be highlighted by a mixture of non-offenders, novices and more experienced burglars. Within each population were several offenders with limited experience whose burglaries could be characterised as impulsive and opportunistic, which stood in contrast to the thought and effort evidently exerted by most offenders, who were invariably more domain-experienced (Nee, 2015).

Perhaps one of the key discoveries was made by Brantingham & Brantingham (2004), surrounding the use of cognitive schemas by experienced burglars to steer them through the decision-making process, built upon the experience of what has been successful, which provided a distinct cognitive contrast with their less experienced counterparts.

Following the initial decision to offend, approximately half of Bennett & Wright's (1984) sample became 'searchers' and conducted a pre-offence scouting trip to a selected area to identify targets. This includes several of the elements of expertise, drawing on experienced-based memories and pattern perception. Nee (2015) made clear however, that this was unlikely to have occurred entirely from deliberative thought processes, noting a much more gradual process between conscious and unconscious thought which emerged from repetition and recognition of key burglary cues over time and experience. Searching for attractive cues may begin as a conscious act, but over time retreated into unconsciousness, almost to a point of automation. This was also identified in the burglars in Bennett & Wright's (1994) sample, who even when they were not deliberately searching for attractive burglary

cues, still had an awareness of them in the world around them. A further 17% fulfilled the routine activity hypothesis by returning to areas identified as suitable during their daily routines. Nee & Taylor (1988), Taylor & Nee (1988) reproduced Bennett & Wright's study and drew supporting conclusions, also noting that a small group of domestic burglars effectually 'staked out' their target addresses, noting occupancy and routine in the days leading up to the offence.

Differences in experience levels, from novice to expert in perceptual decision making would therefore seem to span opportunistic offences featuring little planning or prior consideration, through to the enactment of cognitive schemas, preceding the offence itself. At one end of the schema spectrum were deliberative decision makers actively seeking out cues for affluence or vulnerability, and at the other were those whose cue recognition operated on a more intuitive level. Between the deliberative and intuitive points lay gradations of each, as experience gradually impacted on the cognitive processes of the burglar. Novice burglars were most likely to be deterred by visible security measures, with most of the more experienced stating that they would still proceed. A belief in an increased police presence or capable fast response were most likely to deflect a seasoned burglar from an area (Hearnden & Magill, 2004).

In terms of the four principle procedural decisions made in the actual course of the offence, some studies have produced promising evidence of decision-making differences based on experience. Some have taken the interview-based approach, while in recent years there has been an increase in mock burglaries, utilising computer simulations involving burglar and non-burglar populations. Nee, White, Woolford, Pascu, Barker & Wainwright (2015) found that experienced offenders all chose to enter the premises from the rear of the property, whilst novices approached the front, which was much more exposed to potential witnesses.

Having entered the property, experienced burglars tended to employ systematic search routes, based on practice and routine (Nee & Meenaghan, 2006), which usually entailed a focus on the upstairs, particularly the main bedroom which was considered the most lucrative area of the address. The downstairs rooms were subjected to no more than a swift, cursory search. In contrast, novices demonstrated more disorganised, scattershot search patterns. The use of practiced routes by experienced or 'expert' burglars has also been recognised in studies by Bernasco & Luykx (2003) and Clare (2011), demonstrating a consistent distinction with inexperienced burglary offenders.

The choice of items stolen has previously demonstrated the discriminating nature of experience, with Clare (2011) and Nee, et al (2015) finding that expert burglars selected fewer, but more valuable items. This was produced from a far speedier decision-making process based on recognised cues to higher value items. The most commonly targeted items were jewellery, drugs or cash (Clare, 2011), hence the focus on the main bedroom. Avoided items were electrical goods which were known to age and thereby devalue quickly (Clare, 2011), and easily identifiable items such as china or antiques (Maguire & Bennett, 1982).

Surprisingly, there has been little research conducted on the preferred exit/escape routes of experienced burglars, although Nee, et al (2015) suggested that it would be logical to assume that the same superior schematic knowledge employed in premises searches would come into play in this part of the process. Thus, despite the relatively low number of studies concerned with the procedural elements of domestic burglary, results have consistently documented substantial differences in in-crime decision making between experienced and novice offenders, which in turn would suggest that the in-crime behaviour of domestic burglars was highly dependent on levels of previous experience.

2.23 – *Versatility-Specialisation*

A great emphasis has long been placed on the quantitative nature of life-course offending patterns, but a further critical dimension would be the qualitative nature of the offences that individual offenders were likely to have previously engaged in. Whilst far from being overlooked, this area has not developed at the same pace due to hitting something of a theoretical and methodological impasse, one that researchers have only recently found ways of navigating (DeLisi, Bower, Wright, Vaughn & Trulson, 2011). A specialist offender has often been characterized as someone with a tendency to repeat the same offence, or category of offences, while a versatile offender would have no obvious inclination to any one domain (Baker, Metcalfe & Jennings, 2013). The public's perception of offenders has often been of the specialist, adept at a specific skill set. In practice, offenders were frequently defined by what was perceived to be their favoured offence type, labels which Baker, et al. (2013) note were applied retrospectively, but in fact, had little predictive value. An abundance of early studies drew a consensus that most frequent offenders committed a variety of offences, with sporadic episodes of specialisation in amongst (Bursik, 1980, Wolfgang, Figlio & Selling, 1972, Shover, 1996). The specialist offender was thought to be so rare that mutually exclusive typologies were not viable, although one noted exception was Moffitt (1993) who considered specialisation through the lens of the AL/LCP taxonomy. Adolescent-limited offenders were likely to engage in activities that were thought to symbolize adulthood – theft, public order, substance and alcohol use - and would be likely to repeat such actions as were felt achieved that goal, whereas life-course persistent offenders exhibited low self-control and were likely to commit a wide variety of different offences. Moffitt's theory was one of a number which support the notion of specialisation being a possibility for certain 'types' of offender. Similarly, Loeber, Farrington, Stouthamer-Loeber & White (2008) found a considerable amount of specialisation in violence and theft as opposed to specific offence types and noted an increasing degree of specialisation with age. Though in contrast to Moffitt's AL specialist theory, this supported Werner's (1948) orthogenetic theory that

offending patterns developed from general and unprincipled, to an orderly hierarchy, in which behaviours were refined to only those that were found to be productive, thereby developing into specialisation.

A different theoretical perspective was that specialisation was not a natural aspect of offending behaviour and is centred largely around Gottfredson & Hirschi's (1990) GTC and Farrington's (2005) theories in criminal propensity. Low self-control or high propensity to commit crime, were constant and open to all forms of criminal opportunity, therefore an array of different offences would be anticipated. Specialisation would also be interrupted by changes in local life circumstances (LLCS, Horney, Osgood & Marshall, 1995, McGloin, Sullivan, Piquero & Pratt, 2007), like Sampson & Laub's (1993) turning points, which would disrupt continuity in offending opportunities.

Earlier conclusions however, must be met with some caution due to a variance in conceptualisation and limitations in statistical measures. Nieuwbeerta, Blokland, Piquero & Sweeten (2011) observed that specialisation has variously been interpreted as a high frequency of an offence, the observed tendency to follow one offence with one of an identical type, or an overrepresentation of a certain offence, making comparisons between studies problematic. Equally, many made use of transition matrices to calculate forward specialisation coefficients (FSC, Farrington, Snyder & Finnegan, 1988), which created a familiar concern in that they were limited in being an aggregated measure and therefore did not provide any greater insight into the individual (Yonai, Levine & Glicksohn, 2013). Thus, for several years, studies of versatility-specialisation appeared to stall, maintaining a tentative consensus that evidence of versatility was abundant and specialisation minimal.

Recently, the debate has been revisited, using more advanced methods such as latent class analysis or log linear methods, and largely using shorter time periods. In doing so, higher levels of specialisation have been identified. (Baker, et al., 2013, Britt, 1996, Osgood & Schrek, 2007). With fresh impetus, an

improved conceptualisation of specialisation would appear possible, with DeLisi, et al. (2011, p74) declaring that “theory and research should aim to develop offence-specific or typological perspectives which ascertain the traits, characteristics, and situations which give rise to a particular ‘type’ of offender.”

Finding a typological strategy, that can accommodate traits, characteristics and situations however, within the confines of crime types has proved problematic, and concerns about standardizing time periods or individual specialisation have not entirely been appeased by the advent of this revised understanding. Youngs, Ioannou & Eagles (2014) therefore, suggested that researchers now look beyond the versatility-specialisation paradox, and crime-domain based typologies to determine if specialisation could be evinced from underlying psychological theories of expressiveness or instrumental motivation. Feshbach (1964) first highlighted the two opposing themes of behaviour, with expressiveness defined as an emotional, impulsive action with the primary motivation being the act itself (Youngs, 2004). Instrumental acts were propelled by external motivations such as a desire for material goods or status (Youngs, et al., 2014). Crucially, a single offence could not be identified as ‘instrumental’ or ‘expressive’ by it appearing to fall within one of the two themes. Rather, an overall theme could be derived from commonalities in a series of offences, or in an individual’s offending history. Youngs, et al. (2014) examined the careers of 200 offenders, drawn from police records and found a clear distinction in instrumental and expressive themes. This compared favourably with previous distinctions between personal and property crimes found repeatedly within the versatility-specialisation debate (Blumstein, et al., 1988, Bursik, 1980, Kempf, 1987). This suggested that by digging deeper into the psychological components of offending, a far more nuanced conceptualisation could be achieved. Further research on the instrumental-expressive themes’ role within individual trajectories could now provide a greater insight into developmental processes of versatility and specialisation than has previously been explored.

In experiential terms, the versatility-specialisation debate raises questions as to whether that experience is drawn from repeated domain-specific offending or through general criminality. This would present an interesting counterpoint to studies which have considered expertise to be solely domain-specific, or the GTC perspective of a general and abiding antisocial propensity. A qualitative study of the offending histories of domestic burglars then, would stand to offer an intriguing insight into how interpersonal, acquisitive or general offending acumen and ability were acquired.

2.24 – Summary

The drawing of inferences as to a person's character from their behaviours has been empirically investigated across an array of criminal enterprises and has often proved an effective means of understanding an individual's motivations for offending (Canter's A→C equation, 1994), but Mischel (1968) had argued that nomothetic traits would not show consistency until the contextual, situational or experiential influences on behaviour were also considered. The development of narrative themes, drawn directly from interviews with offenders, as opposed to the post-hoc interpretation of recorded behaviours, positioned behaviour as the enactment of an unfolding life-story, in which the offender considered themselves the central character (Youngs & Canter, 2012), providing accounts of causation and justification. Key to the established narrative themes for offending behaviour (Canter & Youngs, 2009) were elements of development and change, identifying individuals who offended as a retaliation for past wrongs, or who felt their actions were propelled by forces outside of themselves.

Research into offending life-course patterns have repeatedly highlighted the cognitive developments and societal influences that could affect behaviour at various stages of the life-course. Equally, studies of expertise have charted the development of skill through learning and application. Together, the two disparate fields of study have presented two key influencers of development, which the individual must

incorporate into their personal narrative – essentially, their understanding and relaying of their own role in the story of their life.

Domestic burglary offers the opportunity to examine the effects of such influences in what is a distinctive crime experience to communities and individuals alike. Its definitional intrusion into the 'home' and removal of items potentially invested with emotional significance has been shown to cause deep and lasting anxiety to some victims. Domestic burglary has the power to cause an individual to question the sustainability of security itself. It is persistently prevalent in annual crime scene statistics and in the offending histories of many offenders. It is of no surprise therefore, that it is frequently positioned at the forefront of policing priorities.

For the domestic burglar themselves, acquisitive gain has been the most commonly observed motivation (Cromwell, et al., 1991), though the pursuit of a heightened social status or alleviation of peer pressures have also been documented. Others however, have cited the thrill of the interpersonal transaction (Wright, et al., 2011) or demonstration of prowess (Canter & Youngs, 2009) as alternative incentives.

The actual commission of the offence from the offender's perspective has been described as a series of both perceptual and procedural decisions (Topali, 2005) from the initial choice to offend through to target and property selection and means of entry and egress into the property itself. A growing number of studies (Taylor & Nee, 1988, Brantingham & Brantingham, 2004, Nee, 2015) have pointed to differences in decisions and resultant actions not only between burglars and non-burglars, but between novice and more experienced offenders. Coupled with differences in skill levels, highlighted by numerous typology-based studies, this marked domestic burglary out as an offending domain which demanded learning and refinement of skill from the effective and persistent practitioner. The same combination of acquired knowledge and task-specific reactions characterised the nature of expertise

across a multitude of activities (Ericsson & Lehman, 1996). There remains therefore, a theoretical and practical need to better understand the developmental nature of domestic burglar crime scene behaviour, and to identify the impact of the specific influences of maturity and experience towards the end goals of increasing the knowledge of the nature of such processes in a criminal context, and of improving the chances of identifying the responsible offender.

The act of domestic burglary then, amounted to a limited series of decisions and actions that offenders of varied ages and levels of experience must navigate to complete their goal, which in a narrative framework may also differ between individuals. The current thesis is about the examination of the different forms and stages of development that the offender may have experienced prior to that domestic burglary event, and how those aspects of development might be identified in crime scene behaviour. To do this, development was separated into two disparate processes; maturation and experience. Experience is considered from three different perspectives; the quantitative level of previous general offending, the qualitative nature of that prior offending and finally, the frequency of previous domain specific offending. These processes are evaluated within a narrative-based framework of conflicting motivations for, and meaning of the offence, and considering the current understanding of offender development and behaviour. The thesis seeks to answer whether different levels of each process could produce different forms of crime scene behaviour, thereby identifying the nature of development through maturity or experience for a population of domestic burglary offenders.

2.25 - Hypotheses

The central hypothesis was that domestic burglary crime scene behaviours would be shown to have been affected by the presence or absence of both maturity and experience, but within the psychological parameters set out by the individual's narrative theme. In terms of maturity, it was hypothesized that

adolescent or possibly young adult offenders would commit more impulsive, less considered offences, in line with the documented cognitive deficits of those age groups. Older individuals, even those with low levels of offending experience would approach the task in a more thoughtful, considered manner.

A high frequency of previous non-burglary offending would equip the individual with a degree of awareness of some aspects of the offence. It was hypothesized that rather than technical, or strategy-based behaviours, this type of experience would manifest as a general concentration on maximising the chances of success and awareness of risk that could be drawn from most other forms of illegal activity. In considering styles of previous offending, it was anticipated that this too would affect subsequent domestic burglary behaviours. Those who pursued more acquisitive forms of offending would be better equipped for domestic burglary. It was further anticipated that underlying themes in historic offending would demonstrate a consistency with narrative themes in crime scene behaviour, due to the life-course, developmental nature of narrative themes. Advanced domain-specific experience, it was further hypothesized would lead to advanced, technically proficient forms of the offence. By examining such behaviours, the individual's level of previous domestic burglary experience could be ascertained.

Overall, it was anticipated that narrative-based behavioural themes would demonstrate associations with levels of maturity and experience that were consistent with the psychological elements of which they were comprised. Narratives which favoured task focus or proficiency would be more prevalent in more experienced domestic burglars, as it was likely to be those offenders who would have prolonged offending histories. Elements of risk-awareness would appear more in offences undertaken by more mature offenders – those who have passed the age of full neurological development in their early-to-mid-twenties – and narrative themes which lacked either element would occur more frequently in young offenders. The speed in which behaviour developed through maturity or experience would be different for offenders who demonstrated different dominant narrative themes.

3

Concerns with domestic burglary in the southern policing district of a northern city, and current datasets

3.1 – The southern policing district of a northern city

The thesis utilised police-records on solved domestic burglaries which were reported within the southern policing district of a northern city in the United Kingdom between 2010 - 2014. The district was comprised of twenty wards, with a total population of 145,283 at the last census in 2011. It featured 57,068 households within which 46.6% were owner occupied, 19.1% social rented and 34.3% privately rented or rent free and incorporated a wide range of ethnic and economic diversity (Bullen, 2015a). Domestic burglary was a high priority policing concern specific to the geographical area.

Perhaps the best illustration of the social contrast across the wards was in population density figures. With the U.K.'s overall population density in that year standing at 4.0 persons per hectare, the city had a density of 43.1. The population density of the twenty wards in 2010 ranged between 12.8-102.7 persons per hectare, pointing to significant differentiation in living conditions, many of which were well removed from the national average. Also, the indices of multiple deprivation (IMD) rated the city in 2010 as the fourth most deprived local authority in the country, based on combined measures of income, employment, crime, health, education, skills and training, barriers to housing and services and living environment. The IMD places small regional areas known as local super output areas (LSOAs) into a rank order and found that almost half (45.6%) of the city's LSOAs were ranked in the 10% most deprived areas in the country. The city also featured 19 of the 328 areas classified as being in the country's top 1% most deprived areas. Although the city's most deprived areas were mainly situated in the northwest

region, the southern policing district had a more varied mix of deprivation levels, with most areas falling between the 10-40% most deprived areas in the country. Alongside those areas however, were also 1% areas (most deprived) and 80-90% (some of the least deprived) areas. This made for a wide variance in affluence in a relatively small geographical space (Bullen, 2015a).

The degree of ethnic heterogeneity also varied greatly between wards. White residents made up the dominant ethnic group of seventeen of the twenty wards, however percentages of the individual ward populations made up by that group ranged between 27.2 – 87.0%. Asian residents made up between 4.4-55.3% of ward populations and black or black English residents ranged from 2.1-34.5%.

In terms of all offending, the city was not awarded a ranking in 2010, but was in 2015, where it was found to have the tenth highest overall crime rate in the country, higher than all other 'key' cities. Such a high ranking was in large part attributable to violent offending which was prevalent across the whole region and included a high number of racially aggravated offences. The ranking was also affected however, by burglary offences. Burglary 'others' were frequent in the large commercial centre, with dwelling offences being more prevalent in the outlying, residential areas (Bullen, 2015b).

A distinctive feature of the area was its extensive student population, made up of those attending at one of the wider area's three main institutes. A combined enrolment of over 90,000 students gifted the city one of the largest student populations in Europe. The 2011 census states that 11.8% of the city's population (17,000 approx.) was made up of full-time students, most of whom were housed close together in specific areas given over to student accommodation. Discussion with officers of various ranks in the southern policing district (March 2015), revealed that this presented a set of unique problems when it came to crime prevention. In terms of domestic burglary, students could be targeted due to the likelihood of low security accommodation, their tendency to be in possession of high value laptops or mobile phones and a general lack of awareness of risk. Hence, officers believed that the

student population were not only vulnerable to the interests of persistent burglars, but also to the passing attentions of opportunistic sneak-thieves and even from those within their own population. In addition, police efforts to raise awareness were annually negated with the departure of graduating classes, and their replacement with approximately 22,000 freshers, unschooled in the potential dangers.

The city then, was in sum a fertile ground for the domestic burglar. Areas of high population density supplied an abundance of static targets to select from, and the broad mix of economic and ethnic heterogeneity likely to produce the lack of community cohesion and guardianship that gave rise to opportunity. Added to this, the extensive student population annually brought with it a fresh vulnerability. As such, the city provided the ideal setting for a study of the behavioural development of the domestic burglar.

3.2 – Data

The original information provided by the southern policing district police to the International research centre for investigative psychology (IRCIP) could be seen to cover several forms of unobtrusive measurement source material, including the *physical trace* and *simple observation* measurements (albeit observed by a police officer, not the researcher) that had been identified by Webb, Campbell, Schwartz & Sechrist (1999) and was in such quantity, and of such quality as to offer a very rare, if not unique research opportunity.

The information was largely archival, being as it was the police's running records of all reported offences during a given time parameter (2010-2014). When this was narrowed down to solved offences only however, it could be construed as being more episodic in nature, based on the underlying assumption that many individuals would continue to offend in between those actions that came to police attention. The information also included a limited amount of physical trace evidence, in the

documenting of any forensic opportunities, and simple observations, being as how it was mainly recorded by the initial attending officer.

Between 2010-2014, a total of 21,105 offences were classified as ‘solved’ in the southern policing district, affording the opportunity to evaluate an offending domain – in this instance domestic burglary – within a more panoptic view of the overall offending landscape. While solved offences may not actually be representative of patterns of overall offending, the level of detail obtained from offences wherein much was known about the actual offender made this an extremely valuable source for empirical research.

A total of 144 different types of offence were recorded, which for analytical purposes could be siloed under eight broad offending categories. The frequency of occurrence of these was documented in fig.

3.1.

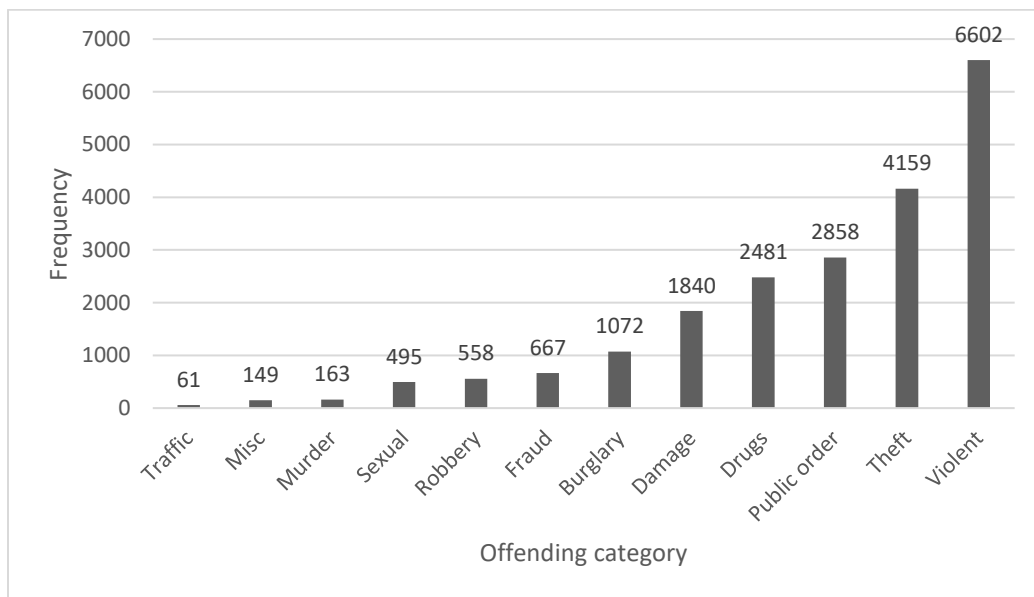


Figure 3.1: Frequency of offences, per offending category occurring in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 21,105)

Here, the potential for distortion due to the use of solved offences must be noted. Prominent offences such as drugs or violence may simply be easier for the police to detect, and so were better represented in solved offending figures. Many drugs offences related to simple possession, and so the offence was solved at the point when an individual was found to be in possession of the illicit substance. The number of such offences recorded, but unsolved was likely to be minimal. Violent offending inherently involved a face-to-face meeting between victim and offender, significantly increasing the potential for identification, especially so in terms of domestic related cases wherein the assailant was known to the victim. Burglary, in contrast, lacked any of these features, and required the evidencing of a list of 'points to prove', and was generally conducted with the aim of avoiding the attentions of witnesses. Hence, the detection rate of only 16%, as noted in chapter one, was much lower than in many other offending domains. By that token, actual instances of burglary in the southern policing district between 2010-2014 might be estimated to be in the region of 6500 offences. That said, the prominence of violent offending within the region, where it accounted for almost a third offending throughout the period (31.3%) was in keeping with government statistics on its prominence, providing some support for the representation of offending domains within solved offences.

The 21,105 offences were committed by a total of 12,802 individual offenders. PNC/ID numbers indicated a previous arrest, and were recorded for 9968 individuals, leaving 2834 who were not known to police at the time of their arrest for the first 2010-2014 domestic burglary offence. In fig. 3.2, it could be shown that a high frequency of offenders committed very few individual offences during the time frame of the dataset. Just under half of all offenders (6258, 48.9%) committed only one offence, but due to their sheer numbers contributed to over one-quarter of all crime. 62.5% committed no more than two. At the opposite end of that scale however, were eight highly prolific individuals who committed more than twenty offences each between 2010-2014.

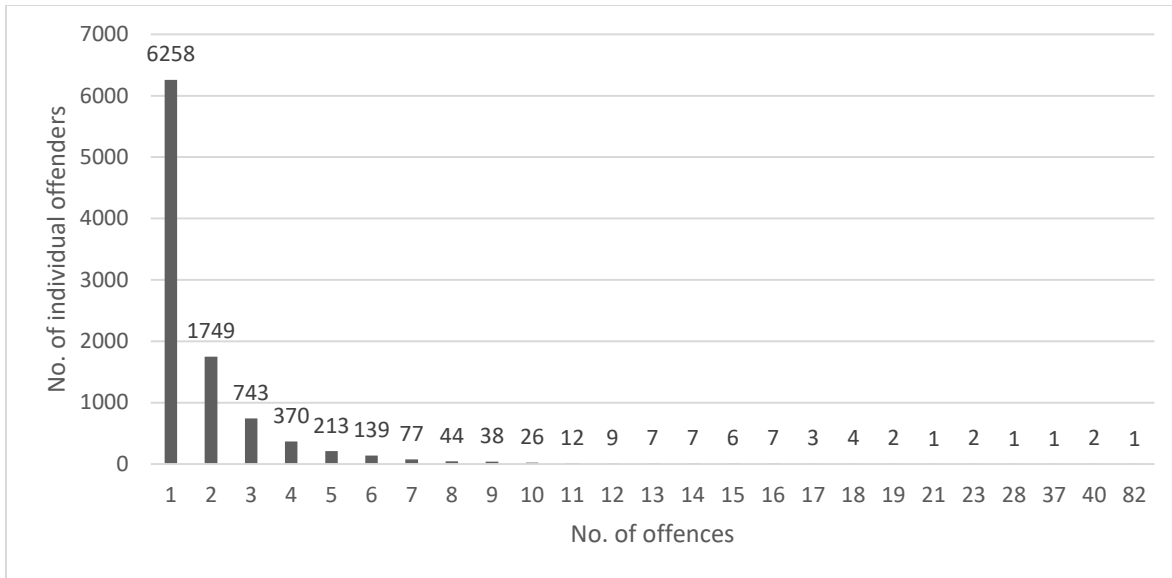


Figure 3.2: *No. of offences per individual offender in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014*
(N = 12,802 offenders)

One extremely proactive individual committed more than double the number of offences than any other offender (82). The contrast in rates of offending brought about very different investigative challenges. A high number of individuals offended sporadically, many of whom were not previously recorded on police systems and presented problems with identification, whereas a small number of offenders were highly prolific, making their bringing to justice extremely time-pressured and vital.

The research opportunity provided by the southern policing district police really became exceptional with the addition of a second batch of police-recorded information, comprising of the entire previous offending histories of all those who committed solved offences between 2010-2014. Now, the influence of the quantitative and qualitative aspects of historic offending on crime scene behaviour could be examined in greater detail than in previous research projects of this kind. The historic information showed that the 9968 2010-2014 offenders who had previous offending records, had been convicted of a total of 199,859 earlier offences, which could be divided into domains as follows:

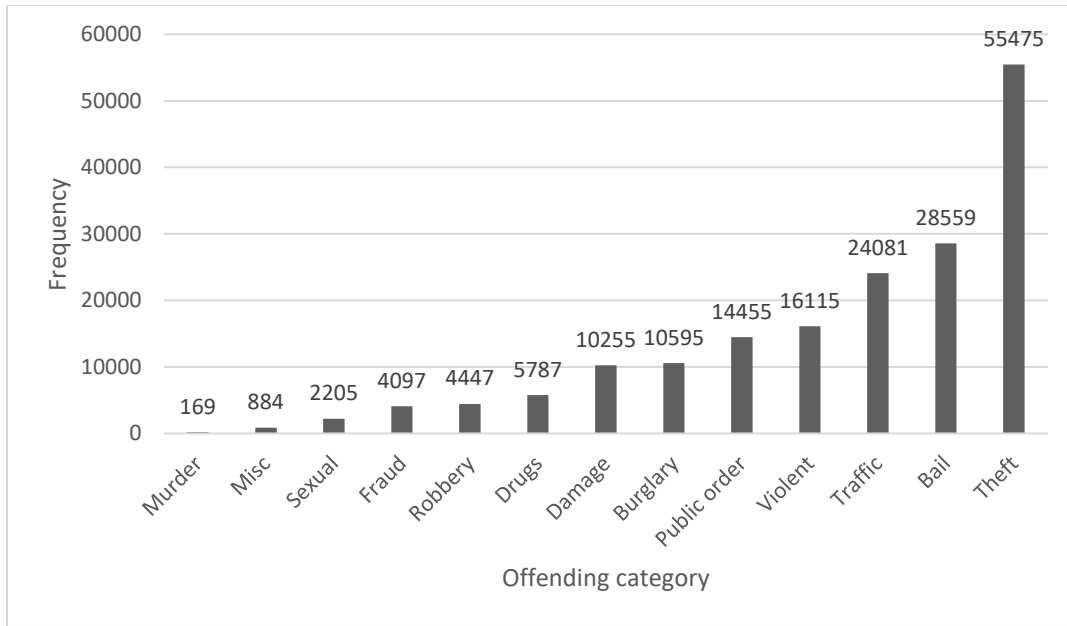


Figure 3.3: *Historic offending of individuals who offended in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (N = 199,859 offences)*

Here could be seen some notable differences in historic offending trends and those which occurred between 2010-2014. General theft was far more prevalent historically than in the first dataset, whilst occurrences of violence and drug offences were much more in keeping with recorded crime figures for other offending domains, indicating that these were rising offending trends in 2010-2014.

Burglary frequency rates remained relatively static, maintaining a position of the sixth most frequently occurring crime type in both datasets, and accounting for 5.3% of previous offences and 5.1% of those recorded in 2010-2014. Thus, it could be determined that at an aggregate level, burglary offending had remained largely unmoved by shifting crime trends over number of years. In terms of the number of historic offences per individual, once again there was some considerable differentiation between individuals. Of the 9968 offenders who had recorded offending histories, 39.5% had been convicted of 5 or less offences, while a further 45.5% had between 6-40 previous offences. This meant that the

remaining 15% of offenders (1496 individuals) had prolific offending histories, ranging from 41+ offences to the one offender who had a staggering 463 previous offences.

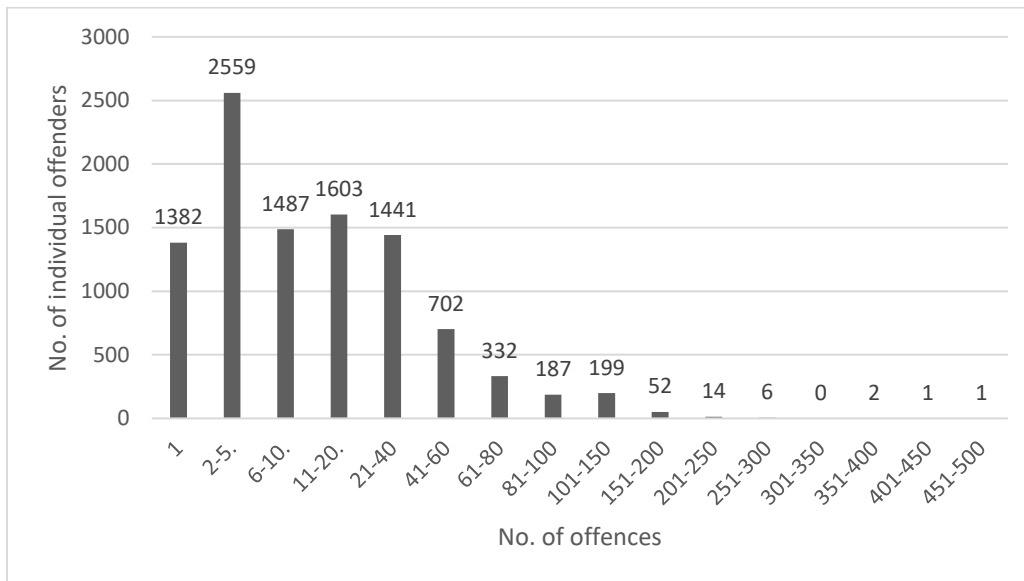


Figure 3.4: *No. of historic offences per individual for those who had offended in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (N = 9968 offenders)*

If estimated rates of all offending, as opposed to detection rates were applied to that individual’s record, then they would have committed 1650 criminal offences prior to 2010!

Patterns of frequency of overall offending were therefore comparable between 2010-2014 and individual histories; a high number of individuals had committed a very small number of offences, alongside a small group of individuals who were each responsible for large numbers of offences. Thus, the quantitative aspects of aggregated offending patterns remained consistent across different time periods and involving individuals of different ages. Qualitative elements, as in the physical nature of the offending were subject to change. So, while specific motivations for offending would seem to fluctuate with prevailing trends, the broad intention to transgress the boundaries of legal sanction remained constant.

3.3 – Domestic burglary data

To support the aims of the thesis, two distinct datasets were created from the two lots of police-recorded information, focusing on offenders who committed a domestic burglary offence between 2010-2014, in the southern policing district. Qualitative differences existed between the two datasets and served to shape the parameters of the analysis.

3.4 – Dataset A – Domestic burglary offences 2010-2014

Dataset A contained 739 solved domestic burglary offences which occurred between 2010-2014. For each offence, a large amount of numerical and categorical data was available and amounted to the sum of all information gathered by police both at the time that the offence was recorded, and after the offender had been identified. This could be said to be non-reactive in nature, as the idea of it being used for empirical research had not been a consideration at the time of its recording. The data could be divided into two broad categories; offence related data, and that which referred to the offender.

Each offence was made identifiable through the assigning of a unique reference number (URN). URNs began with the letters 'CR', referring to 'crime reference', then a chronological number, followed by the year in which it was recorded. The offence type was specified, as was its status as either the full offence or an attempt. The offence location was documented by district, policing sub-division and beat, postcode and by eastings and northings. Premises type noted whether the property was a house, bungalow, flat, semi-detached, detached or terrace house, also documented was whether an alarm was fitted to the property. The time of the offence, or times between if discovered later were recorded, as was whether it occurred during the day or at night. Even with this data, which simply listed the broad details of the offence, the potential for outside bias had to be recognized. The fact that an offence was

recorded was not a guarantee that what was reported to police was factually correct, or that how it was interpreted was either. Due to the wide parameters of the offence wording for burglary, as detailed in chapter one, there may have been several different motivations for the offence, not all of which might be clear to the attending officers.

The bulk of the offence-related data however, was given over to the actions of the offender. This took the form of broad, categorical MO behaviours, which noted if the approach to the premises was from the front or rear, entry and exit points, which weapons, if any, were used and any actions that there may have been towards the victim. An 'MO story' category noted any deceptive account given to the victim such as "I need to check your electric", or "Both offenders had pretended to know the aggrieved person". It was also recorded as to whether any footprints, fingerprints or other forensic evidence had been recovered from the scene. Of most importance to the current thesis however, was a category marked 'MO text', which contained a free-text account by the attending officer as to what was understood to have occurred. This was the assimilation of information provided by the victim or witnesses, and the officer's own observations from the crime scene.

The 'MO text' was the most significant category in dataset A, as it was here that the actions and intentions (if apparent) of the offender were described in the most detail. It was also however, information that could be most open to bias. As previously discussed, the information was recorded with a definite policing agenda – to secure a conviction at court but might also have been distorted by the attending officer's subjective assessment of the crime scene. There existed the possibility of a misinterpretation of evidence, or equally likely, missing information whereby the offender's actions were simply not evident from what had been left behind. No uniformity existed in the scripting of the 'MO text' and so while what was recorded was the officer's subjective view of events, to some extent the application of the recorded details for analytical purposes was equally subject to the researcher's interpretation of the text. These concerns could be mitigated to a large extent however, by the fact that

these were solved offences. As such, evidence had been gathered and presented to such a degree that the Crown Prosecution Service had consented to a charge of burglary and the offender had either admitted to or been found guilty of the charge. Thus, details recorded from the crime scene would undoubtedly have gone towards the prosecution's case and were therefore likely to have been supported by other material.

The offenders themselves were identified in the data by PNC/ID numbers, which were assigned to all individuals at the time of first arrest (regardless of the subsequent outcome). The PNC/ID number began with the year of first arrest and was followed by a chronological reference number unique to the individual. Descriptive details of the offender included age at the time of the offence, occupational category such as student, employed or unemployed, height, gender, ethnicity and hair and eye colour. Where known, it was documented if the offender had been under the influence of any drugs at the time the offence was committed. The offender's home location was also recorded in the same way as the offence location. The distance between the crime and the offender's home location was recorded, as was whether the offender was known to the victim or not.

Once again, the veracity of the identification of these individuals as being responsible for their offences were supported by the positive legal outcome for each case. Notwithstanding the possibility of miscarriages of justice, the identification of the offender had been ecologically validated by the subsequent legal process. This enabled the thesis to connect offender to behaviour to an extent that would not have been possible with unsolved offence data. As this was the primary focus of the research, the limitations imposed by using solved offences were greatly outweighed by the strengthened validity of that connection. Dataset A presented a wealth of detail relating to the offender and their perceptual and procedural choices or actions. Of the 739 domestic burglary offences, closer inspection revealed that a total of 66 offences had in fact, either occurred outside the boundaries of the southern policing district or were missing key information on the offence or offender. These were therefore excluded from

the analysis, and the focus of the thesis remained on the 673 solved domestic burglary cases, and 459 individual offenders who were identified as being responsible for them.

3.5 - Dataset B – The offending histories of domestic burglars

Of the 459 offenders located in dataset A, 396 were found to have recorded offending histories prior to 2010. Dataset B was comprised of the entire previous offending records of those offenders. In total, those 396 individuals were responsible for a total of 14,076 historic offences, which could be matched through PNC/ID numbers. Of those however, offence-type information was absent in 540 cases. A further 185 offences were of a minor or obscure nature and could only therefore be categorised as 'miscellaneous'. For the purposes of the analysis then, these offences were not included, leaving a total of 13,351 historic offences.

Crucially, data in the domestic burglar historic offending set was more restricted than that in dataset A, and was limited to PNC/IDs, offence-types and the dates of offences and convictions. No 'MO text' or other crime scene descriptive details were present, meaning that consistency in behaviour across offending domains could not be examined. Given the variety of offences involved, and the extent of some offending histories (some stretched for forty years), it would seem unlikely that in any case, a meaningful level of consistency might have been found. What could be drawn from dataset B however, was the quantitative parameters of the individual offending histories and previous offending types of those who would go on to commit domestic burglary offences between 2010-2014. This allowed therefore, for an exploration of how these aspects of previous offending might influence future domestic burglary crime scene behaviour, in a level of detail rarely available to research projects of this type. Certainly, it would seem unlikely that such an abundance of data would have ever been made available through the more recognized sources of interviews with convicted offenders or questionnaires.

The two datasets, available through advancements in data storage and transfer presented an exciting opportunity to greatly enrich the understanding of the influence of previous offending experience in crime scene behaviour, made possible by the exhaustive amount of non-reactive, unobtrusive measurement data made available for a specific offender population. From the extensive data, a total of 673 domestic burglaries committed by 459 offenders provided the starting point for the exploration of behavioural differentiation and personal characteristics with a wealth of detail on crime scene behaviours. Equally, the complete recorded offending histories for that population supplied an abundance of information on prior criminal activity. This allowed for the identification of developments in maturity and experience leading up to the behaviours enacted in a domestic burglary offence.

4

A methodology: The use of secondary data and multidimensional scaling procedures to identify maturity and experience in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour

“The actions of criminals cannot be reduced to artificial laboratory conditions. The complex interconnection of criminals, their victims and their settings have to be examined as and where they happen. Therefore researchers interested in the psychology of crime have to follow similar tactics to police officers. The utilisation of data derived from naturally occurring events is not simply an alternative or a supplement to laboratory techniques, but rather is often borne out of necessity.”

(Canter & Alison, 2003, pp153-154)

4.1 - Investigative psychology and the necessity of alternative research methods

The above quotation of Canter and Alison (2003) capably establishes the focal questions of Investigative Psychology and highlights why in most instances including the present work the sourcing of its research material must differ from that of other related fields. The search for the salient aspects of offending behaviour, a scientific basis for the prioritisation of suspects and linking of series of crime to individual offenders (Canter & Alison, 1999) cannot be likened to the identification of underlying social structures leading to crime as in Criminology, nor to the typically post-judicial understanding of a ‘patient’s’ psychological explanation for offending as is often the focus of Forensic psychology (Canter & Alison, 2003). As such, alternative approaches to the gathering of data are often required that might be viewed as unusual or even innovative in other fields.

The social sciences have for many years favoured the use of primary data – data that has been collected for the express purpose of its employment towards a specific research goal. Frequently, this has involved the use of interviews or questionnaires as a basis for research. Similarly, psychological

research has often been conducted under laboratory conditions, where the clear differentiation between independent and dependent variables can be made, but often at the expense of ecological validity (Canter & Alison, 2003). This is of central importance to the aims of Investigative psychology, emerging as it did from early 'offender profiling' efforts to derive scientific inferences about offenders from records of their crime scene behaviours. The development of theory has therefore evolved alongside the ecological validity of its findings. As such, data collection has been said to be more akin to that in studies of anthropology, archaeology or astronomy (Canter & Alison, 2003) and the method of its retrieval has therefore frequently been necessitated by these goals.

4.2 - Primary data

Hox & Boeije (2005) cite the predominant primary data collection strategies as being the experiment, the survey, qualitative research and solicited or spontaneous data. It is the experiment which typically offers the researcher the greatest degree of control over who participates and the effects of the independent variable on the dependent variable. Internal validity is usually high because the researcher can control and manipulate the experiment to exclude alternative explanations. The downside of this however, is that ecological validity naturally suffers due to the contrivance of the situation. Surveys or data solicited through interviews also provides the researcher with a high degree of control, through carefully standardized question and answer options in the former, and questions only in the latter. The potential drawbacks for both lie in the subject's awareness that they are being tested, which once again locates their responses in the parameters of an unnatural situation. Qualitative research can involve the researcher immersing themselves, sometimes over a prolonged period in a setting and observing what goes on. Again, the presence of the researcher themselves can raise questions as to the ecological validity of observed behaviours. Finally, spontaneous data would aim to circumvent the reactivity of

subjects by removing the researcher from the data gathering process and can include the covert observation of subjects in their natural surroundings or the collection of data from the traces they leave behind (Hox & Boeije, 2005).

The difficulties and concerns with validity inherent in primary data sourcing however, are magnified when the behaviour that the researcher wishes to observe is fundamentally illicit in nature, as is most frequently the case in Investigative psychology or related fields. Notwithstanding the not inconsiderable problems in securing a population willing to take part in an academic study, there are obvious and often unassailable ethical limitations to any experiment which aims to recreate an illegal act, although in recent years computer simulations, as employed in Nee, et al.'s (2015) examination of domestic burglar procedural decision-making processes have provided a form of alternative. The costly nature of such methods will however, likely limit their prevalence and these are still by definition, artificial situations, and so responses given, much like in questionnaires and interviews, can prompt questions regarding the veracity of accounts provided. Presser (2009) pointed to the tangible incentives for incarcerated individuals to portray themselves favourably, whilst conversely, Canter & Youngs (2015) recognized the reticence of some prisoners to partake, fearful of how their answers might be turned against them. Nevertheless, interview-based studies are frequently used, particularly in relation to offender's narrative roles.

Ethical and legal restrictions, not to mention personal safety concerns might also prevent researchers from immersing themselves in a criminal lifestyle, as they would for the covert observation of offenders in action. This would therefore leave only the collection of data from the traces offenders leave behind as an alternative to costly experiments of interviews with offenders for the Investigative psychologist. Invariably, such trace evidence is secured and archived by the various sections of the criminal justice system, which would reduce such information to secondary data, bringing with it its own benefits and concerns.

4.3- Secondary data

The need to diversify research methods has in truth, long been recognized in various fields of social science, with Webb, et al. (1966, 1999) highlighting a need to supplement primary-sourced questionnaire and interview-based studies with more of what was termed 'unobtrusive measurements', entailing the use of "measures that do not require the cooperation of a respondent and that do not themselves contaminate the response" (p2). Their primary criticism of the more traditional methods was in the amount of distortion the researcher themselves inflicted on the experiment, in its design and execution. Webb, et al. (1999) laid out a framework of thematic approaches to what has also been termed 'non-reactive' research, which included several secondary data sourcing approaches. These included the use of archival information, which in terms of offending behaviour might amount to crime statistics or episodic records such as court sentencing reports. In creating this framework, Webb, et al. (1999) were not advocating a shift from conventional methods, but more a recognition that in supplementing traditional methods with other more innovative ones, the power of any findings could be enhanced. "So long as one has only a single class of data collection . . . one has inadequate knowledge." (p173). This has been periodically acknowledged in subsequent literature, as in Strauss & Corbin's (1990) observation that social science should concentrate as much as it was possible, on developing theories from observations and experiences in natural, 'real-world' settings.

One advantage of seeking out archival information as research data on criminal behaviour is the vast quantities of such information that is routinely recorded, collated and retained by criminal justice agencies who themselves require accurate records of offending behaviour and histories and descriptive details of those who partake. Canter & Alison (2003) have argued Investigative psychology's use of such records in an unobtrusive, non-reactive fashion has served up a series of fitting exemplars of what Webb, et al. (1966) had called for almost half a century beforehand. Police

information is non-reactive, as it is not altered by the researcher's involvement, and is unobtrusive as the offenders were, at the time of their actions unaware, or unconcerned that it was being recorded. The use of police records was borne out of the need for ecological validity that could not be counted on in interviews with convicted offenders.

The increasing use and ability of technology to record information in different environments has now also vastly broadened the availability of such secondary data sources (Hill, White & Wallace, 2013). Researchers now have a substantially increased ability to conduct longitudinal studies, expanding analysis across different samples and time periods (Edmondson & McManus, 2007), which has served to enhance the generalizability of some findings, and increase external validity. Time, cost and availability constraints on the conducting of such research with the individuals involved would most often be prohibitive.

Alongside the advantages of using police information as a secondary data source are several disadvantages or concerns, which must be carefully considered prior to committing to its use. Hox & Boeije (2005) point to three characteristic concerns. Firstly, researchers must consider how well the data source addresses the research question itself, given that the collation was likely to have been conducted for an ulterior purpose. Hill, et al. (2013) highlighted a major concern with the problems of being able to make a connection between the measure used and the construct under question. With no real means of differentiating dependent and independent variables, how could the researcher be certain that it was the focal construct being measured and not something else? Theory on its own may not be sufficient to establish discriminant validity. This could be exacerbated by sample selection, which was frequently governed by what information was available (Hamilton & Zeckhauser, 2004), meaning researchers had to be more opportunistic in their approach (Canter, 2000).

Researchers must also be able to access the required information, and the sensitive nature of police enquiries may create its own barriers to data. Canter & Alison (2003) have drawn attention to differences in police and academic cultures when it came to the dissemination of information that may lead to difficulties for researchers in even gaining access to such a potentially rich vein of source material. The act of investigating a crime could ultimately be viewed as being about the control and use of information, with confidentiality a given. The initial attendance at a crime scene was about the gathering and maximisation of information through retrieval and subsequent forensic analysis. Witness and victim accounts had to be obtained in isolation to prevent contamination and could then be compared for consistency. As such, police culture is notoriously, and it could be argued necessarily insular, and could well view academic research simply as an unnecessary risk. Canter & Alison (2003) highlight the need for researchers to cultivate trust and high professional standards, based on an awareness of the legal and ethical restrictions inherent in this method of research.

Finally, Hox & Boeije (2005) highlight the need to assess how well the information meets the methodological criteria of good scientific practice. In terms of police information, there will always be some degree of disparity between the purpose for which it was initially collated, and that which academics would require, or have come to expect from more traditional, primary-sourced information. Additional features, such as socio-demographic makeup of the locality, quality of street lighting or whether an attacked address had overt security systems might be recorded if considered to go towards proving the culpability of the offender, or else may be thought of as superfluous and thereby discounted (Canter & Alison, 2003). Such features may be of great interest to the researcher but not to the investigator and are not often recorded with sufficient frequency or accuracy.

This presents the possibility of a lack of objectivity which may cause several challenges to academic study. Canter & Alison (2003, p156) explain the predicament as “. . . although the lack of

research bias in the material and its legal and unobtrusive quality increases its potential utility and validity, it also introduces many possible police biases into the material.” The concern was not solely limited to the police. Even in its initial reporting, information could not be guaranteed to be accurate, with the possibility that witnesses, or victims may have tailored information to what they believed the police wanted to hear, or else to distance themselves for the appearance of any personal wrongdoing. Equally, Langton & Piquero (2007) found that the possibility of bias existed in pre-sentencing court reports for both prosecution and defence, while Hill, et al. (2013, p160) summarised the problem with “independent of actual intent to present information in an inaccurate and biased fashion, human beings are imperfect, and their statements and assessments are imperfect representations of reality.”

Concerns with inherent bias aside, there was also the problem of potential distortion simply through only a fragment or portion of the full information being available for the police to record. Many burglaries for example, take place when the occupants are elsewhere, leaving the investigator to subjectively piece together a coherent explanation from what has been left behind. As noted in chapter one, only between 13 and 17% of domestic burglary offences are solved, notwithstanding the potentially large number that are never reported to police in the first place. Fundamental questions could also ultimately be raised about the objectivity of using words and accounts of others to draw inference as to the psychological constructs of another in any given situation (Hill, et al., 2013). The use of police records as a source of secondary data for social science research may not necessarily be invalidated by such concerns but must be undertaken with caution and awareness of the potential existence of such biases. Primary data such as that derived from interviews or questionnaires may provide the effective internal validity afforded by the researcher’s ability to guide answers towards a specific purpose but may suffer from a lack of ecological validity brought about by the very control exercised by that researcher, leading to concerns with researcher bias.

Conversely, the use to secondary data such as police records removes the researcher almost entirely from the process. An increase in ecological validity is tempered by the lack of conformity to a specific research question and potential for at-source bias, prior to researcher involvement. Neither method is likely to entirely negate all concerns, and it is for the researcher to carefully consider the pitfalls and benefits of both against the requirements of the research question.

4.4 - Aims and definitions

The principle aim of the thesis in chapters six-to-nine was to identify evidence of behavioural development in domestic burglaries, based on factors of maturity and experience. Prior to assessing the strengths and weaknesses of this approach, maturity and experience must be clearly defined. The Collins English dictionary (on-line, 2018) would define maturity as being “the state of being fully developed as an adult” and as a person’s “quality of being fully developed in their personality and emotional behaviour.” As discussed in chapter two, the passage of an individual into adulthood is a key concern in the study of criminal behaviour, as it encompasses a period in which many offending histories are seen to both flourish and then diminish. The current analysis however, was unable to measure an individual’s emotional and personality development. While it may be safe to assume however that an offender aged 10-17 would not yet have reached full maturity, but that one aged 41-66years had, it must be acknowledged that there was scope for substantial variance in the late-teen and early-adult years, by this definition of maturity. Thus, in the forthcoming chapters references to maturity can be interpreted simply as the individual’s age at the time of their domestic burglary offence. Any degree of emotional development can only be interpreted from their demonstrated behaviours when considered against the current theoretical arguments around adolescent-to-adult development processes (see: chapter two).

Experience had perhaps a narrower definition, described in psychological terms by Nugent (2013) as the “present content of consciousness”, or “an event resulting in earning.” In the present context, a

previous offending experience is an “event resulting in earning” (earning experience as opposed to financial gain), and it is the sum of the resultant “content of consciousness” that is to be measured. This is to be applied strictly with the context of offending behaviour, and specifically to three different root sources of “earning”; the frequency of previous overall offending (quantitative), the nature of that previous offending (qualitative) and the frequency of previous domestic burglaries (domain-specific).

4.5 – A rationale for the use of secondary data derived from police records

Maturity and experience demanded access to both descriptions of crime scene behaviour and details of life-time offending records for those involved. The opportunity to focus on such factors was presented only by the unique availability of such encompassing datasets, as described in chapter three. It would be inconceivable that this level of detail which in some cases stretched back several decades could be elicited from interviews or questionnaires with such a large population of domestic burglary offenders. A convicted offender would also be unable to relay details of any behaviour-altering learning processes which took place below the level of consciousness. Many previous studies have documented degrees of experience through interviewing convicted offenders, while Nee, et al.'s (2015) examination of burglary experience through computer simulation was perhaps the closest comparison to the present thesis in terms of research question. To explore a secondary data source therefore presented the opportunity to address the comparable concerns from a fresh angle, one which stood to compliment or contrast with the findings of those works. For these reasons, the use of secondary data derived from police records was the most viable and enticing option.

While there can be some confidence that an offender's age may have been accurately recorded, certain caveats must be acknowledged when it comes to offending experience. Not all offences committed by the individual will have come to police attention, potentially resulting in numerous gaps in

actual offending experience. Nevertheless, police information remains the most comprehensive, verifiable record of the extent of a person's offending available from any source.

Canter & Alison (2003) highlighted the need for an alertness to varied recording procedures, as well as potential at-source bias. The researcher must consider the accuracy of the recording of such detail. For example, a '*secluded approach*' may mean something entirely different to individual recorders. The variation in subjective viewpoint may appear to present a different psychological meaning if considered in isolation. Canter & Alison (2003) suggested leaving such interpretation until overall results were known and corroboration with other aspects of the offence supported any findings. Finally, Canter & Alison (2003) have drawn attention to the need to accommodate deficiencies in the consistency of data in the methodology, by selecting an association coefficient that did not make a count of the non-occurrence of behaviours. There could be no confident expectation that police records would realistically record the non-occurrence of offending behaviour. Given the stated purpose of the initial information gathering, there were not likely to be too many convictions secured on the evidence of what did not occur.

With consideration given to the above strategies, studies utilising police-records have frequently returned intriguing and consistent results and have provided some validation of this strand of secondary data source as an effective, and in many instances necessary alternative means of gaining insight into the psychological underpinnings of criminal behaviour.

4.6 – The use of solved or unsolved offences

With detection rates for domestic burglary low, the question could be raised as to the true value or validity of the thesis' use of solved offences only. While several researchers (Maguire & Bennett, 1982, Muller, 2000, Alison & Eyre, 2009) have gone so far as to caution against the employment of solved-case

data as a representation of a given offending population, certainly it must be recognized that there existed the possibility of an elusive population of active, non-apprehended domestic burglars who may go about their crimes in an entirely different manner. Hockey & Honey (2013) found that non-apprehended domestic burglars engaged in very different approach patterns to their targeted premises. Apprehended offenders generally approached in a series of stages (as few as possible) and then retreated afterwards in a similar fashion. In contrast, non-apprehended burglars employed a series of advances and retreats, testing the invisibility of their approach, with each advance taking them closer to their point of entry. Woodhams & Labuschagne (2012) noted that non-apprehended offenders declared a preference for burglary offending at night, more so than those who had been apprehended, and generally presented themselves as being much more focused on avoiding detection, rather than the spoils of the offence.

A substantial portion of the solved/unsolved research has focused on case linkage, either on whether an identified offender in a solved crime could be connected through their crime scene behaviours to an unsolved offence, or else whether two unsolved cases could be the work of the same, unidentified individual (Tonkin, Woodhams, Ball & Bond, 2012). Therein lay a difference in research question that served to highlight the ultimate unsuitability of using unsolved cases for the present thesis. Linking unsolved offences on behavioural similarities was far from conclusive and would be prohibitively difficult with a dataset comprising of all offences in a policing district. Thus, for a study of behavioural development, such uncertainty could lead to a lack of validity in the results. The fact that the present thesis has opted to use solved cases lent an additional degree of external validity to the content of the dataset, in that all cases have survived the scrutiny of the legal justice system (Canter & Alison, 2003).

In summary, the salient aspects of domestic burglary behaviour were those which could evidence a certain level of maturity or experience, based on details of the preceding offending history. The scope of the research question necessitated the utilization of police records as the source of data, and as a means

of tracking entire offending histories leading up to a set of domestic burglary behaviours. The lack of overall control of data initially collected for an ulterior purpose brought with it advantages and disadvantages with regards to satisfaction with data validity, although parallel concerns could equally be raised with other data collection methods. Ultimately, the ecological validity provided by using solved cases, namely that offenders had been identified through the criminal justice process, lent substantial support to the use of such a data source for the purposes of the current thesis.

4.7 – A rationale for a narrative framework

The thesis sought to undertake an additional test of the psychological underpinnings of behavioural development by housing the analysis of maturity or experience-based development within a framework based on Canter & Youngs (2009) Narrative action system model. This was a unique approach to the examination of offender narratives and one which would allow the individual's motivations for offending and understanding of the burglary offence to be considered as potential influential factors in maturity and experience-based development. In other words, did an offender's motivations having a bearing on the rate or manner of their behavioural development as maturity and experience increased?

Theoretically, the life-long developmental nature of narratives was built on foundations of maturity and experience and so, stood to present additional insights into each factor of the study.

Previous explorations of narratives, including Canter & Youngs' study have drawn their findings from one-to-one interviews with convicted offenders, with their explanations for, and descriptions of offending providing the basis of understanding for how the individual interpreted their own 'life-story', and the role the relevant offences placed within that fable. Chapter five of the present thesis undertook the identification of the same, universal narrative themes from a secondary data-source – police records of crime scene behaviour. This would serve to address whether motivation for offending could be

derived from the evidence of behaviour either left behind or observed by others. It would also provide the basis for the offender's understanding of the offence from which behavioural development resulting from increases in maturity or experience could be drawn.

Utilizing Canter & Youngs' model in such a way was a fresh approach to the identification of narrative roles, but one which stood to strengthen the theoretical basis of its source model, should it prove effective, but was equally not without its concerns. To maximise the amount of behavioural data that could be mined from the datasets, no attempt was made to ensure that variables conformed to those identified by Canter & Youngs, rather that they were the behaviours enacted by this population of domestic burglars. Single behaviours could in fact, move across developmental stages from one narrative theme to another, as when considered within a thematic whole, presented a different psychological approach to the offence. Consequently, narrative themes would not be made up of the same behaviours. While this itself did not present a problem, as narratives were derived from overall *themes* in behaviour, rather than specific actions, it did require a degree of subjective assessment by the researcher to determine which narrative theme was being presented. No inter-rater reliability test could be conducted on these findings and it must be acknowledged that the narrative framework employed here, would be open to re-interpretation by other researchers. This did not negate the utility of the model, but rather presented a single theoretical framework for differences in maturity or experience-based behavioural development. Nevertheless, the narrative framework still presented a valuable opportunity to merge explorations of psychological and behavioural development across domestic burglar age and experience.

4.8 – Method – Smallest space analysis

The analysis began in chapter five with the content analysis of all crime scene behaviours documented in the police records of all 673 solved domestic burglary offences in dataset A. From this, a content dictionary of thirty-three distinct offending behaviours was created. This was the basis of much of the subsequent analysis. In chapter five, those thirty-three crime scene behaviours were employed to test for the presence of narrative themes, based on the task-focus/victim-awareness parameters set by Canter & Youngs (2009). The most effective approach was the use of Smallest space analysis (SSA), as Canter & Youngs had previously employed.

Alternative, more traditional factor analysis methods were considered as a means of theme identification and to provide a level of validity to the points of division between them. Based as it was on correlations however, factor analysis assumed an underlying continuity and linearity in the measures. This was an obvious concern for a study using data assimilated through the content analysis of police records, which were dichotomous in nature (i.e. present or absent). Equally, secondary data obtained from a 'real world' source brought with it acknowledged inconsistencies, and missing data could not be ruled out. Such potential absences were likely to create distortions in any results obtained through using this method.

SSA was able to provide an effective visual representation of the overall distribution of crime scene behaviours, from which structures or themes based on the narrative framework could be defined. Of pertinence to the present research was that relationships between variables were measured using Jaccard's coefficient of alienation, which did not increase associations between co-non-occurring variables (Santtila, Häkkinen, Canter & Elfgrén, 2003). The rank order of positive co-occurrences was used, rather than absolute values and was then presented as distance on a geometric plot. Guttman's coefficient of alienation measured the degree of fit between co-occurrences of variables in the original data and their representation on the plot. This could range from 0 (perfect fit) to 1. It has been argued

(Borg & Lingo, 1973, in Salfati & Canter, 1999) that a 'fit' was dependent on several factors, including errors in the original data, and therefore a relatively high coefficient was tolerable. Others however (Shye, Elizur & Hoffman, 1994, in Santilla, et al. 2003), have stated that a coefficient between 0.20 and 0.25 would represent a relatively good fit.

SSA was further employed in chapters six-to-nine for the identification of changes in narrative themes or specific behaviours based on different stages of maturity or offending experience. In most previous studies, SSA has been used to identify themes in the crime scene behaviours of an overall population of offenders (as it is in chapter five) but here it was used also as a measure of behavioural development. In chapter six, this meant employing SSA in different age groups of offenders. In chapters seven-to-nine, the same method was employed in the examination of different categories of offending experience, covering the frequency of previous offending, the nature of previous offending and finally, domain-specific domestic burglary experience. In this way, Smallest space analysis was able to effectively meet the analytical requirements of the research aims.

4.9 – Partial order scalogram with coordinates (POSAC)

In chapter ten, the aim was to draw together the results of all previous SSA analyses, so that the co-occurrence of various levels of maturity and experience within the population could be assessed. Partial order scalogram with coordinates (POSAC, Shye, 1985) provided a means of examining such interactions on a multi-dimensional level, simultaneously measuring the degree (quantitative) and type (qualitative) of thematic interaction, both of which have substantial relevance to the conceptual aims of the study. For a comprehensive description of the specific nature and use of POSAC, see chapter 10.

Multidimensional scaling procedures were developed to appreciate underlying themes in a collection of variables – in this instance, behaviours. Thus, for a thesis which sets out its aims to explore development in narrative-based behavioural themes at different stages of maturity or experience, MDS' were by far the most suitable methods to be employed in the forthcoming analysis. The use of SSA, and subsequently, POSAC would allow for a detailed examination of the thesis' questions.

5

A narrative framework for behavioural themes, derived from domestic burglar crime scene behaviour*5.1 – Introduction*

“... in the modern world in which we all live, identity is a life story. A life story is a personal myth that an individual begins working on in late adolescence and young adulthood in order to provide his or her life with unity and purpose and in order to articulate a meaningful niche in the psychosocial world”

McAdams, (1997, p5).

The above quotation neatly encompasses both the underlying principle of narrative theory – that individuals derive understanding from their experiences by incorporating them into an ever-expanding narrative – and the connection these stories have with age and personal development. Despite McAdams’ (1997) assertion that narratives were inherently individual and therefore did not lend themselves well to typologies, it has also been argued that these roles were predominantly “embedded in a social matrix” (Canter & Youngs, 2009, p122). To wit, the stories through which individuals drew meaning from their lives were adaptations of familiar, socially relevant roles, and therefore, have been linked to ancient, fictional archetypes, such as those in Frye’s ‘circle of mythoi’ (1957). Variations in those archetypes emerged from different combinations of agency (or, potency) and communion (intimacy). McAdams determined that an individual’s narrative changed over the life course, with the influx of positive and negative experiences up until the last few days of life. He cites three stages; the pre-mythic period of childhood in which all the material to build narratives was collated, the mythic period from adolescence throughout adulthood in which narratives were continually revised, and finally the post-mythic period in late adulthood in which myth-making gave way to reflection on the life as a

linear narrative whole (McAdams, 1997). Thus, an individual's narrative could be indicative of their present stage in life or experience. Consistency in narrative theme has often been considered endemic to the individual, and concurrent therefore with consistent motivations for offending and to some extent, behavioural consistency at a crime scene.

In recent years, the field of Investigative Psychology, and principally the work of Canter & Youngs (2009) has been central to the application of narrative theory to offending behaviours. While Agnew (2006) and Presser (2009) acknowledged that an offender's internal narrative may be a key causal factor in criminal activity, Youngs & Canter (2012a) repositioned such behaviour as being "the enactment of a narrative rather than the narrative being an interpretation of the context out of which the offence has emerged" (Youngs & Canter, 2012a). This perspective has proved fruitful to empirical research but could be subject to the same questions of validity that many studies based on information provided by the subject have been. Presser (2009) noted that incarcerated offenders might doctor their answers to their own needs, while even Canter & Youngs (2015) cited the offender's possible fear of the potential personal impact of answering openly.

Despite these concerns however, Canter & Youngs (2009) have unearthed consistent positive findings of distinct narrative themes across several offending domains. Pertinent to the current thesis is their exploration of the crime scene behaviours of domestic burglars, drawn from a dataset originally collated by Merry and Harsent (2000). Psychologically domestic burglary has been recognized as an inherently adaptive offence, one which occurred due to the offender's response to the perceived availability of desired goods. In Canter & Youngs' (2009) study however, four narrative action systems were drawn from that initial premise, each made up of different combinations of offence focus and level of victim awareness derived from the co-occurrence of crime scene behaviours.

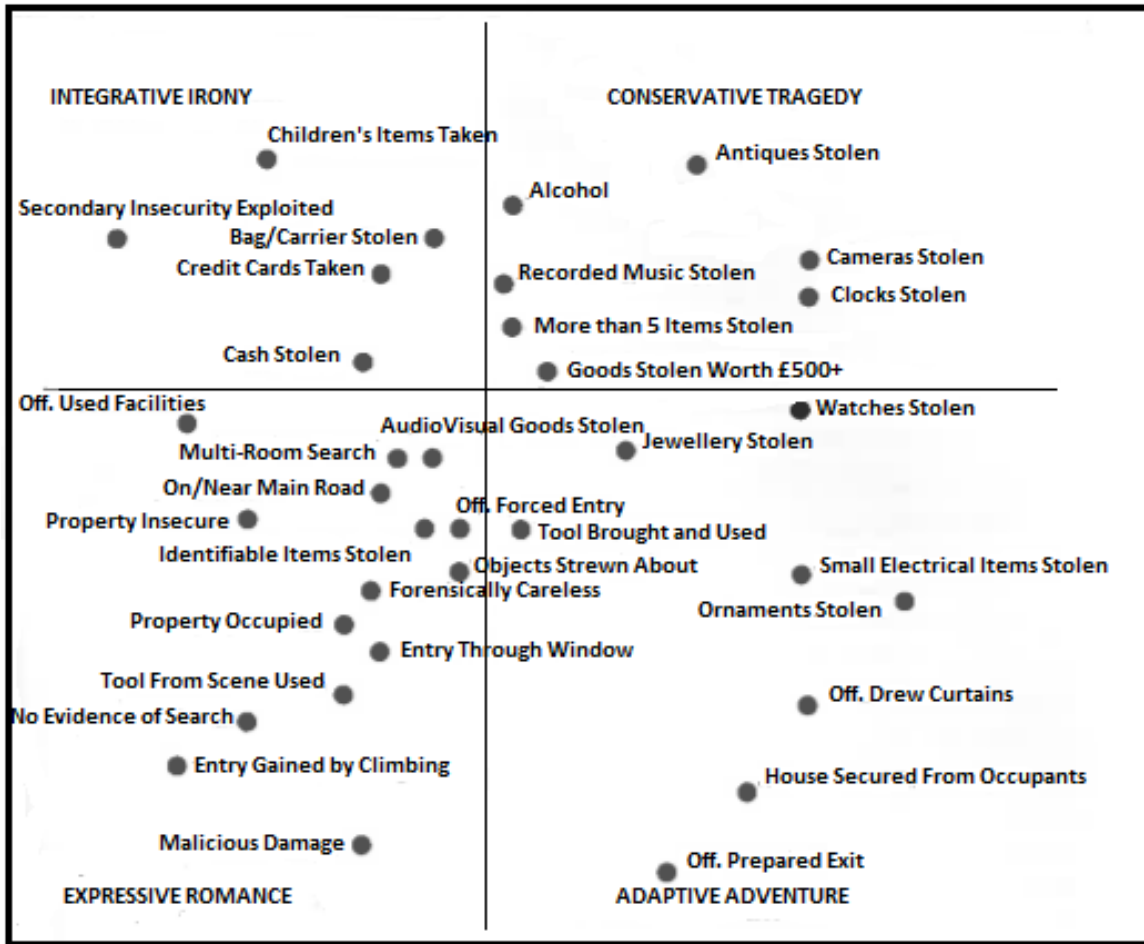


Figure 5.1: An SSA of burglary actions

Reproduced from Canter & Youngs (2009, p263)

The Conservative tragedy – A high degree of offence focus was working in tandem with a lack, or low-level of victim awareness, which produced offences characterised by efficiency, technical competency and the considered selection of both target and goods. A focus on wealthy targets emerged from the offender’s perception of their own disadvantaged status. In Canter & Youngs’ study, this theme was represented by several behaviours relating to specifically selected goods – *antiques, recorded music, cameras, clocks, goods stolen worth £500+* and *more than 5 items stolen*. This highlighted the efficiency aspects of the narrative, with specifically targeted items. Inferred from this, could be the high degree of

focus on the offence itself, with little regard for the victim's presence, either as the rightful owner of the stolen property, or as a potential threat to the offender's successful completion of the offence.

The Adaptive adventure – Here, that high degree of offence focus was coupled with a high level of victim awareness, principally manifested as an acute awareness of the potential risk posed by the victim. Personal satisfaction was gleaned from the perception of their own dominance and mastery of the offence environment. Awareness of risk manifested in behaviours designed to protect themselves during the offence – *offender drew curtains, house secured from occupant and offender prepared exit*. Offence focus was again represented by the items targeted – *watches, jewellery, small electrical items, ornaments* - demonstrating a focus on easily movable, but high value items. Dominance of the offence environment could be seen in the foresight to bring *tools to the scene* to circumvent any potential barriers or hazards.

The Integrative irony – A lack of task focus coupled with a lack of victim awareness frequently resulted in offences committed against individuals known to the offender, and a lack of focus or awareness of risk. Such offences emerged from both an internal source and location – a focus only on their own needs and an attempt to alleviate a negative internal state. In this narrative, the lack of task focus was better represented by the absence of behaviours – those demonstrating skill or foresight in the manipulation of the environment, or those that identified a focus on specific items. Here, *cash or credit cards stolen* would seem to demonstrate the targeting of obvious sources of immediate gratification. Whereas potentially higher value material goods would later need to be sold on, cash would provide the most immediate route to alleviating the individual's negative internal state. The theft of credit cards would suggest some prior knowledge of the victim to enable their use and equally provided an indication of a

lack of consideration of the use of the cards as a potential investigative avenue on which to trace the offender. The theft of *children's items* could be indicative of a lack of awareness of the victim, and a concern only for their own immediate needs.

The Expressive romance – This theme saw a lack of task focus emerge alongside a need to impact on the victim of the offence. The offence was considered a heroic quest to demonstrate to the victim the offender's power and ability. Task carelessness often occurred alongside risk-taking or unnecessary behaviours. Once again, a lack of task focus was presented in the absence of certain behaviours. Despite there being many more behaviours assigned to this narrative role, only one relates to the nature of the property stolen – *audio-visual equipment* – indicating that the physical or monetary rewards from the burglary were not the primary consideration. Nor was any behaviour related to the securing of the property or awareness of the risk presented by the occupants. Rather, many more behaviours focused on a need to impact on the victim, as a demonstration of the offender's power over them – *malicious damage, offender forced entry, multi-room searched, objects strewn about* and *offender used facilities*. Such was the offender's desire to impact on the victim, that rather than securing the property from them, the expressive romance offender was prepared to enter the location while it was *occupied*. This could also however, be construed as carelessness or unnecessary risk-taking, with the former also being apparent in *forensic carelessness* or *identifiable property stolen*, and the latter in *entry gained by climbing*.

Questions as to whether the offender saw the offence as a form of interpersonal transaction with the victim, and whether offence focus was key were fundamental elements of the motivations to offend. Individual behaviours alone were of little inferential value, and could have been produced by an

unanticipated circumstance, or else by different internal or external mechanisms, when considered as a product of different narrative roles.

Those roles however, have largely been defined through extensive interviews with incarcerated offenders, wherein motivations for offending were drawn from the individual's answers to specific questions. The practicalities in conducting such interviews inherently limited the size of the study population, and concerns with the legitimacy of some accounts were endemic to the methodology. In relation to the current research question however, narrative themes would offer a far greater understanding of the internal and external mechanisms from which behaviour developed, than could be drawn from more traditional typologies, derived from crime scene behaviours. This stood to add far greater colour and inferential value to any findings on the influences of maturity or experience than simple 'more experienced offenders favoured this behaviour' type findings that might be the result of typologies.

As a theoretical framework for the present chapter, Canter & Youngs' (2009) narrative action system model offered a basis for behavioural, but also theoretical differentiation. Behavioural themes drawn from the co-occurrence of crime scene behaviours could provide an indication of the narrative theme at work. The concerns for this chapter would be whether narrative themes were evident in the post-hoc interpretation of non-reactive data drawn from police recorded information, and if Canter & Youngs' narrative framework would be replicated in a different population of domestic burglars, operating in a different geographical and temporal location.

As outlined in chapter four, the use of such secondary data carried its own concerns with bias, prompted largely by the manner of the initial recording, rather than from researcher influence. Should the two methods return similar findings however, then this would not only lend additional validity to each but

would also support the power of narrative theories that were consistent with socially recognizable roles and could be evidenced from crime scene behaviour.

5.2 – Aims

The present chapter then, was concerned with the defining of behavioural themes from domestic burglary crime scene behaviours in dataset A, and any inferential value that could be drawn from the cross-validation of those themes with the model proposed by Canter & Youngs (2009), in fig. 5.1. By comparing findings with Canter & Youngs' earlier definition of domestic burglary narratives, the aim was to contribute to the current understanding of the motivations and actions of those who took part in this domain of offending in two distinct ways. Firstly, the chapter set out to establish if identical themes would be mined from datasets not only drawn from different geographical or temporal settings, but also from those assimilated through different methods of initial sourcing and data collection. Different narrative themes would indicate shifting behavioural patterns based on external influences. Secondly, any consistency with Canter & Youngs' (2009) findings would add validity to both data-sourcing methods; the interviewing of convicted offenders or through more unobtrusive, police-recorded information.

5.3 - Data

The chapter was concerned only with the information contained in dataset A, that being the crime scene behaviours documented in 673 domestic burglary offences. For each, the offence was identified by a unique reference number (URN), while the offender was identified through by a PNC/ID number. Some basic categorical data detailed the point of entry or egress, types of items stolen and where relevant, any actions towards the victim. The 'MO text' category then contained a free-text description

of everything that was known about the offence from the attending officer and was the focal source of information pertinent to the present chapter. In many cases, this category allowed for a very rich understanding of the offender's actions, although in others, details were unavoidably sparse but still amounted to the sum of information known to the police at the time of recording. For example, cases with no witnesses that were only discovered when the occupant returned home inevitably did not contain the same level of information as those in which the burglar had been disturbed. Details of the responsible offender were presumably added at the time of their identification and were made up of physical descriptions and locations details. Thus, the data provided a wealth of detail on both domestic burglary and the domestic burglar population, with the relevant crimes matched to individual offenders.

5.4 - Method

Crime scene behaviours in all 673 offences were carefully content analysed, using all available data. Not all behaviours however, were utilised in the study. Behaviours that occurred after offenders had been disturbed were removed due to the being the subject of situational factors, and therefore, had not been a part of the offender's intended course of action. These behaviours held no point of psychological comparison to cases in which similar circumstances did not present themselves. Each other behaviour was carefully considered for its relevance, reliability and frequency, and therefore, fourteen behaviours were excluded from the analysis for the following reasons: *Weapon brought to scene*, *weapon from scene used*, *offender draws curtains* and *music/movies/games stolen* were each recorded in 1% or less of all offences, and so were deemed too obscure to consider them relevant to a narrative theme. Conversely, *House burglary* (83.8%) and *Entry gained* (91.8%) occurred too frequently, which also greatly reduced their value as a means of differentiation.

The pertinent crime scene behaviours identified in the content analysis phase were then subjected to a Smallest space analysis (SSA), which was one of the family of multidimensional scaling procedures first introduced by Guttman (1954), as an alternative approach to factor analysis. SSA is a non-metric multidimensional scaling procedure, in that it relates *ranks* of association to *ranks* of distance on a geometric plot. It is rooted in the assumption that by exploring the relationship that every variable has with all other variables, structures and themes in variables (in this instance, behaviours) will be revealed. This has now proved to be an effective method of appreciating themes in behaviour in numerous previous studies (Canter & Heritage, 1990, Canter & Fritzon, 1998, Salfati & Canter, 1999, Gerard, Moemont & Kocsis, 2007). Relationships between variables are measured using association coefficients, in this instance, Jaccard's, as it not only provides the proportion of co-occurrences between dichotomous variables, but it does not increase association between co-non-occurring variables (Santtila, Häkkinen, Canter & Elfgren, 2003). This was particularly relevant to the use of police originated data, wherein possible omissions were readily acknowledged. The regional hypothesis would indicate that behaviours related to underlying themes would group together in particular regions of the plot (Shye, 1985, Borg & Lingoes, 1987, Salfati, 2000).

For distinct behavioural themes to be assigned to individual offences, scales were created to calculate the number of behaviours from each theme present in each of the 673 offences. Due to the likelihood that identical themes would contain different number of behaviours, percentages rather than frequencies were used. Thus, each case presented a percentage of behaviours from each of behavioural themes. Utilizing a method previously employed in studies of this type (Canter & Fritzon, 1998, Salfati, 2000, Ioannou, Canter, Youngs & Synnott, 2015) an offence was assigned to a specific theme if the score for the dominant theme was greater or approximately equal (within 5%) of the combined score of the remaining themes.

5.5 - Hypotheses

The chapter moved forwards on a hypothesis that any behavioural themes identified could be matched thematically with the narrative action systems identified in Canter & Youngs' (2009) analysis of domestic burglar crime scene behaviours. If this was so, this would indicate that such identities would be common across populations, locations and time settings, based as they were on abiding, socially recognized archetypes. This would also provide an indication as to whether police-records of the type employed here could be as sufficient an indicator of narrative theme as earlier interview-derived studies. A further hypothesis of the present chapter would therefore be that results would provide a sufficient comparison to support the validity of both types of measurement.

5.6 – Results

The content analysis of all MO details documented in dataset A, produced a total of thirty-three distinctive crime scene behaviours which encompassed all actions described in the domestic burglary offences. Table 5.1 details those behaviours, with assigned variable numbers and labels, along with frequencies of occurrence, and the percentages of the 673 offences in which the behaviour occurred.

Those behaviours could be readily divided into three distinct areas of the offence; entry into the property, behaviours enacted during the offence (including exit) and the types of targeted property.

The two most prevalent behaviours relating to entry into the property, as documented below in fig.5.2 - *entry – rear* and *entry – window* each related to the targeted point and occurred in only 56.8% and 41.8% of cases respectively. This meant that there was not a universal or pervasively dominant entry point. Similarly, the next two most prevalent behaviours pertained to methods or entry.

Table 5.1: *Crime scene behaviours of domestic burglars and frequency of occurrence**(n = 673 domestic burglary offences in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014)*

Attribute	Label	Frequency
1. Offender known to Aggrieved Person	KnownAP	76 (11%)
2. Multiple offenders	Multoff	312 (46%)
3. Concealed approach	Conceal	146 (22%)
4. Forced entry	Forcent	270 (40%)
5. Skilled entry	Skillent	114 (17%)
6. Entry – rear	Rear	382 (57%)
7. Entry by climbing	Climb	79 (12%)
8. Entry - insecure	insecure	249 (27%)
9. Entry through window	Entwindo	281 (41%)
10. Premises occupied	Occupied	147 (21%)
11. Forensically careless	Forenscr	84 (12%)
12. Tools brought to scene and used	Toolsc	182 (27%)
13. Tools from scene used	Toolsfrm	57 (9%)
14. Multiple rooms searched	Multrmsr	308 (46%)
15. Untidy search	Untidysr	162 (24%)
16. Identifiable property stolen	Identifi	200 (30%)
17. Audio-visual equipment stolen	Audvis	85 (13%)
18. Steal vehicle keys/vehicle	Keysveh	124 (18%)
19. Exit different to entry	Exitdif	122 (18%)
20. Phones or computers stolen	Phncom	89 (13%)
21. Cash stolen	Cash	66 (10%)
22. Offender prepared exit	Prepexit	64 (10%)
23. Entry by extension	Entext	39 (6%)
24. Jewellery stolen	Jewel	20 (3%)
25. Fixtures stolen	Fixtures	10 (2%)
26. Malicious damage	Maldam	33 (5%)
27. Carrier taken from scene	Carrier	31 (5%)
28. Discard stolen property later	Discard	30 (5%)
29. Lookout	Lookout	26 (4%)
30. Secures premises from occupant	Secure	20 (3%)
31. Steals by extension	Stealext	19 (3%)
32. Alarm disabled	disabal	14 (2%)
33. Leaves own property at scene	Ownprop	10 (2%)

Forced entry and *entry – insecure* were two opposing techniques, but occurred in comparable frequencies, again indicative of differences in behaviour between individuals. *Tools brought to the*

scene and used might also point towards advanced perceptual skills but occurred in little over a quarter of all offences.

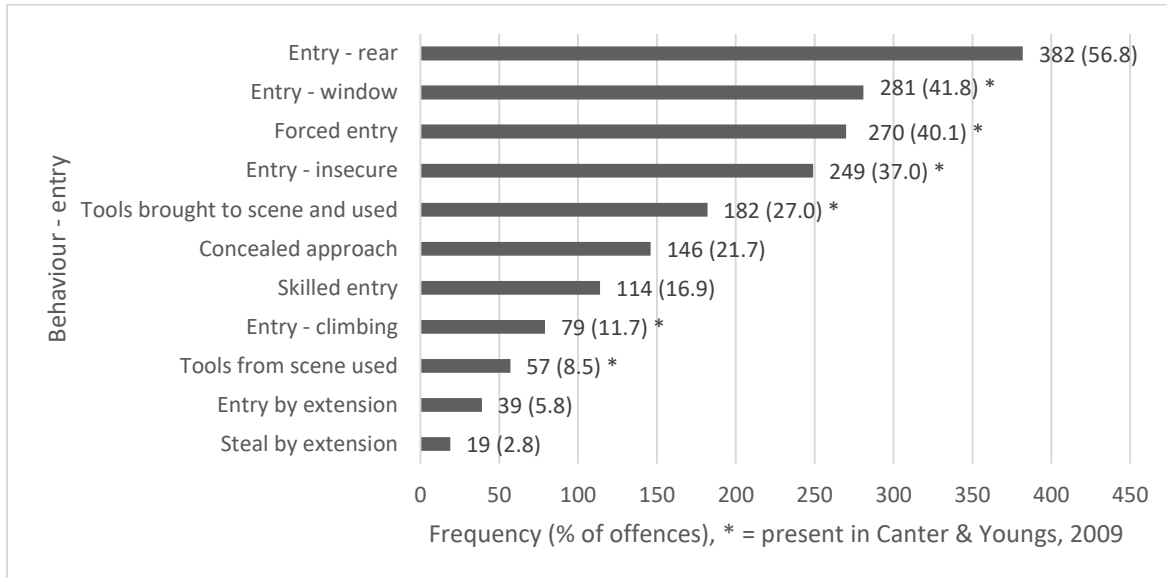


Figure 5.2: *Frequencies of crime-scene behaviours relating to entry into the premises (n = 673 domestic burglary offences in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014)*

Interestingly, *skilled entry*, involving the use of tools or specific techniques to affect entry occurred in less than half the number of cases as *forced* or *insecure entry*, indicating that such abilities were not the norm, and were possessed by only a limited section of the domestic burglar population.

Even less frequent however, were two behaviours that were indicative of a far more specialist type of skill – *entry by extension* and *stealing by extension*, in which instruments were employed to reach into the property from outside, to effect entry by opening windows/doors or to remove items of property therein.

Entry by climbing, identified by Canter & Youngs as a behaviour consistent with the Expressive romance narrative's desire to demonstrate power or prowess to the victim was recorded in only 11.7% of offences, suggesting that this was relatively uncommon.

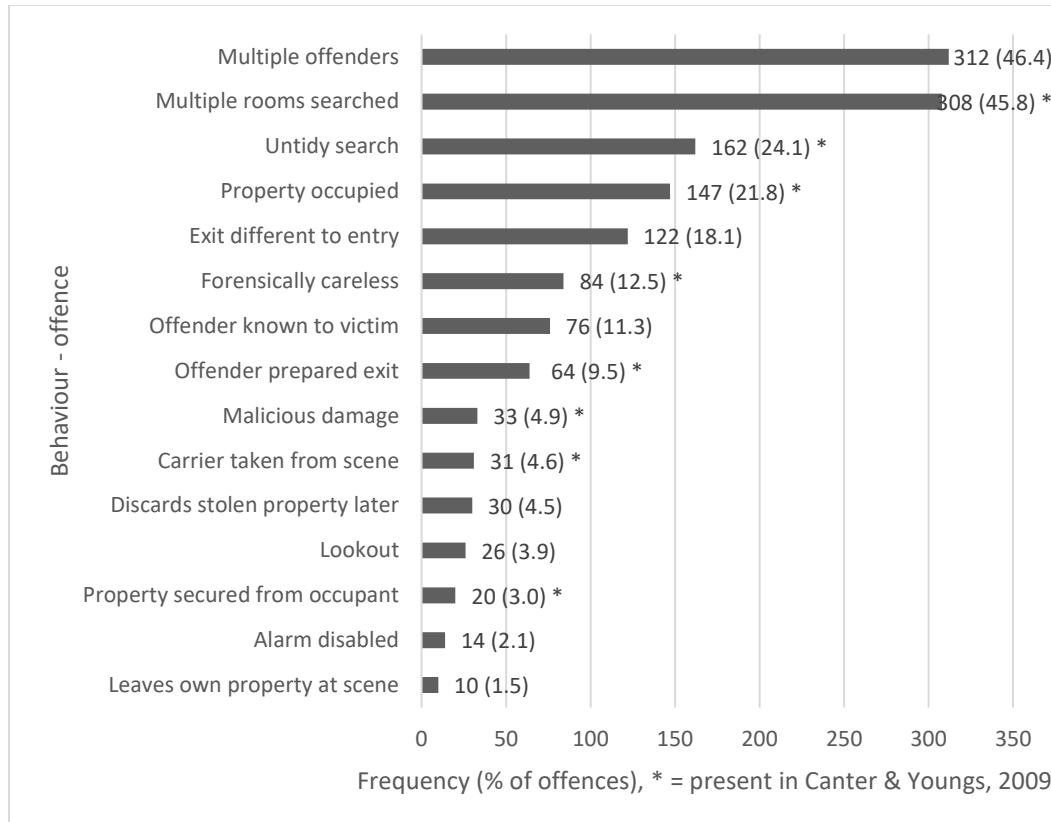


Figure 5.3: *Frequencies of crime-scene behaviours*

(n = 673 domestic burglary offences in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014)

In the choice of targeted entry point and method of entry, frequency of behaviour appeared to decline in tandem with an increase in the degree of specialist skill required to enact it, providing an indication that domestic burglars could indeed be differentiated on both choice of behaviour and level of offence related acumen.

When the frequencies of behaviours that occurred during the offence itself were compared, it was once again clear that there was a wide scope for behavioural difference amongst individuals. No single offence-related behaviour occurred in more than 50% of cases. The two behaviours with the highest frequencies – *multiple offenders* and *multiple rooms searched* were as close as it came to common behavioural traits but were far from universal. With all other behaviours occurring in less than a quarter

of offences, there remained a broad scope for variation in their co-occurrence. This would serve to strengthen the validity of any behavioural themes based on the frequent co-occurrence of groups of behaviours, given the range of possibilities open to the offender.

Interestingly, the four most prevalent behaviours that also appeared in Canter & Youngs study had each been deemed indicative of the Expressive romance theme - *multiple rooms searched, untidy search* (equivalent to “objects strewn about”, Canter & Youngs, 2009, p263), *property occupied* and *forensically careless*, suggesting at this stage, that such a narrative might be a common source of domestic burglary offending.

The greatest degree of differentiation was shown in behaviours related to the type of property stolen, of which no single property type was targeted in more than 30% of cases. Only one – *identifiable property stolen*, chiefly relating to credit cards or identification documents occurred in more than 20% of domestic burglary offences.

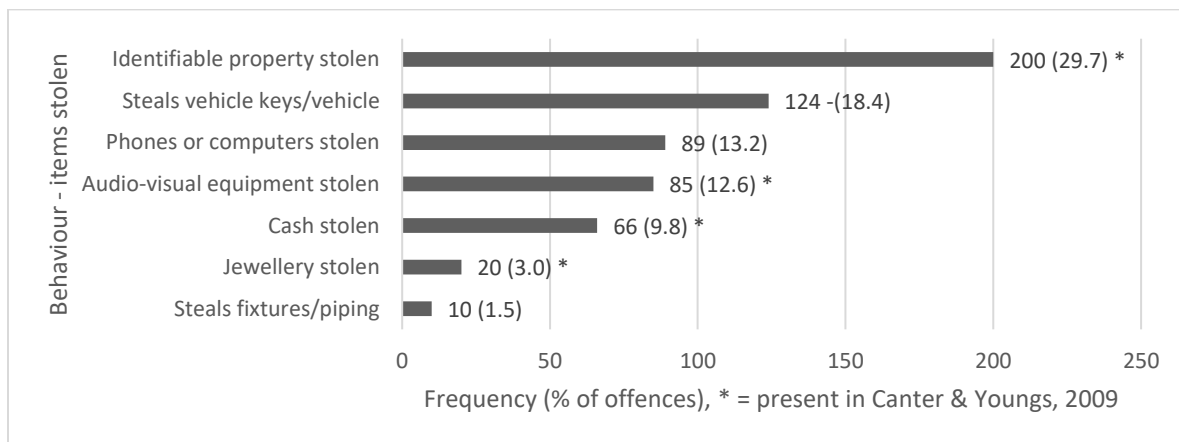


Figure 5.4: Frequencies of crime-scene behaviours relating to property stolen

(n = 673 domestic burglary offences in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014)

The value in relation to offender behaviours was once again in the recognition of how differences in targeted property might relate to different offender characteristics and motivations. Targeting *vehicle*

keys, for example, and subsequently the vehicle itself would suggest an entirely different level of planning or intention, to that of someone who would steal cash. One could provide the individual with immediate gratification, while the other would surely require prior planning and likely access to some form of criminal network for the benefits of the goods to be realised. The two most frequent property types to also feature in Canter & Youngs' work had once again been assigned to the Expressive romance theme in that study.

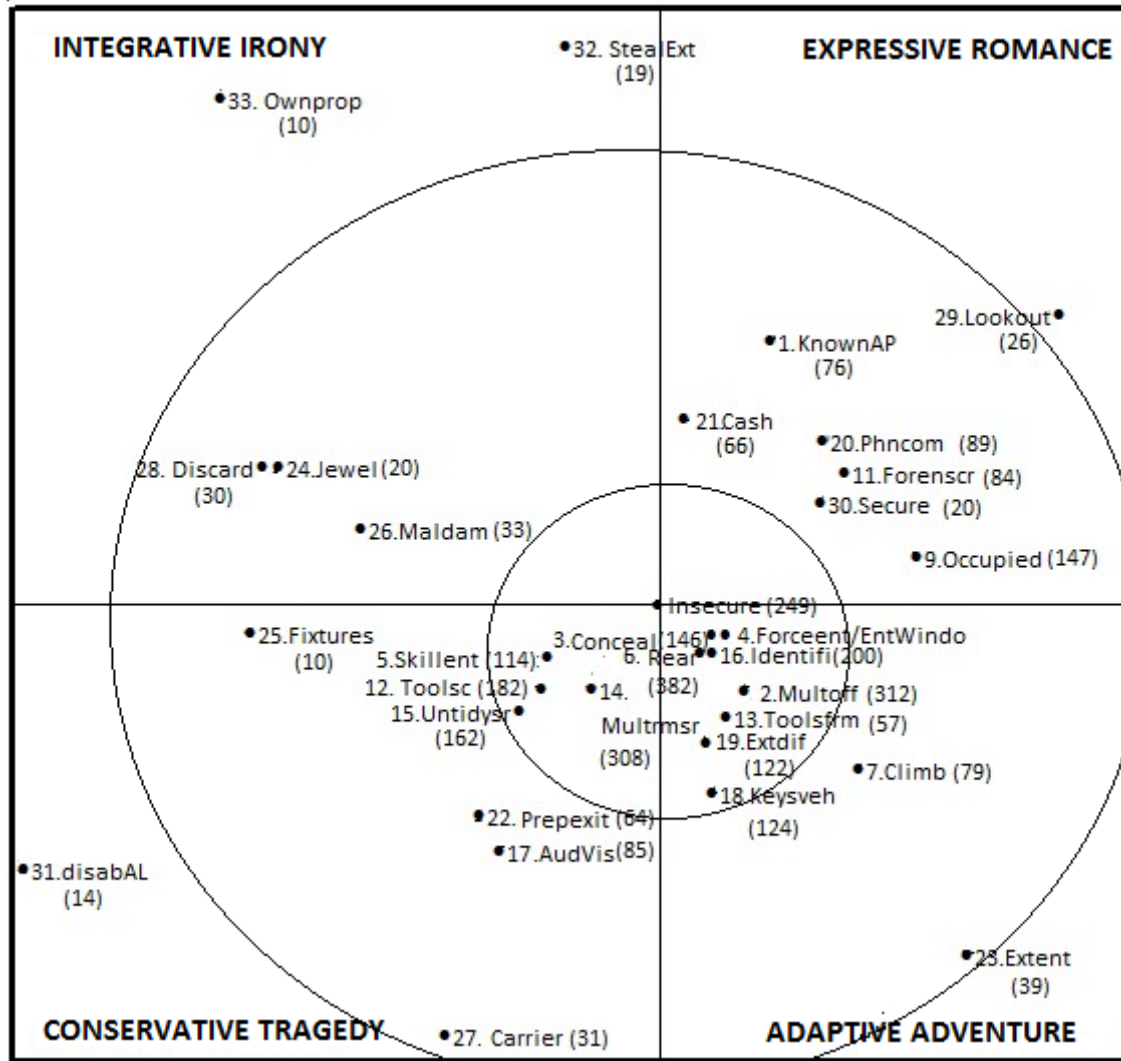
5.7 – *Smallest space analysis*

The thirty-three identified behaviours were then subjected to Smallest space analysis (SSA). The resultant plot (fig. 5.5) presented a coefficient of alienation of .19, indicating a good fit for the data. Each behaviour was represented by a point on the plot, and its frequency of co-occurrence with other behaviours demonstrated by its 'closeness' to others within the plot.

Despite identifying only eighteen of the thirty-five behaviours documented by Canter & Youngs (2009), behavioural themes comparable to their four archetypal narrative action systems were readily defined within the new SSA plot, albeit with some differentiation in the context of specific behaviours.

None of the seven Conservative tragedy behaviours from Canter & Youngs' work was presented here, with only two of five Integrative irony, and four of eight Adaptive adventurer behaviours present. The Expressive romance theme exhibited the most cross-study consistency, with twelve of the fifteen previously identified behaviours present here.

Strict behavioural consistency, as in the same behaviours co-occurring in the same thematic regions of the plot did not occur, signalling that although similar narrative roles appeared across datasets, the actual enactment of those themes could take on different behavioural forms for different offenders.



1 by 2 projection of the 3 dimensional plot

Jaccards Coefficient of alienation: .19

Figure 5.5: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 673)*

This could be attributed to circumstantial differences which demand different behaviours, or alternatively, the same behaviour could be part of the interpretation of different narrative themes. An *untidy search* for example, could be intended as a means of ensuring the victim’s attention, or equally could be the result of a desire to maximise the yield and complete a thoroughly effective offence.

In the current analysis, most behaviours could be seen to accumulate in the lower half of the plot, around a central core of the most consistently co-occurring behaviours. The core represented the common behaviours of most domestic burglars, regardless of the inner narrative at work. The actual centre of the plot was deemed *insecure entry*, which as previously highlighted could be a situational factor acted upon by any offender. The concentric circles on the plot provide an indication of the frequency of behavioural co-occurrence, with those in the inner circles located in closest proximity co-occurring more frequently than those in the outer circles which they were spaced further apart. The horizontal division delineated narrative-based behavioural themes involving task focus (Conservative and Adaptive themes, below the line) from those lacking in task focus (Integrative and Expressive themes, above the line). As noted, task-focused offenders could be seen to partake in a greater number of behaviours than those who were not. The vertical division separated high victim awareness (Expressive and Adaptive themes, to the right) with those lacking in victim awareness (Integrative and Conservative themes, to the left). Together, the two divisions demonstrated marked distinctions in both qualitative and quantitative aspects of behaviour across four narrative roles.

5.8 - Conservative tragedy

In Canter & Youngs (2009), the Conservative tragedy theme was dominated by behaviours related to the targeting of specific types of property. Six of the seven identified behaviours were property related, these being antiques, recorded music, cameras, clocks, more than 5 items stolen and goods stolen worth £500+. In the present analysis, a total of ten behaviours fell within a region of behaviours consistent with the Conservative tragedy theme, but only two were focused on property – *audio-visual equipment stolen* and *fixtures/piping*.

Table 5.2: *Comparison of Conservative tragedy behaviours between the present thesis and Canter & Youngs (2009)*

Behaviour (current thesis)	Freq.	%	Behav. Canter & Young (2009)	Freq.	%
Multiple rooms searched	308	45.8	More than 5 items stolen	28	46.0
Tools brought to scene	182	27.0	Value stolen worth £500+	27	45.0
Untidy search	162	24.1	Recorded music stolen	20	33.0
Skilled entry	114	16.9	Camera stolen	8	
Audio-vis. Equip. stolen	85	12.6	Alcohol	7	11.0
Offender prepared exit	64	9.5	Clocks stolen	6	10.0
Carrier taken from scene	31	4.6	Antiques stolen	4	6.0
Alarm disabled	14	2.1			
Fixtures stolen	10	1.5			

The remaining behaviours, which covered the entry into the property and the commission of the offence were however, equally consistent with the parameters of the Conservative tragedy theme, as defined by Canter & Youngs. High task-focus and technical competency were evident in *tools brought to scene and used, skilled entry* and *alarm disabled*, presenting a behavioural picture of adept, efficient offences.

In this context, *untidy search* and *multiple rooms searched* were consistent with the victim being afforded little consequence. The removal of *fixtures/piping* – frequently involving high value copper piping or boilers/radiators – and *audio-visual equipment* would be likely to cause a sizeable amount of mess or damage but require the use of tools and some skill to be undertaken swiftly. A lack of victim consideration was unlikely to lead to any tidying up or minimalization of disruption. Taking some form of *carrier from the scene* and the *preparation of an exit* route also added to the picture of considered efficiency. The central aspects of Canter & Youngs’ Conservative tragedy narrative theme therefore, remained intact with a keen focus on technical ability and efficiency with little concern for the distress caused to the victim.

5.9 - Integrative irony

The Integrative irony theme presented the least number of behaviours (5) as indeed, it had done in Canter & Youngs' SSA plot, which would be supportive of the presentation of the theme in which the offence was only in service of the offender's immediate needs. With little task focus, or victim awareness, offences were often ill-thought out and made up of rudimentary actions.

Table 5.3: Comparison of Integrative irony behaviours between the present thesis and Canter & Youngs (2009)

Behaviour (current thesis)	Freq.	%	Behav. Canter & Young (2009)	Freq.	%
Malicious damage	33	4.9	Cash stolen	20	33.0
Discard stolen prop. later	30	4.5	Carrier taken from scene	16	26.0
Jewellery stolen	20	3.0	Credit cards stolen	10	16.0
Steals by extension	19	2.8	Secondary insecurity exploited	6	10.0
Leaves own prop. at scene	10	1.5	Children's items stolen	4	6.0

Whilst in Canter & Youngs' study, four of the five behaviours related to types of stolen property – *children's items, bag/carrier stolen, cash and credit cards*, here the only specifically targeted item type was *jewellery*; small, and likely high-value items that were highly saleable or could be exchanged or pawned quickly to obtain the immediate gratification that was sought. A failure to consider the possibilities of detection could be seen in *leaves own property at scene*, and *discards stolen property later*, demonstrating a distinct lack of forensic consideration. *Stealing by extension*, which in laymen's terms would involve using an implement of some kind to exploit an insecurity such as a letterbox or open window was indicative of a lack of desire to enter the address, thus a lack of the task focus required to undertake a full offence.

The irony theme was built on internal feelings of powerlessness, that the individual existed in a meaningless, pointless world in which the breaking of laws and accepted social taboos were justified.

This was exemplified in this plot by *malicious damage*, in which the victim's home was used simply as a means of fulfilling their own needs with little consideration of that individual at all, but also accompanied by a lack of focus or efficiency in completing the task.

5.10 - Expressive romance

In Canter & Youngs, the Expressive romance narrative contained the most individual behaviours with fifteen, whereas here it was less well-defined, with only seven behaviours present, but the lack of task focus coupled with an acute victim awareness remained evident. The need to impact on the victim – and vicariously, the outside world – was demonstrated by offences targeting premises belonging to those known to them, and in many instances, premises that were still occupied at the time of the offence.

Table 5.4: Comparison of Expressive romance behaviours between the present thesis and Canter & Youngs (2009)

Behaviour (current thesis)	Freq.	%	Behav. Canter & Young (2009)	Freq.	%
<i>Premises occupied</i>	147	21.8	On or nr main thoroughfare	57	95.0
Phones or computers stolen	89	13.2	Identifiable items stolen	45	75.0
<i>Forensically careless</i>	84	12.5	Multiple rooms searched	43	71.0
Offender known to A.P.	76	11.3	Forced entry	42	70.0
Cash stolen	66	9.8	Entry through window	31	51.0
Lookout	26	3.9	Objects strewn	25	41.0
Secures prem. From occ.	20	3.0	<i>Forensically careless</i>	20	33.0
			<i>Property occupied</i>	14	23.0
			Insecure	14	23.0
			Theft without search	7	11.0
			Entry by climbing	6	10.0
			Tools from scene used	5	8.0
			Offender used facilities	4	6.0
			Malicious damage	3	5.0

Attacking *occupied* properties and *forensic carelessness* were behaviours shared with Canter & Youngs' findings for this narrative, with the latter the result of a lack of task focus. The targeting of *cash* and *phones or computers* would be consistent with this in that they were small, rather obvious items of interest, suggesting that the need to have an impact on the victim was of far more importance than the actual economic benefits of the offence. No thorough searches or technical ability were demonstrated here, rather the risk taking involved could be evidenced in the attacking of *occupied* properties. The inclusion of *lookout* here was interesting as it would seem to be in contrast with the risk-taking tendencies on show, however, it would also suggest a willingness to work with others towards a collective goal, perhaps accentuating the individual's feelings of invulnerability. Thus, although distinct from Canter & Youngs' study in terms of specific behaviours, the Expressive romance narrative could also be derived from the types of co-occurring behaviours demonstrated in domestic burglaries in the southern policing district of a northern city.

5.11 - Adaptive adventure

Intriguingly, none of the eight behaviours identified by Canter & Youngs as being indicative of the Adaptive adventure theme were present with the same theme as defined here, although once again, the underlying elements of the theme remained intact.

Jewellery stolen, tools brought and used, premises secured from occupant and offender prepared exit all appeared within the context of other themes in the present study, demonstrating that individual behaviours could have a wide variety of meanings. The task focus that made up part of the Adaptive adventure narrative was however, evident in numerous behaviours here, relating to a variety of methods of entry – *forced entry, entry – window, entry – rear, entry by climbing* and *entry by extension*, which highlighted a focused and adaptive offender who could gain entry by different means.

Table 5.5: *Comparison of Adaptive adventure behaviours between the present thesis and Canter & Youngs (2009)*

Behaviour (current thesis)	Freq.	%	Behav. Canter & Young (2009)	Freq.	%
Entry – rear	382	56.8	Aud-vis. Equip. stolen	37	61.0
Multiple offenders	312	46.4	Tools brought to scene used	22	36.0
Entry - window	281	41.8	Jewellery stolen	20	33.0
Forced entry	270	40.1	Watches stolen	9	15.0
Identifiable prop. stolen	200	29.7	Small elect. Items stolen	6	10.0
Concealed approach	146	21.7	Offender drew curtains	6	10.0
Steal vehicle keys/vehicle	124	18.4	Ornaments stolen	5	8.0
Exit different to entry	122	18.1	House secured from occupant	5	8.0
Entry by climbing	79	11.7	Offender prepared exit	3	5.0
Tools from scene used	57	8.5			
Entry by extension	39	5.8			

The presence of *multiple offenders* was perhaps what enabled this creativity by the pooling of a broader range of skills. *Multiple rooms searched* indicated the thoroughness and focus inherent in the narrative theme.

Awareness of the victim was not based on a need for that victim to experience the impact of the offender's presence, as was the case with the Expressive romance offender, but in an alertness to their potential risk. This could be seen in the *concealed approach* and *exit different to entry* employed here. Despite this theme being linked to maximum benefit from the burglary being sought, only one property related behaviour was present, albeit it possibly the most valuable and beneficial item – *vehicle keys or vehicle*. This would suggest offences committed with a further criminal purpose in mind – either the sale of the stolen vehicle, or for its subsequent use in future offences.

The varied nature of the behaviours encapsulated in the Adaptive adventure theme was consistent with Canter & Youngs' assertion that domestic burglary was primarily an adaptive offence, in its focus on the external availability of desired goods. Here, the offender whose focus was fundamentally consistent with the basic parameters of the offence definition itself employed a variety of different means of

achieving their goal. The most frequently occurring individual behaviours in the current population were contained within the inner concentric circle of the Adaptive adventure theme. This identified those behaviours as being the most common, core behaviours of domestic burglary, regardless of any narrative theme drawn from subsequent behaviours.

5.12 – Behavioural distribution between narratives-based themes

Of the ten recorded behaviours relating to the approach or entry to the premises, seven here could be attributed to a behavioural theme consistent with the Adaptive adventure narrative, a further two to the Conservative tragedy. This highlighted a clear distinction between task-focused offenders and those who were lacking in task focus. Considerable attention was afforded to the approach and entry by the former but was seemingly of little concern to the latter.

Table 5.6: *Approach and entry behaviours in domestic burglary divided by behavioural theme*

Adaptive adventure	Conservative tragedy	Expressive romance	Integrative irony
Entry - rear	Tools brought to scene and used		Steal by extension
Entry – window	Skilled entry		
Forced entry			
Concealed approach			
Entry-climbing			
Tools from scene used			
Entry-extension			

Only one approach and entry behaviour could be aligned with a theme involving low task focus, that being *steal by extension* in the Integrative irony theme – a behaviour which although typically requiring some competence, could be considered opportunistic, and suggested a disinterest in partaking in many

of the common aspects of the offence – entry into the home, search, transaction with the victim. Within the adaptive related-theme, behaviours such as *concealed approach*, *entry-rear* and *entry by extension* implied an awareness of the threat to success from the victim, that was not present in the Conservative tragedy's *tools brought to the scene* or *skilled entry*.

In-crime behaviours demonstrated even greater qualitative distinctions, but quantitatively, were more evenly distributed across behavioural themes.

Table 5.7: *In-crime domestic burglary behaviours divided by behavioural theme*

Adaptive adventure	Conservative tragedy	Expressive romance	Integrative irony
Multiple offenders	Untidy search	Property occupied	Malicious damage
Multiple rooms searched	Off. Prepared exit	Forensically careless	Discards property later
Exit different to entry	Carrier taken from scene	Lookout	Leaves own prop. At scene
	Alarm disabled	Property secured	
		Offender known to victim	

Whilst the Adaptive adventure offender favoured *multiple offender* groups, a focus on entry, a thorough search for all available property, and a concern with the successful exit from the premises, the Conservative tragedy burglar appeared more concerned with the technical control of the environment in *preparing the exit*, *taking a carrier from the scene* or *disabling the alarm*. All were consistent with Canter & Youngs' (2009) narrative framework.

In stark contrast, the Expressive romance offender appeared far more concerned with the victim, targeting *occupied properties* belonging to persons who could identify them and being *forensically careless*. Behaviours relating to the specific types of property were also evenly distributed between narratives, with task-focused themes apparently promoting an interest in items that may require either more ability to remove (*fixtures/piping*) or extended criminal connections to realise (as in *vehicle*

keys/vehicle). Low task focus offenders appeared to target smaller, more portable and probably easier to capitalise on items such as *phones-computers* or *jewellery*.

Table 5.8: *Property related domestic burglary behaviours divided by behavioural theme*

Adaptive adventure	Conservative tragedy	Expressive romance	Integrative irony
Identifiable property	Audio-visual equipment	Phones/computers	Jewellery
Vehicle keys/vehicle	Fixtures/piping		

In all three behavioural categories, distinctions consistent with the related narrative themes could be observed, which would allow for inferences to be drawn as to an individual's motives for committing a domestic burglary offence, based on their recorded crime scene behaviours.

5.13 – Scales

Scales were then created for each of the 673 offences. This involved calculating the percentage of behaviours in each offence that had been assigned to each of the four behavioural themes. Using a process utilized in previous studies of behavioural differentiation (Canter & Fritzon, 1998, Salfati, 2000, Ioannou, et al., 2015), a theme would be assigned if the percentage of behaviours from the most dominant theme was greater, or approximately equal (to a 5% range) to the total percentage of the remaining three themes. Split narratives were assigned to those offences containing 50/50 splits of narrative-based behavioural themes. The results are detailed in fig. 5.6, below.

The Adaptive adventure related theme was by some distance the most prevalent, reiterating Canter & Youngs' (2009) assertion that domestic burglary offending generally emerged from fundamentally

adaptive origins. This also demonstrated that many offenders involved were both task focused and aware of the threat posed by the victim to their ability to successfully complete the offence.

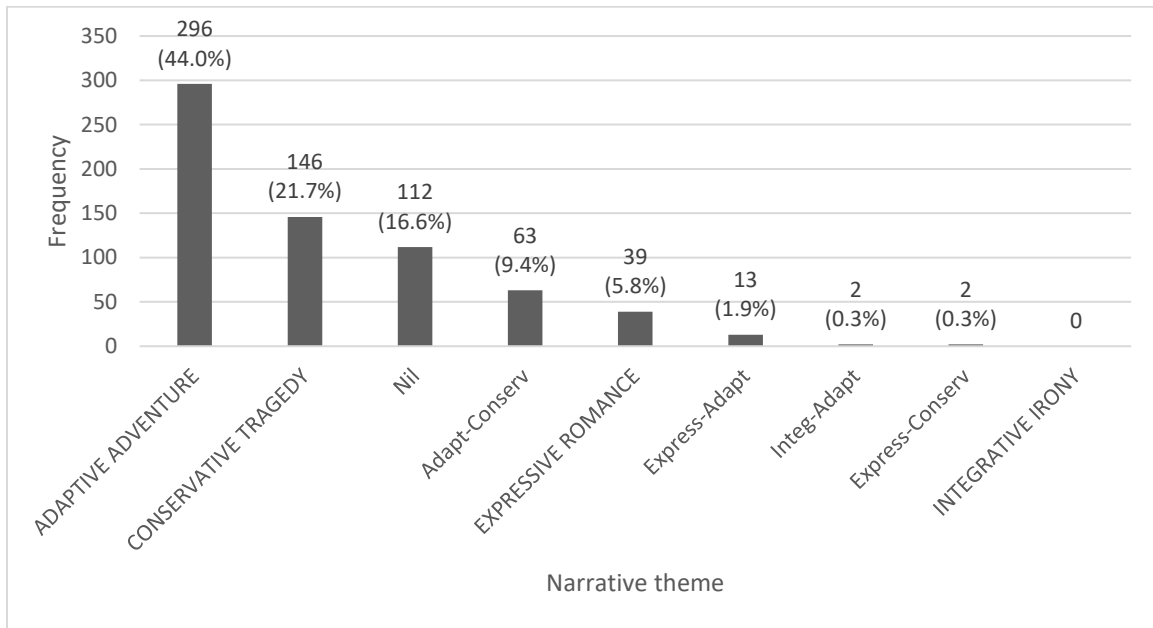


Figure 5.6: Frequency (and percentages) of behavioural themes in domestic burglar offences, committed in the southern policing district of a northern city 2010-2014 (n = 673)

The second most prevalent theme, the Conservative tragedy was dominant in less than half the number of domestic burglaries (146). Task focus continued to be the consistent trait however, in over 65% of all the offences, between those presenting either an Adaptive or Conservative narrative-based theme.

By contrast, the Expressive romance dominated offences were much less frequent (39) and consequently, suggested that this was a very distinct type of domestic burglar offender. Despite some of the individual behaviours that Canter & Youngs assigned to the Expressive romance theme being of high frequencies within the current dataset, only *property occupied* and *forensically careless* remained part of the same narrative, presenting a shift in the meaning or interpretation of those behaviours between

studies. Here, offences conducted with a lack of task focus and with a primary purpose of demonstrating power over the victim occurred in only 5.8% of domestic burglaries.

The lack of a dominant Integrative irony theme in any of the current offences marked the most distinctive difference between the two studies. In addition to the theme incorporating the least number of behaviours, the Integrative theme did not present as dominant in any of the 673 offences, providing a strong indication that a lack of task-focus and victim awareness in a domestic burglary offender was a rare occurrence. This marked the domestic burglars in the southern policing district in a northern city out as a primarily task focused offender, which might differentiate them from their counterparts from other regions.

A total of eighty offences demonstrated mixed dominant narrative results, and all but four could be seen to follow a consistent behavioural trait. Sixty-three offences showed a combination of Adaptive adventure and Conservative tragedy narratives, demonstrating a further dominance of those themes, and showing a consistent concern with task focus from those offenders. When victim awareness was the consistent element, as with the adaptive-expressive offences, the frequency dropped to thirteen, reiterating that this was a more distinctive motivation for the offence.

Only four offences – less than 1% of the total – showed a combination of thematically contradictory themes; these being the adaptive-integrative (+task focus/+victim awareness with -task focus/-victim awareness) and expressive-conservative (-task focus/+victim awareness & +task focus/-victim awareness) combinations. A further one hundred and twelve (16.6%) offences did not present behaviours consistent with any dominant narrative theme at all.

In total, over 80% of offences could be assigned to either a dominant narrative theme or a combination of two which followed a consistent trait within the narrative. Although the Conservative tragedy, and the Adaptive adventure themes were by far the most dominant, these findings showed

that narrative themes incorporating behavioural differences amongst offenders was an effective means of differentiating between domestic burglary offenders, based on the psychological motivations for offending as evidenced in their subsequent crime scene behaviours.

5.14 - Discussion

The behavioural themes identified in the present chapter were greatly supportive of Canter & Youngs' (2009) earlier definition of narrative themes in domestic burglary crime scene behaviour. Themes based upon combinations of levels of task focus and victim awareness were readily derived from the data, supporting the consideration that similar roles could be witnessed in different populations of offenders, examined in different locations and at different points in time.

While the two studies noted differences in specific behaviours, and in the placement of those behaviours within themes, the four narratives could be clearly identified when groups of co-occurring behaviours were considered collectively. This provided a validation of those themes as containing consistently recognized motivations for domestic burglary offending.

In the present study, there was an emphasis on task-focused offending behaviours, with the two themes that demonstrated high-levels of that trait – the Adaptive adventure and Conservative tragedy – being aligned to a greater array of behaviours than those that were lacking in task-focus. This had not been the case in Canter & Youngs' study, wherein the Expressive romance's low levels of task focus, coupled with a need to have an impact on the victim produced almost twice the number of different behaviours than any other. While this could have been an artefact of the different data collection methods, it also raised the possibility that the physical attributes of different regions or the population, may hold an influence on the motivations of offenders. Those areas with an abundance of attractive features may encourage a higher number of task focused offenders than others. Consistent across both

studies however, was that the Integrative irony theme, featuring both a lack of task-focus or victim awareness produced the smallest number of behaviours (5, in both studies), pointing to rudimentary, ill-considered offences in both.

Behavioural differences between themes were noted in three key areas of the domestic burglary offence; the approach and entry to the property, the actual commission of the offence and the types of property stolen. Many approach and entry behaviours could be attributed to the Adaptive adventure theme, pointing to it being a key perceptual consideration and procedural action for those offenders. The victim awareness aspect of the theme would suggest that those considerations included an assessment of the possibility of detection by the victim, with behaviours selected to minimise the chances of this occurring. Conservative tragedy narrative offenders, lacking in victim awareness utilised a smaller number of behaviours which were focused on technical ability and efficiency. In contrast, offenders who lacked task focus gave very little consideration to this aspect of the offence. No approach and entry behaviours were attributed to the Expressive romance offender, with only one – *stealing by extension* could be attributed in low frequencies to the Integrative irony theme. This was indicative of opportunist, impulsive offending.

In-crime behaviours were much more evenly distributed, but again were indicative of their respective aligned narrative themes. As such, they provided key points of differentiation between offenders. The efficiency of the Conservative tragedy narrative was a contrast to the Adaptive adventure's efforts to maximise the yield. The Expressive romance's need for victim acknowledgement caused offenders to target properties that were occupied, frequently by victims who were acquainted with the offender, while the Integrative irony theme appeared to present ill-conceived offences based on immediate need, which were both unfocused (*malicious damage*) and ineffective (*discards property later*). Across-theme differences could also be noted in the types of property stolen, with larger, generally higher value items being the target of task-focused offenders, and a specific focus on items that required some skill to

remove for the Conservative tragedy offender. Those with Expressive or Integrative narrative-based themes appeared to favour smaller, easier to steal items, which were again indicative of a lower level of planning or prior consideration, and the need to satisfy more short term, internal needs.

When scales were calculated for the percentages of themes in individual crime scene behaviours, a distinctive picture of domestic burglary activity in the southern policing district emerged. Almost half the offending population presented dominantly Adaptive adventure themes, consistent with Canter & Youngs' (2009) recognition that this was a base for most domestic burglary behaviour. A substantial number of offenders (146) presented Conservative tragedy themes, meaning that just short of two-thirds of all domestic burglars were task focused in their approach to the offence. Together with the heightened degree of variation in behaviour in those themes, this suggested that much of the population were offence driven individuals who considered selecting the most suitable action in the approach, entry and commission of the offence and in the items targeted. The domestic burglar in the current population, was generally, a competent offender.

Expressive romance offenders appeared as a distinct subset, who consistently enacted the same, high frequency behaviours. This was consistent with the notion of the low-task, high-victim focused offender for whom the enacting of the offence was a means to an ulterior end.

Complicit with the revelation that most domestic burglars were focused and task driven, was the overwhelming absence of Integrative irony offenders in the population. The theme appeared only twice as a mixed narrative profile, rendering the domestic burglar who was neither driven by the task itself nor a need to impact on the victim something of a myth. Even opportunistic domestic burglary offences of this kind were seemingly undertaken with some form of task or victim-centric motivation.

Only four of 561 offences to feature dominant themes presented mixed behavioural profiles that were not consistent in either task focus or victim awareness, stridently supporting Canter & Youngs' basis for

their narrative framework. Thus, through the reproduction of that framework in the present chapter, a vastly illuminated picture of domestic burglary behaviour within this population was presented. Most were task focused, with a greater number also concerned with the victim's potential influence, and who could draw from a pool of behaviours at each stage of the offence to maximise their hand. Only a small subset was driven by the effect that the offence was likely to have on the victim, and those individuals drew from a much smaller set of behavioural options to complete the offence. The focus and awareness of so many offenders may, in practical terms go some way towards increasing the understanding of why detection rates for domestic burglary were consistently low.

5.15 – Theoretical contribution

The chapter found strong support for the use of Canter & Youngs' (2009) narrative action system model as a thematic framework for domestic burglary crime scene behaviour. Narrative theories (McAdams, 1997) presented the individual's self-created life story as a framework for behaviour and was supported here by the clear distinctions in different aspects of behaviour seen by different groups of individuals who had committed the same type of offence. Canter & Youngs' framework for domestic burglars was largely reiterated here, but an additional insight was added in the frequency of each theme within the population and distinctions in behaviours within critical elements of the offence. This highlighted that a great many domestic burglars were task focused, with a little under half the population combining this with an awareness of the victim as a potential threat to their activities in an Adaptive adventure theme. Within that theme, offenders selected different options to accommodate the task at hand. This was supportive of previous assertions that burglary typically began as an adaptive offence but provided specific detail as to the prevalence of such behaviours in a policing district's solved offences. Equally revealing was the presentation of expressive domestic burglary offending as a small,

but distinctive sub-set of offenders, rather than a theme on a standing with others. The Integrative irony theme in contrast, was non-existent as a dominant theme in individual behaviours, featuring only as part of a split narrative for two offenders. Unfocused domestic burglars with no awareness of the victim were simply not present within the current population, somewhat surprisingly, given that these were all solved cases. This repositioned the understanding of domestic burglary as an offence in which a level of competence or skill was all but a prerequisite attribute, which added to the knowledge base built from previous trait-based studies, which had favoured competence as a means of differentiation between offenders.

5.16 – Methodological contribution

The key methodological advance for the present chapter was the effective application of Canter & Youngs' (2009) narrative framework to an analysis of crime scene behaviours dataset produced from an unobtrusive measurement, namely police recorded information. This lent validity to the use of such a data-source for narrative and behavioural research, but also greatly supported Canter & Youngs' model in its transference to a population based in a different geographical and temporal location and recorded using a different source of information and form of measurement. As demonstrated in several earlier studies, Smallest space analysis proved an effective method of appreciating themes in commonly co-occurring behaviours. The scales and criterion used to assign dominant narratives to individual offences was also successfully repeated from previous studies and thus lent further support to the use of such measures.

5.17 – Limitations

The primary concerns about limitations were in many ways mitigated by the support lent to the methodological approach by the findings being consistent with those of interview-based studies. Chiefly, the concerns with the ecological validity of data initially recorded for purposes other than academic research. While interview-based research has raised concerns regarding potential researcher bias or accounts doctored to favour the interviewee, the validity of unobtrusive measurement-based studies has often been queried due to possible at-source bias, missing data or misinterpretation. That both data-sourcing techniques has now produced comparable and consistent results would lend some weight to the validity of both techniques. The potential for additional behaviours to go unrecorded which could affect the assigned narrative theme using the current method must however, be acknowledged.

The use of solved cases also required the acknowledgement that they may not present an accurate reflection of the full behavioural repertoire of domestic burglars. Solved offences made up, on average only 16% of reported cases, and it has long been known that many offences were not even brought to police attention. Solved cases however, provided the ability to confidently assign a series of offending behaviours to a known offender.

5.18 – Future studies

With narrative-based behavioural themes here established for the current population, the central concern of the study was now to examine the influences on that behaviour, within this narrative context. In keeping with McAdams' (1997) understanding of the developmental nature of narratives, and the differentiation of domestic burglars based on levels of competence or experience, the next stage would be to explore the influence of maturity on the behavioural themes established here. This

would present a new dimension of understanding of the nature of domestic burglary behaviour, and as to what inferences could be drawn from the analysis of the crime scene.

5.19 - Conclusions

The study found ample support for Canter & Youngs' (2009, p122) theory that narrative themes were "embedded in a social matrix" and therefore, were likely to follow recognized fictional archetypes. The narrative action system model was successfully applied as a framework for behavioural differentiation, demonstrating a consistency of motivations for domestic burglary across populations and data collection methods.

A total of 83.4% of domestic burglars presented either a dominant narrative-based behavioural theme or combination of themes. Over half of these could be aligned to an Adaptive adventure narrative, and two-thirds of all offenders were task-focused. Expressive offending appeared as a small, but distinctive group of domestic burglars, whose motivations were uncommon. The Integrative irony offender, being neither task focused nor victim-aware were non-existent in the current population. This presented a fresh insight into the types of individuals who were moved to commit domestic burglary offences.

5.20 – Hypotheses revisited

The findings of the present chapter allow for a more detailed reappraisal of the hypotheses (2.25). It had been hypothesised that in terms of maturity, adolescent or young adult offenders would be more likely to commit impulsive or less considered offences, in line with documented cognitive deficits, which were a characteristic of those age groups. Older individuals would approach the task in a more

considered manner. Considering the narrative themes identified above, it could now be hypothesized that the Expressive romance narrative, made up of low task focus, but with an emphasised need to impact on the victim would be most prevalent in young offenders. Such motivations could easily produce impulsive, ill-considered offences. Adaptive offending would emerge from an extensive general offending history where the twin attributes of task-focus and victim awareness might serve the individual well during a first-time domestic burglary. An extensive history of acquisitive offending might also be a part of more task-focused offending, whilst extensive domestic burglary experience could focus the offender's attentions on the technical aspects of the offence, as in the conservative theme.

If these hypotheses were supported in the forthcoming analysis, then this would indicate that maturity and experience were integral, formative elements of an offender's behavioural theme, and that narrative themes were equally subject to age and experience-related development. If they were not supported, then this would indicate that behaviour was more a product of an individual's inner narrative, irrespective of developmental processes.

6

Maturity and development in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour

6.1 – Introduction

The alignment of Canter & Youngs' (2009) narrative framework with the recorded crime scene behaviours of domestic burglars presented three substantially diverse patterns of motivation and action, which very much bound crime scene behaviours to the individual's personal myths. Doing so however, only partially captured McAdams' concept of the narrative and how it developed over the life-course. Narrative development, as described by McAdams were built from two distinct and evolving constructs; experience and maturity. He asserted that concepts of self and personal myths were in a constant state of change and development over the life course, and emerged from "both positive and negative experiences, planned scenarios and chance encounters" (McAdams, 1997, p278). The narrative evolved as an ever-adjusting life story which developed in line with each fresh experience, good or bad. Thus, if behaviour was the enactment of the narrative, then it would be expected to change as a consequence of experience.

As a life-story however, the narrative and development through experience were for McAdams, inextricably linked to age. A life-course narrative was divided into three phases; the pre-mythic period of infancy and childhood, described by McAdams (1997, p277) as "a time before identity" in which a narrative thread to the life was not yet considered. Rather, this period was used to gather information that would one day set the tone of the future narrative. It was only in the mythic period, commencing in adolescence that a historical perspective on previous life events was developed. The mythic period continued throughout the substantive years of adulthood, ever developing to gift meaning or mitigation

to actions and experiences. As the individual moved through the mid-life years, focus changed from myth-building to myth-review, in which the validity of the preceding narrative was evaluated. "To experience integrity is to accept the myth with grace. To experience despair is to reject the gift as unworthy." (McAdams, 1997, pp278-279). The way in which the narrative developed, and with it, behaviour, was dependent on its place within the maturation process. McAdams' theory would therefore suggest that age was correlated with the narrative, as in fact it has previously demonstrated a correlation with criminality.

The correlation between age and offending is one of the most consistent occurrences in studies of lifetime offending patterns. Since its emergence in the work of Quetelet (1831), numerous studies, drawn from different periods, locations and cultural settings have found support for what has been termed the age-crime curve; a typical onset of offending in early-to-mid adolescence, rising to a peak in offending at or around the age of seventeen (Sweeten, et al., 2013), before declining initially rapidly, but later steadily throughout early adulthood. Some have described the curve as an invariant phenomenon (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983), impervious to the influence of external factors that themselves were subject to change. Others have considered it a normative process (Laub & Simpson, 2001) in which many adolescents took part in a high number of relatively low-level offences before the demands of adulthood. The age-crime curve then, documented the typical crime-related transition from adolescence to adulthood, which saw a sharp peak and decline in rates of offending.

Researchers from different fields have since developed an expansive theoretical base on why so many young people decide to take part in offending, before desisting in early adulthood. In criminology, General strain theory (Agnew, 1992) suggested that it was the struggle to reach unattainable goals which drove adolescent offending. Societal controls in young adulthood (Bottoms, et al, 2004) such as marriage or employment informally put paid to these desires. Neurobiological advances have offered a lack of development in cognitive control systems as an explanation for this, as this was later corrected in

early adulthood. Conducive with this were the psychological pressures of peer influence, impulsiveness or poor perceptions of risk in the teenage years (Lerverso, et al., 2015). Collectively, this cross-section of studies of internal and external influences have documented the consensus of support for the efficacy of the age-crime curve as an illustration of life-course offending patterns.

Not all offenders, it must be noted, conformed to the age-crime curve. Notwithstanding the debate as to whether adult onset offenders indeed exist or were simply those who had been able to previously avoid the attentions of the criminal justice system, it has been further argued (Blumstein, et al., 1988) that the curve's decline in early adulthood was more a product of many desisting offenders, which served to disguise the continued criminal activity of others. Nevertheless, the late-adolescent peak and subsequent decline in offending experienced by a great many offenders, occurred just after the shift from pre-mythic to mythic narrative eras described by McAdams (1997). The adoption of a personal narrative and identity, which is reflective and inclusive of past experiences pre-empted the later development of cognitive control systems, the entrance into adulthood and with it the alleviation of crime influencers such as peer influence or impulsiveness, to be replaced by adult-related informal social controls. This raises then, two significant questions for the study of offending behaviour; firstly, were certain narratives more aligned to different stages in the maturation process? With the different themes being based on levels of task focus and victim awareness it may well be that those elements could be associated with the development of cognitive control systems, or else be enacted under peer influence, or the offender's own impulsiveness. Secondly, within those themes, could behaviours be seen to change with increasing maturity? If the narrative was in a continuous state of development throughout the life-course, up until the post-mythic stage, then to what extent was this reflected in crime scene behaviours?

In delineating the offender's age, or level of maturity as a specific factor in development within behavioural themes, the present chapter sought to determine whether an offender's age could be an

influence on the adopting of a specific narrative role. If so, then it would follow that an offender's level of maturity could be derived from their actions at a domestic burglary crime scene. Such a proposal had not previously been applied within a narrative framework.

6.2 – Aims

There were two principle aims of the chapter, both centred around determining if a relationship existed between an offender's narrative-based behavioural theme, as identified in chapter five, and their age. This would go towards the interpreting of offending narrative-based themes, through the prism of behavioural development and change, such as was described by McAdams (1997).

Firstly, the chapter set out to discover if different behavioural themes were most prominent amongst offenders in different age groups. This would determine whether elements of those themes such as task-focus or victim awareness were products of different stages of maturation, particularly in the differences between adolescent and young adult offenders, for which cognitive processes, neurobiological development and societal pressures have all been held to influence offending behaviour.

Secondly, the aim was to also explore behavioural change *within* each behavioural theme at different stages. This would provide a further level of complexity to behavioural development processes within the parameters of each narrative-based theme, and whether specific behaviours or groups of co-occurring behaviours emerged from immaturity or maturity. Ultimately, the aim was to document age-based development in domestic burglary offenders to a greater degree than had been accomplished in previous analysis.

6.3 – Data

As in chapter five, the present chapter was focused only on the crime scene behaviours derived from the content analysis of dataset A. This included 673 solved domestic burglary offences. As such, and with a view to consistency, the chapter was based on the same data source as had been employed in chapter five.

6.4 – Method

The initial challenge for the chapter was to identify age groups that were likely to demonstrate behavioural differentiation between them. To do this, a line chart was produced to document the number of offences at every age, at the time of the domestic burglary offence. Age groups were thereby determined by points of notable increase or decrease in the number of offenders.

With age groups established, the second basis of the study was the four narrative-based themes previously established in chapter five. The prevalence of each narrative-based behavioural theme was assessed within each of the age groups, with chi-square tests employed as a means of determining whether any statistically significant relationships could be identified between age-groups and themes. Smallest space analysis was again employed here, but rather than as a measure of behavioural co-occurrence in the entire population, a plot was produced for each separate age group, and therefore acted as a measure of behavioural differentiation between different groups of offenders. SSA was capable of documenting not only distinctions in individual behaviours but also differences in the patterns of their co-occurrence. This was crucial to any exploration of crime scene behaviour, wherein the thematic whole was considered as opposed to the individual meaning of behaviours. This positioned this type of use of SSA within a repeated measures design, in which thematic content was examined for various age-based groups, having already been tested on the dataset.

6.5 – Hypotheses

Having established that narrative-based themes could be derived from a domestic burglary dataset, the next hypothesis proposed by the thesis was that those themes would be most prevalent in different age groups of offenders. This was based on the proposal that elements of certain themes – i.e. a lack of task focus or a need to impact on the victim – were consistent with previously identified traits observed in periods of cognitive development or were prompted by societal attractors to crime – such as adolescent impulsiveness or peer influence. Thus, different offender age groups would be more prone to certain motivations for domestic burglary offending.

It was further hypothesised that behavioural and thematic development would be revealed across offenders of different ages, which would ultimately document a behavioural maturation process within offenders presenting each of the identified themes. This was to be anticipated in accordance with McAdams' (1997) understanding of the narrative as a life story which was subject to continuous development with each fresh experience.

6.6 – Results

To begin with, the ages of all 673 offenders at the time of each of the solved domestic burglary cases were plotted on a line chart (fig. 6.1), and although results followed the anticipated rise in the late teenage years, followed by a rapid decline there were some notable deviations from the recognized age-crime curves found in many previous studies.

Firstly, the increase in the frequency of offending in the early teenage years did not follow a consistent incline, rising rapidly at the age of fifteen, before a minor dip at the age of seventeen, which for

Sweeten, et al., (2013) had presented as the peak in offending frequency.

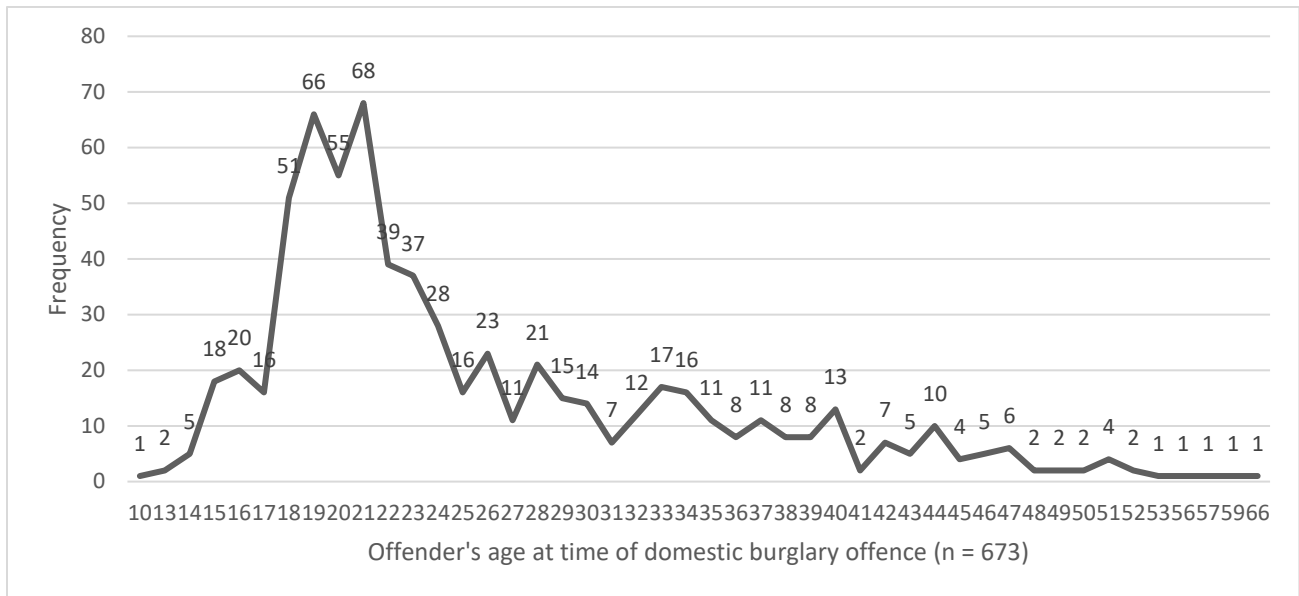


Figure 6.1: *Ages of offenders responsible for solved domestic burglary offences in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014*

That frequency rose dramatically however, for domestic burglars aged eighteen, increasing by more than 200% from that of seventeen-year olds. Rather than a sharp peak however, that rise was maintained and even continued to increase during a period of three years, up until the age of twenty-one. Only then did the frequency-per-age decline in a sustained pattern until twenty-five. Beyond that, the number of burglaries committed per age maintained a sporadic pattern of fluctuation until the mid-forties, before levelling out at a minimal number thereafter. So, although the late teen-early adulthood years were indeed a time of peak offending in this domain, a total of 371 offences (55.1%) were in fact, committed by those aged twenty-two or over, rather undermining the concept of a desistance brought about through the restrictions of adult life being a normative process. The present population were in the main, older than findings on offender ages in general offending, maintaining a lengthier peak of offending, and continuing, albeit in smaller numbers over a greater period of the adult life-span. The curve in fig. 6.1 suggested that there were several significant ages for domestic burglars at which rates

of offending changed. The focal question therefore was whether these key stages in the maturation process would also correlate with evidence of behavioural development.

Table 6.1: *Age groups of domestic burglars with frequencies of offending and percentages*
(*n = 673*)

Age-group	Frequency	% of offences
10-17	62	9.2
18-21	240	35.7
22-30	204	30.3
31-40	111	16.5
41-66	56	8.3

Offenders were grouped in age-brackets consistent with the fluctuations presented in fig. 6.1. Between the ages of 10-17, domestic burglaries were committed at low though escalating rates, which were comparable (in reverse) to the decline in domestic burglaries at the end of the active offending period. Those aged 18-21 were at the peak age for this domain, while the greatest decline in offending rates occurred between the 22-30 and 31-40 age groups. In the thirties (31-40), frequencies presented a steady decline, which was continued in the following period (age 41-66), where they reduced further into sporadic, often singular offences. Frequencies per age-group reiterated that the period of peak intensity was between 18-21 years, but also underlined that the 22-30 age group were also responsible for a sizable number of offences.

6.7 – Narrative-based behavioural themes and offender age groups

When dominant themes were documented within the different age-groups, some interesting distinctions were noted. Firstly, the Adaptive adventure theme, which was the prominent theme found

in 296 domestic burglary offences (44.0% of the dataset – see: fig. 5.6), was most active in offenders in the 10-17 and 18-21 age groups, but then reduced afterwards, suggesting that the combination of offence focus and victim awareness were common traits in many adolescent domestic burglary offenders. The reduced occurrence of this theme in later years was something of a surprise, as it showed that the two positive behavioural elements – task-focus and victim awareness did not increase in more mature offenders, and it could not be seen to develop through maturity.

Table 6.2: *Frequency and percentage presence of behavioural themes within domestic burglar age groups (n = 673 offences)*

Theme Age group	Adapt.	AdaptCons	Cons.	ExpresCons	Express	ExpressAdapt	IntegAdapt	Nil	Tot.
10-17 (62)	31	5	10	0	4	0	0	12	62
<i>% agegrp</i>	<i>50.0</i>	<i>8.1</i>	<i>16.1</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>6.4</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>19.4</i>	<i>100.</i>
18-21 (240)	127	21	49	0	4	2	2	35	240
<i>% agegrp</i>	<i>52.9</i>	<i>8.8</i>	<i>20.4</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>1.7</i>	<i>.8</i>	<i>.8</i>	<i>14.6</i>	<i>100.</i>
22-30 (204)	79	24	48	1	13	1	0	38	204
<i>% agegrp</i>	<i>38.7</i>	<i>11.8</i>	<i>23.5</i>	<i>.5</i>	<i>6.4</i>	<i>.5</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>18.6</i>	<i>100.</i>
31-40	37	9	30	1	5	8	0	21	111
<i>% agegrp</i>	<i>33.3</i>	<i>8.1</i>	<i>27.0</i>	<i>.9</i>	<i>4.5</i>	<i>7.2</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>18.9</i>	<i>100.</i>
41-66	22	4	9	0	13	2	0	6	56
<i>% agegrp</i>	<i>38.3</i>	<i>7.1</i>	<i>16.1</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>23.2</i>	<i>3.6</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>10.7</i>	<i>100.</i>

The Conservative tragedy theme, consistent in task focus with the Adaptive narrative, presented a different pattern however, increasing its percentage presence throughout age groups up until 31-40 years, only thereafter decreasing. This theme demonstrated a longevity and development which largely resisted the abundant onset of desistance in young adulthood. The technical proficiency of the

conservative narrative in young offenders would provide therefore, an early indication of a persistent domestic burglary offender.

Perhaps the most revealing pattern of age-related differentiation was in the Expressive romance theme which began by appearing in a low percentage (6.5%) in the 10-17 age group. It was then reduced to near non-existence in the age of peak offending, demonstrating that almost all domestic burglars in that age group were in some way focused on the task at hand. The theme was present in small percentages throughout most of the adult years up until the 41-66 years group, where it expanded considerably to be a dominant theme in almost a quarter (23.2%) of all offences, over three times as in any of the previous age groups. Thus, expressive offending was either the most persistent of behavioural themes, with its percentage increase accounted for by the desistance of other narratives, or it was a style of domestic burglary offending which developed in older offenders, when a focus on the task or financial gain had evidently waned. These differences between adaptive and expressive narrative-based themes between the 10-17 years and 41-66 years age groups demonstrated that the narrative-based themes each had a different relationship with maturity, but not in the manner that had been hypothesized. Low task-focus could not be associated with the impulsivity or societal pressures of adolescence. Rather, it was abundant at the opposite end of the age spectrum, amongst the oldest category of adult offenders. Adolescent domestic burglars by contrast, were predominantly task-focused and largely victim-aware in their approach to the offence.

These patterns were largely supported when maturity groups and narrative based behavioural themes were subjected to chi-square tests of association. All statistically significant relationships were found to involve the adaptive or expressive themes, and both at opposite ends of the maturity spectrum. The adaptive behavioural theme presented a significant relationship with the peak ages of domestic burglary offending, between 18-21 years.

Table 6.3: *Chi-square tests of association between maturity groups and narrative-based behavioural themes in domestic burglary crime scene behaviour (n = 673)*

		Freq.	P value		n.s./sig.	Phi
<i>10-17 years</i>	Adaptive	31	.32	P>0.05	n.s.	.04
	AdaptCons	5	.71	P>0.05	n.s.	-.01
	Conservative	10	.27	P>0.05	n.s.	-.04
	Expressive	4	.82	P>0.05	n.s.	.01
	Nil	12	.36	P>0.05	n.s.	.55
<i>18-21 years</i>	Adaptive	127	.001	P<0.001***	sig.	.13
	AdaptCons	21	.69	P>0.05	n.s.	-.02
	Conservative	49	.55	P>0.05	n.s.	-.02
	Expressive	4	.001	P<0.001*** (-)	sig.	-.13
	Nil	35	.36	P>0.05	n.s.	-.04
<i>22-30 years</i>	Adaptive	79	.07	P>0.05	n.s.	-.07
	AdaptCons	24	.16	P>0.05	n.s.	-.05
	Conservative	48	.45	P>0.05	n.s.	.03
	Expressive	13	.67	P>0.05	n.s.	.02
	Nil	38	.36	P>0.05	n.s.	.04
<i>31-40 years</i>	Adaptive	37	.01	P>0.01*	sig.	-.09
	AdaptCons	9	.62	P>0.05	n.s.	-.02
	Conservative	30	.14	P>0.05	n.s.	.06
	Expressive	5	.52	P>0.05	n.s.	-.03
	Nil	21	.48	P>0.05	n.s.	.03
<i>41-66 years</i>	Adaptive	22	.46	P>0.05	n.s.	-.03
	AdaptCons	4	.55	P>0.05	n.s.	-.02
	Conservative	9	.29	P>0.05	n.s.	-.04
	Expressive	13	.00	P<0.001***	Sig.	-
	Nil	6	.21	P>0.05	n.s.	-.05

This substantiated the finding that task-focused, victim-aware domestic burglary behaviour was not necessarily a product of maturity, with higher than anticipated numbers of relatively young offenders exhibiting this approach to the offence. In contrast, the expressive theme, which had been

hypothesised to be prevalent amongst young offenders presented a statistically significant negative relationship with the 18-21 years group, meaning that a lack of task focus could not be associated with the lack of cognitive development previously identified in young offenders.

At the opposite end of the maturity spectrum, the adaptive theme also showed a significant relationship with the 31-40 years group, while the expressive behavioural theme now demonstrated a positive relationship with the oldest offenders, in the 41-66 years age group. Much less a product of immaturity, a lack of task focus in domestic burglary could be associated therefore, with those who might have been expected to have desisted from criminal acts. Narrative-based themes then, did demonstrate some form of relationship with levels of maturity, although this was far from extensive, and was the opposite of what would have been predicted by previous research into youthful impulsivity or age-related social pressures to offend.

6.8 - Smallest space analysis

Having noted some differentiation *between* themes, based on the age of the domestic burglar offender, SSAs were then conducted on the crime scene behaviours of offenders within each age group, to map any behavioural development based on maturity for each narrative-based theme.

6.9 - Domestic burglary crime scene behaviour in the 10-17 years age group

In the initial Smallest space analysis, crime scene behaviours were examined for the youngest offenders, aged between 10-17 years. Sixty-two domestic burglaries were committed by those in this group, which pre-empted the age of peak offending frequency. As shown in table 6.1, 50% of these

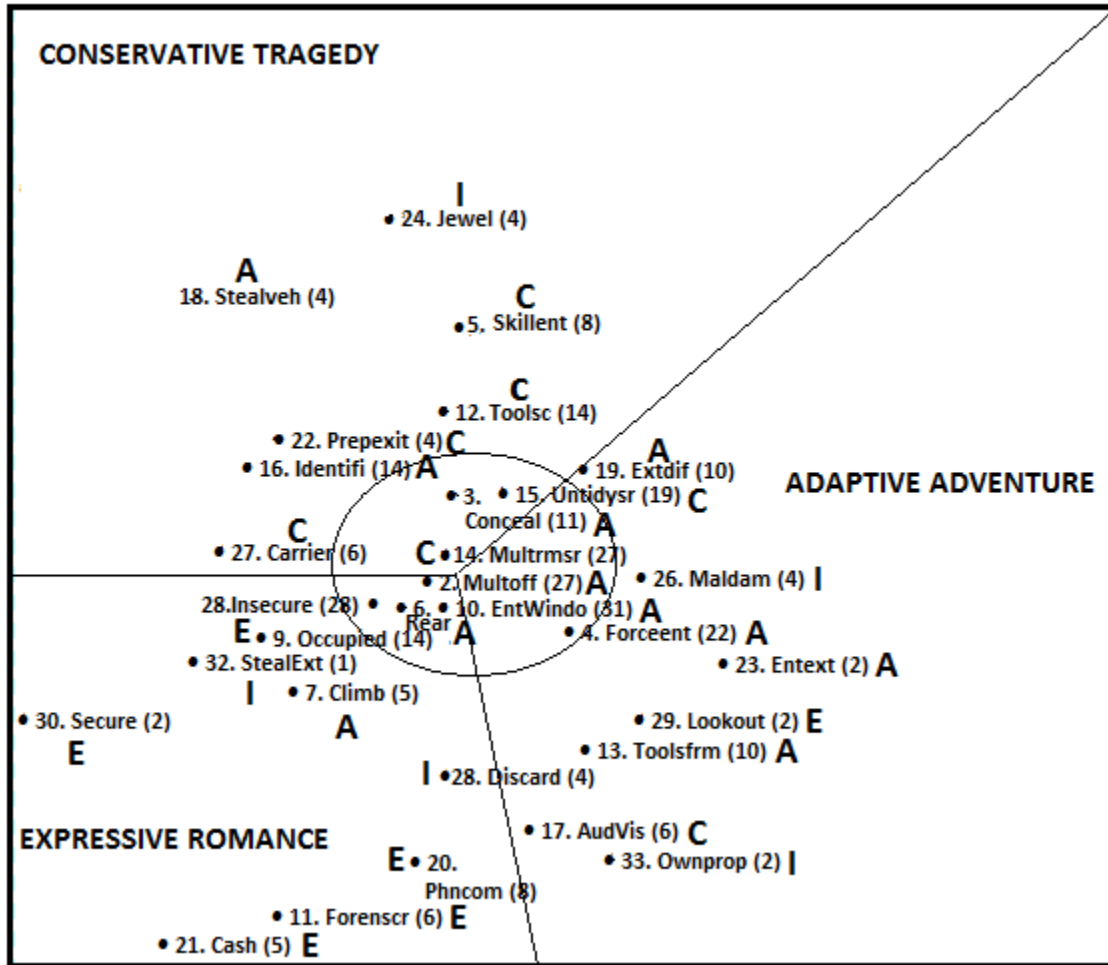
offences presented an Adaptive adventure narrative-based theme, with just short of a fifth demonstrating no dominant theme at all.

As had been observed in chapter five, all themes emerged out of a core group of behaviours that were mainly adaptive. Interestingly, in fig. 6.2 the five core adaptive behaviours – *concealed approach*, *multiple offenders*, *entry – window*, *entry – rear* and *forced entry* were predominantly concerned with the approach and entry in to the property. The two conservative behaviours present in the core – *untidy search* and *multiple rooms searched* both related to actions once inside the premises. This suggested that the threat posed by the victim was only an issue for many young offenders until entry was gained. Once inside, those concerns gave way to completing an effective offence. The consistency between core behaviours for all offenders and those aged 10-17 was also striking. Although only eight of the thirteen overall core behaviours were present here, all 10-17years core behaviours occupied the same position in the plot, as they had in overall domestic burglary offending. This indicated that these offenders began with a base group of essential behaviours that were neither representative of a distinctive behavioural theme nor age.

The absence from the core however, of *Tools from the scene used*, *exit different to entry*, *keys/vehicle stolen*, *tools brought to the scene and used* or *skilled entry* showed that while such behaviours might still be present in some offences committed by 10-17 years offenders, they were not adopted by the majority until later in life.

The three themes that had been prominent in the offences of the overall population could be derived from the co-occurrence of crime-scene behaviours here, with evidence of the Integrative irony theme appearing intermittently within. In each of the three present themes were behaviours which had previously been related to other narratives, indicating that some development must occur in later years.

Entry by climbing, for example, was an Adaptive behaviour in the overall analysis, suggesting that it was generally employed as part of a skilled offence.



1 by 3 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .11

Figure 6.2: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders aged 10-17, in the southern policing district of a northern city 2010-2014 (n = 62 offences)*

For adolescent offenders however, it appeared within the Expressive romance theme, indicating that it was here intended more as a demonstration of prowess and to have an impact on the victim of the

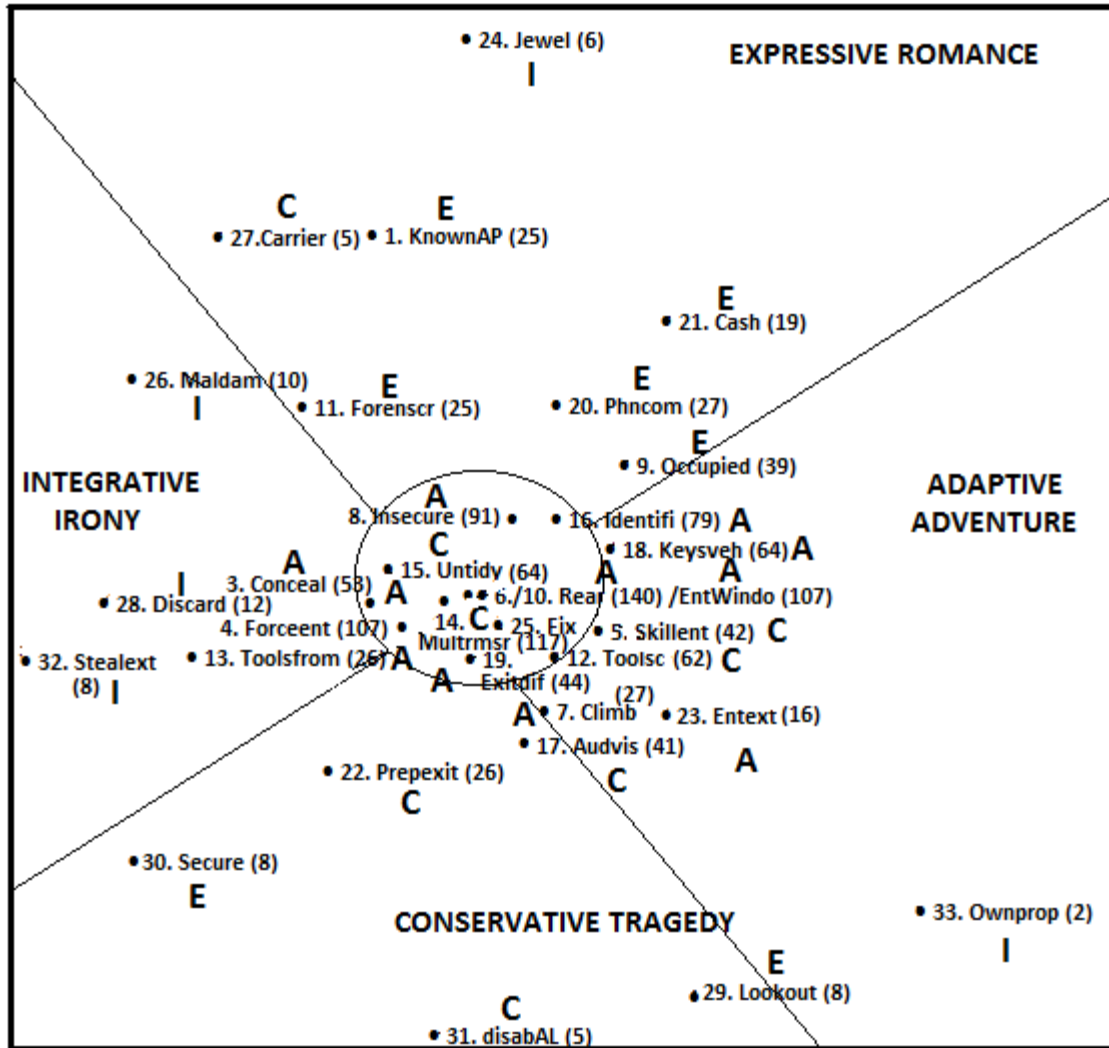
offence. The reverse could also be inferred of the use of a *lookout*, which presented as an adaptive, rather than expressive offence.

The number of behaviours beyond the core were evenly distributed across the three regions of the plot which differentiated narrative-based themes. Seven behaviours were present in the conservative region, the same in the adaptive and eight in the Expressive romance region. There was some slight differentiation between the number of behaviours consistent with the relevant behavioural theme in each region. Four of the seven behaviours in the conservative region were of that theme, three of the seven in the adaptive region and five of the eight in the expressive. This suggested that, much in keeping with McAdams' description of the transition between pre-mythic and mythic stages, that behavioural themes for younger offenders would be subject to development as maturity increased.

6.10 - Domestic burglary crime scene behaviour in the 18-21 years age group

When domestic burglaries were committed by those at the peak age of offending, core behaviours demonstrated both consistency and some progression. All eight 10-17 years core behaviours appeared in the core again here, reiterating that these were not unique to either group. Additionally, however, were *exit different to entry*, *identifiable property stolen* and *fixtures/piping*, the last of which had not been at the core of domestic burglary crime scene behaviour for the overall population. *Exit different* and *identifiable property* were both adaptive behaviours in that analysis, with *fixtures* being included in the conservative theme.

That both themes were found to increase within the population during the 18-21 years, suggested an expansion in both quantitative and qualitative aspects of task focused offending throughout the peak ages.



1 by 2 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .15

Figure 6.3: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders aged 18-21, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 240 offences)*

The conservative theme once again appeared to be less distinct than it had in the analysis of all offenders (fig. 5.5), suggesting that this narrative required some form of maturation before it was fully formed, in keeping with the continued development of technical skills. The adaptive theme presented only four behaviours outside of the core; those being *entry by extension*, *entry – climbing*, *skilled entry* (conservative) and *Vehicle keys/vehicle stolen*, nevertheless demonstrating a focused and skilled strain

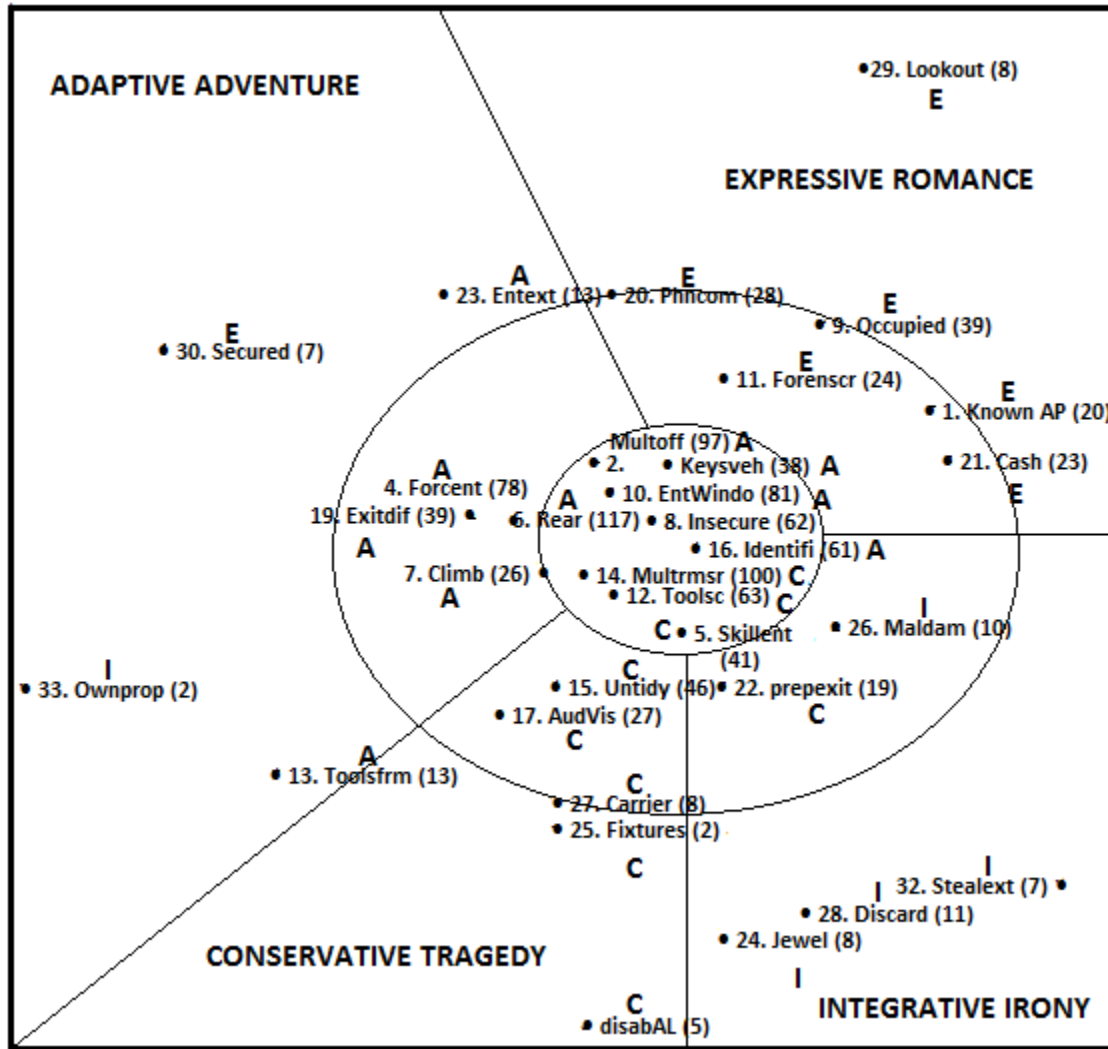
of the domestic burglary offence. Here was a distinct favouring of conservative and adaptive themes, with the behaviours contained within those themes occurring in greater frequency and appearing closer to the core. This is supportive of the distribution of dominant themes for this age group seen in table 6.1, in which a total of 82.1% of 18-21-year-old domestic burglars presented either a dominant adaptive or conservative theme, or combination of both. Thus, within the age group, task focused themes were quantitatively at their peak, with offenders following other behavioural themes being uncommon.

Although low task-focused offending in domestic burglary behaviour was infrequent within this age group, those themes did appear within the plot as very distinct well-formed narratives, indicating that unlike in the conservative theme, the motivations that prompted this uncommon form of the offence were already developed in offenders of this age group. The integrative theme, which was not dominant in the behaviours of any one domestic burglar appeared here in a very small number of low frequency behaviours but as a distinct theme beyond the predominantly adaptive core. Five of the seven behaviours appearing in the expressive region were of the expressive narrative, again collectively presenting a distinctive form of domestic burglary.

Three of the narrative themes of offenders aged 18-21 took on more of the structure and thematic meaning of those derived from the behaviours of all ages. Only the conservative narrative was not yet fully formed at this stage.

6.11 - Domestic burglary crime scene behaviour in the 22-30 years age group

As domestic burglars moved beyond the peak ages of offending and into full adulthood, a period that was characterised in fig. 6.1 by a rapid decline in the frequencies of offending, further changes in behavioural themes were observed.



1 by 3 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .16

Figure 6.4: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders aged 22-30, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 204 offences)*

For the first time, the core behaviours of domestic burglars took on a different appearance than those of younger offenders. *Untidy search, forced entry and entry-rear*, which had each been at the core of crime scene behaviours for 10-17 and 18-21-year-old burglars now became part of distinctive themes. *Exit different to entry and fixtures/piping*, which had been at the core of 18-21-year old burglary behaviour, also retreated in frequency. In their place, behaviours that had not presented in previous

cores, but had in the SSA for those of all ages first appeared; these being, *steal vehicle keys/vehicle, tool brought to the scene and used* and *skilled entry*. Qualitatively, these behaviours presented increases in perceptual awareness or procedural competence from those previously demonstrated. These three behaviours occurred in between 38 and 61 offences of the 204 committed by this group, indicating that despite the trend in desistance, there were still a considerable number of skilled offenders operating within this age group.

The four behavioural themes were now almost fully formed in the way they appeared in figure 5.5. Adaptive and conservative narratives continued to feature multiple behaviours situated closer to the core, here represented by the outer concentric circle, than those of the non-task focused themes.

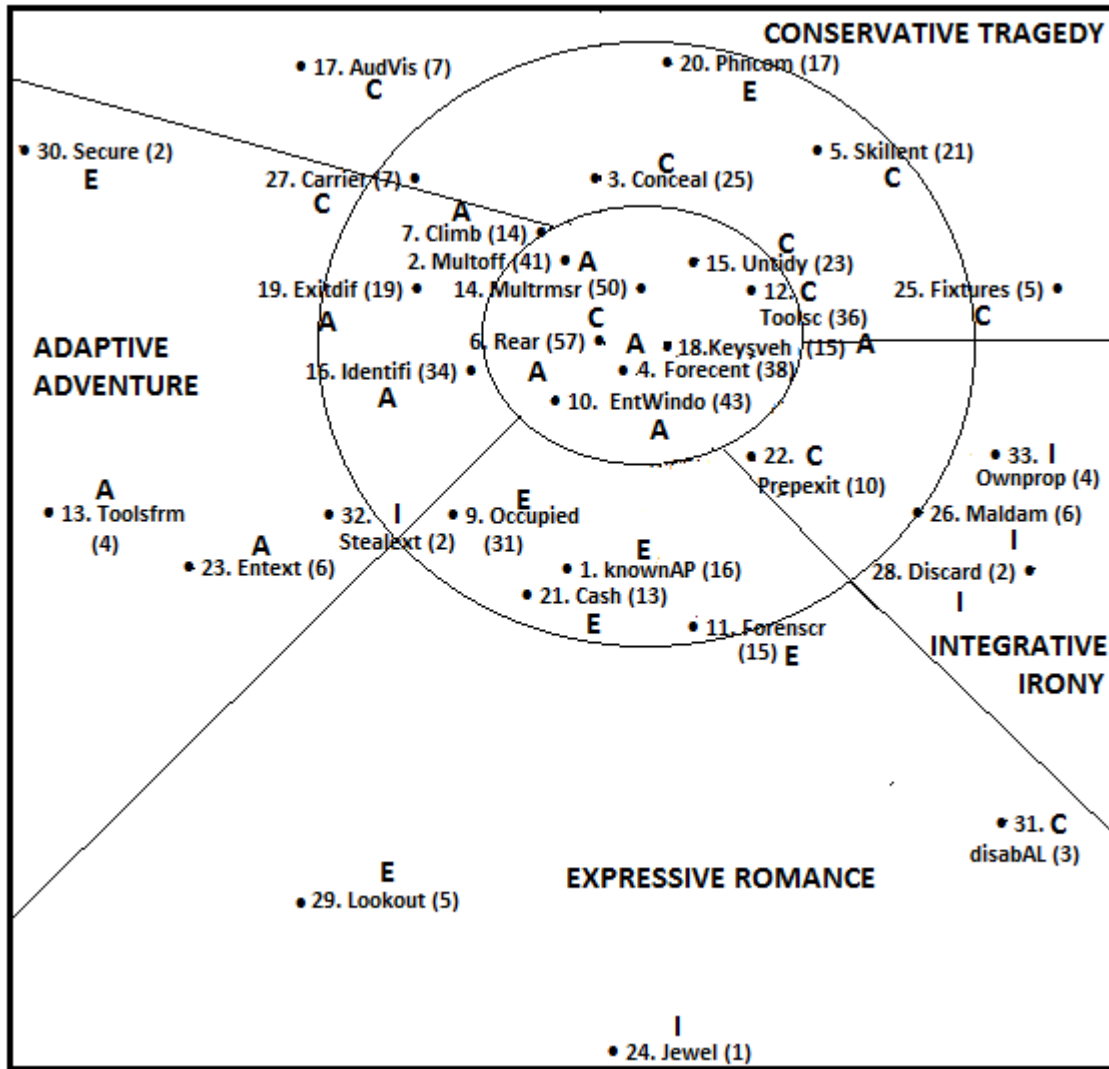
In the conservative theme, the distribution of behaviours was not dissimilar to that of the 18-21-year old offender, demonstrating a degree of thematic consistency. *Audio-visual equipment stolen* continued to occur more frequently than *offender prepared exit*, which in turn, was more frequent than *disable alarm*. The adaptive theme did however change, now no longer collecting mainly in the core. Here, a distinctive adaptive theme, removed from the core and different from other themes could be observed, made up of *forced entry, exit different to entry, entry by climbing, tools from the scene used* and *entry by extension*. While *forced entry* and *exit different* had appeared in earlier cores, *climbing* and *tools from the scene* had both previously appeared within other narrative-based behavioural themes. Here, for the first time, they were drawn together in a recognisable narrative. It was of note that this solidifying of the adaptive narrative coincided with its reduction in frequency within the population of this age group, indicating that this had now become a distinctive 'type' of domestic burglary offending, rather than simply the enactment of core behaviours. Expressive romance behaviours continued to occur at a relative distance from the core. Likewise, integrative behaviours were infrequent but continued to occur, at some distance from other behavioural approaches to domestic burglary.

6.12 - Domestic burglary crime scene behaviour in the 31-40 years age group

The consistent core behaviours that continued from the previous age group to 31-40-year-old offenders, were *multiple offenders, multiple rooms searched, entry-rear, entry-window, keys/vehicle keys and tools brought to the scene and used*, repeating a collection of behaviours which represented both a consistency with younger offenders, and development. The first two behaviours had been at the core of all domestic burglar behaviour from the 10-17 years group onwards, as had *entry-window*. *Keys/vehicle* and *tools brought to the scene* however, had first appeared in the 22-30 core behaviours and were repeated here, further supporting the adoption of these behaviours as evidence of development. The well-formed structure of themes continued, with mostly well-defined narrative-based themes, with a few behavioural exceptions. Many of the inconsistent behaviours now appeared on the outskirts of the plot, in very low frequencies, and thus, a thematic consistency was largely maintained around the core within the confines of the second concentric circle. Only the Integrative irony narrative differed, continuing as a small, distinctive group of infrequently occurring behaviours. To this extent, behavioural themes for this age group were consistent with those of the 22-30 age group.

In terms of the prevalence of individual behaviours however, patterns of both consistency and distinction could be observed. In the 22-30 age group, the most frequent conservative behaviours had been *untidy search, audio-visual equipment stolen* and *carrier taken from scene*.

For conservative offenders aged 31-40, it was *concealed approach, skilled entry* and *phones or computers stolen*. This indicated a shift in focus from in-crime and property-based behaviours to a greater consideration of the approach and entry, something not observed in any of the younger conservative age groups. In contrast, two of the three most frequent behaviours for adaptive 22-30-year old offenders remained the same for the 31-40 age group; those being *entry – climbing* and *exit different to entry*.



1 by 3 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .14

Figure 6.5: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders aged 31-40, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 111 offences)*

The same was seen in the expressive narrative theme, where *property occupied* and *forensically careless* remained prevalent across the two age groups. This again demonstrated that behavioural development through maturity occurred differently between narrative themes. Conservative tragedy offenders continued to develop, while adaptive behaviours had solidified into a recognizable theme in the 22-30 age group, but then remained consistent. The expressive theme meanwhile, demonstrated a

resolute consistency, with *property occupied* and *forensic carelessness* being in the top three most frequently occurring behaviours in every age group thus far. Behavioural development had not then occurred for Expressive romance offenders as the age of offenders increased.

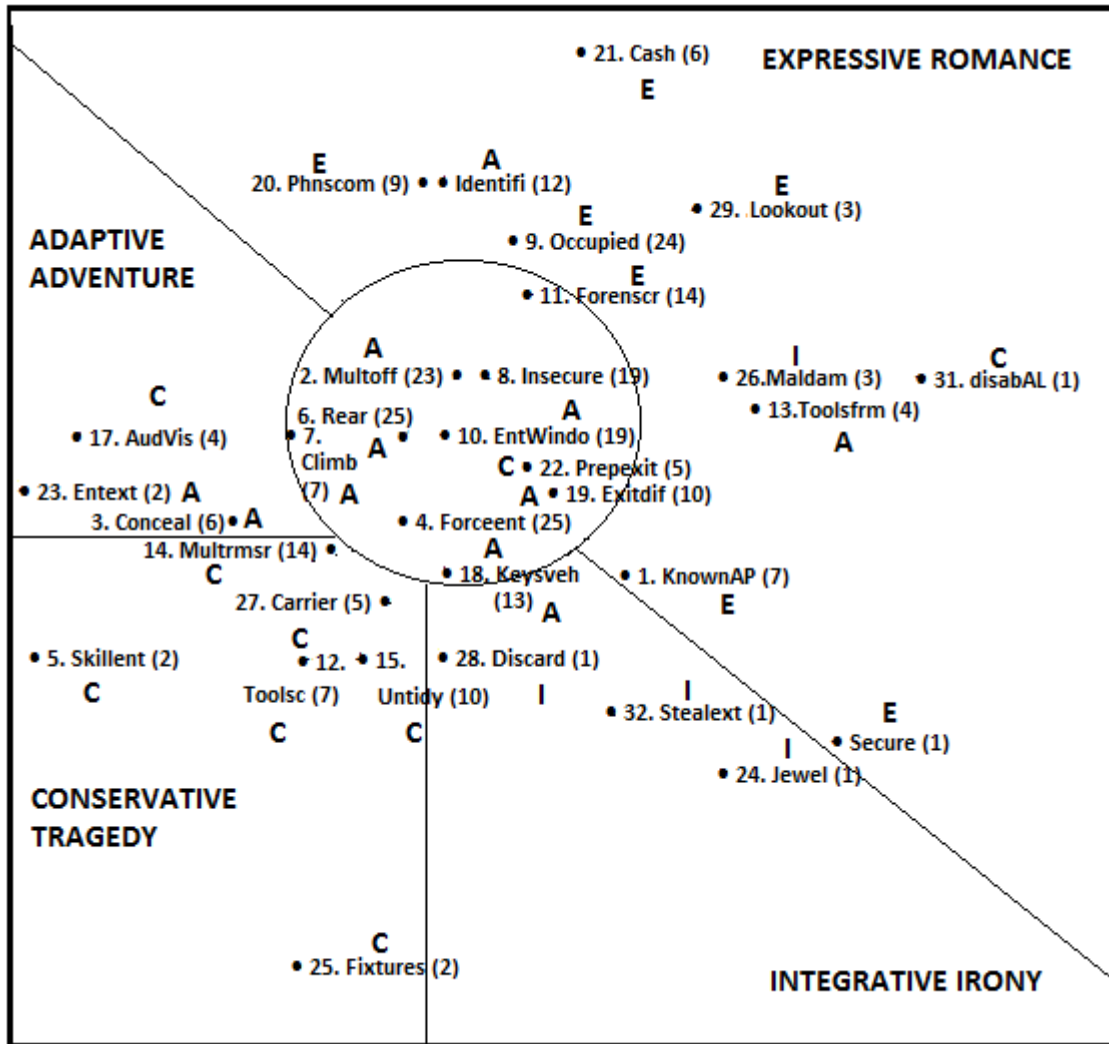
6.13 - Domestic burglary crime scene behaviour in the 41-66 years age group

Finally, the oldest age group in the dataset were responsible for 56 domestic burglaries. The core behaviours of the group, such as *multiple offenders*, *entry-window*, *forced entry and entry – rear* which had appeared consistently, right from the 10-17 years group remained constant. *Steal vehicle keys/vehicle* also appeared, as it had done in the 22-30 and 31-40 groups, indicating that such items of property were of general attraction to more mature offenders who were older than the peak ages of offending.

Offender prepared exit, *entry-climbing* and *forensic carelessness* had not however appeared as core behaviours before this point. Of note was that *forensic carelessness* was the first and only expressive behaviour to appear within a core for any age group, which coincided with that theme's rise to quantitative prominence within the 41-66 years offender age group.

Other expressive behaviours too appeared with a relatively high frequency compared with those of other themes, with many offences featuring attacks on *occupied* properties with *phones or computers* targeted. This was a stark contrast to all previous age groups wherein such behaviours had been uncommon.

A relaxing of an offence focused type of offending could also be seen in the Conservative tragedy theme, within which *skilled entry* – a core behaviour for 22-30year olds occurred only twice. *Tools brought to the scene and used* had been a core behaviour for 22-30 and 31-40-year-old offenders, but occurred



1 by 3 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .14

Figure 6.6: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders aged 41-66, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 56 offences)*

on only six occasions here, a behaviour that was possibly negated to a large extent here by the frequent targeting of *occupied* properties. So, although adaptive behaviours remained the most frequent dominant narrative-based theme for this age group (39.2%), this would appear to be attributed to the high number of adaptive core behaviours, as those outside of the core did not occur with any great

frequency. Instead, the 41-66 years age group presented the most substantial behavioural shift of any age group, with an increase in Expressive romance crime scene behaviours. In the conservative narrative, the prominent behaviours changed entirely from the previous age group, with the concern with entry now present alongside an in-crime focus. *Tools brought to the scene and used* showed prior consideration of the means of entry, while *untidy search* and *multiple rooms searched* typified the efficient offence/lack of victim concern parameters of that narrative theme. The adaptive theme's focus on *concealed approach* and *entry by extension* demonstrated a much more considered, and thereby developed method of entry to the previously prominent *entry by climbing* and *forced entry*. Maturity, in both a cognitive and physical sense would seem to have prompted this development. As before, the expressive theme demonstrated the least amount of behavioural change, continuing to target *occupied properties* as in all previous age groups and focusing on *phones or computers*, as had been the case in all age groups except the 31-40year olds. Once again, the behavioural changes observed were consistent with the thematic elements of each narrative.

6.14 - Discussion

The study revealed some intriguing results regarding the nature of the maturation process within the behavioural themes of domestic burglary crime scene behaviour. Not least was that within the current population, there appeared to be more mature, active offenders than would have been predicted by previous aggregated measures of overall offending patterns such as the age-crime curve. Rather than a clear peak in offending at around 17 years of age, this domestic burglar population presented a much more fluctuating pattern of frequency increase and decline, either side of a peak age of offending which was maintained between the ages of 18-21. A substantial number of offences continued to be committed by offenders up until around 40 years of age, with a smaller number progressing further, up

until the oldest offender in the population, age 66. This suggested that domestic burglary was different from other forms of offending in that it remained a viable acquisitive offending option for far longer than many others.

When the previously identified (chapter five) dominant behavioural themes were added to the consideration of that longevity, distinctions in the individual's approach to, and requirements from the offence were revealed as key points of differentiation. The Adaptive adventure theme, being the most frequently dominant within the dataset and featuring some of the core psychological components of domestic burglary offending was most prevalent in offenders aged 10-17 and 18-21 years. In those age groups, at least 50% of domestic burglars presented the task focus and victim awareness elements of the Adaptive adventure theme. Though the theme remained dominant throughout older age groups, the percentage of offenders demonstrating this theme declined thereafter. This meant that offenders with this narrative-based behavioural theme could be shown to broadly follow the age-related expectations of the age-crime curve, and the surrounding supportive theories on high-frequency, late-teen-early adulthood offending, followed by the decline into eventual desistance in later years.

It was in the Conservative tragedy theme however, that longevity in domestic burglary offending was most revealed. This percentage of offenders demonstrating this narrative theme increased in each age group from 10-17 up until 31-40 years, before presenting a decline in the 41-66year old offenders. The concentration on skilled, competent offending appeared to produce a persistence in this domain, not seen in other narratives. Thus, while many adaptive offenders might be expected to curtail their domestic burglary offending from early adulthood onwards, the conservative offender was more likely to persist and develop as a domestic burglar over a much longer period.

In addition to one high-frequency, but declining with age theme, and one mid-frequency, but persistent theme was the Expressive romance narrative which presented a third alternative relationship with

maturity. A theme that accounted for only a very low number of domestic burglars throughout much of the expected offending age-span, suddenly rose to prominence in the oldest age group, accounting for almost a quarter of domestic burglaries committed by those aged 41-66 years. This presented a fresh picture of motivations for domestic burglary, adding an age-related dimension to their distribution within the dataset. Chi-square tests largely supported the identification of this pattern but identified statistically significant associations between age-group and behavioural theme, only in the adaptive and expressive themes. Adaptive offending presented significant relationships with both 18-21 and 31-40 year old offenders, suggesting that it was a common behavioural theme in a wide variety of offenders. The expressive theme however, demonstrated a significant, negative relationship with 18-21 year olds, but a significant positive association with 41-66 year old burglars.

Although it had already been seen that the adaptive theme was dominant, the findings were to some extent, counter to what might have been anticipated, given the previous understanding of cognitive development and social pressures related to adolescent or young adult offending. As overwhelming percentage of young domestic burglars presented a focus on the task, both in maximising acquisitive gain and in the commission of skilled, efficient offences, which did not correspond with the notion of adolescent impulsiveness, or peer pressures as explanations for offending. While adaptive offenders, intent of maximising the yield from the offence, appeared to hit a peak in frequency between 18-21 years of age, before declining thereafter, conservative burglars – those more focused on the technical proficiency of the offence appeared to continue longer, with the challenge of the task itself spurring them on. Conversely, the lack of task-focus, but need to leave a lasting impression on the victim that defined the Expressive romance narrative could not be associated with immaturity or youthful bravado in front of friends. This was instead, firmly the dominant theme of several older offenders, which positioned such elements as either perspectives which developed in the later years out of other

narratives, or else revealed the psychological underpinnings of adult onset offending, this being offences that lacked planning and were motivated by a prior connection to the victim.

The chapter however, sought to look closer than simply the distribution of favoured behavioural themes across age groups, and examined how behaviours themselves changed with the increased age of the offender. Behaviours considered to be at the core of the offence, and therefore undertaken by offenders of all ages or motivations, were remarkably consistent across age groups. *Multiple offenders acting together* appeared in all age groups, as did *entry – window*. *Insecure entry*, *entry – rear* and *multiple rooms searched* appeared in all but one age group core.

Table 6.4: *Core domestic burglary behaviours per age group with frequencies and narrative-based themes (A = Adaptive, C = Conservative)*

10-17	18-21 (240)	22-30 (204)	31-40 (111)	41-66 (56)
Entry-rear (43) (A)	Entry-rear (140) (A)	Entry-rear (117) (A)	Entry – rear (57) (A)	Entry – rear (25) (A)
Ent- Window (31) (A)	Mult room (117) (C)	Mult room (100) (C)	Mult room (50) (C)	Force entry (25) (A)
Insecure (28)	Ent – Window (107) (A)	Mult. Offenders (97) (A)	Ent – Window (43) (A)	Mult. Offenders (23) (A)
Mult. Offenders (27) (A)	Force entry (107) (A)	Ent- Window (81) (A)	Mult. Offenders (41) (A)	Ent – Window (19) (A)
Force entry (22) (A)	Insecure (91)	Tools to scene (63) (C)	Force entry (38) (A)	Insecure (19) (A)
Untidy search (19) (C)	Identifi prop. (79) (A)	Insecure (62)	Tools to scene (36) (C)	Veh keys/Veh (13) (A)
Concealed app. (11) (A)	Untidy search (64) (C)	Identifi prop (61) (A)	Untidy search (23) (C)	Exit diff (10) (A)
	Concealed app. (58) (A)	Skill entry (41) (C)	Veh keys/Veh (15) (A)	Entry – climb (7) (A)
	Exit diff (44) (A)	Veh keys/Veh (38) (A)		Off Prep exit (5) (C)

These were the base behaviours of domestic burglary and did not evolve from any level of maturity.

Other behaviours however, were not as consistent. *Concealed approach* appeared in the core of 10-17 and 18-21 aged offenders only, consistent with the rise of the adaptive theme, and became less of a

concern for older offenders. *Untidy search*, a conservative behaviour, was at the core of burglary up until 21 years of age and then again in the 31-40 years group, but was less prominent in other groups, suggesting that this became less of a necessity for older offenders.

Tools to the scene and *forced entry* however, became core behaviours only in later age groups. As a targeted item, *steals vehicle keys/vehicle* appeared in core behaviours from 22 years onwards, but not beforehand, indicating that the interest in such items was age related.

The consistency of the adaptive theme was in some ways difficult to assess due to many of the involved behaviour's interchanging with the core. Perhaps due to this, those that made up the actual adaptive theme outside of the core fluctuated in frequency across age groups. For 10-17year old offenders, the most prevalent adaptive behaviours were *exit different to entry* and *tools from the scene used*, already suggestive of a level of procedural ability. For 18-21year olds, only *steals vehicle keys/vehicle* appeared outside of the core, but in 22-30year olds *forced entry*, *entry – climbing* and *entry by extension* had by then all been added. *Exit different to entry* and *tools from the scene used* persisted into the 31-40years age group, marking them out as consistent adaptive behaviours across multiple age groups. In an adaptive framework, these three behaviours captured the elements of task focus, based on a determination to maximise yield and victim awareness. Progression across the age groups could be seen in the adoption of *climbing* from the 18-21 age group, through to 31-40. The physical constraints of aging would offer a reason as to why it did not then appear in the 41-66 category.

In the conservative theme, *skilled entry* was a mark of consistency, appearing in all but one of the age groups (22-30, in which it became a core behaviour), while progression was seen in both the abandonment of *offender prepared exit* after the 18-21 years, and *audio-visual equipment stolen* with the 22-30years group. In comparison to the two task focused themes, the Expressive romance narrative demonstrated the least amount of age-related development. *Property occupied* and *cash stolen*

appeared within the theme in all age groups, while *phones or computers stolen*, *forensic carelessness* and *offender known to aggrieved person* appeared in four of the five age groups with no behaviours abandoned or adopted with any kind of persistence in older offenders, presenting a remarkable degree of consistency. Consistent with its constituent elements, the narrative lacking in task focus demonstrated the least amount of development with age, sufficient as the original actions were in fulfilling the offender's needs.

The chapter was therefore able to associate different themes with different age groups. Behavioural development was noted in the adaptive theme in the form of the adoption of new behaviours by older offenders. The conservative narrative developed through the abandonment of some behaviours, while the expressive theme, focused on the victim rather than the offence demonstrated no form of development at all.

6.15 - Theoretical contribution

The principle theoretical contribution of the chapter was in its demonstration of the developmental nature of domestic burglar behavioural themes. Rather than static depictions of an individual's understanding of the meaning of the offence and their role within it, narrative-based behavioural themes were here seen as such depictions at *certain points in time*, based on the offender's age. This represented a furtherance of the previous research on domestic burglary narratives conducted by Canter & Youngs (2009), in accordance with the developmental elements of the theories presented by McAdams (1997). Such findings offered a different perspective on developmental processes than that which has focused primarily on the surge of late-adolescent offending as depicted in the age-crime curve. While in the present study, the age of offenders presented a similar broad pattern as the curve, its invariance as supported by Hirschi & Gottfredson (1983) could be queried by fluctuations in the

pattern of rise and decline, and the timing and length of the peak of offending. The persistence of the Conservative tragedy theme or late rise of the Expressive romance were not entirely in keeping with neurobiological explanations of developing cognitive processes leading to desistance, or poor impulse control in adolescence. The current chapter would suggest that alongside those risk factors, other psychological processes may also play a hand and were specific to the individual's understanding of themselves. The peak and decline of the curve was made up of three co-occurring narrative processes; a large number of adaptive offenders who by and large followed the recognized curve, and therefore dictated by their prominence the shape of aggregated measures, alongside a smaller number of persistent conservative individuals who grew in prominence in the 22-30 and 31-40 age groups as the dominance of adaptive narratives declined, and finally, the expressive offenders who rose to prominence in the later years (41-66). Whether they were a representation of adult onset offenders, or experienced individuals whose narrative had been subject to development was unclear at this stage, but nevertheless, were inconsistent with previous patterns of long term offending. Thus, the current chapter presented a valuable new insight into the psychological processes of domestic burglars, and potentially of offenders in general, the behaviours they produced and the relationship of both with maturity.

6.16 - Methodological contribution

Narrative themes in offending behaviour have previously been based on the understanding that the individual's inner motivations could best be derived from identifying the co-occurrence of thematically consistent groups of behaviours, as opposed to drawing inferences from single behaviours, lacking in contextual support. SSA had previously proved an effective means of identifying such themes from multiple co-occurring behaviours. Here, the present study demonstrated that Smallest space analysis could be used as an effective means of identifying behavioural co-development within a population of

offenders. In employing multiple SSA plots for offenders from different age groups, the chapter presented behavioural change as a product of an evolving narrative theme across different ages and levels of maturity.

6.17 - Limitations

The chief limitation of the present chapter was in the inability, at least at this stage to declare that behavioural development was determined by age alone. Offenders of a certain age could have substantially different levels of offending experience, and that experience itself may have been accrued in several different ways. The challenge to differentiate the effects of these different constructs was one undertaken across the thesis. The chapter then, as a first step in determining the extent to which maturation could influence behaviour was an effective starting point from which to build a greater understanding of narrative and behavioural development.

6.18 - Future studies

As recognized in the limitations of the current chapter, further studies could seek to differentiate between the influence of maturation and experience in domestic burglary behavioural development. This would add a further dimension to the insights presented here. Beyond the current thesis, researchers may wish to examine the relationship between age and behaviour in different offending domains, as a measure of any consistency with the results of the current chapter.

6.19 - Conclusions

Different narrative-based themes in crime scene behaviour demonstrated different frequencies of occurrence in different age groups within a population of domestic burglars. Within those themes, behavioural distinctions were also noted between age groups, both in overall patterns and with specific behaviours, suggesting a narrative-based form of behavioural development as the individual aged.

The Adaptive adventure theme, made up of task focus and victim awareness peaked in frequency in the 18-21 age group and followed a pattern consistent with the age crime curve and the current theoretical understanding of cognitive development and societal influences on adolescent and young adult offenders. *Entry by climbing* was a prevalent behaviour for older adaptive offenders. The Conservative tragedy theme, increased in percentage frequency from offenders aged 10-17 to 31-40, suggesting that this theme produced a high number of persistent offenders. Adopting a *concealed approach* was popular amongst all themes for younger offenders, but the Conservative narrative persisted with its use after the peak age of offending. *Stealing fixtures/piping* was a behaviour adopted by more mature offenders.

The expressive theme, which was not task focused saw the least amount of behavioural change across age groups, consistent with the enactment of the offence being secondary to the goal of impacting on the victim. The expressive theme was particularly prevalent amongst the oldest domestic burglars, aged 41-66.

The chapter demonstrated that narrative-based behavioural themes were subject to change and development in line with the offender's age. Subsequent studies should seek to differentiate maturity from offending experience as sources of behavioural development.

7

Quantitative aspects of general offending experience, and development in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour*7.1 – Introduction*

In the previous chapter, several crime scene behavioural differences were observed between domestic burglars of different ages, but the overall pattern of those changes differed between those who exhibited different behavioural themes, which were derived from a narrative framework. This suggested that behavioural development was brought about more by the individual's understanding of the meaning of the offence than the cognitive development processes and changes in societal roles brought about by maturity that have often been cited as the causes of behavioural change. Those who exhibited an adaptive narrative-based theme were at their most prominent between 18-21 years of age and declined thereafter; a pattern that was in support of the above behavioural influences and was what would be predicted by the age-crime curve. Conservative offenders however, were most prevalent in adult years, from twenty-two to forty, and expressive burglars were at their peak in terms of participation between forty-one and sixty-six years. Specific behaviours were most prominent in the age groups where logically, they would be most likely to be of interest to the offender. For example, in the Conservative tragedy theme, the stealing of *fixtures/piping* only became of interest after the age of eighteen, presumably because it may be difficult for a younger offender to explain the ownership of such items, or to sell such items on. In the Adaptive adventure theme, *entry by climbing* only became of interest for those aged twenty-two or above. In contrast however, those demonstrating a dominant expressive behavioural theme, which was better rewarded by the awareness of an impact on the victim,

rather than an efficient or technically adept offence, showed very little in the way of behavioural development across the age groups.

In locating behavioural development in a narrative framework however, it was important to note that McAdams (1997) had observed that the personal myths from which behaviour emerged were subject to change not only through maturity, but also because of the influence of each passing positive or negative experience. Mischel (1999) too, had noted that any behavioural consistency would likely be dependent to some extent on those actions that had previously been considered successful. A negative experience therefore, would result in the cessation of certain behaviours, or the development of alternative strategies or techniques. Thus, the aging process alone was insufficient as an explanation for behavioural development.

The identification of the origins of acquired knowledge or experience however, was a deceptively complex task. Charness & Scultetus (1999), in Lewandowsky, et al. (2007, p83) described knowledge as “acquired information that can be activated in a timely fashion to generate an appropriate response” How though, was this knowledge acquired? Quantitatively, and in terms of offending behaviour, an individual with multiple previous offences might be expected to demonstrate a greater level of ability than one with less. Qualitatively however, offending in general covered a panoptic range of motivations and activities, which might point towards the type of previous offending experiences as being of more significance than the quantity. Hofer & Pintrich (2002, p7) described the development of knowledge as the move from a more “dualistic, objectivist view of knowledge to a more subjective, relativistic stance and ultimately to a contextual, constructivist perception of knowledge”. As such, the process of learning and behavioural development could be entirely different for different individuals, and so may be unsuitable for any form of aggregated measure. An advancement of the qualitative over quantitative argument was in Chi, et al.’s (2014) findings that superiority in performance frequently related to a very specific set of familiar circumstances and responses, rather than an overarching advanced perceptual

ability that could be applicable to a variety of situations. Thus, any knowledge drawn from experience, would have to have emerged from similar, and therefore familiar circumstances for it to be able to be applied to a domestic burglary.

A growing body of studies have sought to identify and highlight behavioural differentiation between non-offenders, novice burglars and those with more domain-specific experiences. Nee, et al. (2015) found crucial differences in approach to a targeted property by burglars and non-burglars, with the latter invariably approaching from the front, and more experienced offenders heading for the more secluded rear of the property. Similar differences could also be found between domestic burglars of varying levels of domain specific experience (as opposed to novices, who had not committed a domestic burglary before). Nee (2015) found that those with lesser experience tended to commit more impulsive or opportunistic offences, whereas other researchers found that veteran domestic burglars tended to adopt such internal aids as cognitive schemas (Brantingham & Brantingham, 2004), which, as per Mischel's theory were built on previous experience of 'what works'. Others staked out their targets prior to the commission of the offence. Experienced offenders tended to be more discriminating in their choice of items to steal (Clare, 2011, Nee, et al., 2015), aiming for smaller, but more valuable items. Different levels of offending experience then, may offer an explanation as to why in the previous chapter, less well-planned or effective offences were prominent in the activities of older offenders.

This body of previous research, lent some support to a level of domain-specific experience leading to more discerning behaviour, however, the possibility of some form of behavioural development emerging from multiple previous offending experiences from different domains, cannot be easily dismissed. The first-time domestic burglar with fifty previous convictions might have the same inexperience of lock-picking or exit strategies as a novice but would surely have an improved perception of detection avoidance, criminal opportunity or the value of certain goods. The nature of offending

experience then, and its relationship with crime scene behaviour and its development, specifically in this instance in relation to domestic burglary was unmistakably complex, and as such, required further empirical examination to facilitate the better understanding of the development of action and decision making in this domain of offending.

7.2 – Aims

The chapter set out to examine whether a relationship existed between a domestic burglars' narrative-based behavioural theme, or evidence of behavioural development and the extent of their previous non-burglary offending history. To do this, analysis was structured around two key questions; did certain narrative themes emerge from similar frequencies of past offending? Offenders came to domestic burglary from a range of criminal backgrounds. For some, it was a first offence, while for others it came after an extensive history of other forms of offending. The chapter sought to determine whether the three narrative-based themes identified were more likely to emerge from low, or high frequencies of previous offending. Secondly, was there evidence of behavioural development in crime scene behaviours within those themes between offenders with lower or higher levels of previous offending? If the behaviours of offenders with higher levels of historic offending could be seen to differ from those with lower levels, then this would provide an indication that general offending experience had an influence on domestic burglary actions. Certain crime scene behaviours may then allow for an inference to be drawn as to the length of an individual's previous general offending history. Alternatively, if behaviours were consistent, then this would suggest that prior rates of general criminality were not an influence on domestic burglary crime scene behaviour.

7.3 – Data

The chapter continued with the use of the narrative-based behavioural themes drawn from dataset A, in chapter five. Here however, the analysis centred only on the offences that had been committed by those who had no previous history of domestic burglary offending, prior to the 2010-2014 offence. The offending records of those offenders, drawn from dataset B was then utilized to differentiate between offenders by the quantitative scope of their offending histories. The focus on first-time domestic burglars was to ensure that only non-domestic burglary prior offending was considered as a potential source of behavioural development.

7.4 - Method

The analysis began by documenting the frequencies of prior offending for all first-time domestic burglary offenders. Once these were established, offenders were grouped as per their rate of previous offending. The prevalence of dominant narrative-based themes for each of those previous offending frequency groups was then examined, and once again, chi-squares used to identify any statistically significant relationships between the two.

Continuing with the methodology adopted in chapter six, Smallest space analysis was again employed as the means of measuring the co-occurrence of crime scene behaviours for the different previous offending frequency groups. Once again, this was the most effective method of appreciating changes in the co-occurrence of crime scene behaviours across the different groups.

7.5 – Hypotheses

The initial hypothesis proposed was that the different themes would be more prevalent in different previous offending frequency groups. This was based on the presumption that the key narrative elements of victim awareness and task focus would also be evident in the individual's previous offending experience. Awareness of the victim as a potential threat, present in the adaptive theme, would be born out in previous experience, as might task focus.

Secondly, it was further hypothesised that within each behavioural theme, specific behavioural differences would be observed between offenders with varying levels of general offending experience. This would provide a measure of narrative and behavioural development based on the length of the individual's non-burglary offending history.

7.6 – Results

169 of the 673 domestic burglary offences were committed by individuals with no previous convictions in that domain of offending. Only thirteen of those however, were not already known to police for other forms of criminality. This demonstrated that domestic burglary was rarely a first-time offence. Fig. 7.1 documents the number of previous offences prior to the first domestic burglary for each of the 169 offenders.

Although very few domestic burglars had no prior offending history at all, the most frequent number of previous offences were between one and three. Collectively however, this, accounted for only 28.4% of first-time burglars, and a wide spectrum of historic offending frequencies was observed, ranging from zero to ninety-six previous offences. For the purposes of the current analysis, this presented such quantitatively diverse offending histories for first-time domestic burglars that some behavioural variation

seemed highly likely. Points of differentiation could be noted at zero and 1-2 previous offences, which were the most frequent offending histories in the population. Frequencies declined sporadically between 3-5 and 6-10 offences. A general decline in the number of offenders with more previous offences continued up until the twenty previous offences mark.

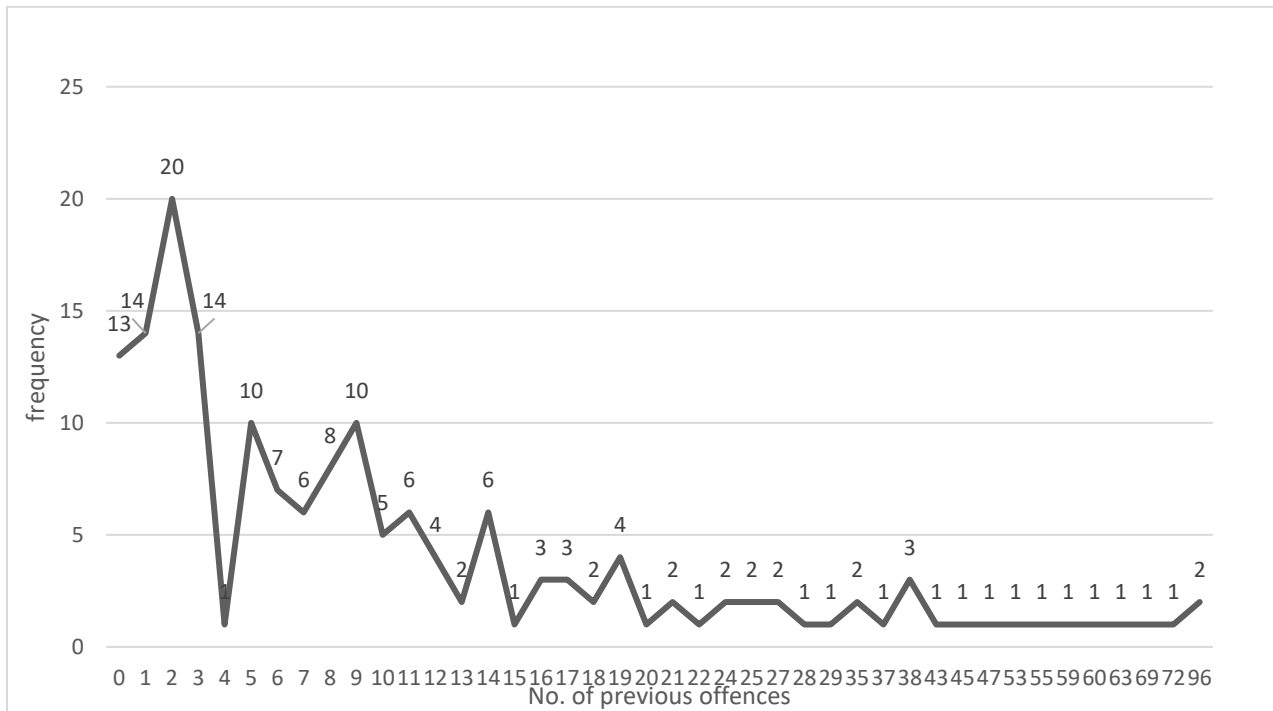


Figure 7.1: *Frequency of previous offending for first-time domestic burglary offenders in 2010-2014*
 (n = 169 offenders)

A total of twenty-nine offenders had twenty-one or more historic offences prior to their first domestic burglary, with two individuals presenting the greatest historic offending records with ninety-six offences each.

Table 7.1 details the number of offenders in each historic offending frequency group and demonstrated a broad range of offending histories throughout the population.

These previous offending frequency groups were then utilized as points of differentiation between offenders in the subsequent analysis.

Table 7.1: *Frequency of previous offending groups for first-time domestic burglary offenders in 2010-2014 with frequencies of offending and percentages (n = 169)*

No. previous offences	Frequency	% of offenders
0	13	7.7
1-2	34	20.1
3-5	25	14.8
6-10	36	21.3
11-20	32	18.9
21-96	29	17.2

7.7 – Narrative-based themes and previous offending frequency groups

The distribution of narrative-based behavioural themes within previous offending frequency groups added a further indication of there being behavioural development, based on increasing numbers of general offences.

The Adaptive adventure theme presented its lowest percentage of offenders in the 0-previous offences group, but was relatively consistent across all others, except from in the 11-20 previous offences category, where it increased to 62.5% of the population. This suggested that this theme developed from the initial offending stage and became prominent when offending became a repeated occurrence in the individual's life. This was in some contrast to the theme's appearance in age-groups in chapter six where it presented its greatest percentage of the population in 10-17 and 18-21year old offenders, before gradually declining in prominence. This would indicate that first-time domestic burglars who presented an adaptive theme were most likely to be an adolescent or young adult

offender with a relatively large offending history of between eleven and twenty previous general offences.

Table 7.2: *Frequency and percentage presence of behavioural themes in previous offending frequency groups (n = 169 offenders)*

Theme Prev off.	Adapt.	AdaptCons	Cons.	ExpresCons	Express	ExpressAdapt	IntegAdapt	Nil	Tot.
0 (13)	3	0	3	0	1	2	0	4	13
% grp	23.1	0.0	23.1	0.0	7.7	15.4	0.0	30.8	100.
1-2 (34)	14	3	7	0	2	0	0	8	34
% grp	41.2	8.8	20.6	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.0	23.5	100.
3-5 (25)	11	0	7	0	1	0	0	6	25
% grp	44.0	0.0	28.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	0.0	24.0	100.
6-10 (36)	15	8	5	0	2	0	0	6	36
% grp	41.7	22.2	13.9	0.0	5.6	0.0	0.0	16.7	100.
11-20 (32)	20	1	7	0	1	1	0	1	32
% grp	62.5	3.1	21.9	0.0	3.1	3.1	0.0	6.3	100.
21-96 (29)	12	3	7	0	2	2	0	3	29
% grp	41.4	10.3	24.1	0.0	6.9	6.9	0.0	10.3	100.

The Conservative tragedy did not present such a peak and appeared in relatively consistent percentages across previous offending frequency groups. A slight increase (to 28% of the population) could be observed in the 3-5 previous offences group, before the theme declined to its lowest percentage (13.9) in the 6-10 previous offences group. Either side of these categories, the appearance of the theme was between 20.6 and 24.1 percent of the population. When this theme had been compared with age in chapter six, it had shown an increase in percentage of the population up until 31-40 years of

age. The Conservative tragedy first-time domestic burglar was therefore likely to be an adult offender, older than the Adaptive adventurer, but conversely, with fewer previous offences.

The Expressive romance theme, in contrast was present in very low percentages of the population across previous offending frequency groups, ranging between 4.0 and 7.7 percent. Quantitative measures of previous offending appeared to have little influence over the Expressive romance offender. Perhaps surprisingly, this pattern was not consistent with the Expressive theme's appearance in age-related groups. In chapter six, it had been most prominent in the burglaries of the oldest offenders (aged 41-66), amounting to almost one quarter of that population. It accounted however, for only 6.4% of those with the most previous offences (21-96). Thus, the Expressive romance first-time burglar, though likely to be much older than those with other narrative-based themes, were no more likely to have a high number of previous offences than they were a low number.

Equally of note, was the relationship between the number of previous offences and those offenders who did not present a dominant behavioural theme. The percentage of 'nil' theme offenders declined as the number of previous offences increased, up to and inclusive of the 11-20 previous group, from 30.8% to just 6.3%. Here then, was an indication that dominant narrative-based behavioural themes were formed over multiple, varied offences. Many offenders with no previous offences did not present a dominant theme in their burglary, but the number of such offenders decreased substantially for offenders with multiple previous convictions. This supported the notion that narrative-based themes developed through experience, and here this would suggest that in criminal behaviour themes were honed over multiple general offences.

When chi-squares tests of association were applied to previous offending frequency groups and narrative-based behavioural themes, results did not demonstrate that the two factors were closely related.

Table 7.3: *Chi-square tests of association between frequency of previous offending groups and narrative-based behavioural themes in domestic burglary crime scene behaviour*

		Freq.	P value		n.s./sig.	Phi
<i>0 prev.</i>	Adaptive	3	.11	P>0.05	n.s.	.11
	AdaptCons	0	.24	P>0.05	n.s.	-.09
	Conservative	3	.87	P>0.05	n.s.	.01
	Expressive	1	.69	P>0.05	n.s.	.03
	Nil	4	.18	P>0.05	n.s.	.10
<i>1-2 prev.</i>	Adaptive	14	.67	P>0.05	n.s.	-.03
	AdaptCons	3	.99	P>0.05	n.s.	-.001
	Conservative	7	.91	P>0.05	n.s.	.01
	Expressive	2	.87	P>0.05	n.s.	.012
	Nil	8	.27	P>0.05	n.s.	.09
<i>3-5 prev.</i>	Adaptive	11	.97	P>0.05	n.s.	-.003
	AdaptCons	0	.09	P>0.05	n.s.	-.13
	Conservative	7	.38	P>0.05	n.s.	.07
	Expressive	1	.75	P>0.05	n.s.	-.25
	Nil	6	.33	P>0.05	n.s.	.08
<i>6-10 prev.</i>	Adaptive	15	.71	P>0.05	n.s.	-.003
	AdaptCons	8	.002	P<0.01**	sig.	.24
	Conservative	5	.22	P>0.05	n.s.	-.09
	Expressive	3	.95	P>0.05	n.s.	.005
	Nil	6	.93	P>0.05	n.s.	-.007
<i>11-20 prev.</i>	Adaptive	20	.02	P<0.05*	sig.	.18
	AdaptCons	1	.20	P>0.05	n.s.	-.10
	Conservative	7	.93	P>0.05	n.s.	.007
	Expressive	1	.54	P<0.05	n.s.	-.05
	Nil	2	.07	P>0.05	n.s.	-.14
<i>21-96 prev.</i>	Adaptive	12	.72	P>0.05	n.s.	-.03
	AdaptCons	3	.76	P>0.05	n.s.	.024
	Conservative	7	.68	P>0.05	n.s.	.68
	Expressive	2	.68	P>0.05	n.s.	-.03
	Nil	3	.29	P>0.05	n.s.	-.08

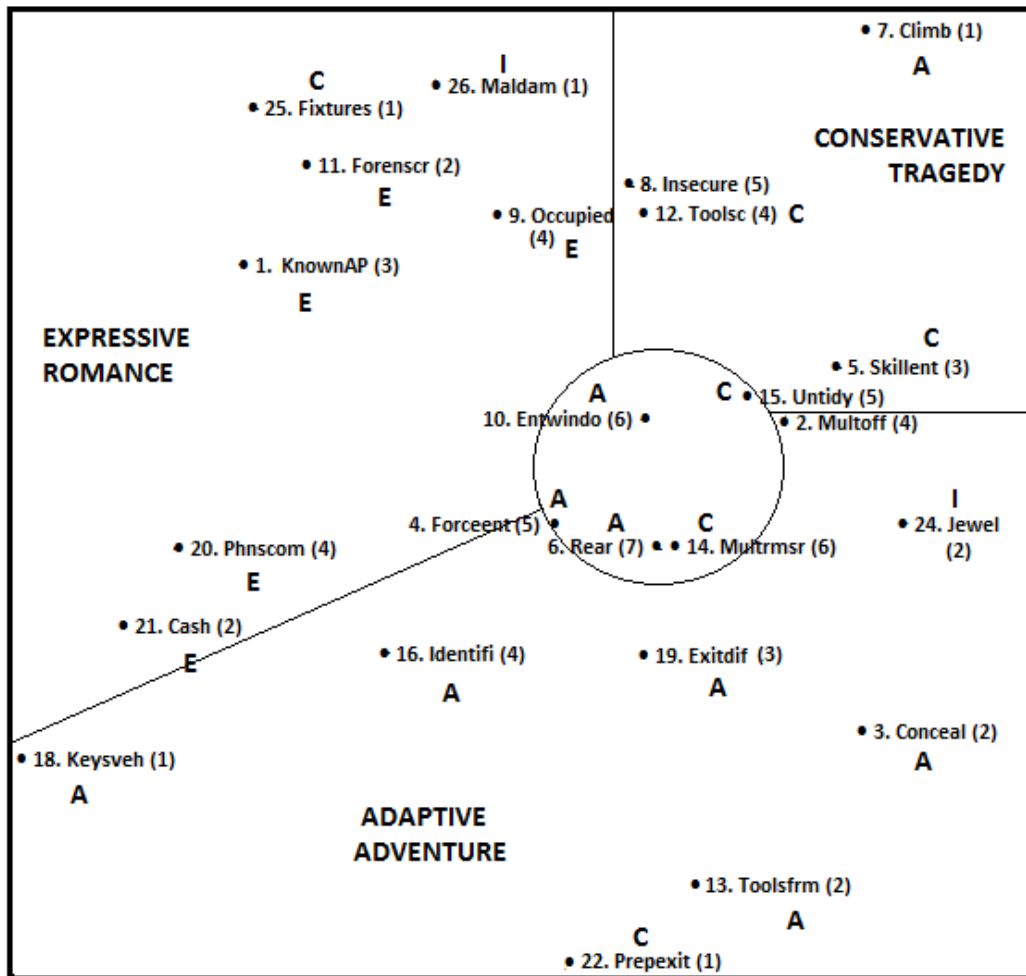
Both statistically significant relationships found (table 7.3) related at least in part to the Adaptive adventurer narrative-based theme. Those with an adaptive-conservative mixed theme showed a statistically significant relationship with those who had between 6-10 previous offences, while the adaptive theme itself could be associated with those with between 11-20. This offered tentative evidence of the adaptive offender having relatively high numbers of previous general offences prior to domestic burglary, which would be conducive to the notion that task-focus and an awareness of the victim as a threat of detection would be elements universal to all forms of offending, for some individuals. This did not however suggest any form of a statistical association between any level of previous offending experience and the two remaining themes, indicating that neither developed from past criminal experience.

7.8 - Zero previous offences

In only 13 of the 169 offences, was the domestic burglary offence committed between 2010-2014 was the offender's first recorded crime of any kind. Those thirteen offences were therefore subjected to Smallest space analysis to determine if the identified behavioural themes could be identified for those with no previously recorded offending history. The most notable aspect of the behaviours captured in fig. 7.2 was the general lack of proximity between behaviours, indicating that these offences comprised of relatively few, co-occurring actions.

The core area, was equally sparse, comprised as it was of only five behaviours, which together formed a basic framework of the offences committed by this population. *Entry – rear, entry – window, forced entry, untidy search* and *multiple rooms searched* presented a very broad outline of the domestic burglary offence, evidencing very little in the way of perceptual or procedural skill. This could be vertically divided down the middle between adaptive behaviours, and a smaller number of conservative

actions centred on the internal search of the premises. Crucially however, behaviours beyond the core could be easily divided into the previously established narrative-based behavioural themes. This lent great support to Canter & Youngs' (2009) narrative framework being effective within domestic burglary offending, at all levels of experience, and indicated that the motivations inherent within those themes were present apparently prior to the initial offence being committed.



2 by 3 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .05

Figure 7.2: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with 0 previous offences, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014*

(n = 13 offences)

The behaviours in both the Expressive romance and Adaptive adventure themes were not tightly collected, indicating that only a small selection were enacted during each of the thirteen offences. Prominent behaviours in the expressive theme were *property occupied*, *phones or computers stolen* and *offender known to aggrieved person*, which were a strong indicator of low task focus, together with high victim awareness. This presented somewhat impulsive, opportunistic offences, conducted with a view to impacting on the victim, rather than efficiency of high acquisitive gain. In the adaptive theme, *multiple offenders*, *identifiable property stolen* and *exit different to entry* pointed to more considered, task-focused offences. Behaviours in the Conservative tragedy theme were more concerned with the entry to the property, bringing *tools to the scene* and effecting a *skilled or insecure entry*.

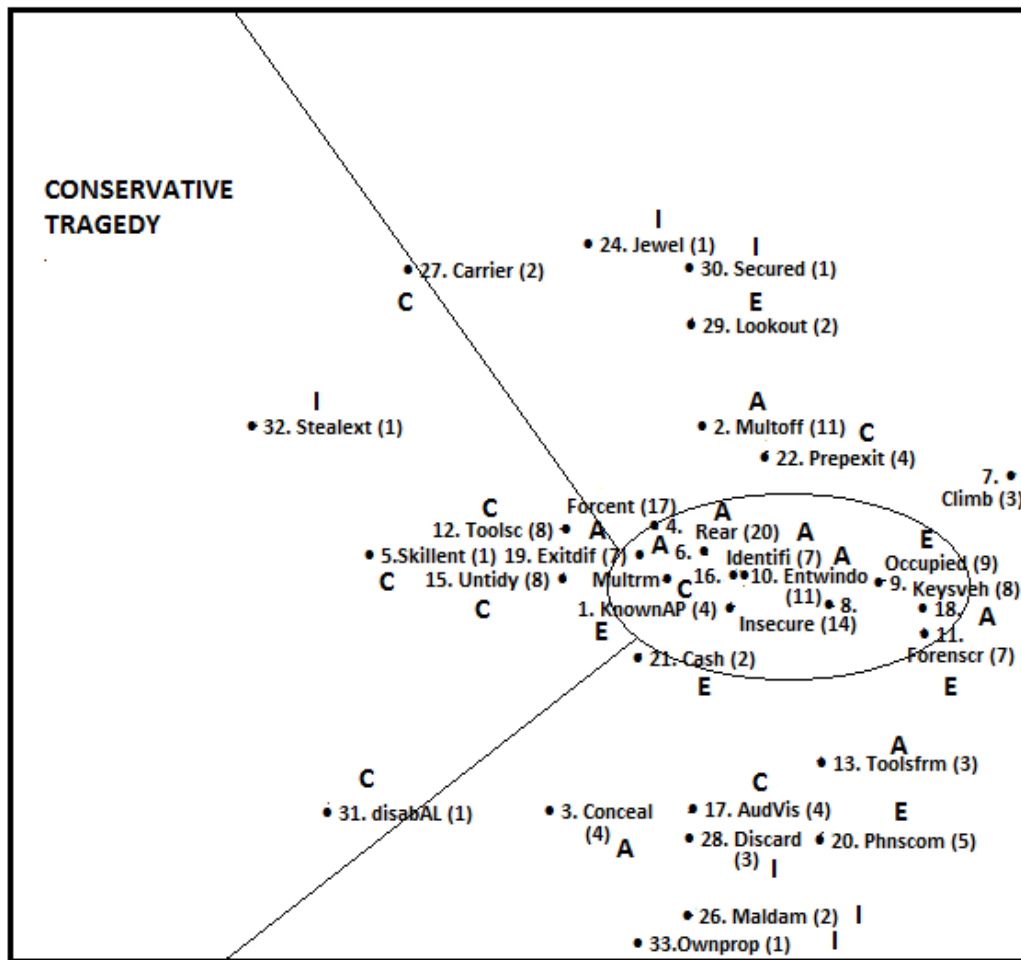
In total, although some single, low frequency behaviours did appear within different themes than they had for the overall population of domestic burglars, a behavioural basis for each theme could be determined, demonstrating that the actions of first-time offenders were thematically consistent with more experienced domestic burglars. Narrative-based behavioural themes were still very much present in the crime scene behaviours of first-time offenders, supportive of Canter & Youngs' (2012a) reading of offending being the enactment of the internal motivations of the offender, even prior to the influences of offending experience.

7.9 - 1-2 previous offences

Where domestic burglars had 1-2 previous offences prior to their first domestic burglary, not only did the number of offences they committed increase (34), their crime scene behaviours equally became more complex. Core behaviours here, were once again dominated by adaptive behaviours.

Due to the number of adaptive behaviours in the core, very few were left to form an actual adaptive behavioural theme. For the first time, cohesive themes could not be delineated. Only conservative

behaviours frequently co-occurred together, with *carrier taken from scene*, *tools to the scene*, *skilled entry*, *untidy search* and *disable alarm* all appearing in the same region of the SSA plot. Of those, *tools brought to the scene* and *untidy search* were the most prevalent, demonstrating both perceptual and procedural focus.



1 by 3 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .09

Figure 7.3: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with 1-2 previous offences, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 34 offences)*

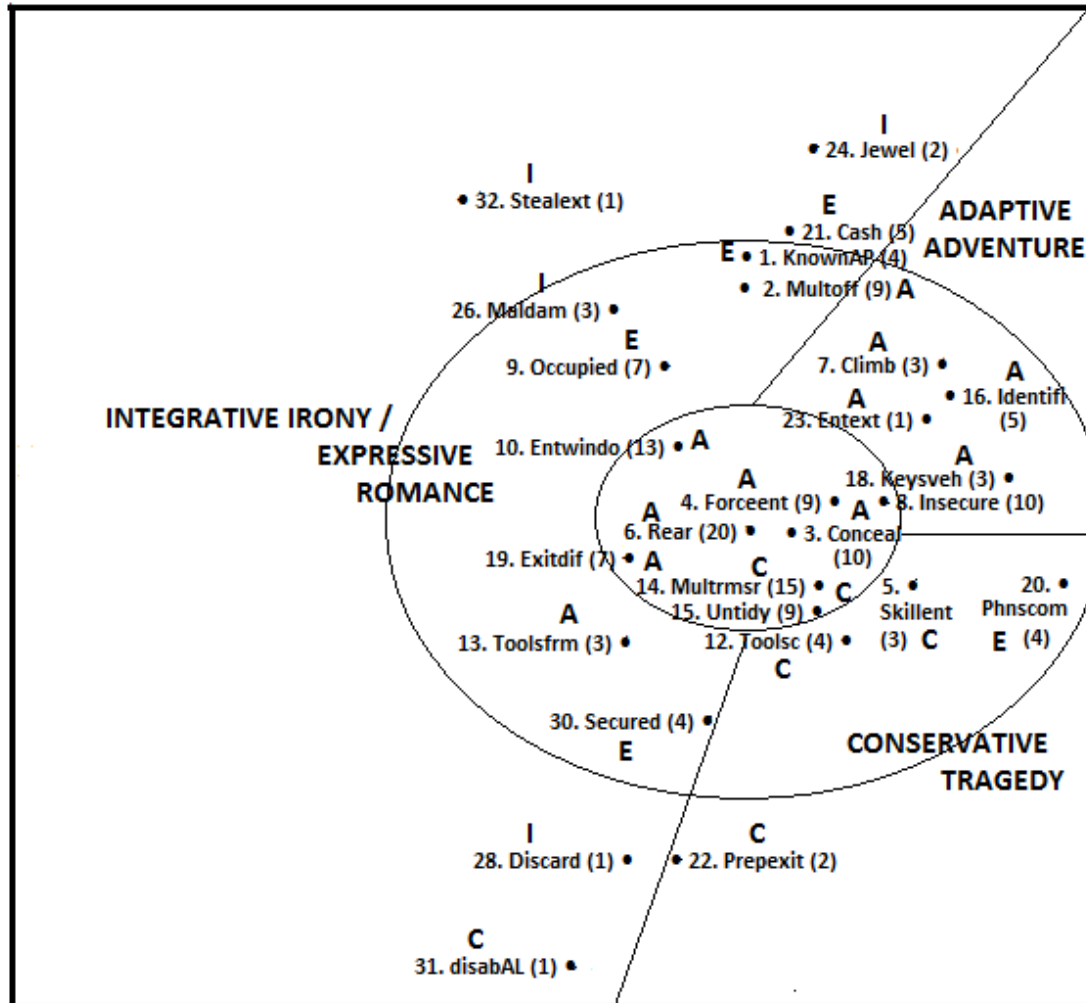
The expressive narrative-based theme, which was dominant in only 5.9% of the offences committed by this group was visible, although mixed with some low frequency behaviours previously assigned to other behavioural themes. Several expressive behaviours appeared in the core here, *offender known to aggrieved person*, *property occupied* and *forensic carelessness* were in stark contrast to the conservative themes' apparent focus on planning and execution. Such motivations were apparently the basis of domestic burglary offending for a small number of individuals. Beyond the core, *cash stolen* and *phones or computers stolen* reiterated that small, easy to steal items were top of the agenda for such offenders. These were mixed with behaviours previously assigned to other themes which, in this context was consistent with the thematic elements of expressive behaviour. *Malicious damage* and *leaving own property at the scene* also demonstrated a lack of task-focus, but a desire to impact on the victim.

Integrative irony behaviours appeared only at low frequencies which tended to occur together, but in conjunction with those of other behavioural themes. For those with 1-2 previous offences prior to domestic burglary, adaptive and expressive narrative-based themes were ill-defined, demonstrating a mixture of task or victim motivations.

7.10 - 3-5 previous offences

Themes began to solidify to some degree with crime scene behaviours of the twenty-five individuals with 3-5 previous offences, particularly in the two task-focused adaptive and conservative themes. Those two once again accounted for all core behaviours. The expressive and integrative themes appeared to be intermingled, suggesting that for offenders lacking task-focus, a concern with the victim could fluctuate between offenders. In general, expressive behaviours were more frequent, with small numbers of integrative behaviours occurring alongside.

A clearly defined distinction between motivations for domestic burglary could be seen for offenders with this level of previous offending.



1 by 3 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .08

Figure 7.4: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with 3-5 previous offences, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014*

(n = 25 offences)

Task-focused individuals here presented defined themes. The most prominent conservative behaviours outside of the core were *tools brought to the scene, skilled entry and offender prepared exit*, which were

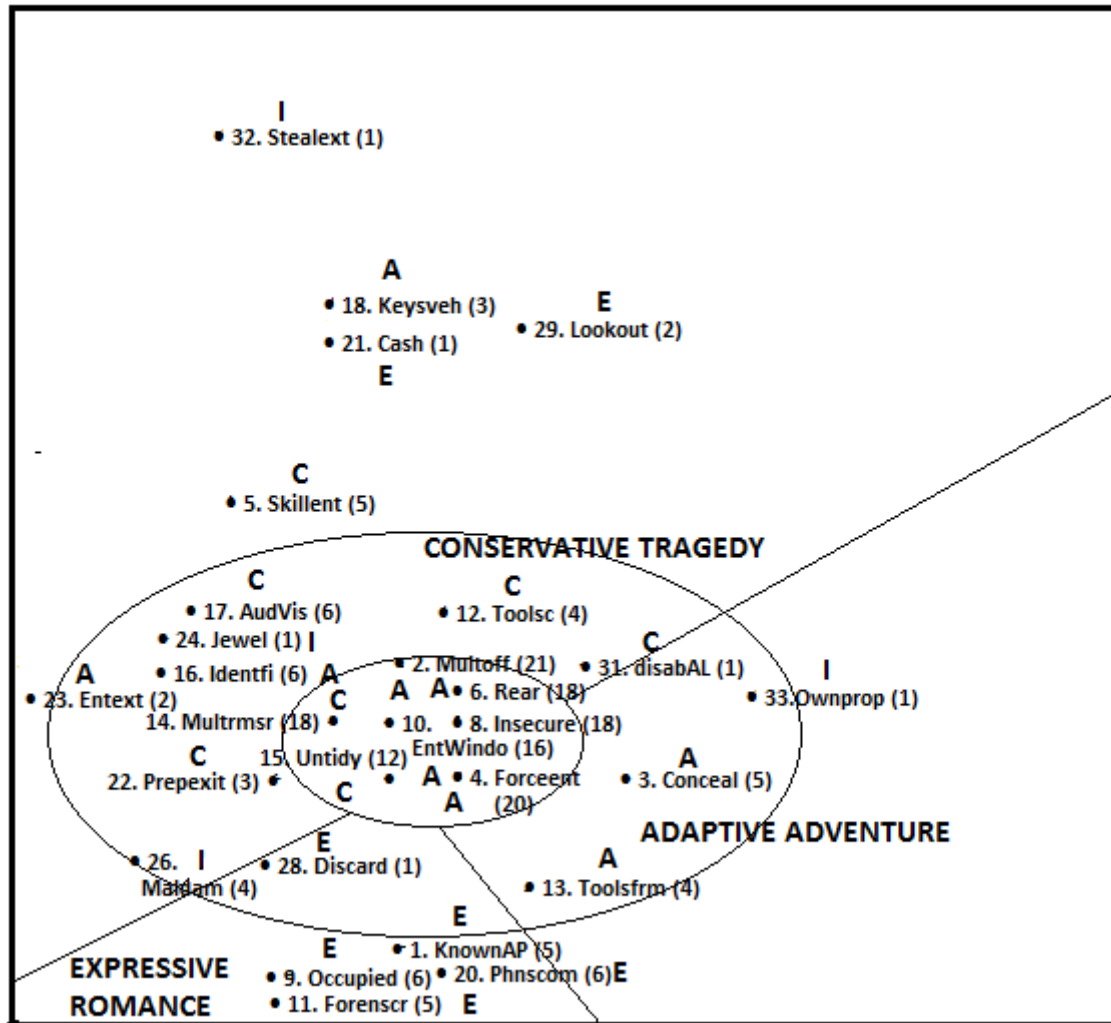
a clear demonstration of perceptual and procedural decision making processes at work. Adaptive offenders employed *entry by climbing*, and the stealing of *identifiable property* and *vehicle keys/vehicles*, demonstrating efficiency and focus. Themes with lower task focus, in contrast, were less tightly constructed, suggesting that these offenders were more random or scattershot in the behaviours that they chose to employ.

If an indication of behavioural development could be drawn from this, it was within the task-focused themes, indicating that such themes required this level of previous offending before they took on the form they presented in the entire population of domestic burglary offenders.

7.11 - 6-10 previous offences

For offenders with six to ten previously recorded offences, the four core behaviours had appeared in all previous cores thus far; *entry – window*, *forced entry*, *entry – rear* and *multiple rooms searched*. This reiterated the persistent, central position of those behaviours in the actions of most of the population, regardless of previous offending experience. Also present was *insecure entry*, which had been a central activity of all except those with zero previous offending experience, and *untidy search* which had appeared in all cores, except the 1-2 previous offence group. As in the 3-5 group, no expressive behaviours appeared within the core, confirming this as a distinctive form of the offence. The only new addition was *multiple offenders*, which suggested that collaboration with others was something that tended to be adopted by those with greater offending experience, and therefore a likely greater number of criminal connections. As before, the core behaviours could be divided between a dominant number of adaptive behaviours and a small number of conservative.

From a total of thirty-six offences committed by this group, distinctive conservative, adaptive and expressive themes could be ascertained. Once again, the expressive theme appeared in a low percentage of offenders (5.8%) but demonstrated a tight collection of co-occurring behaviours.



2 by 3 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .08

Figure 7.5: Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with 6-10 previous offences, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014

(n = 36 offences)

Offences committed by those *known to the aggrieved person*, whilst the *property was occupied*, were *forensically careless* in nature and involved the theft of *phones or computers* defined this theme, and set it apart from the concerns with entry, search and targeted items presented by those with greater task focus. This would suggest that such behaviours were a product of psychological factors, as opposed to inexperience, as offenders with 6-10 previous convictions would surely have some awareness of common evidential pitfalls.

The adaptive theme was once again largely accommodated within the core and was identified as a distinctive theme by only two behaviours – *tools from the scene used* and *concealed approach*. This would therefore be the most difficult theme to decipher from a crime scene, as many of its behaviours were adopted by offenders who favoured other narratives. Its identification may therefore, be drawn from the absence of additional conservative or expressive behaviours, rather than an abundance of adaptive actions.

The biggest changes came within the conservative theme, which dropped from occupying at least 20% of each of the lower previous offences groups, to 13.9% here. Mixed adaptive/conservative themes were present in 22.2% of this group, and this was demonstrated on a behavioural level too, with several behaviours from each of the other themes finding their way into the conservative-dominated region of the plot in fig.7.5, although generally in low frequencies.

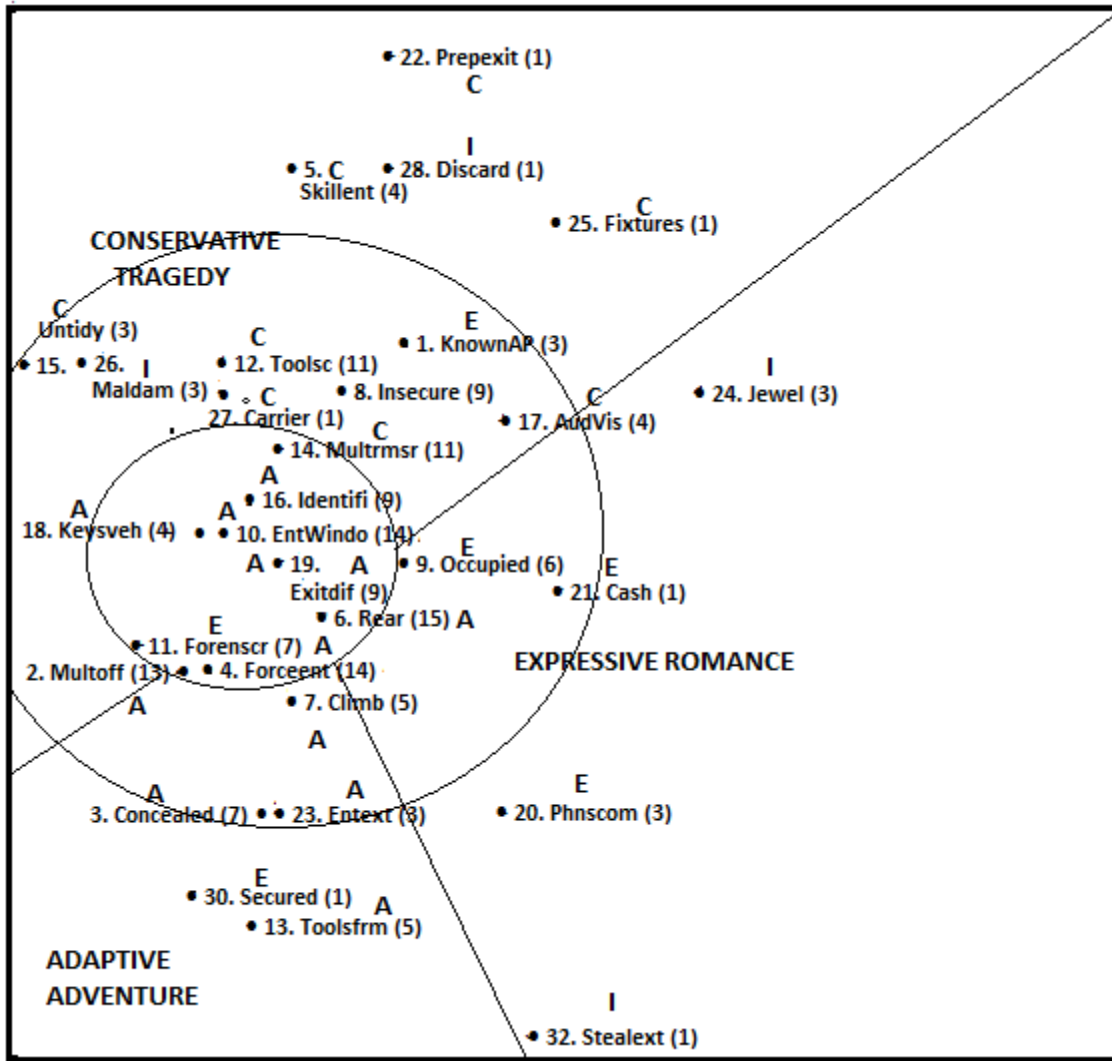
The frequency of all behaviours across the thirty-six offences, provided a further level of insight into this experiential group. While the tight group of core behaviours each occurred between twelve and twenty-one occasions, no other behaviour from any theme occurred more than six times. This suggested that differentiation in crime scene behaviours may only be evident in one or two behaviours in each offence at this level with most being core behaviours, and therefore not suitable for thematic distinction.

7.12 - 11-20 previous offences

The next previous offence frequency group was made up of thirty-two offences committed by those offenders who had extensive general offending histories prior to the first burglary offence. A comparison of the crime scene behaviours of this group with those of zero or 1-2 previous offences, would demonstrate the behavioural differences brought about by a greater number of previous general offences.

The core behaviours for this group were however, consistent with previous frequencies of offending history, with the four ever-present behaviours of *entry-window*, *forced entry*, *entry-rear* and *multiple rooms searched*, appearing once again with the core. Additional behaviours were also strikingly consistent with other groups, even those with the lowest frequencies – *identifiable property stolen* and *keys/vehicle keys stolen* had both been core behaviours of the 1-2 previous offence group, demonstrating that there was little change in the fundamentals of domestic burglary, brought about by extended offending experience.

Exit different to entry had appeared in the 1-2 and 3-5 cores. Only two behaviours provided any suggestion of development through experience at a core level. *Multiple offenders* had first appeared as a core behaviour in the 6-10 previous group, and once again here, lending further support to this being an approach born out of a level of earlier offending experience. Strangely, the only new behaviour to appear within the core for this group was *forensically carelessness*, not typically a behaviour associated with increased experience. This might then suggest a lack of transference of forensic awareness from one offending domain to another. The necessary precautions for domestic burglary may not be apparent to those used to other forms of offending.



1 by 2 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .08

Figure 7.6: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with 11-20 previous offences, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014*

(n = 32 offences)

Forensic carelessness, and multiple rooms searched were now the only core behaviours which were not assigned to the Adaptive adventure theme, which reiterated the motivations of the experienced offender who were attracted to this form of offending. For this group, adaptive behaviours also grouped together as a consistent theme beyond the core, with only one instance of an expressive

behaviour (*property secured from occupant*) interrupting an otherwise perfectly formed behavioural theme. *Entry – climbing* had appeared within other themes up until the 3-5 previous group, and now featured as a relatively prominent adaptive behaviour, indicating that some additional experience was needed for the adoption of this behaviour by task-focused, victim-aware offenders. Here though, was the adaptive theme at its peak of development, incorporating for a set of core behaviours for the vast majority of offenders, and with additional behaviours as a theme in its own right. Perhaps the most significant difference for the adaptive theme was its prevalence in this group of offenders, it accounted for only 23.1% of domestic burglaries committed by those with 0 previous offending experience, but 62.5% of those with 11-20 previous offences. The expressive theme, in contrast, accounted for only 3.1% of offences in this group, but those behaviours still accumulated into a recognisable theme. Expressive domestic burglary offending was rare for offenders with this level of experience, but remained a distinctive behavioural theme.

The conservative theme here was more comparable with the 3-5 group, than the 6-10 previous offence group, appearing as a consistent theme beyond the core. This was reiterated by the fact that 22.2% of 6-10 offenders had shown a split adapt-cons narrative-based behavioural theme, but this was now all but non-existent here, with the conservative theme accounting for 29.9% of offenders in this group.

As in all previous groups, *skilled entry* remained an infrequent behaviour, occurring far less frequently than *forced or insecure entry*. *Untidy searches*, which had previously been a core behaviour for all but the 1-2 previous offence groups were reduced here to only three occurrences, a relatively obscure behaviour.

Of note in this 11-20 previous group were those offenders who did not present a dominant behavioural theme were reduced here to only 6.3% of the population (committing only two offences),

meaning that by this level of previous offending, narrative-based themes were entrenched in the behaviours of most offenders.

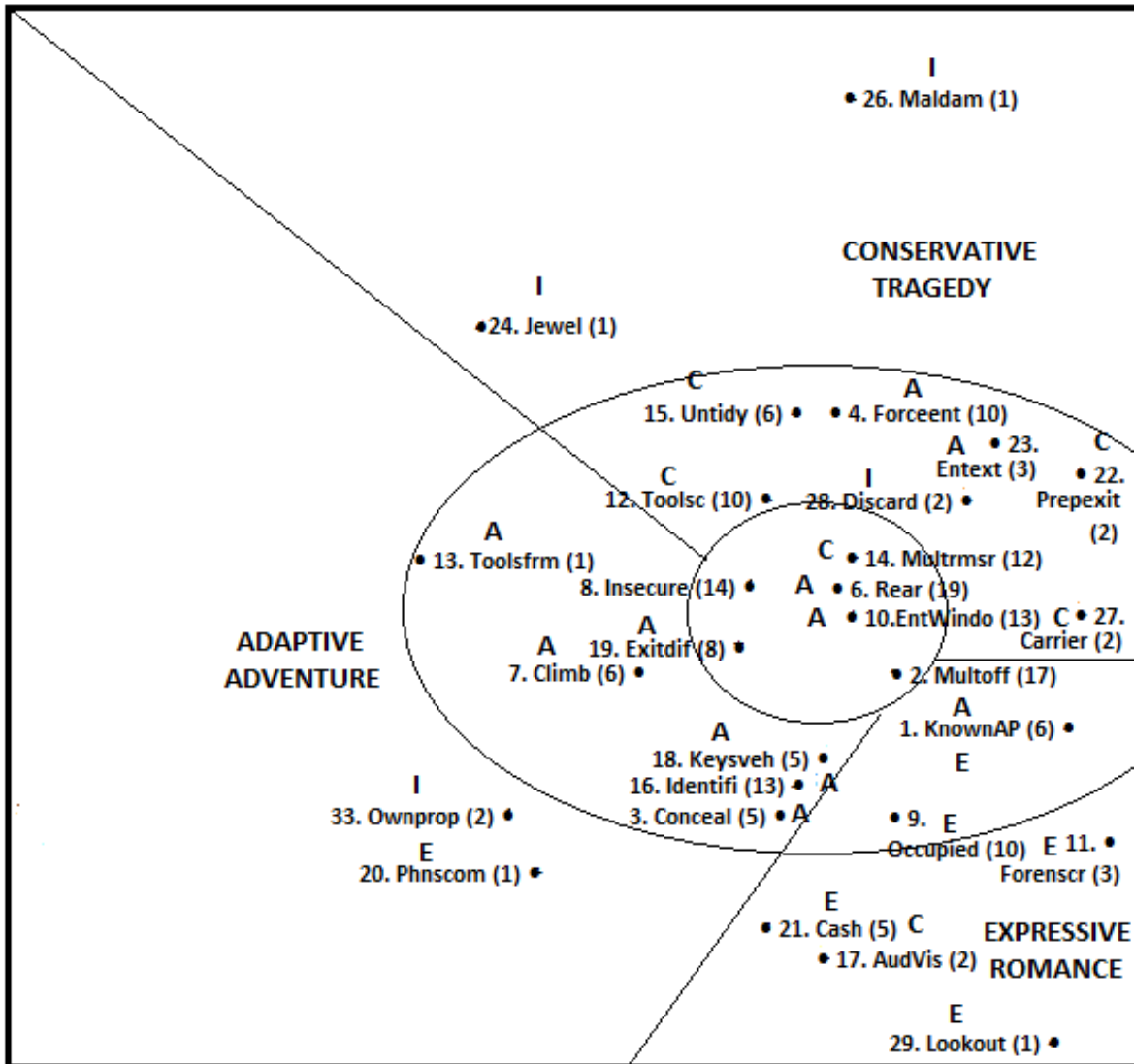
7.13 - 21-96 previous offences

Twenty-nine domestic burglary offences were committed by first-time burglars who had the most extensive previous offending records, ranging from 21-96 offences. From that, it might be anticipated that this final group would have developed a great deal of general offending experience, with the question being to what extent was this transferable to a first domestic burglary offence.

Immediately noticeable in fig. 7.7 was just how few behaviours were accumulated in the core. Six core behaviours was less than in all previous groups since 0 previous offence offenders. Of this, three were behaviours that had appeared at the core of all previous offending frequency groups – *entry – window*, *entry – rear* and *multiple rooms searched*. *Forced entry*, which had also been positioned within all previous cores, still occurred with some frequency (10), but had been an adaptive behaviour which now appeared within the conservative theme. *Multiple offenders* was again part of the core, confirming that this was a prevalent behaviour for experienced offenders.

In the previous chapter, expressive forms of domestic burglary greatly increased in prevalence for the oldest offenders, aged 41-66, but no such dramatic increase occurred here, although at 6.4% of the group, this was the expressive theme's greatest percentage presence since the 0 previous offence group. It remained a consistent, although infrequent theme in domestic burglary offending however, with all but one of the relevant behaviours appearing in proximity to each other on the plot.

Only *phones or computers stolen* appeared away from that collection of behaviours and occurred on only one occasion.



1 by 2 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .08

Figure 7.7: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with 21-96 previous offences, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 29 offences)*

Adaptive behaviours here accounted for less of the core and appeared more as a distinctive form of the offence than in the behaviours of those with less general offending experience. *Climbing* and stealing *identifiable property* remained prominent within this theme.

The conservative theme remained prevalent (24.1%), but as in the 6-10 previous group showed close ties to the adaptive theme, with 10.3% of the group presenting mixed themes. This was supported by a behavioural theme which was mixed with behaviours previously associated with other themes and was reduced in numbers. *Skilled entry, disable alarm* and *fixtures stolen* did not occur at all in the crime scene behaviours of this group, which was perhaps an indication that whilst general offending supplied some form of offending experience, specific skills relating to domestic burglary, were domain specific and had to be learned through a specific form of experience. In contrast, all adaptive behaviours were present here, showing no reduction in the number of different behaviours employed. Thus, adaptive behaviours were not reduced or increased in any way by an increase in previous general offending experience.

7.14 - Discussion

The study presented some significant findings about the influence of increasing general offending experience on crime scene behaviours within the narrative themes of domestic burglars, largely to the extent that while narrative-based behavioural themes themselves could be seen to solidify and eventually relax in the behaviours of offenders with greater previous experience, actual behavioural development was sparse.

Of initial note was the percentage of domestic burglaries which were committed by offenders with no previous recorded history of that offence. 25.1% of the 673 offences in the dataset (169 offences) were undertaken with no previous domestic burglary experience, but only 1.9% (13 offences) were committed by those with no previous recorded offending experience at all. Domestic burglars in the current dataset were very nearly all recorded on police systems for some form of offending, prior to their domestic burglary offence.

The range in frequency of previous offending committed varied greatly, between 0 and 96, which would suggest that such offending could occur at any time throughout an offender's time line. The highest frequency of burglaries committed by non-burglars however, occurred when the offender had between 1-3 previous, non-related convictions. When considered against the age of domestic burglary offenders, as examined in chapter seven, the indication was that the typical individual who would go on to commit a domestic burglary offence, having no previous experience of that offence would be aged between 18-21 years and would have between one and three prior convictions. Yet, that type of individual was by no means a dominant presence within the dataset, given the broad differentiation between previous offending records.

Levels of previous non-burglary offending differed somewhat between offenders who demonstrated different dominant narrative themes, indicating that differences in motivations for domestic burglary could emerge from different prior offending records, or levels of offending experience. As was the case in the breakdown of age-groups within behavioural themes (table 6.1), each previous offending frequency group was dominated by the Adaptive adventure theme, mainly due to a core of predominantly adaptive behaviours being the basis of almost all domestic burglary offences. Thus, an offender was more likely to present an adaptive theme regardless of their level of previous offending experience. There was however, some fluctuation in the prevalence of each theme across previous offending frequency groups.

The adaptive theme itself presented its lowest percentage of dominance in the zero-previous offence group (23.1%), but with a further 15.3% exhibiting split expressive-adaptive narrative-based themes, which shared the common element of victim awareness. It was perhaps not surprising that those who had no previous history of offending of any kind would be less task-focused, and more in tune to the risks posed by the victim or by the impact their actions might have on the targeted individual. For offenders with 1-2 previous convictions the presence of the adaptive theme had increased to 41.2%, at

the expense of all other narrative-based themes. Split expressive-adaptive themes had now reduced to 8.8% of that group. This suggested that narrative themes became more focused after even a small amount of offending experience, as if the psychological meaning of the offence was clearer to the individual. This was reiterated in the 3-5 previous offence category, where the adaptive theme increased again – to 44.0%, and split narrative themes then disappeared entirely. Split narrative-based themes reappeared in the 6-10 previous offence group, but in a different form. Here, 22.2% of individuals presented a split adaptive-conservative theme. Although the adaptive theme itself reduced marginally to 41.7%, this presented a distinctive difference between those with either no previous offending, or low frequencies of previous offending, and those who came to domestic burglary with greater general offending experience. The change was from split themes that centred on victim awareness, to those which presented consistent task focus. Greater offending experience led to greater task focus. The adaptive theme was most dominant in the 11-20 previous offence group, involving those offenders who had established criminal histories, prior to their first domestic burglary. Being the dominant theme of 62.5% of this previous offending frequency group, task-focus and victim awareness together were common traits of the experienced offender. Interestingly however, this fell away somewhat for those with the most offending experience – those with between 21 and 96 previous offences, with a reduction in the adaptive theme to 41.4% of offences within this group and a re-emergence of both types of split adaptive themes. This suggested that narrative focus peaked at a certain level of offending experience (11-20 offences here) but waned somewhat for those with the greatest levels of previous offending.

The conservative theme began with an identical percentage of offences in the zero previous offences category to the adaptive theme, but then took on an altogether different pattern when levels of previous offending increased. The greatest distinctions coming in the 3-5 previous category, where it increased to 28.0% of offences, and the 6-10 group, where it decreased to 13.9%, less than half of the previous percentage. The rise could coincide with both reductions in the expressive-adaptive split

themes and the expressive theme itself – all victim focused forms of offending, suggesting that those who burgled after 3-5 previous general offences were task orientated. The reduction in the presence of the conservative theme in the 6-10 previous offence category coincided with the emergence of the adaptive-conservative split narrative-based theme, maintaining task focus along with elements of victim awareness as experience increased.

The expressive theme was dominant in only a very low percentage of offences across previous offending frequency groups but remained consistent. The theme appeared in its highest percentage in the zero-previous offence group (7.7%) and in the 21-96 group (6.4%). Low task focus – high victim awareness type offences were committed in low numbers by two groups with extreme differences in offending experience, with task focused offending being most prevalent between those two extremes.

The percentage of offenders who did not demonstrate a single dominant narrative or a split theme broadly decreased as levels of offending experience increased, up until the 21-96 group. This again supported the suggestion that increasing offender experience led to more offenders acting in accordance with one of the recognized narrative-based themes, apart from those with the highest levels of previous offending. For those offenders, the psychological meaning of the offence seemed to shift and become less focused on the task at hand.

This was better illustrated when task-focused themes – those being the adaptive, conservative and adaptive-conservative split theme – were considered collectively. For zero previous offence offenders, task focused offending dominated 46.2% of offences. For 1-2 previous offences, this increased to 61.8%, then 72.0% in the 3-5 previous group, 77.8% in the 6-10 previous group and then 87.5% in the 11-20 previous offence group. In the 21-96 group, the percentage reduced slightly to 75.8%. Thus, the frequency of previous general offending could be seen to have a correlation with task focused offending, in that the higher the number of previous offences, the greater was the percentage of task-focused

offenders. This was true however, up to the 11-20 previous offence mark. Beyond that number, task focus decreased, suggesting that some highly experienced offenders began to lose task focus, perhaps through complacency, or changing motivations for committing the offence. Adaptive themes provided some indication of an association with higher levels of previous offending (6-10 and 11-20 previous), but other than this, chi-square tests revealed no further evidence of a statistically significant relationship between non-burglary offending experience and narrative themes.

The next stage was to examine whether the crime scene behaviours within those themes could be seen to change or develop across increasing levels of prior criminal experience. This would demonstrate whether involvement in other forms of offending could inform how a domestic burglary offence was specifically conducted.

Only three behaviours were found to appear as core behaviours across all levels of offending experience – *entry – rear*, *entry – window* and *multiple rooms searched*. The first two of these had been initially assigned to the adaptive theme, while the third had been determined to be a conservative behaviour.

All three however, could ultimately be fundamental actions in most domestic burglary offences. With those behaviours assigned as such to the core of domestic burglary offending, the aim was to determine if changes in behaviour beyond those almost universal actions could be observed within narrative-based behavioural themes. In the Adaptive adventure theme, several behaviours were noticeably consistent across levels of previous non-burglary experience. Stealing *identifiable property* was in the top three most prevalent behaviours in the zero, 3-5 and 21-96 groups, meaning that it could not be associated with either low or high levels of previous experience.

Similarly, *entry by climbing* was prevalent in 3-5, 11-20 and 21-96 groups. Stealing *vehicle keys/vehicles* was the same in the 3-5 and 21-96 previous groups.

Table 7.4: Core domestic burglary behaviours per frequency of previous offending group and narrative-based themes (A = Adaptive, C = Conservative, E = Expressive)

Oprev. (13)	1-2 (34)	3-5 (25)	6-10 (36)	11-20 (32)	21-96 (29)
Entry-rear (7) (A)	Entry-rear (20) (A)	Entry-rear (20) (A)	Mult. Offenders (21) (A)	Entry – rear (15) (A)	Entry – rear (19) (A)
Ent- Window (6) (A)	Force entry (17) (A)	Mult room (15) (C)	Force entry (20) (A)	Ent – Window (14) (A)	Mult. Offenders (17) (A)
Mult room (6) (C)	Mult room (16) (C)	Ent – Window (13) (A)	Entry – rear (18) (A)	Force entry (14) (A)	Insecure (14)
Force entry (5) (A)	Insecure (14)	Concealed app (10) (A)	Insecure (18)	Mult. Offenders (13) (A)	Ent – Window (13) (A)
Untidy search (5) (C)	Ent- Window (11) (A)	Force entry (9) (A)	Mult room (18) (C)	Mult room (11) (C)	Mult room (12) (C)
	Prop. occupied (9) (E)	Untidy search (9) (C)	Ent – Window (16) (A)	Exit diff (9) (A)	Exit diff (8) (A)
	Veh keys/Veh (8) (A)	Exit diff (7) (A)	Untidy search (12) (C)	Identifi prop (9) (A)	
	Identifi prop (7) (A)			Forens. Careless (7) (E)	
	Force entry (7) (A)			Veh keys/Veh (4) (A)	
	Exit diff (7) (A)				
	Off Known (4) (E)				

This therefore demonstrated a lack of behavioural development based on previous non-burglary experience for those with a dominant adaptive theme. Only *concealed approach* appeared to be the product of increased general offending experience, occurring relatively infrequently in zero and 1-2 previous offence groups, but was in the top three most frequently occurring adaptive behaviours for the 6-10, 11-20 and 21-96 groups, indicating an action that had been learned through experience.

In the conservative theme, the most consistent behaviour was *tools brought to the scene and used*, which was in the top three most frequently occurring conservative behaviours in all groups except those with 6-10 previous. *Skilled entry* occurred frequently in the zero, 3-5 and 6-10 groups, which *untidy search* was prevalent at either end of the previous offences spectrum in the 1-2 and 21-96 previous

offence groups. Once again, this was not indicative of behavioural development. Of note however, was that the Conservative tragedy narrative presented well-defined themes in behaviour up until the 3-5 previous offence group. Beyond that, multiple behaviours assigned to other themes were present, including the theft of *jewellery* (integrative), *malicious damage* (integrative) and *forced entry* (adaptive). A combination of task-focus and previous offending experience would appear to equip the conservative offender well for many different offending situations.

As in the examination of maturity in chapter six, the Expressive romance theme presented almost no evidence of behavioural development based on prior offending experience. *Property occupied* was a prevalent behaviour in all previous offending groups, while *offender known to aggrieved person* occurred frequently in the zero, 6-10 and 21-96 categories, presenting no distinct association with either low or high levels of offending. Once again, the expressive theme presented a unique, although infrequent style of domestic burglary offending, based on only a small number of behaviours, which were dissimilar to those enacted in other narrative-based themes. *Forensic carelessness* occurred most prominently in the 6-10 previous group. Just as it had not shown an association with immaturity, this behaviour was not a product of a lack of offending experience. Thus, this was again shown to be a trait that could be related to the individual's narrative, rather than age or experience.

The results presented in the chapter provided a new understanding of the relationships between previous non-burglary offending experience, the offender's narrative-based behavioural theme and their crime scene behaviours. Experience did show some minor evidence of a relationship with narrative-based theme. The percentage of offenders who did not present a dominant narrative theme fell from 30.8% of those with no previous offending experience of any kind, to only 6.3% for those with 11-20 previous offences. Themes appeared to solidify into one of the three identified, over the course of an individual's general offending experience. Also, non-burglary experience appeared to promote task-

focus, increasing in the percentage of the population from 46.2% of zero previous offenders, to 87.5% in the 11-20 group.

While the adoption of a specific style of offending seemed to take place over increasing experience, this was not the case with specific crime scene behaviours, which demonstrated very little evidence of development in any of the three narrative-based behavioural themes. Behaviour itself then, would seem to be a product of either maturity, as identified in the previous chapter, or else another form of offending experience, with no substantive evidence of the transferability of behaviour from one offending domain to another.

7.15 - Theoretical contribution

McAdams' (1997) description of narrative themes being born out of experience over the life course was well supported in the current chapter, to the extent that increased non-domain specific offending experience did prompt the offender to develop a distinctive narrative-based theme in their style of domestic burglary offending. Many of those without previous experience did not present a dominant theme, as if they were not yet entirely certain of the meaning of the offence to themselves, beyond a basic desire for economic gain. Narrative-based behavioural themes for those with zero or 1-2 previous offences were relatively ill-formed in comparison to those of more experienced offenders. In the zero-offence group, behaviours presented themselves at some distance from one another on the SSA plot, despite being visibly present in thematically consistent regions. So, while themes consistent with Canter & Youngs' (2009) model were already evident at this stage, behaviours tended to occur sporadically, rather than in frequently observed pockets of co-occurrence. For those with 1-2 previous offences, only the Conservative tragedy theme, and an overwhelmingly adaptive core set of behaviours presented any form of consistency, with there being little in the way of an adaptive theme beyond the

core and disjointed expressive behaviours. For offenders with greater experience however, themes began to solidify. Split expressive-adaptive behaviours were less frequent and gave way to split adaptive-conservative themes – adding a consistency of task focus. Even though others had no direct experience of domestic burglary, extensive histories of other forms of offending did seem to solidify their motivations for committing the offence. Equally, greater levels of previous experience promoted a task-focus within the individual, which provided an additional insight into the narrative roles in domestic burglary, as previously outlined by Canter & Youngs (2009). Themes were not only indicative of an offender's internal motivations but could also provide inferences as to that person's level of previous offending.

The second contribution to knowledge to be drawn from the chapter was in relation to actual behavioural changes brought about from greater previous criminal experience, and it was a predominantly negative result which provided the basis for increased understanding. Only minor evidence of any development in behaviour could be drawn from examining the prevalent crime scene behaviours at offences committed by those with different levels of experience. Crime scene behaviours were largely consistent throughout, in all the narrative-based themes. Nee, et al.'s (2015) finding that novice domestic burglars tended to attack the premises from the front was not supported here, with *entry – rear* being one of the core behaviours which featured at all levels of experience. Evidence of behavioural development was found in only a small number of relatively infrequent behaviours.

The Expressive romance theme, with its lack of task focus, showed a high level of behavioural consistency across experience groups. The lack of behavioural development was supportive of Mischel's (1999) understanding that consistency in behaviour was dependent on what had previously been found to be successful. Thus, given that the population in this chapter were all first-time domestic burglars, then what would be successful would not yet be known. Much in keeping with Ericsson's (2006)

understanding of expertise being predominantly domain specific, development in domestic burglary behaviour did not emerge from general offending experience.

7.16 - Limitations

The principle concern for the present study was in the limitations imposed by using data derived from police records, and within that, solved cases only. Although an offender might be recorded as having no previous offending experience in police records, this may not in fact have been the case. It was possible that an individual may have committed numerous offences, and not been identified. This could have had a significant effect on the previous offence frequency group the individual was assigned to and could have therefore in turn effected the results found in the present chapter. As was the case throughout much of the thesis however, police recorded information was the best available source of historical offending records and crime scene behaviours. Deriving such information from one-to-one interviews with offenders would carry with it equally valid concerns with veracity.

7.17 - Future studies

The present chapter focused solely on one aspect of offending experience and its relationship with crime scene behaviours; that being the quantitative nature of previous general offending for first time domestic burglars. A further aspect to be explored in a subsequent chapter would be behavioural development based on the qualitative nature of previous offending. This would be the question as to whether the types of previous offending undertaken could influence subsequent offending behaviour. Thus, there remains further unanswered questions beyond the results of the present chapter. To address the previously acknowledged concerns with data validity, similar explorations of the experience-

behaviour relationship, using other datasets or sources should be conducted, involving different populations of offenders. This would serve to either support the conclusions drawn in the present chapter, or open other avenues of exploration towards a better understanding of domestic burglar behaviour.

7.18 - Conclusions

The first-time domestic burglary offender's narrative-based theme did not show a statistically significant relationship with their previous history of offending. The population was however, dominated by adaptive-themed offences, and chi-square tests did suggest that most such offenders had previous offending histories of between 6-20 previous offences. Task-focused themes in general, which increased substantially across previous offending frequency groups. This suggested that individuals took part in domestic burglary at different stages of their offending for different reasons. Narrative-based behavioural themes themselves appeared to solidify after 3-5 previous offences, as if it took some time for the reasons and goals of the offence to become clear to the individual.

Actual behavioural development with increased general offending experience however, was sparse, leading to the conclusion that previous non-domain specific offending held a limited influence on an offender's motivations for, and approach to a domestic burglary offence, but not on the specific behaviours enacted within it. These results shed fresh light on the nature of offender narratives and behavioural development, allowing for a more complex understanding of the nature of the relationship between the two factors in domestic burglary.

8

Qualitative aspects of general offending experience and development in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour*8.1 – Introduction*

As evidenced in the previous chapter, narrative themes based on crime scene behaviours demonstrated only a marginal level of actual behavioural development when considered against a quantitative measurement of previous offending histories. Behaviours within themes altered only slightly between those offenders with no previous offending experience and those with extensive criminal histories prior to their first domestic burglary. A substantial portion of the research has however, concerned itself with the qualitative aspects of offending histories, specifically, the debate as to whether offenders typically specialise in favoured offending domains, or chose to engage in a broader, eclectic pattern of offending. For many years, the broad consensus has been that most individuals had versatile offending histories, interspersed with brief periods of specialisation (Bursik, 1980) which might be attributable to changes in life circumstances which either enhanced or subdued opportunity. Theoretically, versatility has been supported by Farrington's (2005) Integrated Cognitive Antisocial Potential (ICAP) and Gottfredson & Hirschi's (1990) General theory of crime, which would argue that criminal propensity was a constant trait, and therefore unlikely to limit itself to specific domains. Practically, this suggested that identifying individuals by a known crime type (i.e. as a burglar, a street robber) might be an ineffective practice.

For the present thesis, the findings on versatility presented a further interesting consideration as to whether thematic differences in domestic burglary crime scene behaviour could be more a product of the *types* of previous offences committed, as opposed to their quantity.

Earlier studies have found distinctions between the offending histories of domestic burglars, and those of other offenders. Schneider (2005) and Fox & Farrington (2012) both found that shop theft and general theft were prevalent previous convictions for domestic burglars, with drug related offences – possession and the sale of – also prominent. Farrington & Lambert (2007) added an experiential framework to similar findings by identifying a typology of domestic burglary offenders based on offending rates – *starters*, *experienced*, *high-rate* and *chronic* – and found variation in previous offending domains between those types. More experienced burglars were likely to have prior drug convictions, whilst large percentages of high-rate burglars had a history of general theft. In a thorough latent class analysis, Vaughn, DeLisi, Beaver & Howard (2008) identified four types of domestic burglar, based largely on their previous domains of offending; young versatile, vagrants, drug-orientated and sexual predators. Their findings provided a framework of qualitative distinctions in previous offending records prior to a domestic burglary, in much the same way as the present thesis, in chapter eight sought to identify a quantitative framework.

In other forms of offending (Brame, Bushway, Paternoster & Thornberry, 2005, Sampson & Laub, 2005) it was found that an adolescent onset of violence was only predictive of further adolescent violence and did not stretch into adulthood. Moffitt (2006) meanwhile, found life-course persistent offenders to have extremely versatile offending histories, but with specialisations in either serious weapons offences or violence.

More recently, Youngs, Ioannou & Eagles (2014) adopted an alternative approach by examining specialisation/versatility in terms of underlying psychological themes within offending histories, as opposed to specific offence types and discovered a distinctive split between instrumental and expressive styles of previous offending. The theoretical distinction between the two was first introduced by Feshbach (1964) as a means of interpreting different forms of aggression and has since been applied to most forms of criminality to better understand the meaning of the offender's relationship with the

victim. Rather than deriving narrative from crime scene behaviours, Youngs, et al. (2014) sought to infer an overall historic, psychological offending style from the individual's antecedent history. In expressive forms of offending, the motivation was to directly inflict suffering on the victim (Santtila, Häkkänen, Canter & Elfgrén, 2003), and was characterised by impulsive, emotional responses. This was directly comparative to the Expressive romance theme which had been inferred from crime scene behaviour. The motivation for instrumental offending was the desire for material gain, or increased status (Youngs, et al., 2014). This was seen in the adaptive or conservative narrative roles, as identified in chapter five. Thus, historic offending styles could be easily compared, or related to subsequent crime scene behaviour.

It must be acknowledged however, that different forms of the same historic offence could have been motivated by either offending style. As noted by Fox & Farrington (2012), and crucial to the current consideration of narrative-based behavioural themes, that in its legal definition, domestic burglary could be made out through the enactment of a variety of criminal intentions. A property could be illegally entered with the intention to commit criminal damage, violence or else to steal. Each could result in a charge of burglary, and yet each may be driven by fundamentally different psychological needs. To cater for this, Youngs, et al. (2014) inferred the presiding historic offending style through the co-occurrence of other crime types in overall offending histories. The benefit of examining historic offending styles in such a way would be that they were far less likely to be diverted or restricted by a single offence assigned to an incorrect theme, or the transient presentation of opportunity in the offender's life.

A logical progression from Youngs, et al.'s study (2014), conducive to the aims of the thesis would therefore be to examine whether historic offending styles derived from the previous offending records of the current population could present a relationship with behavioural themes drawn from domestic burglary crime scene behaviours. Would an instrumental historic style lead to a dominant adaptive or conservative theme in crime scene behaviour? This would serve to provide a demonstration as to

whether qualitative aspects of previous offending could influence subsequent crime scene behaviour in domestic burglary.

8.2 – Aims

The current analysis shifted emphasis from previous chapters from quantitative aspects of previous offending, to a qualitative element; the type of previous offences undertaken by the individual. Here, the aims of the study were to determine whether those types of previous offending could be shown to influence the behavioural theme of domestic burglary crime scene behaviour.

8.3 – Data

This chapter continued with the use of the same dataset as had been the focus of chapters five to seven. This involved the entire recorded offending histories of a population of 459 individuals who committed domestic burglary offences in the southern policing district of a northern city between 2010-2014. As previously identified, 396 of those individuals had offending histories prior to 2010, totalling 14,076 offences. In the present chapter, the focus turned to qualitative aspects of their offending histories, which necessitated some small changes in the makeup of the dataset. Of the 14,076 previously recorded offences, 540 were missing offence type information and so could not be included. In addition, 185 were categorised as ‘miscellaneous’, in that they were made up of relatively obscure, infrequent offence types such as ‘Begging in a public place’, ‘Convey an article to a prisoner’ and ‘Contravene condition of waste management licence’. Such offences defied appropriate classification, and so were also excluded from the analysis. The offending histories of three individual offenders were therefore not

used, as the qualitative aspects of their histories could not be assessed. Thus, the present chapter utilized the previous offending records of 393 domestic burglars, which totalled 13,351 historic offences.

A total of 376 different offence types were present. Given the timespan of offending histories and the non-academic purpose of the data's initial collection, some of that number could be attributed to definitional changes or variations in descriptions of what were essentially the same offence types. To make such variation functional for the requirements of the study, offences were assigned to one of sixteen categories, as detailed in fig. 8.1 in the results section of this chapter.

For clarity, a brief explanation of the rationale for assigning offences was first required. Domestic burglary included all forms of burglary dwelling, aggravated burglary dwelling, attempts and conspiracies to commit the offence. Burglary other offences typically targeted business premises or unattached outhouses and were regarded as a separate offence type. Offences against the courts/police comprised of all breaches of various orders/curfews, wasteful employment of the police and attempts to pervert the course of justice. Damage offences included all forms of arson, criminal damage and attempts or threats to commit all forms of damage. Drug offences involved production, supply, possession and importation of all classes of illegal substances. Public order offences included affray, drunk or disorderly offences, using abusive, threatening words or actions and all racially aggravated forms of those offences. The theft category included shop theft, vehicle theft, abstracting electricity and all other general forms of theft. Violence comprised all levels of assault, wounding, threats to kill and two offences of murder. Finally, weapons offences involved possession of all firearms, ammunition or bladed articles.

8.4 – Method

As detailed above, previous offences were siloed into a total of sixteen offence categories to facilitate the forthcoming analysis. Those categories were subjected to an initial Smallest space analysis, to enable any underlying styles in previous offending types to be readily identified. The results were then compared with those of the earlier study conducted by Youngs, et al. (2014).

Any dominant previous offending styles established were then assigned to individual offenders, which meant that each could then be identified by two different categorical variables; narrative-based behavioural theme (in domestic burglary, 2010-2014 offences) and historic offending style (based on the thematic qualities of their previous offending domains). The presence of each historic offending style within each domestic burglary behavioural theme was then be documented. Chi-square tests of association were conducted between the two variables to determine if a statistically significant relationship between the two existed. Phi coefficients were also included to document the strength of any identified relationships that were identified.

The chapter then once again made further use of SSA to identify any behavioural differences between historic offending style categories. A distinction from previous chapters was that it was here used to compare behaviours for qualitative categories of previous offending as opposed to quantitative stages of development.

8.5 – Hypotheses

- Smallest space analysis would reveal styles of previous offending that would allow for the differentiation of domestic burglar offenders, based on the offending domains that they had previously taken part in.

- Historic offending styles would present a relationship with behavioural themes in domestic burglary offending, demonstrating that underlying psychological themes in offending behaviour could be traced back through qualitative aspects of the individual's offending history. These relationships would be seen, not only in a consistency between historic offending style and subsequent behavioural theme, but also between historic offending style and specific offending behaviours.

8.6 – Results

The distribution of previous conviction domains within the population, presented in fig. 8.1 was consistent with some of the earlier findings on burglar offending, but raised questions regarding others. Schneider (2005) had found shop theft to be a prevalent antecedent to domestic burglary, and Fox & Farrington (2012) had reached a similar conclusion with general theft. Here, theft was present in the histories of 334 of 393 offenders (85.0%), supportive of both findings and marking it out as the most frequently occurring antecedent within the population.

Previous domestic burglary appeared in 60.1% of offending histories, which provided an insight into experience levels of many of those committing such offences in 2010-2014. Almost 40% of offenders had no previous domestic burglary conviction. Burglary other offences, were not nearly as prevalent, providing a quantitative distinction between the two offences. Equally, handling stolen goods, an offence often associated with domestic burglary occurred in only 37.7% of offending histories, suggesting that this assumption may, only actually be applicable to a sub-group of offenders who had engaged in both offending domains. Drug related offences occurred in 52.7% of offending histories, and had previously been identified by Vaughn, et al. (2008) as the motivation for a different sub-group, and so was supportive of their findings.

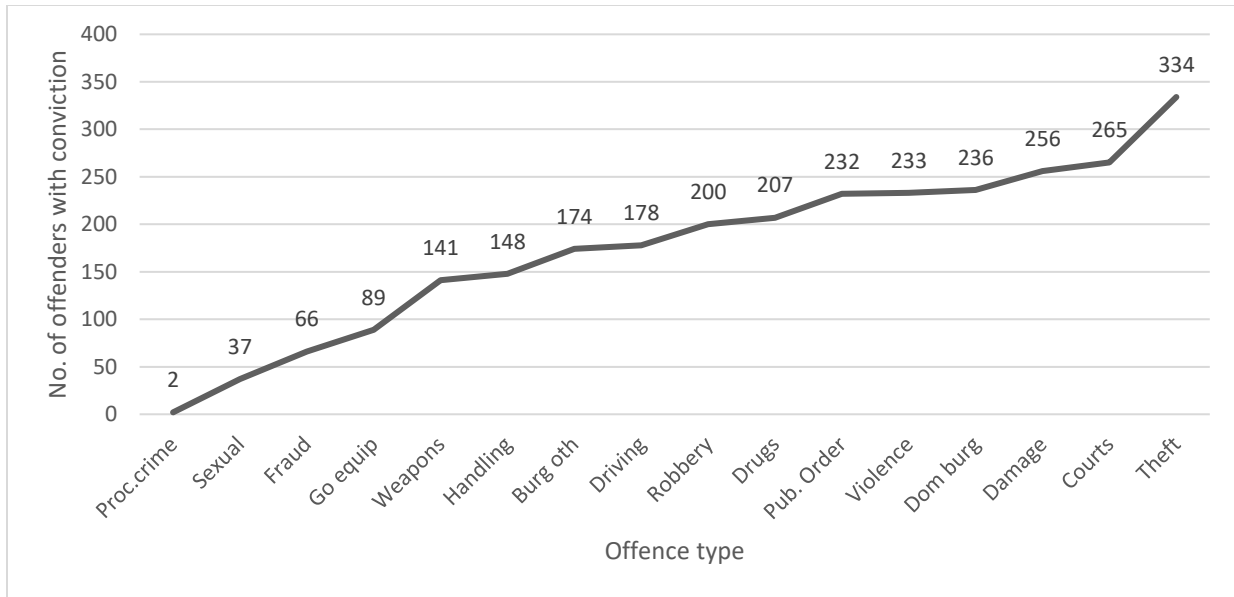


Figure 8.1: Previous conviction by offence type in criminal histories of offenders who committed domestic burglaries in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 393).

In contrast, the second of Vaughn, et al.’s (2008) sub-groups was sexually motivated offenders. Based on the previous offences presented here however, historic sexual offences themselves were uncommon for domestic burglars. Fig. 8.1 showed that domestic burglar offenders had engaged in a broad array of historic criminal activities. The most frequently occurring offences could not all be considered as being in the pursuit of material gain, which would support the arguments put forth by Canter (1989) and Youngs, et al. (2014) that consistency may be best located within offending styles rather than specific types of offending.

8.7 – Historic offending styles for domestic burglars

Fig. 8.2 presented the results of the initial Smallest space analysis (SSA), revealing distinctive styles in the historic offending of domestic burglars which, as in Youngs, et al.’s (2014) study of a broad range of offenders could be suitably defined as expressive or instrumental in nature.

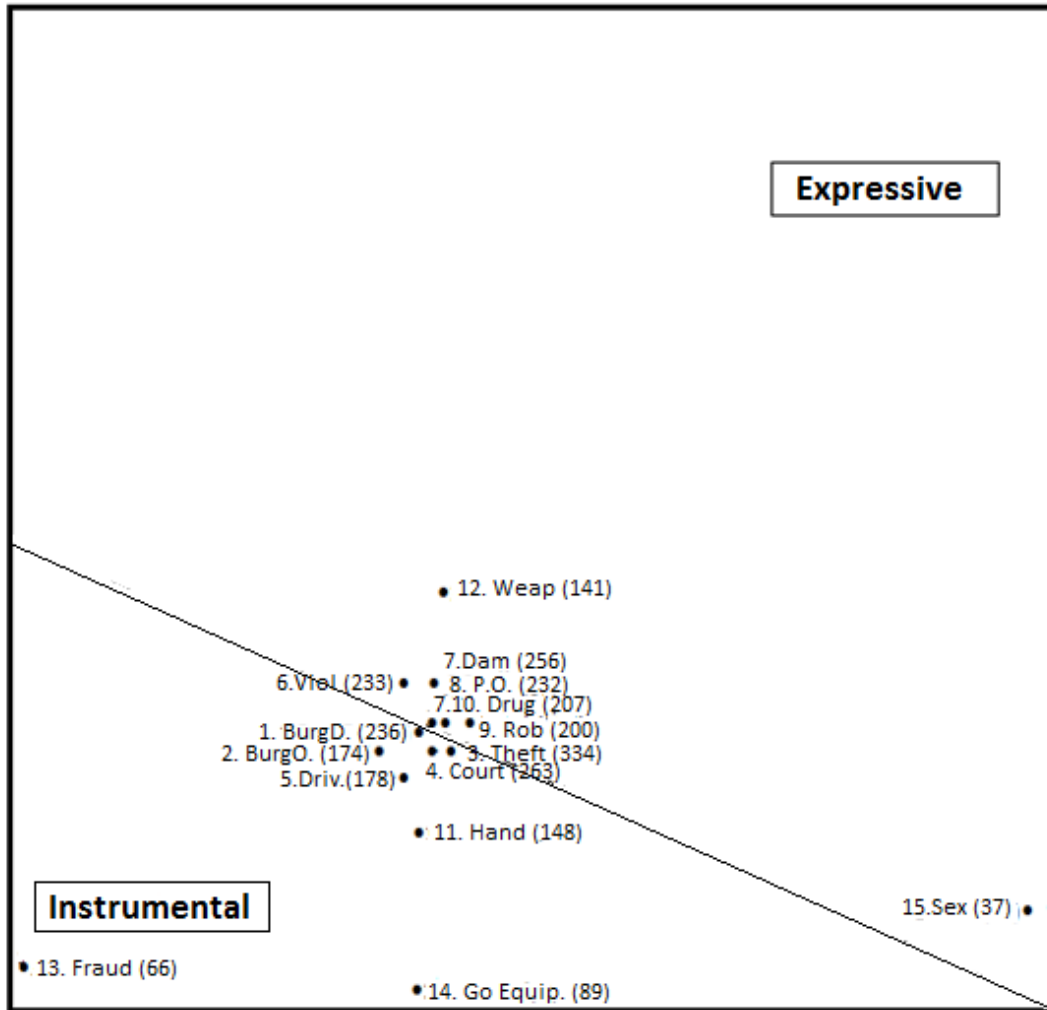


Figure 8.2: *Smallest Space Analysis of domestic burglary offender's historical offence types (n = 393 offenders)*

On the top right of the divide were a collection of seven offence types from which could be inferred an expressive offending style. *Weapons offences, public order, violence and sexual offences* all directly related to a motivation to inflict suffering on the victim, be it through physical or verbal aggression. All such offences suggested a drive towards the application of force onto the victim as a means of relaying a desired message; namely, that the offender was in a position of power. *Criminal damage* offences, though targeting property, were not likely to be aimed at material gain for the offender. Instead, in this context, it was a further expression of power over the victim by way of destruction of their property.

The location of *robbery* within this expressive style, albeit in proximity to several instrumental offences, revealed a great deal about offender motivations in an offence type that would appear to contain elements of both styles. The motivation to steal property from the victim here would be an extension of the infliction of injury, whether that be physical injury, or through being put in fear of violence. Actual material gain was evidently, a secondary consideration. The only offence within this area that would present difficulties in being interpreted as an expressive style of offending would be drug related offences, however, most involved the possession of various illegal substances, which equally would not appear to include any pursuit of material gain. The infliction of injury in these cases would be on the offender themselves in the taking of the substance.

Eight offences were in the bottom-left of the SSA plot and presented clearly acquisitive or instrumental motives. *Domestic burglary, burglary other, theft, handling, fraud* and *going equipped* all contained elements of financial advancement, and thus were indicative of an instrumental historic offending style. *Offences against the courts or police* largely involved breaches of a variety of previously imposed legal sanctions, designed to prevent further offending. In an instrumental context, disobedience towards those restrictions would be likely to be a necessary by-product of pursuing financial or material gain through criminal activity. Finally, also located within this offending style were *driving offences*, covering a wide range of different infractions. Many were to do with a lack of a legitimate licence, tax or insurance which would appear to be an inverted attempt at financial gain, by omission of payment for the required documentation. Overall, almost all previous offending domains of either style was clustered tightly together in the plot, indicating that the typical domestic burglary offending history was likely to feature a mix of expressive and instrumental offences, which if so, would support earlier findings on the widespread versatility of many offenders.

The styles identified from the SSA plot were highly consistent with those produced by Youngs, et al. (2014). Despite some definitional differences, the seven offence types identified here as expressive

forms of offending incorporated 23 of the 25 offence types assigned to Youngs, et al.'s expressive offending style, covering various forms of violence, damage, drug-related crime, public order, sexual and weapons-related offences. The two expressive-style offences which did not coincide across the two studies were 'perverting the course of justice' and 'shop theft', the former being grouped in the present study with *offences against the courts and police*. This, and general theft were located within the instrumental offending style in the present analysis. The one absence from Youngs, et al.'s expressive style was for *robbery* offences which appeared within the instrumental style in that study. This would serve to reiterate the dual motivations of this domain of offending and pointed to a mix of person/property goals for individual offenders with that offence.

On the instrumental side of the divide, many of the present study's offence types were also consistent with Youngs, et al.'s SSA, the only disparity being with *driving offences*, which were not included in the previous work. There were however, differences in some of the offences that had previously been categorised as instrumental. Harassment and arson were included in *public order* and *criminal damage* categories respectively in the present work, while threats to kill and GBH were included in the *violence* category, all expressive styles of offending. These discrepancies aside however, the present SSA was highly consistent with Youngs' et al.'s findings and in being so, suggested that there was a large degree of consistency in instrumental/expressive offending styles between the antecedents of domestic burglars and those of offenders who favoured other domains of offending.

8.8 – Participation in historic offending styles

With the distinction between expressive and instrumental historic offending styles established, the next stage was to determine exactly how these were distributed amongst 2010-2014 domestic burglars. To

do this, a set of criteria was established which could accommodate differing percentages of each style across each offender's criminal history and are detailed below in table 8.1.

Table 8.1: *Historic offending style labels and definitions for 2010-2014 domestic burglars in the southern policing district of a northern city*

Style label	Definition
Expressive 100%	Offender's criminal history was made up entirely of expressive offences
Expressive	Offender had dominant expressive style in their criminal history, accounting for 60% or more of their total previous offending
Expres-Instru	Offender had dominant expressive style, but the difference between expressive and instrumental crimes was less than 20% of their overall offending.
Split	Offender's criminal history was 50% expressive, 50% instrumental
Instru-Expres	Offender had dominant instrumental style, but the difference between instrumental and expressive crimes was less than 20% of their overall offending.
Instrumental	Offender had dominant instrumental style in their criminal history, accounting for 60% or more of their total previous offending
Instrumental 100%	Offender's criminal history was made up entirely of instrumental offences

Historic offending style labels could then be assigned to each individual offender. The distribution of those styles was then calculated for the current 2010-2014 domestic burglary population. It was immediately apparent from the results documented in table 8.1 that the instrumental style was highly dominant. This again would add validity to Youngs, et al.'s (2014) reconceptualization of the versatility-specialisation debate, based on psychological themes as opposed to offending domain types.

Here, a focusing on the instrumental theme was abundant, with 70.2% of the population tending towards more instrumental offending, to varying degrees. Over half of the domestic burglars had histories made up of at least 60% instrumental offending.

A relatively small number of offenders had split styles or roughly even numbers of expressive and instrumental offending, ranging from those who demonstrated a minor preference for expressive

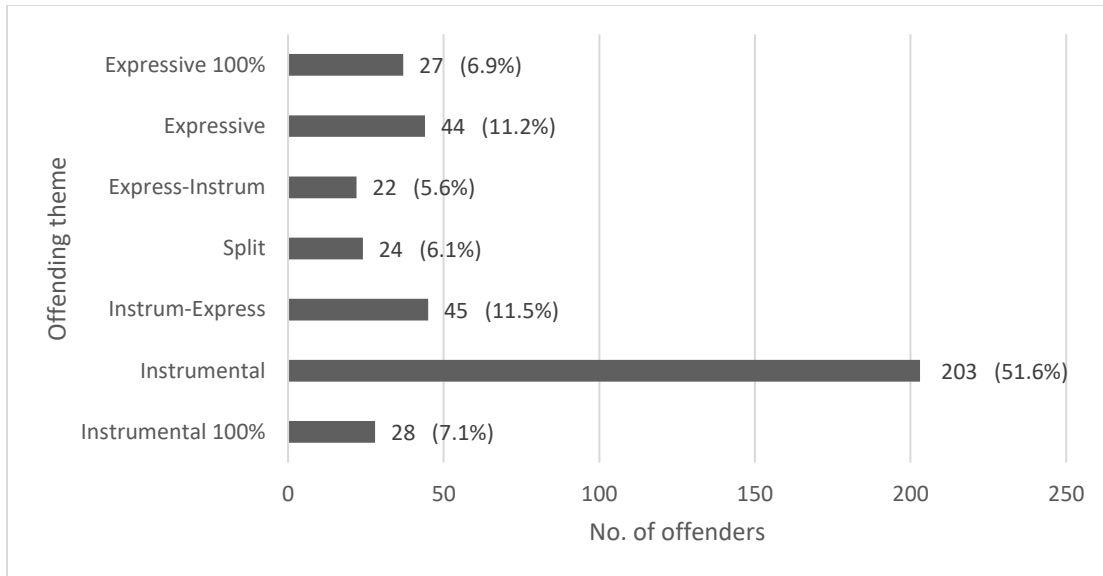


Figure 8.3: *Distribution of offending styles in the criminal histories of domestic burglars in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 393 offenders)*

offences (Expres-Instru) to those with slightly more instrumental previous offences (Instru-Expres). Dominantly expressive styles were present, but with much lower frequencies than predominantly instrumental historic offending styles. This was entirely consistent with the presence of dominant expressive themes in crime scene behaviour, presented in chapter five, and provided an initial suggestion that psychological themes derived from in-crime behaviour may be consistent with those derived from choices made on the form of offending. Only 14.0% of the population presented offending histories that were 100% of one style or the other, with an almost even split between expressive 100% (27) and instrumental 100% (28). These individuals were then at opposite ends of the thematic spectrum, in terms of historic offending styles possessing opposing motivations for offending. The remaining 86% demonstrated that versatility and specialisation were evident in the population's offending histories. Most however, had a tendency for instrumental offending.

8.9 – The relationship between historic offending style and domestic burglary behavioural theme

The large percentage of predominantly instrumental historic offending styles was supportive of one of the hypotheses in that it shared many traits with the adaptive and conservative narrative-based behavioural themes, which had been found to be dominant in domestic burglary crime scene behaviours.

Percentages of each behavioural theme varied, however there was no obvious increase in instrumentally focused domestic burglary behaviour (adaptive or conservative), for those with dominantly instrumental histories (see: table 8.2). The adaptive theme in fact, presented its lowest percentage (35.6) in the Instrumental 100% group. The conservative theme, being the narrative that was most attuned to instrumental, non-victim concerned behaviour, did show some level of adherence to what had been hypothesised, with its lowest percentage coming in the Express-Instru group, and rising incrementally as the presence of previous instrumental offending increased. The conservative theme however, also showed a 22.2% share of expressive 100% and expressive offender crime scene behaviours, which was the direct opposite of conservative motivations – low task focus and high victim awareness. Equally, the expressive narrative-based behavioural theme, though low in percentages across all historic offending styles in fact demonstrated an increase in the domestic burglary behaviours of those with dominantly instrumental backgrounds.

To test this at a level of statistical significance, Chi-square tests of association were conducted between historic offending styles and narrative-based themes, and confirmed these findings, demonstrating that there was almost no positive, statistically significant relationship between the two.

Presenting a preponderance of expressive offending types in an individual's offending history did not predispose that offender to abundantly expressive crime scene behaviours in a later domestic burglary offence. The same was also true of instrumental or task-focused offending.

Table 8.2: *Frequency and percentage presence of behavioural themes in historic offending style groups*
(*n* = 393 offenders)

	Adapt.	AdaptCons	Cons.	ExpresCons	Express	ExpressAdapt	IntegAdapt	Nil	Tot.
Exp100 (28)	12	4	6	0	1	0	0	5	28
% style	42.9	14.3	21.4	0.0	3.6	0.0	0.0	17.9	100.
Expres. (56)	19	8	11	0	3	1	0	14	56
% style	33.9	14.3	19.6	0.0	5.4	1.8	0.0	25.0	100.
ExprInstru (31) % style	15	5	4	0	1	1	0	5	31
	48.4	16.1	12.9	0.0	3.2	3.2	0.0	16.1	100.
Split (55)	29	3	1	0	1	1	0	6	55
% style	52.7	5.5	1.8	0.0	1.8	1.8	0.0	10.9	100.
InstruExpr (46) % style	46	6	11	1	1	2	0	10	77
	59.7	7.8	14.3	1.3	1.3	2.6	0.0	13.0	100.
Instru (301)	124	30	73	1	21	4	0	48	301
% style	41.2	10.0	24.3	.3	7.0	1.3	0.0	15.9	100.
Instru100 (34) % style	12	1	9	0	4	0	0	8	34
	35.3	2.9	26.5	0.0	11.8	0.0	0.0	23.5	100.

This presented an interesting juxtaposition between the types of offending an individual engaged in and the motivations underlying the way in which a specific offence was enacted. Motivations for a specific offence type – in this instance, domestic burglary – appeared to be unique to that domain.

Only a minor form of consistency between the two themes could be ascertained. Those offenders who had demonstrated a dominant Adaptive adventurer theme in their domestic burglary offence – which included task focus, presented a negative association with the expressive and expressive 100% offending styles, which favoured an interaction with the victim over task focus.

Table 8.3: Chi-square tests of association between historic offending style and behavioural theme in domestic burglary

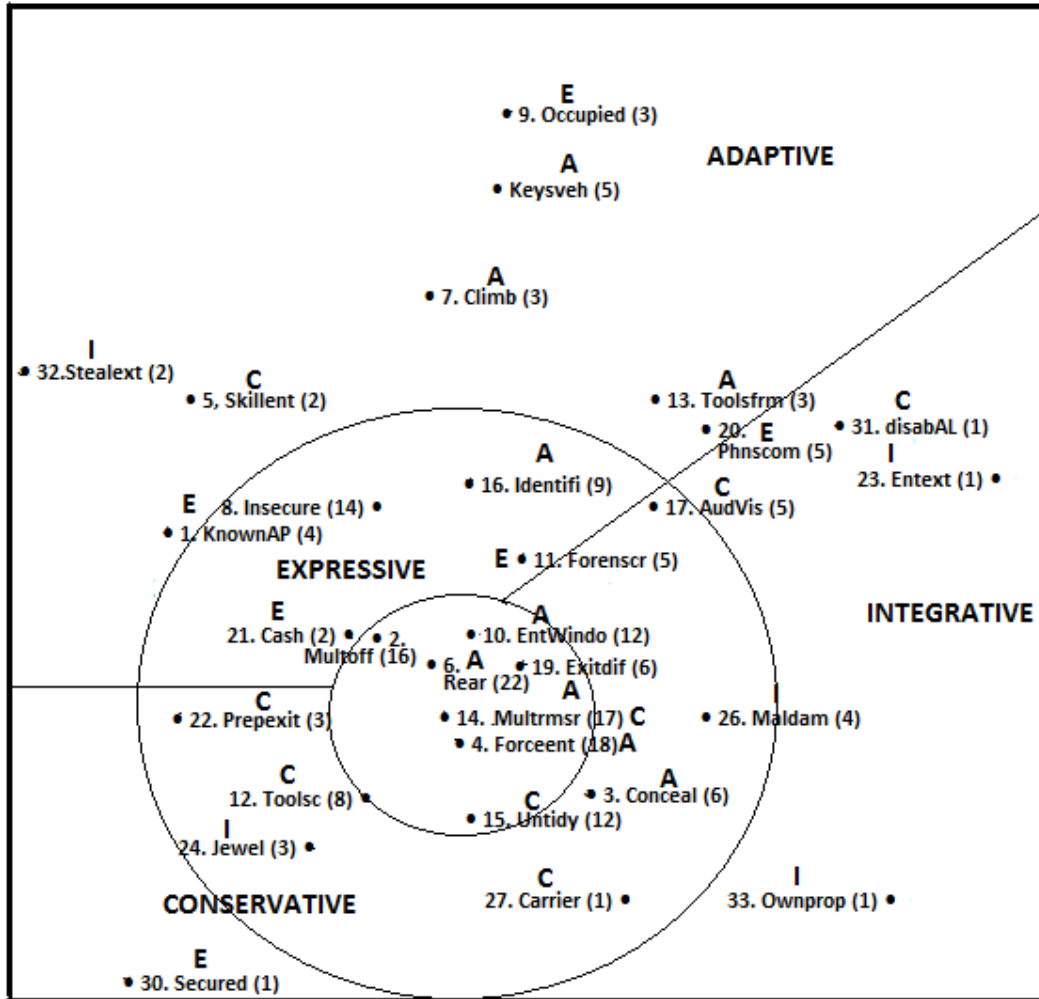
		Freq.	P value		n.s./sig.	Phi
<i>Express. 100</i>	Adaptive	12	.89	P>0.05	n.s.	-.01
	AdaptCons	4	.41	P>0.05	n.s.	.03
	Conservative	6	.96	P>0.05	n.s.	-.002
	Expressive	1	.65	P>0.05	n.s.	-.02
	Nil	5	.84	P>0.05	n.s.	.008
<i>Express.</i>	Adaptive	19	.11	P>0.05	n.s.	-.07
	AdaptCons	8	.23	P>0.05	n.s.	.05
	Conservative	11	.68	P>0.05	n.s.	-.02
	Expressive	3	.96	P>0.05	n.s.	-.002
	Nil	14	.07	P>0.05	n.s.	.08
<i>ExpressInstru</i>	Adaptive	15	.63	P>0.05	n.s.	.02
	AdaptCons	5	.22	P>0.05	n.s.	.05
	Conservative	4	.22	P>0.05	n.s.	-.05
	Expressive	1	.57	P>0.05	n.s.	-.02
	Nil	5	.96	P>0.05	n.s.	-.002
<i>Split</i>	Adaptive	29	.18	P>0.05	n.s.	.06
	AdaptCons	3	.26	P<0.01**	n.s.	-.05
	Conservative	13	.73	P>0.05	n.s.	.01
	Expressive	1	.21	P>0.05	n.s.	.21
	Nil	6	.24	P>0.05	n.s.	.24
<i>InstruExpres.</i>	Adaptive	46	.003	P<0.001***	sig.	.003
	AdaptCons	6	.53	P>0.05	n.s.	-.03
	Conservative	11	.09	P>0.05	n.s.	-.07
	Expressive	1	.08	P<0.05	n.s.	-.07
	Nil	10	.37	P>0.05	n.s.	-.04
<i>Instrumental</i>	Adaptive	124	.003	P>0.05	n.s.	-.06
	AdaptCons	30	.53	P>0.05	n.s.	.05
	Conservative	73	.09	P>0.05	n.s.	.06
	Expressive	21	.08	P>0.05	n.s.	.07
	Nil	48	.37	P>0.05	n.s.	-.02

<i>Instrumental 100</i>	Freq.	P value		n.s./sig.	Phi
Adaptive	41	.69	P>0.05	n.s.	.02
AdaptCons	4	.07	P>0.05	n.s.	-.08
Conservative	22	.47	P>0.05	n.s.	.03
Expressive	5	.96	P>0.05	n.s.	.002
Nil	14	.83	P>0.05	n.s.	-.01

The Conservative tragedy burglary offenders demonstrated a similar pattern, presenting negative associations with the expressive 100%, expressive and expres-instru historic offending styles. To a limited degree, this indicated that task focused burglars were marginally less likely to have engaged in a prevalent amount of expressive offending than those whose motivation for domestic burglary came from the interaction with the victim. This was somewhat undermined however, by domestic burglars who had demonstrated an Expressive romance theme in their crime scene behaviours, who also presented a negative association with expressive and expressive 100% offending history styles, and a minor, but positive one with previous instrumental offending. Such results, rather than being indicative of consistency in extended psychological themes, may simply lend further support to Canter & Youngs' (2009) finding that domestic burglary was fundamentally an adaptive offence, with those who participated, only marginally more inclined to engage in instrumental, task-focused types of offending.

8.10 - Expressive 100% historic offending style

When Smallest space analysis was utilized to examine behavioural themes in crime scene behaviours for offenders whose historic offending styles were 100% expressive, the results were consistent with what had been seen in table 8.2; namely, that the nature of the previous offending style did not provide an indication as to the subsequent narrative derived from domestic burglary offending.



2 by 3 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccards Co efficient .11

Figure 8.4: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with Expressive 100% historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014*

(n = 28 offences)

As had been the case in previous chapters, domestic burglary began with a recognizable set of core behaviours, centred around *multiple offenders, entry – rear, entry – window* and *multiple rooms searched*, which was primarily adaptive in its underlying themes. Immediately beyond that core, within the second concentric circle behaviours could mostly be divided between two themes; the expressive

and the conservative. Conservative behaviours however, occurred more frequently, with expressive behaviours co-occurring only in a small cluster, to the left of the plot.

Adaptive behaviours were also collated in a consistent theme, but largely appeared on the periphery of the plot, also in low frequencies, suggesting that very few offenders with an expressive 100% previous offending style adopted this approach to domestic burglary offending.

Fig. 8.4 however, had shown that 40.7% of this group had dominant adaptive narrative themes, which would indicate that a substantial number did little more than the basic, core behaviours.

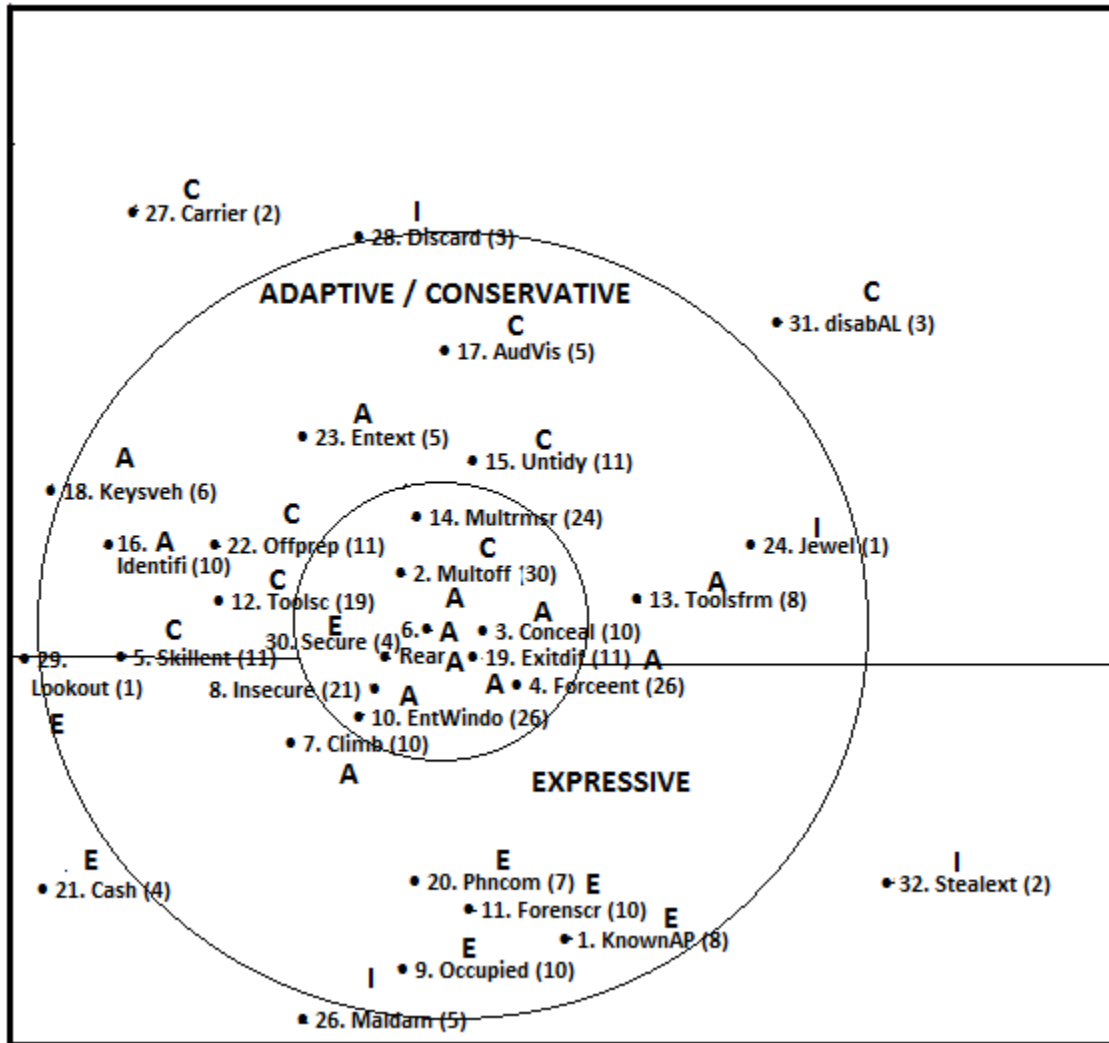
The SSA plot in fig. 8.4 showed that many behaviours in this group were driven by conservative motivations and demonstrated that an expressive behavioural theme in crime scene behaviour was not a predictor of a universally expressive offending history.

8.11 - Expressive historic offending style

To some extent, the behaviours of those with dominant, though not exclusive expressive previous offending styles followed a similar template; a predominantly adaptive core of crime scene behaviours were the basic framework of most domestic burglary offences, but beyond this, task-focused behaviours could not be divided into clearly defined narrative-based themes. Conservative and adaptive behaviours appeared intermingled with each other, as well as several integrative behaviours, in a manner that indicated a less well-defined motivation for offending than had been seen in the previous chapters.

In contrast, Expressive romance behaviours did co-occur in a tight cluster, providing evidence of a distinctive behavioural theme, consistent with the previous offending style. This must be considered however, against the frequency of dominant themes for this group, presented in table 8.1. Dominant

conservative or adaptive themes were observed in exactly 75.0% of the offences committed by this group.



2 by 3 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .12

Figure 8.5: Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with Expressive historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 56 offences)

Despite evidence of the presence of distinctive expressive behavioural themes, it was prevalent in only 6.8% of offences. This could lead to the inference that any predisposition to an expressive behavioural

style based on a predominantly expressive historic offending style was outweighed by the fundamentally adaptive nature of domestic burglary, which all but demanded a more task-orientated approach than other domains of offending.

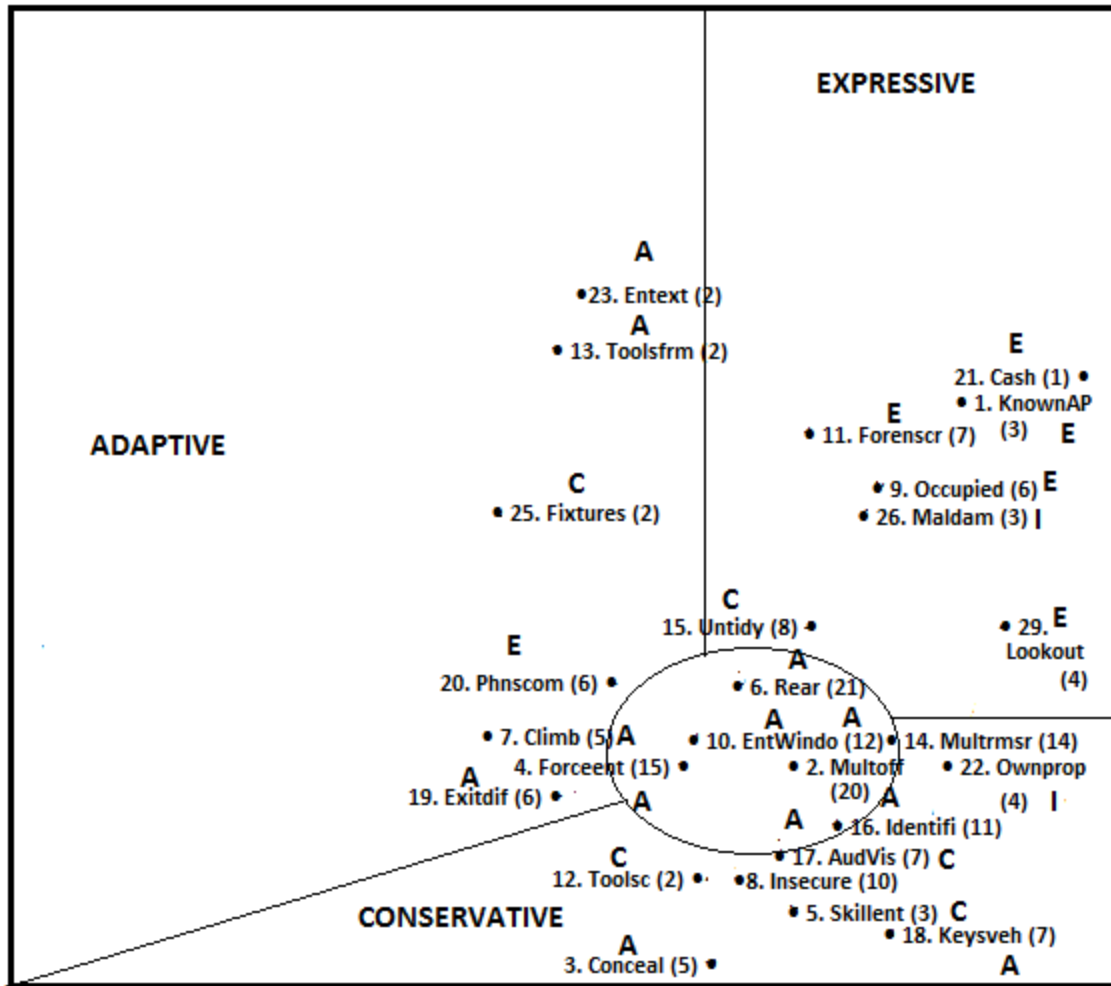
8.12 - Expres-Instru historic offending style

As percentages of expressive-style previous offending declined, the patterns of behaviour witnessed in previous groups continued, with expressive and conservative behaviours forming distinct themes beyond an adaptive core of persistent behaviours.

In the expres-instru group however, there was some indication of an adaptive theme forming beyond that core group of behaviours, which would coincide with an increase in more instrumental previous offending. While in previous, more expressive-dominant groups, adaptive behaviours beyond the core appeared either alongside those assigned to other themes, or in low frequencies. Here at least, several adaptive behaviours were positioned in the same area of the plot, albeit with some distance between them.

Behaviourally, the conservative theme did not present a substantial amount of change from those with Expressive 100% offending styles. The three most prevalent conservative behaviours in this group – *audio-visual equipment stolen, vehicle keys/vehicle stolen* and *concealed approach* were equally prevalent in the Expressive 100% group, demonstrating little difference amongst offenders with different degrees of previous expressive offending behaviour.

For the adaptive theme however, changes were more obvious. The most frequently occurring adaptive behaviours in the Expressive 100% group were *identifiable property* and *vehicle keys/vehicle*, while in the expres-instru group, it was *entry-climbing* and *exit different to entry*.



1 by 2 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccards Co efficient .08

Figure 8.6: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with Expres-Instru historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 31 offences)*

The former presented a focus on the specifics of the yield, while the latter demonstrated a greater concentration on the successful offence and potential for being seen. A greater degree of previous instrumental offending would appear to have focused the adaptive offender on the task, rather than yield related behaviours.

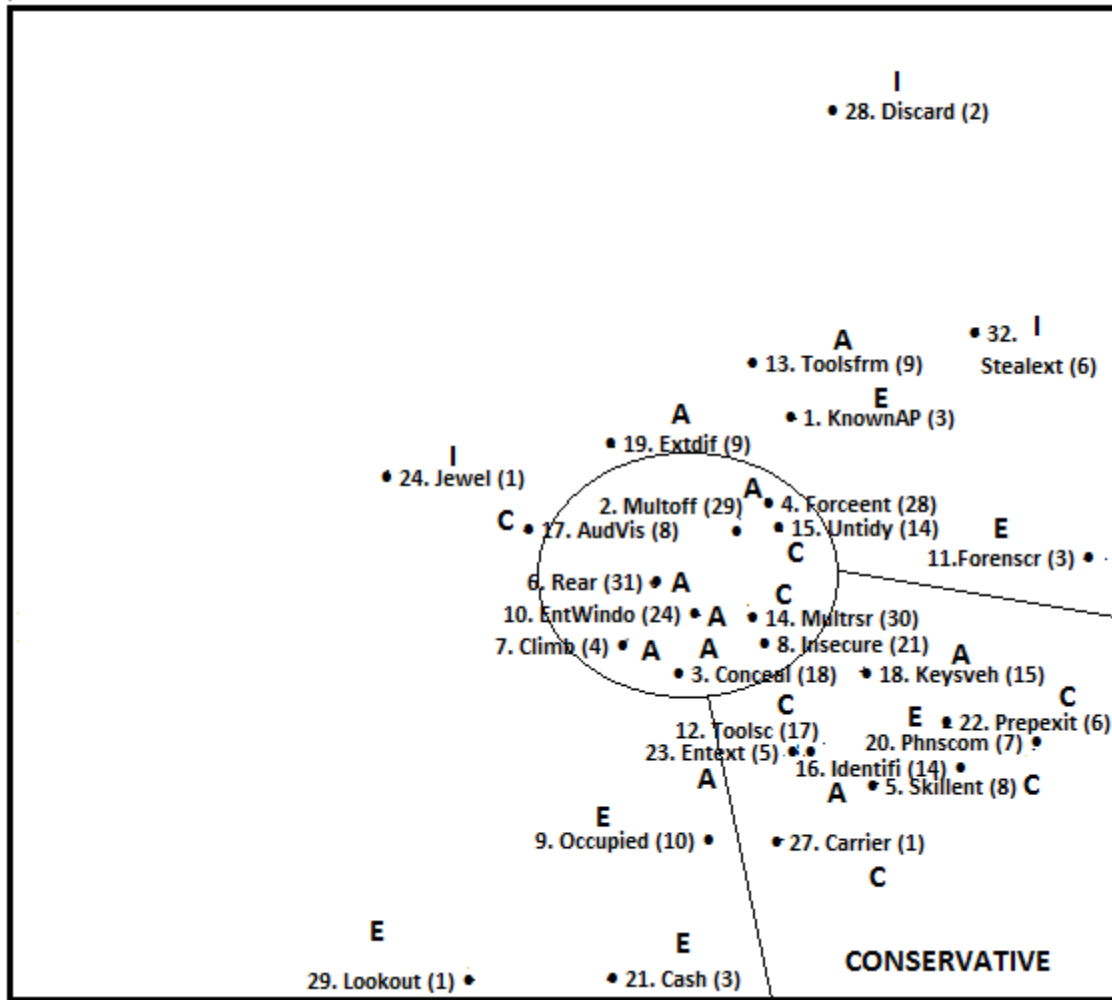
Finally, the expressive behavioural theme, which in previous chapters had presented little in the way of development, continued that trend here, with *property occupied* and *forensically careless* being two of the three most common behaviours for both expressive and expres-instru groups, indicating that an increase in the presence of past instrumental offending did little to influence the crime scene behaviours of those who presented this theme. So, in this group, behavioural themes were present in patterns that were more commensurate with those presented in the behaviours of all domestic burglars, but on a behavioural level, the degree of change was dependent on the specific theme in question.

8.13 - Split historic offending styles

When historic offending styles presented an equal split between instrumental and expressive, as they did in fifty-five domestic burglaries, for the first time, distinctive behavioural themes could not be readily determined. Only the adaptive core remained in any way comparable to the previous groups, made up of the similar behavioural base to those seen in expressive-dominant offending style groups. Here, those behaviours were accompanied by *untidy search* (conservative), *insecure – entry* and *entry by climbing* (adaptive). Each of these behaviours had made sporadic appearances in the cores of the previously examined offending style groups.

Outside of the split offending style core however, the co-occurrence of behaviours was entirely different from previous groups. Adaptive, expressive and integrative behaviours all appeared haphazardly amongst one another, with no discernible pattern.

Perhaps the only truly identifiable theme was the Conservative tragedy, wherein all but one of the behaviours related to that theme occurred in proximity to each other in the mid-to-lower region of the right side of the plot, although they were interspersed with behaviours previously assigned to other themes.



1 by 3 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccards Co efficient .08

Figure 8.7: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with split historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 55 offences)*

The main consistency of that group of behaviours would be that all but one (*phones/computers stolen*) were task-focused actions, applicable to either the adaptive or conservative themes. On the SSA plot, these behaviours appeared in a tightly collected group, several in relatively high individual frequencies, demonstrating that task focus was a frequent and consistent approach to domestic burglary in this group of offenders. The remainder of the plot was largely populated with low task-focused offending,

made up of expressive and integrative behaviours. Unlike in expressive offending styles however, expressive behaviours here were collated in two different regions, at opposite ends of the plot. The low frequencies of behaviours for this narrative theme coincide with its non-appearance as a dominant theme for those with this offending style. Thus, offenders with a split offending style were almost exclusively task-focused in their approach to domestic burglary.

With a core that was mainly adaptive, and only a small number of adaptive behaviours beyond that, this suggested that many of those involved in the 45.8% of offences that presented a dominant adaptive theme, stuck mainly to those core behaviours. This would make differentiation in this group possible only through noting the presence or absence of additional conservative behaviours. Thus, it could be ascertained that an even mix of expressive or instrumental previous offending styles prompted a task-focused approach to domestic burglary, as if having experience of both led to the awareness of a need to concentrate on the effective execution of the offence. The thematic difference between offenders would therefore be in the presence or absence of victim awareness.

8.14 - Instru-Expres historic offending style

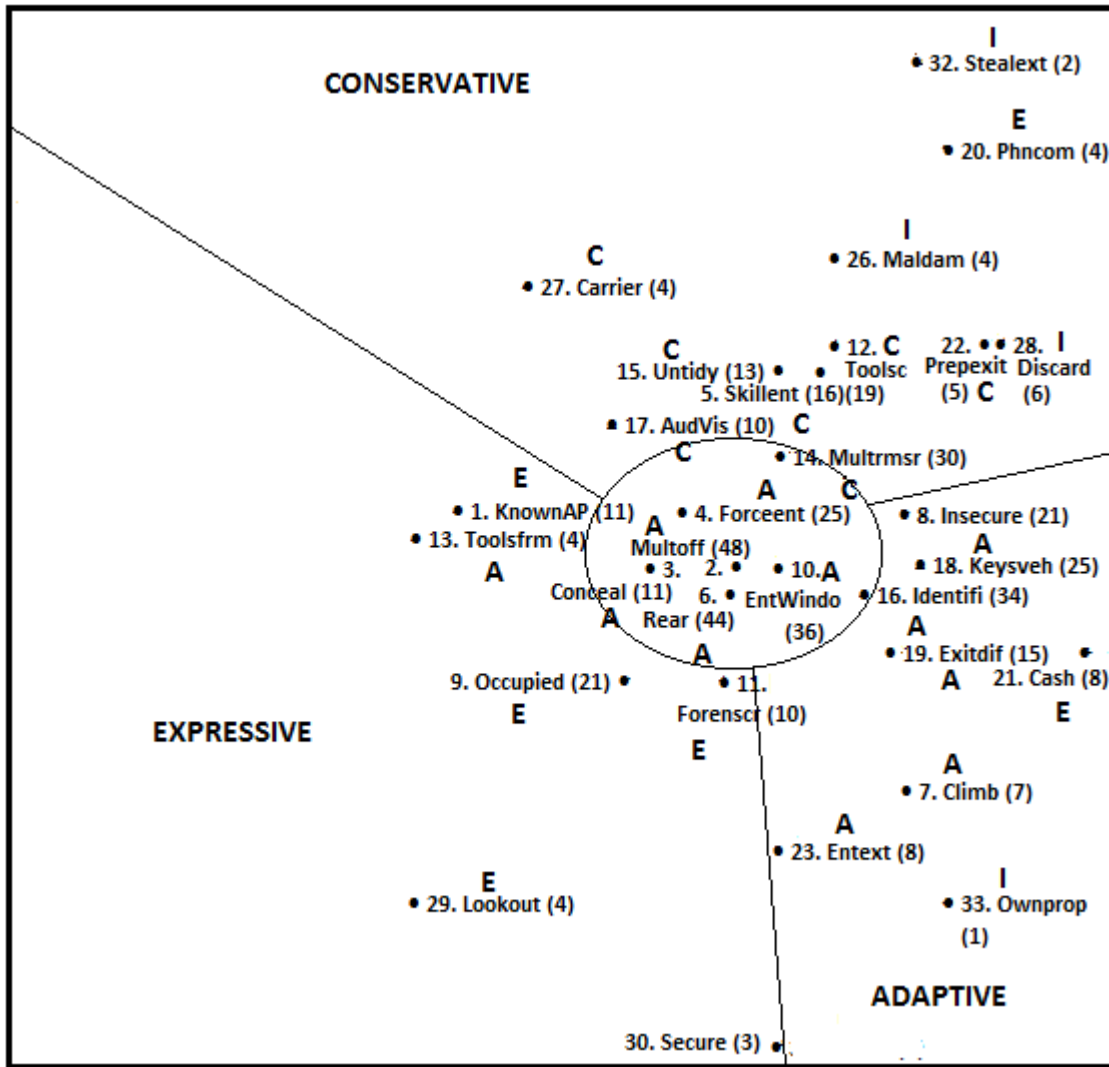
In contrast to the disintegration of behavioural themes observed in the split-offending style groups, offences in which the offender had previously demonstrated a preference for instrumental offending presented the most clearly defined behavioural themes of any of the groups examined so far. The core maintained the basic behavioural elements as before – *multiple offenders, entry – rear, entry – window, forced entry, multiple rooms searched*, but *concealed approach* and *identifiable property stolen* were added. All but one of these (*multiple rooms searched*), were adaptive, and collectively presented a very clearly defined picture of an adaptive themed offence, concerned with all three elements of the offence;

entry, search and yield. The *concealed approach* demonstrated an awareness of the threat posed by the victim.

The three narrative-based themes were as equally well defined, with all remaining conservative behaviours accumulated within the same region of the SSA plot. Three of the four integrative behaviours present, appeared at the farthest reaches of that region, in the top right and in relatively low frequencies. This demonstrated that there could be the occasional lapses in the task focus element of the offence, which led to behaviours which showed a lack of concentration. More so than in the previously examined offending style groups, the adaptive theme was clearly defined beyond the core, as was the Expressive romance.

In terms of specific behaviours, an effective comparison could be made between this group and the corresponding expres-instru group. For conservatives, prevalent behaviours had switched from a focus on types of property – *audio visual equipment* and *vehicle keys/vehicle*, to effective skills – *tools brought to the scene and used* and *skilled entry*, also consistent with the thematic shift in previous offending style.

Adaptive offenders, in contrast, appeared to have become more interested in the spoils, trading *entry – climbing* and *exit different to entry* for *identifiable property of vehicle keys/vehicle* stolen. The expressive theme maintained a *forensic carelessness*, once again suggesting that for these offenders qualitative measures of offending history held little influence in subsequent domestic burglary behaviour.



1 by 2 of 3-dimensional plot

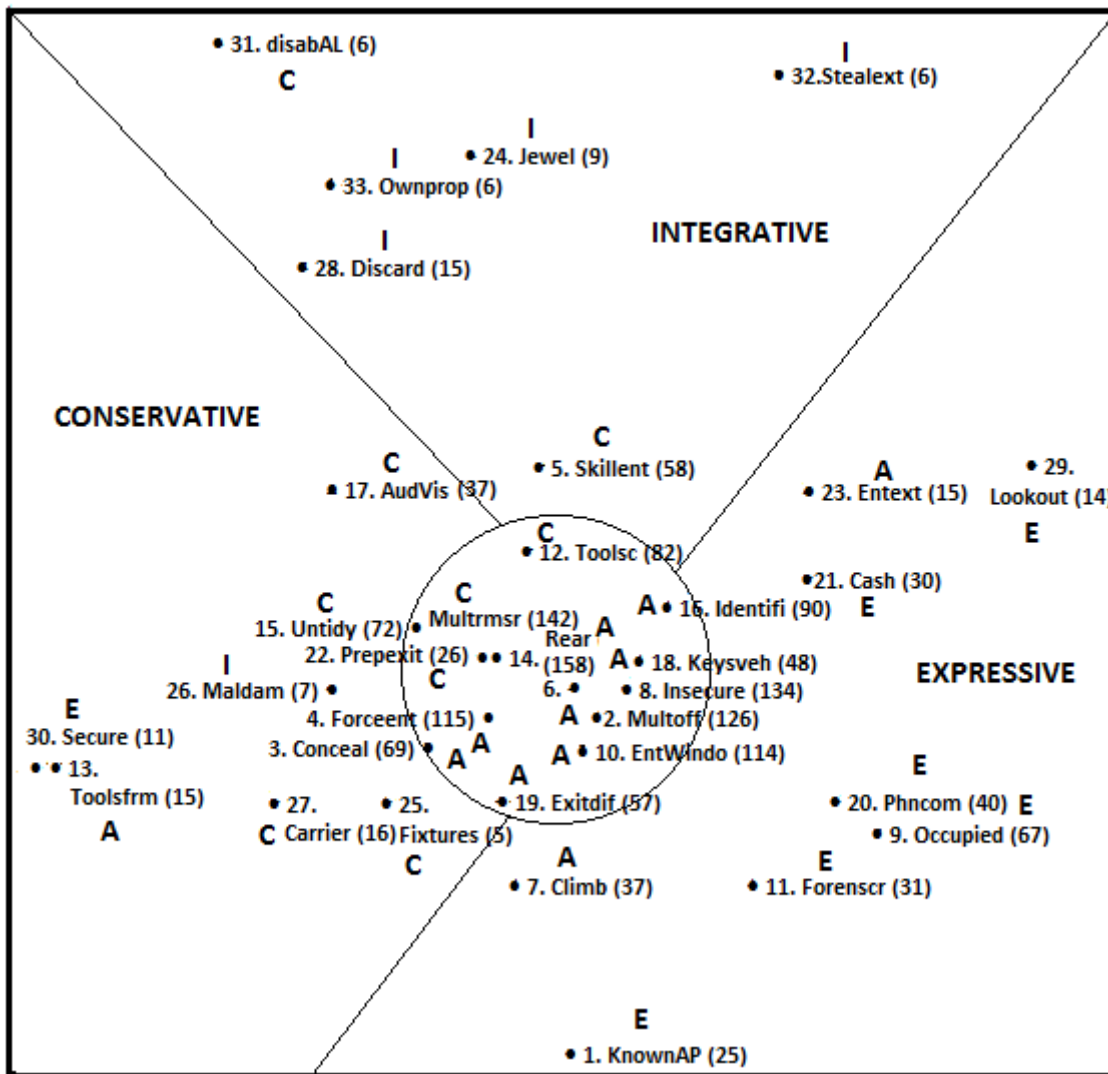
Jaccards Co efficient .08

Figure 8.8: Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with Instru-Expres historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city 2010-2014 (n = 77 offences)

8.15 - Instrumental historic offending style

The presence of narrative-based behavioural themes in the behaviours of offenders with predominantly instrumental offending backgrounds took on a further alternative form. Initially, this gave

the appearance that the tight thematic structure observed in the instru-expressive offending style did not carry over into this group, which included 301 domestic burglary offences. On closer inspection however, the shift, as depicted in fig. 8.9 was brought about not by the absence of the adaptive behavioural theme, but by most of the behaviours associated with it being present in the core.



2 by 3 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .18

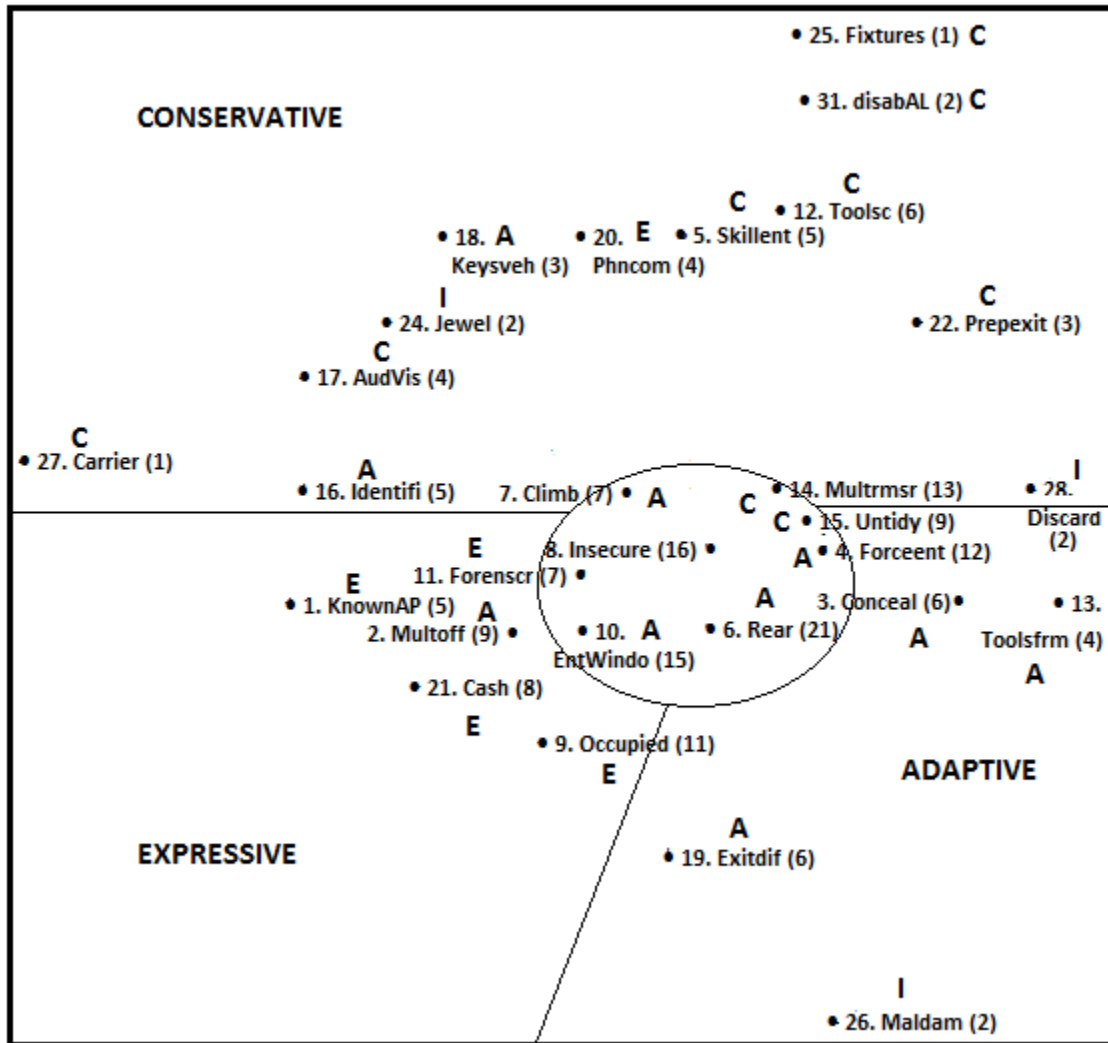
Figure 8.9: Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with Instrumental historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 (n = 301 offences)

As adaptive behaviours would most typically be associated with instrumental, as opposed to expressive motivations, this would point to there being some form of relationship between previous offending style and subsequent behavioural theme, although not one at a level of statistical significance. Equally, this also demonstrated that a great many offenders of comparable offending backgrounds behaved in very similar ways to one another, with eight of the eleven adaptive behaviours appearing in the core. This meant that behavioural differentiation for those with an instrumental offending style would be at a premium, with only small percentages of offences being conducted within other behavioural themes. The conservative theme increased in prevalence in this group, and again presented as a recognizable theme, made up of in-crime and property related behaviours – *untidy search, carrier taken from the scene, audio-visual equipment stolen and fixtures/piping stolen*. This was also consistent with the instrumental mindset suggested by the previous offending style. Expressive behaviours, which were dominant in only 8.4% of the behaviours of offenders in this group were separated not only from the core, but also much further from each other than was the case with conservative behaviours. This contrasted with the expressive theme's appearance in the expressive historic offending style groups, in which although the theme was equally low in frequency, it had appeared as a closely defined behavioural theme. Integrative behaviours for the first time appeared as a group of distinctive behaviours albeit in very low frequencies and at some distance from all other forms of offending.

8.16 - Instrumental 100% historic offending style

For the thirty-four offenders who had previously only committed instrumental offences, the dominance of task focused themes appeared to relax somewhat, which was counter to any expectation of offending style and behavioural theme consistency. Here, the core was made up of a much lower number of behaviours (7) than in the instrumental group (12). Only four were adaptive, with two

conservative and one expressive, along with *insecure entry*, which had not been assigned to any of the four behavioural themes.



2 by 3 of 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Co efficient .08

Figure 8.10: *Smallest Space Analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglaries committed by offenders with Instrumental 100% historic offending styles, in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014*

(n = 34 offences)

Core behaviours were concerned with *entry by climbing*, through *windows*, at the *rear* of the property, or by being *forced*, and with the exploration of the attacked premises – *multiple rooms searched* and *untidy search*.

Outside of the core, the three dominant themes were still present, but were less well defined. The adaptive theme was made up of a small number of behaviours which were geographically removed from each other in the plot, indicating that they did not always co-occur as a distinctive form of domestic burglary. The conservative theme occurred across the entire top half of the SSA plot and was interspersed with several behaviours assigned to other themes, indicating some differentiation from recognized behavioural themes. It was in fact, the Expressive romance which appeared in closest proximity to the core, with *forensic carelessness* now appearing within. For the first time, *multiple offenders*, an adaptive behaviour, was not a part of the core, and was instead found to have frequently co-occurred with expressive behaviours for the first time. Thus, consistency between historic offending style and behavioural theme did not progress into this group, which indicated that there was more to the motivations for domestic burglary behaviours than the thematic form of previous offending.

8.17 – Discussion

Expressive and instrumental offending styles were distinguished within the offending histories of domestic burglars, based on Feshbach's (1964) initial differentiation between expressive and instrumental aggression and Youngs, et al.'s (2014) identification of the same themes in the offending histories of general offenders. This provided an effective means of understanding not only what previous offence types domestic burglars had undertaken, but what those offences meant to the individual themselves. In expressive offending, the desire to inflict suffering on the victim and gain gratification from doing so has been interpreted as an emotional interaction with the victim (Youngs, et

al., 2014). As such, the significance of the victim to the offender was a key component, as was an impulsive reaction to anger-inducing situations. Here, the expressive style was represented by the frequent co-occurrence of offending categories such as violence, public order, criminal damage and sexual offences. Also featured within the expressive style was robbery, an offence which included overt elements of both expressive victim-interaction and acquisitive gain. This provided an indication of the emphasis placed on expressive motivations for this type of offence.

Those offences were qualitatively different from those assigned to the instrumental offending style, which was characterised by a focus on financial or material gain, or an increase in status derived from offending. Instrumental offences involved an impersonal approach to the victim; an unimportant by-product of their own desires. In this instance, this was demonstrated by a variety of acquisitive offences – domestic burglary, burglary other, theft, handling stolen goods, going equipped and fraud, all of which contained elements of a motivation for material gain over a desire to harm the victim.

Perhaps the most important aspect of the SSA in fig. 8.2 was the consistency with those reported by Youngs, et al. (2014), with most offence types falling into the same offending styles in the present study. This not only supported the presence of differentiated expressive and instrumental styles in historic offences as proposed by Youngs, et al., but suggested that the offending styles of domestic burglars were largely consistent with those of the general offender. The present study built on this by then assigning historic offending styles to individual offenders, based on the percentages of expressive and instrumental offences. This provided two intriguing contributions to the existing knowledge of offending histories. Firstly, Youngs, et al. (2014) had proposed that the identification of offending styles allowed for a reconceptualization of the versatility-specialisation debate, which for some time had identified only brief pockets of specialisation in crime types across generally versatile histories. Thematically, it was shown that only small percentages of offenders specialised in an absolute offending style. Most demonstrated a bias towards one theme or the other, with a majority favouring the instrumental style.

Specialisation in offending style as opposed to specific offending domain was abundant within the present population. To some extent, this was supportive of propensity theories such as those put forth by Gottfredson & Hirschi (1990), which suggested that offence-specific specialisation was unlikely, due to the offender's inherent criminal tendencies. Here, it was seen that individuals rarely restricted themselves to a certain type of offence, but the majority had repeatedly favoured an offending style, indicative to their personal motivations for offending.

The distribution of offending styles amongst the population also revealed fresh insight into the histories of domestic burglars. The dominance of the instrumental style, revealed that domestic burglary was for a large percentage of offenders, an integral part of a far-reaching purpose for offending; the instrumental pursuit of material or financial gain. The interpersonal transaction element of burglary between offender and victim (Canter, 1989) appeared to be a motivation for only a relatively small number of offenders. Instrumental-dominated offending themes were involved in over 88% of historic offences, marking out expressive-styled burglars as a distinct sub-group.

General theft was by far the most common antecedent with criminal damage and previous domestic burglary also prominent. This supported Schneider's (2005) and Fox & Farrington's (2012) findings in this area, but Vaughn, et al.'s (2008) identification of the sexual predator typology was poorly represented here, with only 37 offenders having prior convictions for sexual offences.

The lack of any abundant statistical associations between historic offending styles and subsequent behavioural themes in domestic burglary demonstrated that crime scene behaviours could not be attributed to nomothetic categories of previous offending. This would suggest that different offence types provided different means of psychological fulfilment to the same offender. The fundamentally acquisitive motivation for domestic burglary has often been acknowledged in previous studies (Cromwell, et al., 1991, Bennett & Wright, 1984, Wright, et al., 2011), and was further supported here,

and yet most perpetrators of the offence had taken part in a small number of expressive-style offences during their previous histories. Expressive forms of domestic burglary were less frequent but were equally not a predictor of overtly expressive previous offending. Thus, motivations for offending appeared to be specific to the offending domain at hand. Perhaps more accurately, motivations for domestic burglary appeared to differ from those in other offence types, which could perhaps be explained by the unique psychological requirements of the offence. The willingness to enter a person's home, crossing both a physical and psychological barrier did not occur in other forms of instrumental offending such as theft, handling or fraud, which are each much more directly acquisition-focused forms of instrumental offending. Such an act, whether conducted for expressive or instrumental gains was much more intimate than a theft from a shop or a burglary at an empty business premises, and so would surely require different personal characteristics for it to be undertaken. To some extent, it almost demanded an element of expressive motivation in the implied personal invasion inherent in illegally entering someone's home with an intention to steal. Hence, most domestic burglars had histories featuring expressive offence types such as violence, robbery or offences involving weapons.

Theoretically, this lent support to Mischel's (1968) awareness of the power of the situation to influence behaviour. It is the specific meaning of domestic burglary to the individual, as opposed to all offending behaviour. This was also conducive to the understanding of expertise as a combination of an individual's knowledge and task-specific reactions which Ericsson & Lehman (1996) found to be inherently domain-specific in nature.

In terms of distinctions in domestic burglary behavioural themes between offenders with different previous offending styles, Smallest space analysis found a small amount of supportive evidence with regards to the adaptive theme only. This theme was ill-defined in the behaviours of those with dominantly expressive backgrounds, appearing as infrequent, distant points in the expressive 100% group, and mixed with conservative behaviours in the expressive group.

Table 8.4: *Core domestic burglary behaviours per previous offending style and narrative-based themes*
(A = Adaptive, C = Conservative, E = Expressive)

Exprs100 (28)	Express. (56)	Exprs-Inst (31)	Split (55)	Inst-Exprs. (77)	Instru. (301)	Instru100 (34)
Entry-rear (22) (A)	Entry-rear (36) (A)	Entry-rear (21) (A)	Entry – rear (31) (A)	Mult. Offenders (48) (A)	Entry – rear (158) (A)	Entry – rear (158) (A)
Force entry (18) (A)	Mult. Offenders (30) (A)	Mult. Offenders (20) (A)	Mult room (30) (C)	Entry – rear (44) (A)	Mult room (142) (C)	Insecure (21)
Mult room (17) (C)	Ent – Window (26) (A)	Force entry (15) (A)	Mult. Offenders (29) (A)	Ent – Window (36) (A)	Insecure (134)	Ent – Window (26) (A)
Mult. Offenders (16) (A)	Force entry (26) (A)	Mult room (14) (C)	Force entry (28) (A)	Mult room (30) (C)	Mult. Offenders (126) (A)	Mult room (30) (C)
Ent-Window (12) (A)	Mult room (24) (C)	Ent – Window (12) (A)	Ent – Window (24) (A)	Force entry (25) (A)	Force entry (115) (A)	Force entry (28) (A)
Exit diff (6) (A)	Insecure (21)	Identifi prop (11) (A)	Insecure (21)	Concealed app (11) (A)	Ent- Window (114) (A)	Untidy srch. (14) (C)
	Exit diff (11) (A)		Concealed app (18) (A)		Identifi prop (90) (A)	Forens. Cr (7) (E)
	Concealed app (10) (A)		Untidy srch. (14) (C)		Tool to scene (82) (C)	Ent – climb (7) (A)
	Secure (4) (E)				Untidy srch. (72) (C)	
					Concealed app (69) (A)	
					Veh keys/Ve. (48) (A)	
					Exit diff (37) (A)	
					Off prep. Exit (26) (C)	

Adaptive behaviours began to co-occur in a recognizable theme when more instrumental offending was present in the offending background and was at its most prominent in those groups of offences committed by those with dominantly instrumental previous offending styles.

This suggested that while those with expressive offending styles tended to adopt the core, adaptive behaviours that were all but demanded by domestic burglary, this was often not the underlying motivation for the offence. Where instrumental backgrounds had been demonstrated, the individual was more likely to present a distinctive form of the corresponding behavioural theme. In contrast, the conservative theme appeared across all groups, while the expressive theme was demonstrated in all but the 'split' offending style group, which somewhat undermined the theory of an association between style and behavioural theme. If the three highest frequency adaptive behaviours beyond the five core behaviours were considered for each offending style group, a mix of six different behaviours were prevalent for those with expressive-dominated histories. For split, instru-expres and instrumental offending histories however, the same three behaviours were present; *identifiable property stolen*, *vehicle keys/vehicle* and *exit different to entry*, suggesting that those with a consistent offending background might have learned to focus on the same elements of the offence. This was the only distinction between historic offending style groups that could be derived from the domestic burglary crime scene behaviours of a narrative group which dominated the current dataset.

For the conservative theme, there was even less differentiation. With no persistent conservative core, it was simply the most frequently occurring behaviours of that theme that would determine any pattern of change. *Tools taken to the scene and used*, *skilled entry* and either *untidy search* or *audio-visual equipment stolen* made up the three most frequent behaviours for conservative offenders of all historic offending styles, save for the expressive 100% group wherein *concealed approach* accompanied *tools taken to the scene* and *untidy search*. This presented no evidence of behavioural differentiation within the Conservative tragedy narrative-based theme. In the conservative and adaptive themes, the behavioural focus appeared to differ for those with instrumental backgrounds. Conservative offenders moved from a focus on property for those with expressive previous offending styles, to an application of skills in the enactment of the offence. Adaptive offenders, by way of contrast appeared to do the

opposite. A similar pattern occurred within the Expressive romance theme, with some slight differentiation between those with expressive and instrumental criminal backgrounds. For the three expressive-dominated previous offending style groups, *forensic carelessness* was the most frequently occurring behaviour, with *phones or computers stolen*, *offender known to aggrieved person* and *property occupied* also prominent behaviours. For split histories, or all instrumental-dominated histories, the most prominent behaviour was *property occupied*, with *forensic carelessness* remaining prevalent. *Offender known to aggrieved person* continued to occur frequently but was overshadowed by other behaviours. In the instrumental and instrumental 100% groups, *cash stolen* became prevalent, which was entirely commensurate with the frequent financial motivations for that offending style. For the Expressive romance offender then, there was some very limited evidence of behavioural change, based on previous offending history. To revisit the hypotheses put forth at the start of the chapter however, the current analysis did not find any substantial supportive evidence that psychological themes in crime scene behaviour could present a relationship with the qualitative aspects of previous offending histories.

8.18 – Theoretical contribution

By testing Youngs, et al.'s (2014) reconceptualization of the versatility-specialisation question, the present chapter lent support to the proposal that differentiation in underlying offending styles could provide evidence of a form of previous offending consistency that had faltered in studies of offending domains. Thus, brief periods of specialisation in an offence type, as identified by Bursik (1980), could be viewed as a stage of development in a persistent, or at least dominant psychological approach to criminal activity. This would help to bridge the gap between examples of specialisation and propensity theories, such as Gottfredson & Hirschi's (1990) General theory on crime. The wide distribution of

different offence types was in some ways supportive of the numerous studies identifying specific offending domains in the histories of domestic burglars, from theft (Schneider, 2005, Fox & Farrington, 2012), to drug related offences (Farrington & Lambert, 2007) and vagrancy (Vaughn, et al., 2008), with only the latter's identification of a 'sexual predator' category of domestic burglar being refuted by a minimal number of previous offences of this kind. Yet, in total, the present chapter found evidence of a gamut of previous offence types, indicating that domestic burglary could emerge from all manner of offending backgrounds, and supporting Farrington's (2005) ICAP theory on versatility. Earlier studies have concluded that expertise was primarily task focused, and while this was not the central concern of the present chapter, those conclusions could be supported here by the lack of any substantial association between themes in previous offending style and subsequent domestic burglary narrative-based theme. Different offending domains appeared to present a different psychological challenge to the individual, and so were enacted due to different motivations. Those motivations for a domestic burglary offence therefore, would not, in themselves be sufficient to enable inferences to be drawn as to a consistent narrative standpoint throughout the individual's offending history. This provided an additional layer of complexity to the understanding of behavioural consistency, and indicated that narrative themes were changing, ever-developing personal odysseys, as had been previously described by McAdams (1993). This equally lent further support to elements of Mischel's (1968) research into the contextual nature of actions and behaviour, placing the historical theme of offending into the requirements and restrictions of a domestic burglary offence.

8.19 – Limitations

As the focus was solely on domestic burglars, the possibility of differentiation with offenders who favoured different types of offending could not be explored. The consistency of results with Youngs, et

al.'s (2014) work, suggested that histories were broad and comparable across different groups of offenders. Testing if this was the case beyond those two groups of offenders was not within the scope of the present analysis.

As the study was restricted by the lack of data on crime scene actions in historic offending, previous offending styles were derived from patterns of co-occurrence of domains of offending within the dataset. This limited the study's ability to identify specific, individual behavioural themes within offending domains, which could hold different meaning to different individuals. Future studies may wish to explore alternative empirical avenues of assessing historic offending styles within a specific behavioural context.

8.20 – Conclusions

The versatility-specialisation debate was here interpreted as a measure of thematic consistency between historical offending style and subsequent domestic burglary behavioural theme. In testing this relationship however, very few significant associations were found, indicating that the motivations and intentions for a domestic burglary were unique to that offence. Likewise, there was little evidence of behavioural differentiation between previous offending styles, demonstrating that development in crime scene behaviour was unlikely to be produced from thematically consistent previous offending. This was consistent with previous interpretations of experiential development and the influence of behavioural context.

9

Domain-specific experience and development in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour*9.1 – Introduction*

The concept of specialisation in offending is one that is premised on a process of learning and development. Spellman (1994) argued for a rational choice basis for repeated criminal action, whereby the individual accrued knowledge and experience from previous offending and would go on to repeat those actions which proved profitable or risk-free and abandon those that were not. Thus, as the offender's experience grew, their diversity in offending would decrease. An extension of that model would see increasingly competent tactics and skills employed in the commission of that offence.

In psychology, the field of personal epistemology has long concerned itself with the individual's comprehension of the acquisition of knowledge, and the ways it can contribute to the advancement of their understanding of the world around them (Hofer & Pintrich, 2002). In a review of the primary conceptual models of personal epistemology, Hofer & Pintrich concluded that many individuals presented similar developmental trajectories. This saw a transition from a "dualistic, objectivist view of knowledge to a more subjective, relativistic stance and ultimately to a contextual, constructivist perspective of knowing" (Hofer & Pintrich, 2002, p7). Along this progression from the synthesis of absorbed information to the self-assembly of understanding, knowledge itself provided specific contributions to both perception and memory function, which in turn, influenced the way in which further knowledge was acquired. Ultimately, knowledge provided the base for what Lewandowsky, et al. (2007, p83) termed "human cognition at its very best", that being expertise in performance. To be an expert, it was generally agreed, was to demonstrate "reproducible superior performance in a particular domain" (Lewandowsky & Thomas, 2009, p141). Yet, in keeping with Spellman's (1994) understanding

of increased knowledge leading not to a demonstration of a wide-ranging base of skills and abilities, but more often to a reduction in behaviour to only those found to produce the required results, Lewandowsky, et al. (2007), found that increased knowledge and experience could often lead to a concentration on certain elements of a knowledge base, to the neglect of other considerations. Thus, a seemingly careless action or mistake may not necessarily point to an inexperienced individual.

In studies of domestic burglars, such a learning process has been indirectly supported by numerous studies which have defined typologies of offenders based on level of domain-specific skill. Maguire & Bennett (1982) differentiated *low-level amateurs*, *mid-level* and *high-level professionals* by their degree of effectiveness and awareness of the possibilities of detection. Cromwell, et al. (1991) found similar distinctions between the *novice*, *journeyman* and *professional*, as did Walsh (1986), with *novitiate*, *pillagers* and *breaksmen*. Merry & Harsent (2000) separated their domestic burglars into *low-craft* and *high-craft* offenders. The inference from such titles being that the offence required skills and decision making that were developed through domain-specific experience. Behavioural differentiations were being made between those who had gained such experience and those who had not.

Studies that have sought to document evidence of levels of experience in domestic burglars have often divided the offender's actions into perceptual and procedural skills, with an emphasis being placed on perceptual decision-making processes, typically made away from the crime scene, both geographically and temporally. Scarr (1973) and Shover (1973) identified prime considerations in target selection which were adopted with experience as surveillability, cues for occupancy and levels of access, all of which demonstrated an awareness of the risk inherent in the endeavour. Later, interview-based empirical analysis presented remarkably consistent results across two studies based in Ireland (Maguire & Bennett, 1982, and Bennett & Wright, 1984) and two from the US (Cromwell, et al., 1991 and Wright & Decker, 1994). Once an individual was within the offending environment the chief target selection factors were location (incorporating perception of accessibility/ease of escape) and affluence,

reiterating the rational choice exercised throughout (Nee & Taylor, 2000). Rarely however, were deliberations exhaustive of all available options, indicating a degree of intuitive expediency. Cromwell, et al. (1991), raised concerns with the veracity of such interview-based studies, having observed the relaying of a rather more opportunistic target selection method when the offender was taken 'on location' at their crime scene than when they had been interviewed beforehand, and suggested that the offender had previously presented a 'rational reconstruction' of their actions, including far more careful planning and rationality than had been the case.

The prevalent methodology for studies of procedural skills have often been restricted by the obvious ethical and logistical dilemmas in seeking to observe a burglar in action, and so has often involved experimental groups of offenders, non-offenders or non-burglars being presented with visual information about hypothetical target locations. Nee & Taylor (1988) observed a far greater discrimination between stimuli for burglars, who independently identified the same environmental cues as had been previously highlighted in the work of Bennett & Wright (1984). Non-offenders explored the visual information in scattershot, indiscriminate ways, while in contrast, domestic burglars presented evidence of practised expertise by opting for one or two decisive routes (Nee & Meenaghan, 2006).

Utilising an interview-based methodology for both perceptual and procedural skills, Clare (2011) contributed an important theoretical insight by comparing novice to expert domestic burglars, as opposed to burglars with non-burglars. Experts were found to commit their first domestic burglary at a younger age, were less fearful and more likely to offend in company with others. Perceptually, experts were significantly more motivated, being less deterred by target-hardening measures, less likely to target someone they knew and more likely to steal small, high-value and easily disposable items. Procedurally, they were more likely to follow a specific cognitive script from one offence to the next. Studies in expertise in criminal behaviour have created an interesting juxtaposition with trait based or narrative studies which locate the source of an individual's behaviour within their character, as opposed

to a learned cognitive script or behaviour born out of experience. Several studies have found consistency in crime scene behaviours across multiple offences in several different domains of offending, from violence in stranger rape (Davies, et al., 1998), arson (Canter & Fritzon, 1998), street robbery (Häkkinen, et al., 2004, Goodwill, et al., 2012), and murder (Salfati & Canter, 1999), although others (Mokros & Alison, 2002, Woodhouse & Toye, 2007) found no links between actions and characteristics.

Narrative studies have located behaviour as part of an individual's own life story, which documented how they viewed the world around them, or out of their understanding of their own place in the world. McAdams (1997), one of the pioneers of narrative theory described the life story as being an ongoing and constantly updating process from late adolescence until the end of life, while others, most notably Mischel (1999, 2009), argued that trait or character-based studies have neglected the power of the situation, environment and individual experience as contributory factors in the causation of a person's behaviour. Questions as to what degree character, narrative or experience were to what degree the source of behaviour, or more specifically, *which* behaviours were brought about by each factor remain open and unexplored to any level of consensus. The present chapter therefore, sought to address these unresolved matters by examining domestic burglary crime scene behaviour from offenders with different levels of domain specific experience, within the context of the individual's behavioural theme, as had been established in chapter five.

9.2 - Aims

The primary aim of the chapter was to expand upon the current understanding of change and stability in domestic burglary crime scene behaviours across different levels of domain specific experience (i.e. the number of previous domestic burglary offences committed by the individual) within the previously

established narrative framework. The chapter aimed to determine whether behavioural themes were prevalent at a specific stage of domestic burglary development, or whether within-theme changes in behaviour would coincide with progressive stages of domain specific development.

Any conclusions would lead to a greater understanding of relationship between psychological processes and motivations to offend, and the influence of domestic burglary experience on offending crime scene behaviour. This would lead to an advance in the current knowledge on the nature of behavioural themes in this domain of offending, and to the influence of increased experience which would be of both theoretical value, and of importance to more practical concerns with the identification of the offender from their recorded crime scene behaviours.

9.3 - Data

The chapter continued with the use of the same datasets as had been employed throughout the thesis, concerning a population of offenders who had committed domestic burglary offences in the southern policing district of a large northern city, between 2010-2014. Here, the focus reverted to the 673 offences committed by 459 offenders, encompassed by dataset A. The crime scene behaviours recorded from these offences had been subjected to Smallest space analysis in chapter five, leading to dominant behavioural themes being assigned to each. In this chapter, the concern was with the level of domestic burglary experience of each of the responsible offenders at the time of the 2010-2014 offence, derived from dataset B, containing the offending histories of the same population. To this end, it was determined that the focus should be on the offence, not the offender, as some individuals progressed through substantially greater levels of experience during the timespan of dataset A. By focusing on the offence, it was recognized that the offender may be analysed several times over, yet the actual level of domain specific experience featured in each offence would be measured only once. Thus, the chapter

called for the combined analysis of crime scene behaviours recorded in dataset A, and elements of the corresponding offending histories of the same group of offenders from dataset B.

9.4 – Method

The content analysis of crime scene behaviours derived from the 2010-2014 dataset used in chapter five was again employed here, to ensure continuity between the two sets of analyses.

While the Smallest space analysis (SSA) in chapter five might have represented the placement of themes across the entire dataset, in the present chapter the aim was to determine the placement of those themes at different domain specific experiential intervals. Thus, SSA was repeated for offenders with 0 previous domestic burglary offences, and those with 1-3, 4-8, 9-12, 13-20 and 21-33 previous like offences. Thirty-three previously recorded domestic burglary offences were the maximum number recorded against any single offender.

SSA was again employed for two reasons; to preserve continuity of the analytical approach employed previously in the thesis, and because it presented the best opportunity to comprehend changes to behavioural themes in behaviour, as opposed to individual behaviours themselves. Other methods of testing for association either between experiential groups and behavioural themes, or experiential groups and individual behaviours would not capture the nuance of shifting patterns of behaviour over the course of increasing experience in the way that SSA could. It was therefore necessary to compare both the quantitative and qualitative make up of each behavioural theme at each experiential interval, and SSA provided an effective, visual means of conducting such analysis.

9.5 - Hypotheses

Based on the current understanding of expertise in criminal behaviour, and the result of studies conducted specifically on domestic burglary experience, the hypotheses in this chapter were as follows:

- Different behavioural themes would appear prominently at different experiential stages.
- Behaviour within those themes would develop in a manner consistent with the increase in experience.
- Ultimately, the results of the analysis would lead to a greater complexity of understanding of the influence of narrative and experience on domestic burglary crime scene behaviour than has previously been documented.

9.6 - Results

The offending histories of the 459 offenders responsible for the 673 domestic burglary offences were examined to determine the number of historic like offences committed by each offender prior to their first domestic burglary offence within dataset A (2010-2014). Although some offenders committed more than one offence within dataset A, the crucial factor for the study was not the identity of the offender, but rather the level of domain specific experience at the time of the offence. Thus, the domestic burglary history for the offender involved in each of the 673 offences could be included in the analysis, as repeat offenders could be considered at different levels of experience as their domestic burglary offending continued.

An overwhelming number of domestic burglary offences were found to have been committed by those with relatively few, or in fact no previous convictions for that offence. A third of offenders had no

recorded history of domestic burglary at all, while just short of two-thirds (64.9%) had between zero and three previous domestic burglary offences.

Table 9.1: *No. previous domestic burglary offences prior to the 2010-2014 offence (n = 673)*

Prev. domestic burglaries	No. of offenders at time of 2010-2014 offence	Percentage of 2010-2014 offences
0 previous dom. burglaries	222	33.0
1-3	215	31.9
4-8	140	20.8
9-12	51	7.6
13-20	31	4.6
21-33	14	2.1
Total:	673	100.0

This was not only a valuable insight into just who was attracted to this domain of offending, but also practically, suggested that the legal ‘three-strike rule’ under which a third conviction for domestic burglary would typically result in a minimum three-year custodial sentence was an effective deterrent. Equally, these findings put into perspective the question of experiential development. 85.7% of domestic burglars in the dataset had committed eight or less offences, indicating that development, if it did occur, did so rapidly and over relatively few offences. Only a small percentage of individuals continued to commit further domestic burglaries, with those with the greatest level of domain specific offending experience being responsible for just 2.1% of offences.

9.7 - Behavioural themes and previous domestic burglary offending groups

Such a bookending of domestic burglary offenders towards the lower levels of domain specific experience raised the question as to whether behavioural themes would have the breadth of experience

to demonstrate substantial levels of change. Behavioural changes could occur at the second offence, when valuable lessons had already been learned, at the fourth offence when a prison sentence was most likely to have been served, or at the point of their ninth domestic burglary when their efforts positioned them in the small group of most experienced offenders. Table 9.2 documented the split between dominant behavioural themes for each experiential stage of domestic burglary offending.

Adaptive themed offences remained relatively constant through the experiential stages where most domestic burglary offences occurred, rising only in the 13-20 previous offence group, but reducing by almost half in the final group, both of which accounted for very low numbers of crimes. The conservative theme maintained a more stable pattern, whereby the percentage dipped slightly for the 9-12 previous offence group but remained constant thereafter. In total however, the overwhelming dominance of task focused offending could be seen throughout.

Collectively, the adaptive, conservative and adaptive-conservative themes dominated, with between 73.0-80.4% of offences at all levels of experience, save for the 21-33 previous offence group. This showed that although there were minor fluctuations in the prevalence of the different types of task-focused offending, it was by and large a mainstay of domestic burglary, regardless of the offender's level of the offender's domain specific experience. 75.6% of those with zero previous domestic burglary experience demonstrated a task-focused approach to the offence, and the same percentage of offences were committed by those with 13-20 previous offences, demonstrating that the presence of such psychological underpinnings was not affected by experience.

Only in the Expressive romance theme were there any notable changes in prevalence across different experiential groups. The theme occurred in only very low percentages of offences throughout the different levels of experience and disappeared entirely as a dominant mode of offending in the 13-20 previous burglary group.

Table 9.2: *Frequency and percentage presence of behavioural themes in previous domestic burglary frequency groups (n = 673 offences)*

Theme Prev. burg	Adapt.	AdaptCons	Cons.	ExpresCons	Express	ExpressAdapt	IntegAdapt	Nil	Tot.
0 previous	101	18	49	0	13	5	0	36	222
<i>% group</i>	<i>45.5</i>	<i>8.1</i>	<i>22.1</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>5.9</i>	<i>2.3</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>16.2</i>	<i>100.</i>
1-3 prev.	87	24	46	1	12	6	1	38	215
<i>% group</i>	<i>40.5</i>	<i>11.2</i>	<i>21.4</i>	<i>.5</i>	<i>5.6</i>	<i>2.8</i>	<i>.5</i>	<i>17.7</i>	<i>100.</i>
4-8 prev	63	9	32	1	5	2	1	23	136
<i>% group</i>	<i>46.3</i>	<i>6.6</i>	<i>23.5</i>	<i>.7</i>	<i>3.7</i>	<i>1.5</i>	<i>.7</i>	<i>16.9</i>	<i>100.</i>
9-12 prev.	23	9	9	0	4	0	0	6	51
<i>% group</i>	<i>45.1</i>	<i>17.6</i>	<i>17.6</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>7.8</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>11.8</i>	<i>100.</i>
13-20 prev.	17	1	7	0	0	0	0	6	31
<i>% group</i>	<i>54.8</i>	<i>3.2</i>	<i>22.6</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>19.4</i>	<i>100.</i>
21-33 prev.	4	1	1	0	5	0	0	3	14
<i>% group</i>	<i>28.6</i>	<i>7.1</i>	<i>7.1</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>35.7</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>0.0</i>	<i>21.4</i>	<i>100.</i>

Remarkably, the expressive theme was then dominant in 35.8% of offences committed by those with 21-33 previous domestic burglary offence. In actual numbers, the expressive theme was dominant in a total of thirty-nine offences, with five being present in the highest experiential group. This presented an intriguing picture of expressive behaviour being at its most prominent (albeit in much lower numbers than all other themes) in inexperienced domestic burglary offending but remained prominent in the actions of the most experienced offenders, as if those individuals felt that they could afford to allow their focus on the offence to drop, in favour of more personal goals.

These findings were reiterated when chi-square tests of association were employed to identify any statistically significant relationships between frequencies of previous domestic burglary offending and narrative-based behavioural themes.

Table 9.3: *Chi-square tests of association between frequency of previous domestic burglary groups and narrative-based behavioural themes in domestic burglary crime scene behaviour*

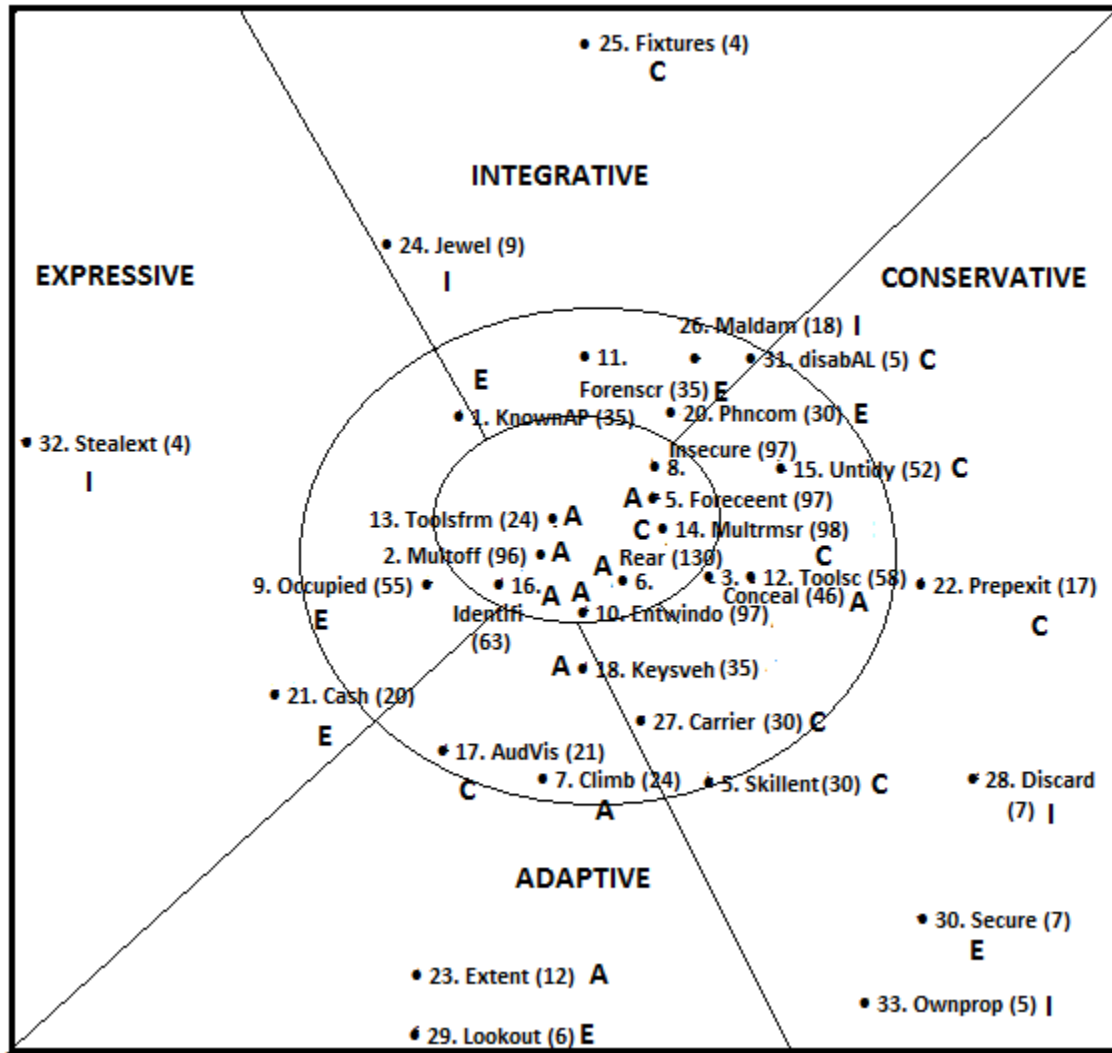
		Freq.	P value		n.s./sig.	Phi
<i>0 prev.</i>	Adaptive	101	.58	P>0.05	n.s.	.02
	AdaptCons	18	.43	P>0.05	n.s.	-.03
	Conservative	49	.88	P>0.05	n.s.	.01
	Expressive	13	.96	P>0.05	n.s.	.002
	Nil	36	.83	P>0.05	n.s.	-.01
<i>1-3 prev.</i>	Adaptive	87	.21	P>0.05	n.s.	-.05
	AdaptCons	24	.27	P>0.05	n.s.	.04
	Conservative	46	.90	P>0.05	n.s.	-.01
	Expressive	12	.87	P>0.05	n.s.	-.01
	Nil	38	.62	P>0.05	n.s.	.02
<i>4-8 prev.</i>	Adaptive	87	.21	P>0.05	n.s.	-.05
	AdaptCons	24	.28	P>0.05	n.s.	.04
	Conservative	46	.90	P>0.05	n.s.	-.01
	Expressive	12	.87	P>0.05	n.s.	-.01
	Nil	38	.62	P>0.05	n.s.	-.02
<i>9-12 prev.</i>	Adaptive	23	.87	P>0.05	n.s.	.05
	AdaptCons	9	.04	P<0.05*	sig.	-.05
	Conservative	9	.47	P>0.05	n.s.	.01
	Expressive	4	.51	P>0.05	n.s.	.06
	Nil	6	.33	P>0.05	n.s.	.02
<i>13-20 prev.</i>	Adaptive	17	.21	P>0.05	n.s.	.05
	AdaptCons	1	.23	P>0.05	n.s.	-.05
	Conservative	7	.90	P>0.05	n.s.	.01
	Expressive	0	.16	P>0.05	n.s.	-.06
	Nil	6	.68	P>0.05	n.s.	.02
<i>21-33 prev.</i>	Adaptive	4	.24	P>0.05	n.s.	.05
	AdaptCons	1	.77	P>0.05	n.s.	-.01
	Conservative	1	.19	P>0.05	n.s.	-.05
	Expressive	5	.000	P<0.001***	sig.	.19
	Nil	3	.63	P>0.05	n.s.	.02

The most experienced burglary group's relationship with the expressive theme was significant, which was not supportive of the hypothesis that task-focused burglary was born out of increased domain-specific experience. Rather, those with the most domestic burglary experience, frequently presented a lack of task focus in their actions. This was conducive to the understanding of expertise leading to complacency and a narrowed scope of behavioural considerations.

Only one other positive, significant association was found between frequency of previous domestic burglary and narrative-based theme; this being the split adaptive-conservative narrative and those with 9-12 previous like offences. While this might tentatively suggest that such experience might lead to task-focused offences, the fact that the two individual themes (adaptive and conservative) did not present the same association suggested otherwise, along with the findings for expressive offenders with high frequencies of domestic burglary. Adaptive and conservative behavioural themes remained relatively stable across domain-specific experience groups, while expressive themed domestic burglaries were prevalent in those with the most experience. The questions remained however, as to whether behavioural changes could be observed within the parameters of those narrative-based themes.

9.8 - First-time domestic burglars

The first group of offenders were those who did not have any recorded previous domestic burglary offences within their respective histories. This was the largest experiential group, consisting of 222 offences. The SSA presented in fig. 9.1 documented the frequencies of individual crime scene behaviours, and the presence of behavioural themes, as established in fig. 5.5 (chapter five). Beginning at the centre of the plot, the group of eight tightly collected and therefore frequently co-occurring behaviours could be shown to be the core basic behaviours of the first-time domestic burglar, regardless of behavioural theme.



1 by 2 projection of the 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Coefficient of alienation .22

Figure 9.1: *Smallest space analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglary in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 – Offenders with 0 previous domestic burglary offences*

(n = 222)

Of those eight, six behaviours had been previously identified as being closely associated with the Adaptive adventure theme, within which the offender had demonstrated both a focus on the task at hand and an awareness of the victim's role in the proceedings, most notably as a potential risk of detection. Of the two remaining behaviours, *insecure entry* had previously been acknowledged as being

a largely circumstantial occurrence which would not be passed up by offenders of any level of experience of motivation, and so was not assigned to any of the four themes. *Multiple rooms searched* had been assigned to the Conservative tragedy, which shared task focus with the adaptive theme, but differed in a lack of consideration of the victim. Thus, first-time domestic burglars were overwhelmingly driven by acquisitive gain, through a distinct focus on the successful undertaking of the offence. The core behaviours were to *entry - rear* of the property, either through a *window* or through some form of *insecurity*.

Forced entry was the dominant method should no insecurities have been discovered. The offence was most likely to be undertaken by *multiple offenders* and would usually involve the searching of *multiple rooms* within the attacked premises, and *identifiable property* being removed. Less frequently, *tools from the scene* were used to complete the offence. This was the behavioural framework under which most first-time domestic burglaries were conducted, with any additional behaviours then being indicative of a specific behavioural theme. As such, core behaviours represented a base point from which any experiential differences could be measured. Beyond this, evidence of all four behavioural themes could be seen to varying degrees of frequency and behavioural co-occurrence.

Adaptive behaviours outside of the core were not widespread, with such motivations producing a very limited range of additional behaviours. Only *stealing vehicle/vehicle keys* (35), *entry by climbing* (24) or by *extension* (12) took place in addition to core behaviours and with a respectively reduced frequency.

The most prominent theme beyond the core was the Conservative tragedy, wherein multiple behaviours occurred across a range of frequencies. Only *stealing fixtures/piping* (4) and *audio-visual equipment* (21) appeared outside of the collective group of conservative behaviours. The foresight to bring *tools to the scene* (58), along with *untidy search* (52) occurred in just less than a quarter of the total offences committed by this experiential group. *Skilled entry* and using a *carrier from the scene* were

present but occurred less frequently. *Prepared exit* (17) and *disable alarm* (5) were the least frequent conservative tragedy behaviours, occurring respectively in only 7.7% and 2.3% of first-time offences. Overall however, the dominance of task focused behavioural themes was evident in the congestion of related behaviours found to the right of the core.

In contrast, the Expressive romance prompted only a small selection of behaviours beyond the adaptive core. *Property occupied* (55) occurred most frequently in 24.8% of cases, followed by *offender know to aggrieved person* (35, 15.8% of cases) and *cash stolen* (20, 9.0%). As a behavioural theme, the Expressive romance was demonstrated in first-time domestic burglary offenders by only a small number of co-occurring behaviours.

Finally, the integrative irony theme occurred the least frequently, supporting the results seen in chapter five wherein no individual offender demonstrated a dominant integrative theme. This featured the smallest range of behaviours (5), with the lowest individual behavioural frequencies (only one, *malicious damage* occurred in more than 10 offences), and was also the most diversely located within the plot. Only *malicious damage* and *jewellery stolen* were placed in proximity to each other, and all were some distance from the adaptive core. Individual behaviours such as *steal by extension* (4), *leaves own property at scene* (5) and *discards stolen property later* (7) co-occurred with behaviours related to other themes, suggesting that they held a different meaning for first-time domestic burglars than they did for more experienced offenders.

9.9 - 1-3 previous domestic burglaries

When domestic burglary experience advanced to between 1-3 previous offences, core behaviours remained almost identical, but with two notable exceptions. Again, the *rear* of the address was the favoured point of entry (116), with *insecurities* (66) or *windows* (98) being exploited by *multiple*

offenders (106), leading to *multiple rooms being searched* (100) for *identifiable property* (60). Here however, a degree of experience was demonstrated by tools being far more prevalently *brought to the scene* (58) than their improvisational use from being found *at the scene* (19), a reversal of those behaviours for first-time domestic burglars. Of equal note, was that *forced entry* was now occurred more frequently than *insecure entry*, marking a distinct turnaround in how these options were utilized with experience, suggesting that as confidence and competence grew, the offender was more inclined to take control of the means of entry, rather than seek out a chance vulnerability.

By this stage, definite themes outside of the adaptive core could be readily established, inferring that it was within this level of experience that behavioural themes began to coalesce. Here, a more distinct formation of the co-occurrence of adaptive behaviours could be seen between core behaviours, which were grouped to the right of the centre circle and those that distinguished an adaptive theme in the offender. Once again, *vehicle keys/vehicle* (41), *entry by climbing* (29) and *entry by extension* (11) presented the same declining pattern of frequency, indicating that the meaning of such behaviours changed very little from those with no previous domestic burglary experience. No other adaptive behaviour occurred within the boundaries of any other theme, reiterating the solidifying of behavioural themes at this experiential stage.

The Conservative tragedy now also demonstrated a more distinctive theme, with no other behaviours occurring within the conservative region. The theme also now cut into the core behaviours, dividing that area between task-focused behaviours which were either conducted along with an awareness of the victim (adaptive), or those that were not (here, *tools brought to the scene* and *multiple rooms searched*). The stealing of *audio-visual equipment* (29) or *fixtures/piping* (5) occurred in comparable frequencies to those seen in first-time burglars, but now did so alongside other Conservative tragedy behaviours.

Skilled entry and *offender prepared exit* each increased in frequency, demonstrating a behavioural development through increased experience for some Conservative tragedy offenders. As the increase in *skilled entry* coincided with decreasing frequencies of *forced entry* – an adaptive behaviour, this may well be an indication that with greater awareness, concern for the threat posed by the victim may dissipate into a sole focus on the task itself.

Behaviours in the Expressive romance theme were by this stage occurring in comparable frequencies, again supporting the theory that themes began to emerge and solidify during this experiential stage. *Forensic carelessness, phones or computers stolen* and *lookout* were all now grouped with other expressive behaviours. The only expressive behaviours to occur outside of this grouping was *offender secures property from occupant*, which presented at the far reaches of the adaptive theme, but in a low frequency (6).

For offenders with 1-3 previous domestic burglaries, integrative irony behaviours had also solidified, with all five grouping into a single region. The frequency of these behaviours however, remained low, pointing to a very distinct, infrequent form of domestic burglary offending. This would coincide completely with both underlying elements of the integrative theme – a lack of task-focus and a lack of victim consideration – being entirely at odds with the fundamentally adaptive nature of the offence itself, which set a behavioural core incorporating both task focus and victim awareness as being the basic, necessary elements of a domestic burglary offence.

9.10 - 4-8 previous domestic burglaries

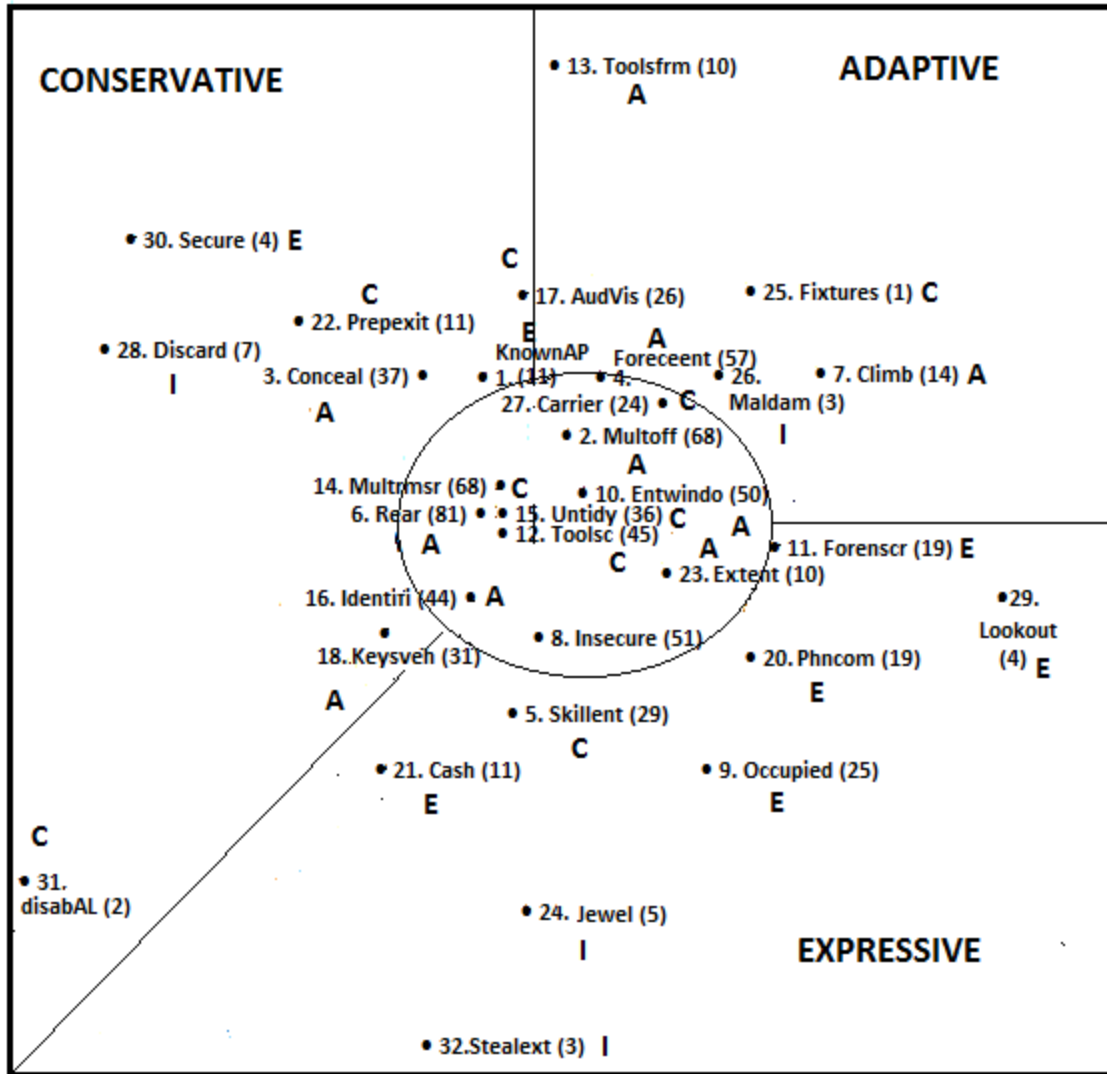
For offences committed by offenders with 4-8 previous domestic burglaries, some of the core set of behaviours altered, while a small group remained stable. *Multiple offenders, identifiable property, entry-window, entry – rear, multiple rooms searched* and *forced entry* remained at the centre of many

offences, as they had done in previous experiential groups. *Entry - rear* of the property remained the most frequently occurring behaviours (81), whilst *multiple offenders* (68) and *multiple rooms searched* (68) were also prevalent. Each occurred at a comparable rate of frequency to what they had in previous groups, reinforcing their place within an overwhelmingly adaptive core of domestic burglary crime scene behaviour. *Skilled entry*, in contrast was less frequent, as if having learned such skills the more experienced offender then opted for the path of least resistance. This suggested that entry tactics had different meanings for different offenders, depending on their level of domain specific experience. *Tools to the scene* remained prevalent (45), far more so than the selection of *tools from the scene* (10), reiterating that this was a behaviour adopted through increased experience. This was also joined now within the core by two other conservative behaviours; *untidy search* and *carrier taken from scene*. Here then was an adoption of alternative tactics, maximising effectiveness at the expense of more cautionary behaviours (as in *untidy search's* potential yield over the possibility of forensic discovery). This pointed to an increase in confidence and awareness of one's own abilities.

Thematically, behaviours now formed different patterns. Integrative behaviours no longer formed a single, cohesive theme, and dissipated into distant low frequency behaviours, occurring as part of other behavioural themes. One integrative behaviour – *Leaves own property at scene* – did not occur at all within this experiential group, demonstrating that experience could be inferred through the lack of certain behaviours as well as the occurrence of others.

Thus, as experience grew, a lower number of offenders were partaking in a lower number of behaviours. On the evidence presented here, it was those offenders who were not task focused or high on victim awareness who began to refrain from domestic burglary after a low number of offences.

The three remaining themes were not quite as well defined as in those who had 1-3 previous like offences.



1 by 2 projection of the 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Coefficient of alienation .13

Figure 9.3: *Smallest space analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglary in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 – Offenders with 4-8 previous domestic burglary offences (n = 140)*

Each however, presented a small group of thematically connected behaviours, along with single behaviours previously seen in other themes. For the two task focused themes – adaptive and conservative – these discrepancies related to the types of property stolen. Incorporated now within the adaptive theme was the theft of *fixtures and piping*, albeit on only one occasion, whilst in the

conservative theme, *vehicle keys/vehicle* had become of interest. This was perhaps an indication of development through a broadening of acquisitive horizons.

Conservative offenders were also now targeting *victims who knew them*, which in the context of that theme indicated an increased confidence, as opposed to a lack of planning that might have been the case with 0 previous burglary offenders. They also now *discarded stolen property later*, which signified a growing expectation of the spoils of their endeavours. Four of the five conservative behaviours which did not appear as part of the core had increased in frequency with each previous experiential group but had then shown a decline in 4-8 previous offenders; these being *audio-visual equipment stolen*, *offender prepared exit*, *skilled entry* and *fixtures/piping stolen*. Other conservative behaviours – *carrier taken from scene*, *tools to scene* and *untidy search* were now incorporated within the core, demonstrating not an increase in the number of skilful offenders, but more of a streamlining into more efficient, focused ways of committing the offence.

Adaptive behaviours generally declined in frequency at a level that was consistent with the declining number of offenders in subsequent experiential groups. Only *entry by extension* went some way towards bucking this trend, declining from 12 to only 10 occurrences between 222 zero previous offenders and 140 4-8 previous, suggesting that this became of point of focus as experience increased. It was also of note that none of the core behaviours identified thus far related to types of property, indicating that the ultimate physical focus of the offence was directly related to the offender's motivations as opposed to their level of domain specific experience.

The frequency of *forensic carelessness*, *property occupied* and *offender known to aggrieved person* continued to decline within the expressive theme. The use of a *lookout* was by now far less frequent, pointing to the experienced expressive offender considering such a measure of security no longer as necessary as before, through increasing confidence in their dominance of the victim.

Intriguingly, *securing the property from the occupant* had been presented as an expressive behaviour in the overall SSA plot (fig. 5.5), and yet in the three experiential themes examined thus far, it had appeared as either a conservative or adaptive behaviour, which would mean that it was likely that at an advanced experiential stage, the behaviour would begin to hold a different relevance, either as a means of enabling a successful offence or as a demonstration of power, to different individuals. Equally, *skilled entry* had here been adopted by the expressive offender, at a later stage than for conservative offenders.

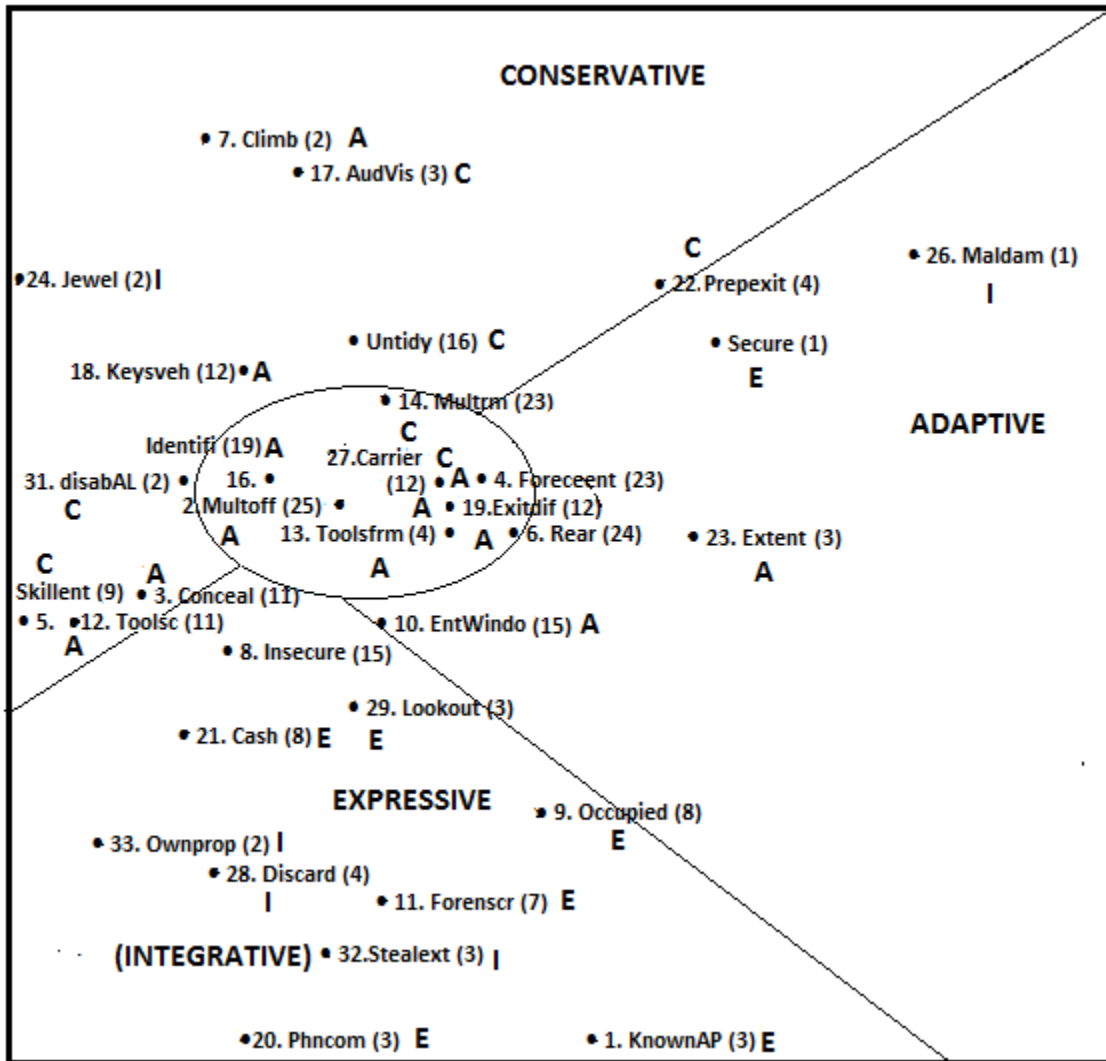
9.11 - 9-12 previous domestic burglaries

Offences committed by those with 9-12 previous domestic burglaries were far less frequent (51) than in previous experiential groups, demonstrating that this level of domain specific experience was relatively rare, accounting for only 7.6% of the offences in dataset A.

Five core behaviours however, remained constant; these being *multiple rooms searched*, *forced entry*, *entry – rear*, *multiple offenders* and *identifiable property stolen*. Of those, three had maintained a relatively stable percentage of the populations of each experiential group.

Identifiable property stolen however, increased from being enacted by 28.3% of 0 previous offenders to 37.5% of 9-12 offenders. *Entry-rear* dipped from 58.6% (0 previous) to 47.1% of 9-12 previous domestic burglaries. This suggested that while they remained core elements of domestic burglary, their centrality to the commission of the offence appeared to be waning with increasing experience.

Skilled and *insecure entry* also decreased outside of core behaviours whilst *forced entry* maintained its status at the core. *Tools to the scene* and *entry-window* also occupied a reduced percentage of offences at this experiential stage.



1 by 2 projection of the 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Coefficient of alienation .11

Figure 9.4: *Smallest space analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglary in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 – Offenders with 9-12 previous domestic burglary offences (n = 51)*

Was this then a reduction in the skill levels of more experienced domestic burglary offenders, or a recognition that a high level of skill was in fact, unnecessary, when experience might dictate that simpler means might be equally effective?

Once again, integrative behaviours failed to coalesce into a recognizable theme, but collected to some extent at the lower frequency end of the expressive theme, with which it shared a lack of task focus.

As in the previous experiential group, the remaining three themes were definable within the plot, but were not as clearly delineated as they had been in the 1-3 previous burglary offender behaviour.

Adaptive behaviours, as before, remained predominantly in or close to the core. The frequency of *entry by extension* now fell away, reaffirming the trend of offences becoming simpler in their nature as experience increased, with technical behaviours being applied less and less.

Climbing and *vehicle keys/vehicles* had now moved to within the conservative theme, indicating that they were consistently employed in the pursuit of effective, focused offending. That theme also now included *jewellery stolen*, a previously integrative behaviour, which albeit in small numbers suggested changing motivations for the targeting such items.

The only behaviour not to occur at all in the 9-12 experiential group was the *stealing of fixtures/piping* (conservative), which had declined in frequency in successive groups since the 1-3 offences stage.

Although conducting an *untidy search* no longer appeared within the core behaviours, it was in fact, undertaken by a higher percentage (31.4%) of 9-12 offenders than 4-8 ones (25.7%). This was also an increase in the percentage found in the other experiential stages, marking out the *untidy search* of the premises less as an undisciplined action of a novice, and more of a means of exhausting the acquisitive potential of the offending experience.

Expressive behaviours for the 9-12 previous offender continued to co-occur, but only in low frequency numbers. *Property occupied*, *forensically careless* and *cash stolen* each occurred in eight or less offences which was perhaps the identification of more opportunistic offences within the SSA plot. Expressive

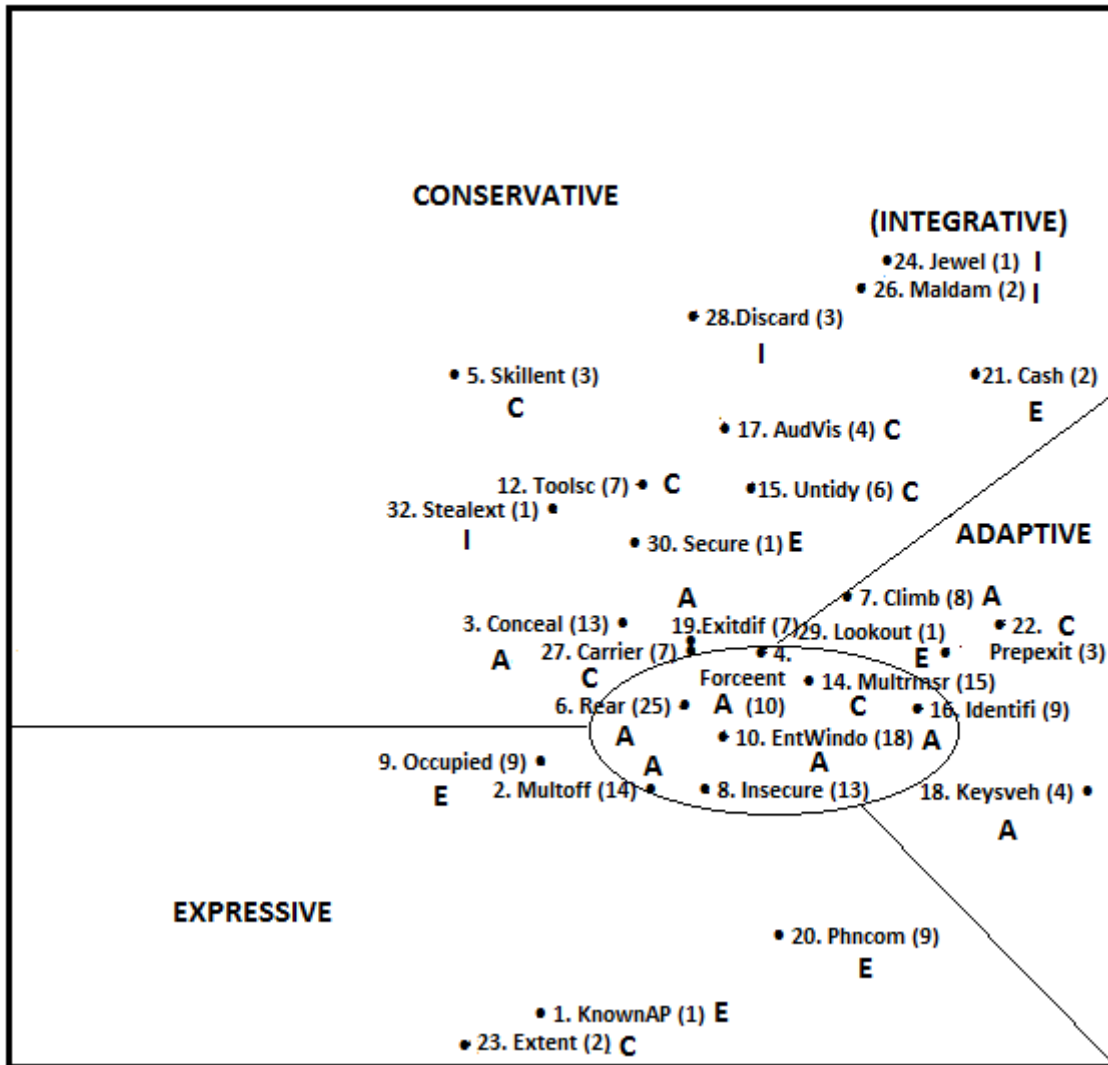
domestic burglaries, appeared to be declining in the face of the dominance of more task focused, effective, conservative or adaptive forms of the offence.

9.12 - 13-20 previous domestic burglaries

Thirty-one domestic burglaries were committed by offenders who had between 13 and 20 previous domestic burglary convictions, meaning that the number of individuals who might be described as prolific domestic burglars was low.

There were now five behaviours which did not appear in the recorded crime scene activities of these offenders. *Forensic carelessness* (expressive) had now been jettisoned, as offenders with this level of experience demonstrated an alertness to such potential pitfalls. In the same vein, *leaving own property* at the scene was also absent. The lack of *tools from the scene* being used was indicative of an improvement in perceptual skills and preparation. *Fixtures/piping stolen* once again did not feature, reiterating the unique attractiveness of those items to more inexperienced offenders. Finally, *alarm disabled* was not present. This behaviour might appear to demand some level of experience in the technical awareness required, but as was starting to emerge from the analysis, experience appeared to promote a simplification of the offending behaviours. Rather than increased technical acumen, those with advanced experience appeared to simply choose a location which did not have an alarm, averting the need for that kind of technical expertise.

The core behaviours displayed here provided an interesting comparison with those of different levels of domain specific experience. Except for one additional behaviour (*tools from the scene*), the core behaviours of 0 previous burglaries were identical to that of 13-20 previous domestic burglary offenders.



1 by 3 projection of the 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Coefficient of alienation .08

Figure 9.5: *Smallest space analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglary in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 – Offenders with 13-20 previous domestic burglary offences (n = 31)*

Five of the seven behaviours within the 13-20 core occurred within the cores of all other experiential groups; these being, *forced entry, multiple rooms searched, identifiable property, multiple offenders* and *entry-rear*. The two remaining 13-20 core behaviours – *insecure entry* and *entry-window* had appeared at the core for the 0 previous and 4-8 previous groups but were absent in 1-3 and 9-12 groups. These

two were then prominent core behaviours, leaving all remaining behaviours as those from which inferences regarding behavioural theme and experiential distinctiveness could be drawn.

The position of integrative behaviours in the 13-20 plot (fig. 9.5) pointed to a fluctuating understanding of those behaviours between offenders of different levels of experience.

After presenting as its own behavioural theme in 1-3 previous burglaries, integrative behaviours occurred in 4-8 and 9-12 previous offender burglaries as infrequent additions to the expressive theme, with which they shared an absence of task focus. Here however, no integrative behaviours appeared within the expressive theme, and the four that did occur each appeared within a predominantly conservative area of the plot, but again in very low frequencies. The conservative theme shared a lack of victim awareness with the integrative theme. This showed that these behaviours could hold different meanings when co-occurring with different behaviours and served to emphasise the shared element of the behavioural theme.

The conservative theme itself continued, but here incorporated several behaviours that had previously been associated with other narratives. Those behaviours, taken in a conservative context would appear to add to the focus on a successful, effective offence. *Securing the property from the occupant and exit different to entry* point to the adoption of behaviours previously absent from conservative offences. *Skilled entry*, was by this stage a very infrequent occurrence (3), when compared to *forced* (10) or *insecure* (13) entry.

The adaptive theme was now exclusively situated in and around the core, suggesting that experienced adaptive offenders did little more than carry out the basic, necessary behaviours to complete the offence. The efficiency demonstrated by the streamlining of actions to only those necessary, as opposed to the perfection of technically adept, or overly elaborate offence behaviours was a demonstration of their level of domestic burglary experience.

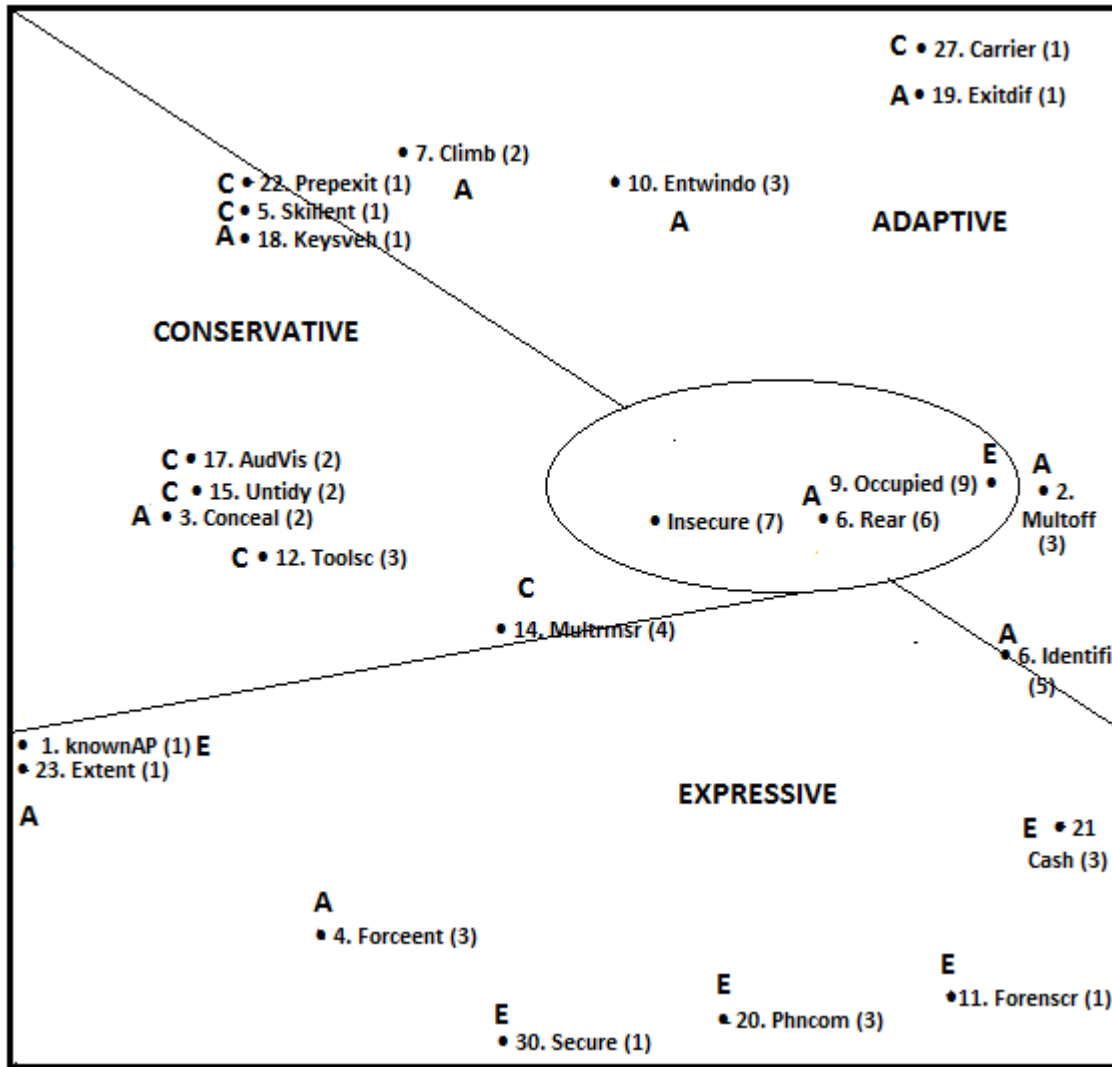
The expressive theme by comparison appeared with only three behaviours, attacking an *occupied property* (9), the *stealing of phones or computers* (9) and to a lesser extent, *offender known to aggrieved person* (1). Such behaviour would again point towards opportunistic offending, albeit as a distinct but sustained form of the offence. This would again appear to point towards distinctions in the perceptual stage of the offence. Whereas task focused offenders gained understanding of what was required to gain entry to the property, the expressive offender's focus would seem to be on the discovery of an opportunity to offend. That two of the behaviours occurred in 9 out of 31 offences each, indicated that a substantial number of experienced offenders engaged in this form of the offence.

9.13 - 21-33 previous domestic burglaries

Fourteen domestic burglary offences were committed by individuals with between 21 and 33 previous domestic burglary offences, the most historically prolific domain specific offenders within the dataset. Continuing the trend of reducing the number of behaviours employed, these offenders no longer engaged in a total of nine of the thirty-three behaviours. These included all five integrative irony behaviours, which as a theme had now been entirely exorcised from domestic burglary crime scene behaviours. The presence or absence of integrative behaviours could therefore in itself provide a measure of domestic burglary experience.

Other behaviours now absent included *tools from the scene*, *steal fixtures/piping* and *disable alarm*, all of which had also been missing from the 13-20 experiential group. Finally, *lookout* was also absent, a behaviour which had peaked in the 1-3 previous group and had then declined in frequency throughout each subsequent group.

Such behaviours were therefore an indicator of low domestic burglary experience. *Forensic carelessness*, absent in the 13-20 group and occurring here only once might also be included in that direction.



2 by 3 projection of the 3-dimensional plot

Jaccard's Coefficient of alienation .03

Figure 9.6: *Smallest space analysis of crime scene behaviours in domestic burglary in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014 – Offenders with 21-33 previous domestic burglary offences (n = 14)*

In terms of the core behaviours, this experiential stage was the first and only to break from the reoccurring list of core behaviours. This was no better demonstrated than by the presence of *property occupied* in the central core, the first time an expressive behaviour, or indeed any behaviour outside of the adaptive or conservative themes was included in the core. Only *insecure* and *rear entry* remained

from previous cores, marking out a distinctive change in the crime scene behaviours of the most experienced domestic burglars. Gone were many that were attributable to inexperience, but also were some of the more skilled behaviours. *Skilled entry* itself appeared only once, as did *offender prepared exit* and *carrier taken from scene*. The 21-33 domestic burglary behaviours demonstrated a huge simplification of the offence from what had gone before. The most frequently occurring approach to the offence would appear to be an *insecure entry*, to the *rear* of an *occupied property*, and yet when needed, many of the more skilled behaviours were able to be called upon. Crucial to this was the fact that *multiple offenders* occurred in only three of fourteen offences, a substantial drop from previous experiential stages. Experienced offenders appeared to prefer to work alone, on offences which although simplistic, still required a degree of competence to complete. This then, would appear to be the mark of the most experienced domestic burglar - offences based on knowledge, not exhibitions of skill or power. Conservative and adaptive behaviours formed relatively coherent themes, but were much more widespread on the plot, suggesting that such behaviours were enacted sporadically, as needed and not as a matter of course. Expressive behaviours, though infrequent, were dominant in five of the fourteen offences, but were also sporadic, infrequent crime scene behaviours, dominated by attacks on *occupied properties*.

9.14 – Discussion

The chapter unearthed some interesting insights into levels of domain specific experience amongst a population of domestic burglary offenders. Almost one-third of offences were committed by those without any recorded history of the offence at all. A similar number were committed by those with between 1-3 previous offences. This left a relatively small number of individuals who had any greater levels of burglary experience than that, with frequencies of previous domestic burglary then ranging

between 4-8 and 21-33. This provided a previously under reported context for domestic burglary, in which most offenders had little or no experience of the offence itself. Smaller groups of offences however, were conducted by those who were highly experienced burglars, whose crime scene behaviour was anticipated to be a development from those without such levels of experience.

When levels of domain specific experience, however, were considered within a framework of previously established behavioural themes, offenders of different experience levels were not found to exhibit substantially different approaches to, and understandings of the offence, with consistent levels of the recognised themes being identified across offences committed by those with zero to 13-20 previous domestic burglary offences. Only in offences committed by those with the highest levels of experience did this change to any notable degree, with the expressive theme increasing at the expense of the previously dominant adaptive themes. From the standpoint of the percentage prevalence of assigned behavioural themes then, domain specific experience had very little impact on the psychological underpinnings of domestic burglary exhibited by offenders, other than for those who exhibited an expressive narrative-based behavioural theme. Although the inferential analysis showed that statistically significant relationships between behavioural themes and levels of previous domain specific offending were sparse, results confirmed the upsurge in expressive themes in the most experienced offending group. This was counter to the initial hypothesis and showed that experience did not always lead to demonstrably more capable offences.

When Smallest space analysis was employed, a more detailed, nuanced understanding of the influence of experience and developing expertise was revealed. In previous chapters, a group of five behaviours had been found at the core of domestic burglary crime scene behaviour throughout all forms of maturity or experience. Here, *entry – rear*, *entry – window*, *forced entry*, *multiple offenders* and *multiple rooms searched* were at the core of all experiential groups up until the 21-33 offences group, again identifying

this small, but highly experienced groups of domestic burglars as being behaviourally distinct from others.

Table 9.4: *Core domestic burglary behaviours per previous domestic burglary frequency group and narrative-based theme (A = Adaptive, C = Conservative, E = Expressive)*

0 (222)	1-3 (215)	4-8 (140)	9-12 (51)	13-20 (31)	21-33 (41)
Entry-rear (130) (A)	Entry-rear (116) (A)	Entry-rear (81) (A)	Mult. Offenders (25) (A)	Entry – rear (25) (A)	Prop. occupied (9) (E)
Mult room (98) (C)	Mult. Offenders (106) (A)	Mult. Offenders (68) (A)	Entry-rear (24) (A)	Ent – Window (18) (A)	Insecure (7)
Force entry (97) (A)	Mult room (100) (C)	Mult room (68) (C)	Force entry (23) (A)	Mult room (15) (C)	Entry – rear (6) (A)
Insecure (97)	Ent- Window (98) (A)	Force entry (57) (A)	Mult room (23) (C)	Mult. Offenders (14) (A)	
Ent- Window (97) (A)	Force entry (80) (A)	Insecure (51)	Identifi prop (19) (A)	Insecure (13)	
Mult. Offenders (96) (A)	Identifi prop (60) (A)	Ent – Window (50) (A)	Carrier (12) (C)	Force entry (10) (A)	
Identifi prop (63) (A)	Tools to scene (58) (C)	Tools to scene (45) (C)	Exit diff (12) (A)	Identifi prop (9) (A)	
Tools frm (24) (A)		Identifi prop (44) (A)	Tools frm (4) (A)		
		Untidy search (36) (C)			
		Carrier (24) (C)			
		Ent. Ext. (10) (A)			

Only *entry – rear* progressed to this group as a core behaviour, and was joined by *property occupied*, a previously infrequent, expressive behaviour. Other behaviours occurred within cores only at specific points of experience. *Tools brought to the scene and used* (conservative) was present in the core behaviours of the 1-3 and 4-8 groups. *Carrier taken from the scene* (conservative) became a core behaviour for offenders with 4-8 and 9-12 previous burglaries. *Exit different to entry* (adaptive) was at

the core of 9-12 and 13-20 previous burglary groups. Each indicated that these were actions produced by different levels of domain specific experience.

In terms of variety of behaviour, the 0 and 1-3 groups each presented seven core behaviours. Quantitatively, behaviours then peaked in the 4-8 group with eleven, before declining in number in each advancing level of experience, from nine in the 9-12 group, eight in the 13-20 and only three in the 21-33 previous domestic burglary group. This then, did not demonstrate the introduction of new skills or a behavioural complexity as experience increased, as might have been expected, but the simplification of the offence down to a few key and presumably effective behaviours. This would be in keeping with Lewandowsky, et al.'s (2007) understanding of the fragility of expertise, which documented an expediency gained from advanced processing skills, which could lead to errors due to focusing on key elements of the knowledge base at the expense of other options, and an inflexibility of strategy. The most experienced offenders here chose to zero in on a few fundamental behaviours as opposed to elaborate, technically adept offences which drew on all aspects of previous experience.

The position of behaviours assigned to the adaptive adventure theme (see, chapter five) supported the previous understanding of such motivations being pivotal to domestic burglary (Canter & Youngs, 2009) offence, with a focus on acquisitive gain (Cromwell, et al., 1991, Bennett & Wright, 1984, Wright, et al., 2011). Four of the five consistent core behaviours were adaptive, along with *multiple rooms searched*, a conservative behaviour, a narrative that shared the Adaptive's task focus. A small number however, occurred outside the core and identified an adaptive theme to those offender's behaviour. The stealing of *vehicle keys/vehicle*, *entry by climbing* and *entry by extension*, each consistently occurred within an adaptive region of the plot. Here was revealed an overarching concern with entry into the property by those offenders. Together with core adaptive behaviours, this formed a broad collection of behaviours which would indicate a task-focused, victim-concerned offender at work. The theme began with three behaviours beyond the core for 0 previous domestic burglary individuals – *vehicle keys/vehicle*, *entry by*

climbing and *entry by extension*, together with two behaviours which had been related to different themes in the overall SSA of the dataset – *audio-visual equipment stolen* (conservative) and *lookout* (expressive). Those behaviours represented both task focus and victim awareness. Those three behaviours continued with offences committed by those with 1-3 previous burglaries, increasing in numbers for the first two. This represented a base for inexperienced adaptive domestic burglars, as behaviours began to change with additional experience thereafter. *Entry by climbing* demonstrated the most consistency after that, being present in the adaptive theme at all levels of experience, save for the 9-12 previous group.

Several core adaptive behaviours such as *tools from the scene used*, *entry by window* and in the most experienced offenders, *multiple offenders* and *identifiable property stolen* moved out in frequency towards the adaptive theme itself as experience increased. This presented a picture of the theme comprising of core behaviours until after the third offence, beyond which they became the actions of those with a specific behavioural theme, which itself reduced in offenders with the greatest number of previous burglaries.

The Conservative tragedy theme presented the broadest range of behaviours beyond the adaptive core. *Alarm disabled*, *untidy search*, *concealed approach*, *skilled entry*, *audio-visual equipment stolen* and *fixtures/piping stolen* each appeared consistently across experiential groups within the conservative theme. In contrast to adaptive behaviours, here was a focus on technical efficiency and skilful execution, along with a more developed focus on types of property stolen. The emphasis here was on the offence itself, with little concern afforded to the victim. The theme, being more removed from the core than adaptive behaviours presented a fully formed behavioural theme from offences committed by first-time domestic burglars, which had a total of six behaviours. *Untidy search*, *tools to the scene*, *offender prepared exit* and *skilled entry* all made a consistent, if not constant appearance across experiential groups. *Alarm disabled* however, was present in all groups up to 9-12 previous offences, but then did

not occur at all afterwards, suggesting that this was a concern only for those of a low level of domestic burglary experience. Conversely, *audio-visual equipment stolen*, a conservative behaviour, appeared in the adaptive theme for 0 previous offences, but in the conservative theme in all groups thereafter, indicating that such items quickly became of interest to a different type of offender. The conservative behavioural theme demonstrated more consistency across experiential groups than the adaptive theme, presenting the least number of behaviours in the 4-8 previous offence group, where adaptive behaviours had peaked. In contrast to the adaptive theme, conservative 21-33 previous offence domestic burglars committed a wider variety of behaviours than their less experienced counterparts. This countered the image of expediency presented by most offenders in their crime scene behaviours. This was the opposite of the expediency demonstrated in the crime scene behaviours of the adaptive theme.

The Expressive romance acknowledged Canter's (1989) understanding of the interpersonal aspect of domestic burglary, being as it was a demonstration of a theme in which efficient conduct was secondary in the offender's focus to the awareness of, and satisfactions derived from the impact the offence would have on the victim. Although the Expressive romance had presented a smaller range of behaviours than the adaptive or conservative themes and was dominant in only a small percentage of offenders, those behaviours observed remained consistently throughout experiential groups. The stealing of *cash*, *property occupied*, *offender known to aggrieved person*, *forensically careless* and *phones or computers stolen* all frequently co-occurred beyond the core to provide an indication of a very distinctive form of domestic burglary. The stealing of smaller items, combined with behaviours that might betray a lack of task focus could be readily distinguished from the concern with entry or technical skills demonstrated in other behavioural themes. The expressive theme presented the greatest degree of consistency across experiential groups, with five of the seven total behaviours appearing in at least four groups. *Property occupied* occurred in high frequencies in each of the groups until 21-33 previous offence burglars, where

it became a core behaviour, making it a strong indicator of the expressive theme at work. *Cash stolen* also occurred across most levels of domain specific experience. *Offender known to Aggrieved Person* occurred frequently in 0 and 1-3 previous experience offenders, but then reduced in frequency rapidly, suggesting that the use of this tactic became more infrequent in experienced offenders. Keeping a *lookout* occurred from 1-3 to 9-12 experiential groups and then also tailed off, presenting itself as a mid-range experiential behaviour. *Forensic carelessness* and *phones or computers stolen* did not present as part of an expressive theme for 0 previous offenders, but then did so consistently across subsequent experiential groups, suggesting that the adoption of these behaviours took place after a small number of offences. The relative lack of overall development however, was ultimately consistent with a behavioural theme that was not focused on the task itself and was instead motivated by the impact on the victim. No internal drive to become a more proficient, skilful burglar would promoted technical development, and the belief that a certain behaviour would leave an impression on the victim would lead to its reoccurrence at future offences.

The Integrative irony theme, comprised of a lack of task focus and a lack of victim awareness presented very little in the way of consistent behaviour, with only *jewellery stolen* and *malicious damage* co-occurring with any degree of frequency. Within the current population, integrative behaviours were very much sporadic occurrences, as opposed to other, more dominant behavioural themes. Thus, being neither task focused, nor having an awareness or interest in the role played by the victim, was demonstrably not compatible with domestic burglary. The offence was seemingly too demanding or risky for those lacking either attribute, who could otherwise opt for less complex forms of offending. From the results presented, at least one of those underlying elements was a necessary requirement for the domestic burglar, which provided a new insight into the psychological processes behind this type of offending. The relationship between the integrative theme and experience was however, equally distinct, in that it existed as a behavioural theme only up to the third offence, before it

disintegrated into minor, infrequent aspects of other themes. A lack of task focus combined with a lack of victim awareness were aspects of only very inexperienced domestic burglary behaviour. As further confirmation of this, integrative behaviours did not occur at all in the crime scene actions of 21-33 previous offenders. Only in the 1-3 previous experiential group did integrative behaviour occur as a recognizable theme, a period which had seen behaviours coalesce into consistent patterns in other themes.

The present study largely supported Canter & Youngs' (2009) interpretation of behavioural themes, based on underlying narratives throughout the domestic burglar domain of offending. Three of their four themes were readily identified within the crime scene behaviours of the current population. Some, consistently appeared across different levels of experience, affirming Bennell & Jones' (2005) assertion that a level of behavioural similarity occurred in almost all domestic burglary offences. The co-occurrence of other behaviours however, occurred in consistent themes, allowing for differentiation of offenders. Only the integrative irony theme failed to maintain a thematic shape across advancing experiential groups.

The four themes therefore each demonstrated an independent relationship with experience, as satellite attributes to an essentially consistent, offence-defining behavioural core. The adaptive theme was the continuation of core behaviours, presenting the efficient task focused, victim aware offender as one who continues with tried and tested behaviours, streamlining them through experience into only those necessary to successfully complete the offence. The Conservative tragedy featured a consistently higher number of behaviours, with additional actions being conducted by those with the greatest levels of experience. More so than for the adaptive theme, conservative behaviours showed development from domain specific experience. The expressive theme, in contrast was broadly unaffected by experience, remaining largely consistent across extended numbers of offences, consistent with a theme that was less concerned with the proficient execution of the offence than in drawing the attention of the

victim. Finally, the integrative theme existed solely in the behaviours of a small number of inexperienced offenders but failed to register as a dominant theme in its own right.

9.15 - Methodological contribution

The chapter found that the smallest space analysis of the crime scene behaviours of offenders at different experiential stages to be an effective means of appreciating behavioural development, something that it had rarely been employed for in previous research. By demonstrating the changing patterns of co-occurrence, as opposed to simply the occurrence of individual behaviours, a far more detailed picture of the nature of domestic burglary was revealed than would have been obtained from tests of association between behaviours and experiential groups.

Canter & Youngs' (2009) narrative based behavioural themes in domestic burglary crime scene behaviour also proved to be an effective and consistent model for differentiating offenders. The cross-referencing of narrative themes across experiential groups allowed for a fresh, nuanced understanding of how offending behaviour could be influenced and affected by both.

9.16 - Theoretical contribution

The current chapter added to the effective use of behavioural themes in chapter five, as a means of differentiating behavioural styles in domestic burglary, but added a further dimension of development and change, based on domain specific experience. In doing so, the chapter enabled the acquiescence of several previously conflicting theories. The question debated by Bennell & Jones (2005) and Canter & Youngs (2009) about the degree of differentiation that existed between the crime scene behaviours of domestic burglaries was answered by both the stability of the behavioural core and the variance found

in surrounding themes. The fundamental actions inherent in a domestic burglary were largely consistent across themes and levels of experience. Each behavioural theme not only demonstrated contrasting psychological elements, but also their own patterns of development over different frequencies of offending. Additionally, this shed new light on previously typology-based examinations of domestic burglary behaviour, which have categorised offenders under headings which would now appear to be a mix of narrative and experience-based differentiations. Maguire & Bennett's (1982) *low-level amateurs*, *mid-level professionals* and *high-level professionals*, Walsh's (1986) *novices*, *pillagers* and *breaksmen*, and Merry and Harsent's (2000) *low-craft* and *high-craft* burglars all inferred different levels of experience, and yet in the present study's findings, these titles would now appear to relate more to narrative differentiations, with experience prompting refinement of behaviour within those different forms of the offence. A *mid-level professional* for example, may be enacting a more task-focused behavioural theme which may give the impression of a greater level of experience than an expressive offender who may present as a *novice* or *low-level amateur*, but who in fact, finds no reason to alter their behaviour from offence to offence. Professional, efficient, conservative-themed offences were seen to have been conducted by first time domestic burglars. By understanding the different patterns of development within each theme, the roles of underlying motivations and experience could now be redefined.

The refinement of action through experience seen in core and adaptive behaviours was entirely in keeping with Nee & Monaghan's (2006) work, in which experienced domestic burglars made swift, target focused searches of a property, while novices adopted a more scattershot approach. Experience there, and here for the adaptive offender bred economy of effort rather than technical superiority, which in fact, was a product of the behavioural theme rather than experience. This would not be the case however, for an Expressive romance whose behaviour remained largely consistent. The differentiation between theme and experience also incorporated the understanding of expertise from

mainstream psychology into the knowledge base of criminal behaviour. Chi, et al. (2014) had found expertise to be fragile, leading to an inflexibility of strategy, over confidence in intuitive decision making which often excluded other options (Lewandowsky, et al., 2007) and an expediency that could lead to error. In the present study, this was very much the nature of increased experience for adaptive offenders who dominated the dataset as predicted by numerous previous studies of the baseline motivations for domestic burglary (Fox & Farrington, 2012, Cromwell, et al., 1991, Bennett & Wright, 1984, Wright, et al., 2011). Thus, the chapter provided a fresh behavioural context for both behavioural theme and domain-specific experience and differentiated between behaviours – or the absence of behaviours – which could allow for inferences to be drawn on the offender's motivations, and on the number of previous like offences the individual was likely to have undertaken.

9.17 - Limitations

As in previous chapters, the analysis was bound by the indeterminate accuracy of the data on which it was based. The behaviours included were only those recorded by police, post-offence, which would mean others may have been enacted which were less apparent. To some extent however, this concern was mitigated by the consistent nature of the behavioural themes discovered. This would suggest that data had been recorded to a consistent level of accuracy.

9.18 - Future studies

While the nature of behavioural development in domestic burglary crime scene behaviours was consistent with the current understanding of expertise in mainstream psychology, future studies may wish to examine further the influence of experience on behaviour. Domestic burglary was found to be

predominantly an adaptive offence, intended to facilitate acquisitive gain. The adaptive theme therefore dominated crime scene behaviours. Other forms of offending however, would have inherently different motivations, which may indeed lead to different patterns of behavioural development.

9.19 - Conclusions

The chapter differentiated between the influences on behaviour of underlying narrative and domain specific experience. Distinctions in behavioural theme could be seen in the behaviours of those with no previous domestic burglary experience and appeared to solidify into well-formed themes between 1-3 and 4-8 domestic burglary offences. From there, each theme demonstrated a different pattern of development as experience increased. The Adaptive adventure, by far the most dominant within the dataset followed a pattern consistent with the current understanding of expertise, in that experience brought with it an expediency and economy of action. The conservative theme demonstrated greater technical ability and consistency of behaviour across experiential groups, and the number of theme-related behaviours increased with experience. The most consistent behavioural theme however, was the Expressive romance, in which offenders were not task focused. Crime scene behaviours for such individuals showed little development through increased experience. Conversely, the Integrative irony theme, which was not task focused and did not demonstrate victim awareness, occurred only in the offences of those who had committed no more than three previous domestic burglaries, suggesting that at least one of those two elements was essential to a sustained domestic burglary campaign, and those who lacked either of those motivations were typically inexperienced offenders. Despite these differences however, a core of five behaviours remained static across all levels of experience. The chapter thereby uncovered a new insight into how behavioural development was influenced by theme and experience, which in turn served to advance the understanding of the meaning of domestic burglary

behaviour in terms of offender motivation and experience. Researchers may wish to explore the consistency of these findings across different offending domains.

10

Maturity and experience in domestic burglar crime scene behaviour

10.1 – Summary of findings

In examining the crime scene behaviours of a population of domestic burglars, the thesis adopted the principle intentions of Investigative Psychology; to identify the salient aspects of criminal behaviour to provide a scientific basis for the prioritisation of potential suspects, and to highlight any series of crime linked to a common offender (Canter & Alison, 1999). In this instance, the focus was on the identification of patterns of behavioural development, based on levels of maturity and different aspects of offending experience.

To begin with, the positive and negative aspects of the use of an unobtrusive measurement such as police records were assessed, with both proving to be of specific significance to the subsequent analysis. Even the most intensive use of interviews with incarcerated offenders would not have been able to accommodate the scope of interest here, in which extensive information on both quantitative and qualitative aspects of entire offending histories were of equal relevance to detailed accounts of subsequent domestic burglary. An offender's memory and frankness would have to know no boundaries for a comparative amount of information to be gleaned in that way. Whilst the use of police records data removed to a large extent concerns of researcher bias, it did create an alternative problem in the disparity of purpose in its initial collection, with that of empirical analysis. It was not inconsequential that persistent core behaviours in most experiential and maturity groups – *multiple offenders, entry – rear, entry – window, forced entry, insecure entry and multiple rooms searched* – essentially described in the legal definition of domestic burglary. These would be the elements foremost in the attending

officer's mind, as their purpose was to evidence the occurrence of such an offence. It was important therefore, that any assessment of the validity of police-records for empirical research be conducted with an awareness of those parameters.

A further criticism of unobtrusive measurements derived from 'real world' settings has been the difficulties in differentiating dependent and independent variables. A substantial challenge in the present thesis was to be able to determine which behaviours were produced from which aspects of experience, when it was entirely possible that identical behaviours could emerge from all. The current chapter seeks to address this concern, utilizing the findings unearthed thus far.

The offence of domestic burglary carries with it not only a substantial financial impact on the victim and surrounding community, but also a unique emotional injury, be it through the intrusion into a person's secure space, or in the loss of items invested with memory and sentimental significance. Coupled with this, national detection rates stood at just 13% in 2011/12, making domestic burglary a pervasive public concern. Thus, the practical need for a better understanding of domestic burglary, and in tandem domestic burglars remains pressing.

Theoretically, the offence has presented researchers from different fields with some intriguing challenges. In criminology, many studies have sought to differentiate domestic burglars into typologies commensurate with their level of skill or technical acumen, derived from their crime scene behaviours (Walsh, 1986, Maguire & Bennett, 1982, Merry & Harsent, 2000). The inference from these findings was that a process of learning and development was required for an individual to become a skilled domestic burglar, although this would seem to have not previously been as explicitly explored to this extent, as has been the aims of the present thesis. Hearnden & Magill (2004) had previously discovered that motivations for domestic burglary offending changed as domain-specific experience advanced, but if

experience led to more skilful and efficient domestic burglaries, then the actual quantitative or qualitative nature of that experience has not yet been clearly defined.

Explorations of versatility-specialisation (Bursik, 1980, Wolfgang, Figlio & Selling, 1972, Shover, 1996) had found that most offenders conducted a broad range of different offences, with brief periods of specialisation. Thus, increased skill in crime scene behaviour may not be only drawn from experience of that offence alone.

In addition to behaviour brought about by experience was the question of maturity. Cognitive differences between adolescents and adults had found the latter more inclined towards impulsive behaviours that lacked an extensive consideration of future consequences (Leverso, et al., 2015). Adolescents were more vulnerable to the influence, pressure or coercion of others. General offending was found to peak in or around seventeen years of age (Sweeten, et al., 2013), prior to the societal restrictions of adulthood, and full cognitive development, leading many older offenders into eventual desistance. Thus, the age or level of maturity of the offender was highly likely to be an influence on crime scene behaviours, in the same way as levels of experience were.

Alternatively, psychological examinations of crime scene behaviours have often rooted an individual's actions in their underlying personal characteristics (see for example, Canter's A→C equation, 1994), differentiating offenders on the understanding that the same offence may hold different psychological meanings to different individuals. In this context, domestic burglary was unlike most other forms of offending (with perhaps the exception of robbery), in that it could be viewed as both an instrumentally motivated offence, driven by the pursuit of financial or material gain, or it could be conducted with a view to more interpersonal, expressive desires to demonstrate power over the victim in their private space. Whilst robbery offences called for a face-to-face confrontation with the victim, the form of interaction in domestic burglary was much more contradictory. The motivation for the offence may be

to impact on the victim, but the implicit intention in a successful offence would be that no physical interaction took place.

Narrative theories, put forth by McAdams (1994), and successfully applied to domestic burglary crime scene behaviours, alongside other offending domains by Canter & Youngs (2009), located such behaviours within the context of an ever-developing life story, within which the offender considered themselves the focal character. To some extent, the application of narrative theories to domestic burglary represents a recognition of a psychological influence of experience in crime scene behaviours, akin to criminological typologies separating novices from professionals (Cromwell, et al., 1991). The narrative developed from each positive or negative experience and could be derived from the individual's actions during an offence. It was evident then, that locating the origins of specific crime scene behaviours was a deceptively complex task. Was it maturity, experience or character that held the most influence over a domestic burglar's actions? If experience, then was it general or domain specific offending experience, and in what quantity? The thesis set out to explore the different patterns of behavioural development with regards to the above influences on crime scene behaviour, and within the context of narrative themes. The following findings were put forth:

In chapter five, behavioural themes were derived from the crime scene behaviours of a population of domestic burglars and could be associated with a framework of narrative roles, previously identified by Canter & Youngs (2009). Task-focused adaptive and conservative themes were dominant, demonstrating that a large proportion of individuals engaged in this domain of offending did so in the pursuit of financial or material gain and undertook the offence in an efficient, competent manner. A smaller group of individuals approached the offence from an entirely different perspective and exhibited a distinctly different set of crime scene behaviours. Those exhibiting an Expressive romance behavioural theme sought to create an impact on the victim by their actions, often leading to ill-considered, careless behaviours, and frequently targeted at individuals who knew them and were present within the

attacked premises at the time of the offence. A fourth approach to the offence, previously identified by Canter & Youngs (2009) was the Integrative irony theme. This was noted within crime scene behaviours but was not found to be a dominant theme at all in domestic burglary offences. Thus, a lack of task focus, coupled with a lack of victim awareness appeared incompatible with this domain of offending. This chapter provides a behavioural framework based on previously identified narrative themes, within which the effects of maturity and experience could be measured.

Chapter six addressed the question of maturity and found that the adaptive behavioural theme was most prevalent in younger offenders, aged 10-17 and 18-21 years, who dominated the population. The conservative theme increased in older domestic burglars, aged 22-30 and 31-40. In the oldest group of offenders, those aged 41-66 years, the expressive theme expanded in frequency. This presented a picture of younger offenders being, for the most part competent, efficient domestic burglars, aware of the risks posed by the victim, but focused on the task in the pursuit of maximum material or financial gain. The increase in the Conservative tragedy theme for older offenders suggested that technical proficiency came with age and led to a reduction in concern about the victim. Of some surprise was the substantial increase in the presence of the expressive behavioural theme in the oldest offender age group, which did not appear to be a development of competence or efficiency akin to the rise of the conservative theme, but more a distinct form of the offence, produced from a different set of motivations and circumstances. Statistically significant relationships between maturity groups and narrative-based behavioural themes were infrequent but demonstrated clear differences between themes. Adaptive offenders appeared most prevalently in the 18-21 and 31-40 years age groups, presenting it as an approach to the offence adopted by younger and older offenders alike. The expressive theme in contrast, had a negative association with 18-21 year old burglars, but a significant, positive relationship with those aged 41-66 years, confirming that theme's prominence with the most mature offenders, and not those given to youthful impulsivity, as had been hypothesised.

When Smallest space analysis was employed to examine behavioural changes, a small amount of development was unearthed. Older adaptive offenders were more willing to employ *climbing* in their entry to a property. Older domestic burglars with a conservative behavioural theme favoured the theft of *fixtures/piping* but abandoned *offender prepared exit* after the 18-21years age group and *audio-visual equipment stolen* after the 22-30years group. The expressive theme demonstrated very little development through maturity, which was consistent with its prevailing lack of task-focus and supported the belief that this was a truly distinct form of domestic burglary.

Chapters seven and eight examined the influence of previous general offending experience, from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective. In chapter seven, some evidence of an association between the frequency of previous general offences and behavioural theme was found, with themes appearing to solidify and become more distinct in those with greater levels of experience. Those for whom no dominant theme could be assigned accounted for 30.8% of offenders with no previous offending experience, but only 6.3% of those with between 11-20 previous general offences. Accordingly, task focused behavioural themes accounted for 46.2% of those with no previous experience, but 87.5% of those with 11-20 prior offences.

Inferential statistics showed little in the way of positive statistical associations between narrative-based themes and quantitative measures of previous offending but pointed towards task-focused domestic burglars being more generally criminally experienced, with those with adaptive-conservative split narrative themes showing a relationship to the 6-10 previous offences group and adaptive offenders with 11-20 previous offences. Qualitatively, the style of previous offending bore little relationship with narrative theme, with only adaptive-conservative themes statistically associated with split offending styles and adaptives with the instru-expres style. No consistent relationships, as had been anticipated were discovered between expressive style – expressive theme or instrumental style –

conservative or adaptive themes, indicating that motivations for one kind of offending were not consistent across different domains.

When it came to specific behaviours however, within those narrative-based behavioural themes, there was little evidence of greater levels of general offending leading to behavioural development in domestic burglary. So, while an extended general offending history led to psychological development in the approach to, and meaning of the offence, it did not provide specific skills, transferable from one offending domain to the other.

Accordingly, offenders came to domestic burglary after a wide range of both instrumental and expressive offending backgrounds, but from the analysis undertaken in chapter eight, this did not lead to any notable distinctions in the way domestic burglary offences were conducted. Thus, if behaviours did not develop out of the types or quantity of previous offending, then behavioural development would appear to be inherently domain specific. Equally, no consistency was found between the previous offending style and the offender's behavioural theme, meaning that motivations for domestic burglary were also likely to be unique to that domain.

These conclusions were offered further support in chapter nine, where a greater level of behavioural development was found when the number of previous domestic burglary offences was considered within the narrative-based behavioural themes. Within that framework, individual themes were seen to follow different patterns of development. Once again however, a direct association between narrative-based theme and level of previous domestic burglary experience did not occur, however expressive themes could be associated with those with the most experience – 21-33 previous domestic burglaries.

In the adaptive theme, increased domestic burglary experience led to an expediency and economy of action. For the conservative theme, burglary experience brought with it an increase, or at least a maintenance of the number of actions, presenting skilful, technically adept offences. The expressive

theme revealed the same stability and consistency as had been observed in levels of maturity. An unfocused approach to the offence, which sought solely to impact on the victim, evidently prompted little need to adapt or develop through experience. This behavioural theme was at its most prevalent in those with the greatest frequency of previous domestic burglary offending, which reiterated its distinction from more common motivations for the offence.

In contrast to the findings in maturity, the conservative theme peaked in frequency in those with lower levels of domain-specific experience (4-8 offences), while the adaptive theme was most prevalent in those with greater experience (13-20 previous burglaries).

Maturity and previous domestic burglary experience was found to have the greatest influence on crime scene behaviours, leading some to perfect their procedural skills into either streamlined efficient burglaries or complex, technically adept offences, while others simply found no need to alter their actions in any way. The challenge for the current chapter then, was to differentiate the two influences and understand how they might interact, within the crime scene behaviours of domestic burglars.

10.2 - Aims

The aim of the chapter was to draw together the results of the analysis in chapters six to nine, which had been conducted within the narrative-based behavioural framework established in chapter five.

The thesis had sought to identify evidence of behavioural development, based on maturity, frequency of previous general offending, the preferred offending style in previous offending and on domain specific (domestic burglary) experience. In chapters seven and eight however, no evidence of an influence on subsequent domestic burglary crime scene behaviour by either the quantitative or

qualitative aspects of previous general offending records was found, leaving the relevant influential traits as maturity and domain specific experience.

The present chapter therefore, seeks to assess and determine the role played by each of these traits in domestic burglary crime scene behaviours, within the established framework. This would ultimately provide a result to the main aim of the thesis; to identify the roles of maturity and experience in shaping subsequent crime scene behaviour in domestic burglary.

10.3 - Data

In chapter five, the presence or absence of dominant behavioural themes had been determined for each of the 673 domestic burglaries contained within the 2010-2014 dataset. This was done by counting the number of behaviours assigned to each theme present in the recorded crime scene behaviours for each offence. A percentage of the total number of behaviours conducted within the offence was then assigned to each theme. In accordance with a process adopted in previous studies (Canter & Fritzon, 1998, Salfati, 2000, Ioannou, et al., 2015), if the percentage of a theme was greater or approximately equal to the total percentage of the remaining three, then it was designated as the dominant theme for that offence. Of the 673 offences, 112 (16.6%) could not be assigned to a dominant theme and 80 were assigned split themes, having demonstrated an equal number of behaviours from two different behavioural themes. The remaining 481 offences could be broken down as: dominantly Adaptive adventure – 296, Conservative tragedy – 146, Expressive romance – 39 and Integrative irony – 0. As the aim of the chapter was to assess the influence of maturity and experience within narrative roles, only those offences which presented clear evidence of a dominant behavioural theme were used, to avoid the misinterpretation of the psychological significance of behaviours. As such, the 481 domestic burglaries with dominant crime scene behavioural themes became the focus of the present chapter.

10.4 – Method

The most suitable method for accommodating the requirements of the chapter’s aims was the use of Partial order scalogram analyses with base coordinates (POSAC), based on an algorithm developed by Shye (1985).

POSAC commenced with a criterion for differentiating offences within the dataset (Taylor, 2002). In this instance, the criteria were maturity and domain specific experience, and within each were the different levels of either attribute. Each maturity or experience-based group (i.e. 18-21 years, 9-12 previous burglaries) was assigned a score of ‘2’ for its presence, or ‘1’ if it were absent. These scores combined to form an eleven-digit structuple, or profile for each offence. The first digit on the right would represent 0 previous offences, the next digit to the left, 1-3 previous offences and so on up to the sixth digit which represented 21-33 previous offences. The following five digits, from right to left would denote the individual’s level of maturity from 10-17years through to 41-66years. As POSAC calculated a quantitative, as well as qualitative scale, it was necessary to present an accumulation of positive indicators. Thus, the offender in the example in fig.10.1 was between 18-21years of age and had committed between nine and twelve previous domestic burglaries, prior to the relevant offence.

Table 10.1: *Example of maturity/experience profile for offender aged 18-21 with 9-12 previous domestic burglary offences*

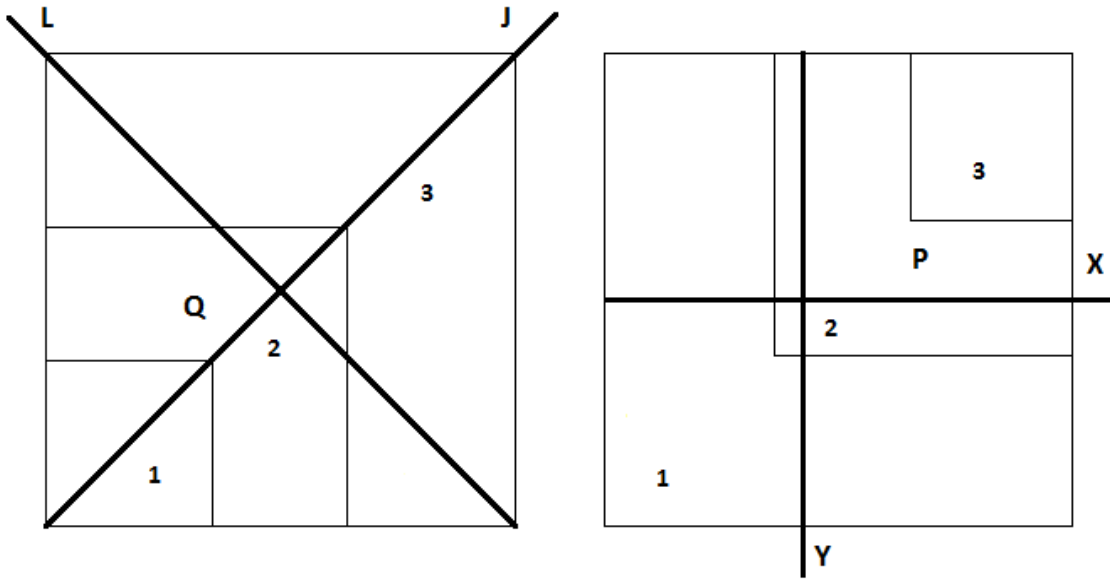
Maturity						Experience				
41-66	31-40	22-30	18-21	10-17	21-33	13-20	9-12	4-8	1-3	0
1	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2

The age group 10-17 was a previous one, which required a positive indicator to show that the offender’s age had quantitatively accumulated to 18-21. The same applied to all experience groups lower

than that attained by the individual at the time of the 2010-2014 offence. By counting the number of positive indicators (2s) in the first six digits starting from the right of the profile, the individual's level of domain specific experience could be ascertained. By doing the same with the five digits on the left of the profile, the level of maturity was also known. By adding the eleven digits within the profile together, this would provide a score (in table 10.1 the score would be 17), which in turn, would allow profiles to be placed in a quantitative order of differentiation. A quantitative order alone however, was an insufficient measure for differentiating the many likely combinations of maturity/experience levels because some profiles could be quantitatively identical, yet qualitatively different.

POSAC would then present each profile in a geometric plot, by comparing each profile with each other profile along two axes. Quantitative differences in profiles were ordered along the joint (J) axis, running from the bottom left of the plot (where the lowest scoring profile, would be placed) to the top right. Qualitative variation was spread across the lateral (L) axis, running from top left to bottom right, and the algorithm attempted to place profiles with the same score in closer proximity to one another. The shape and positioning of different regions may take several forms, due to the varying scores achieved in the remaining profiles and could therefore provide an illustration of theme interaction within profiles. Structuples divided along the X or Y axes provided the basic types of maturity/experience profile, as between them they defined the regions within which profiles were placed. Profiles could also be separated along the J (qualitative) and L (quantitative) diagonal axes, or alternatively, may present within an accentuating (Q) or attenuating (P) position within the plot.

Accentuating profiles increased in qualitative variation at the higher end of the J axis, whilst attenuating structs increase homogeneity of interactions between profiles with a high score of X and Y (Taylor, 2002). Loading coefficients ranging from 0.00 – 1.00 document the fit of a struct's representation within the plot, with 1.00 indicating that a struct could be partitioned completely by one of the dividing axes.



Lateral (L), Joint (J) & Accentuating (Q)

Horizontal (X), Vertical (Y) & Attenuating (P)

Figure 10.1: *Quantitative and qualitative partitioning axes for behavioural profiles in POSAC*

POSAC then, derived from Shye’s (1978) algorithm, provided the best possible solution to observing quantitative and qualitative differences in the interaction between maturity and experience within crime scene behaviour.

With the mapping of maturity/experience profiles on a quantitative and qualitative visual plot, the chapter was then able to discuss the behavioural similarities and variance amongst individuals that this entailed, and how this differed between the behavioural themes.

10.5 - Hypothesis

It had already been established that maturity and domain specific experience led to behavioural developments in domestic burglary offences. The use of POSAC to draw these findings together would

reveal the prevalence of specific levels of maturity and experience within the established narrative-based behavioural framework. This would provide fresh insight into the activities of domestic burglars and the nature of narrative roles, behavioural themes and most pertinently, the influence of maturity and experience on behavioural development.

10.6 - Results - Maturity, experience and development in the Adaptive behavioural theme

A POSAC was first completed for the 296 domestic burglary offences in which the offender had presented a dominantly Adaptive adventure behavioural theme through their domestic burglary crime scene behaviours. The resultant plot in fig. 10.2 documented twenty-five distinct maturity/experience profiles within this group of offenders, illustrating the breadth of qualitative and quantitative differentiation in behavioural development.

A surface scan of the frequencies of these profiles showed that the three most frequently occurring profiles shared a common level of maturity. 18-21 years/1-3 previous (42), 18-21 years/0 previous (41) and 18-21 years/4-8 previous (30) supported the prominent ages of domestic burglars seen in fig. 6.1. Seen here, the levels of previous domestic burglary offending experience for those offenders was frequently low. These three profiles collectively accounted for 38.2% of the offences committed with an adaptive theme, with the lowest in frequency of the three being those who continued to commit domestic burglary offences after the third conviction, where it would be likely that their previous actions would have resulted in some form of custodial sentence.

The next two maturity/experience groups in terms of frequency of occurrence were both from the 22-30yrs group and were made up of those with no recorded history of domestic burglary (23), or those with 1-3 previous offences (24). Domestic burglars were still common therefore, in an age-group in

which other offenders might be expected to have desisted from crime, and yet, these were not highly experienced individuals, with only low or non-existent levels of experience.

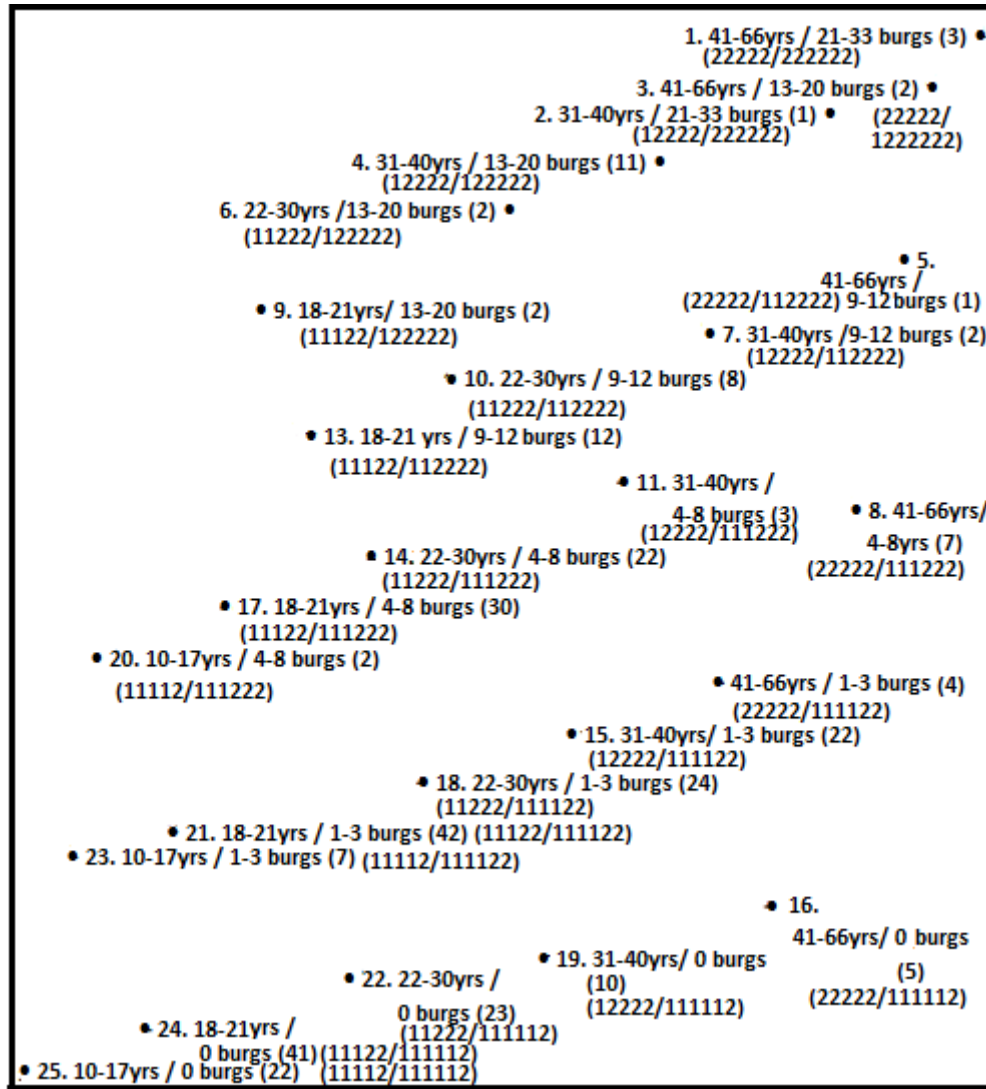


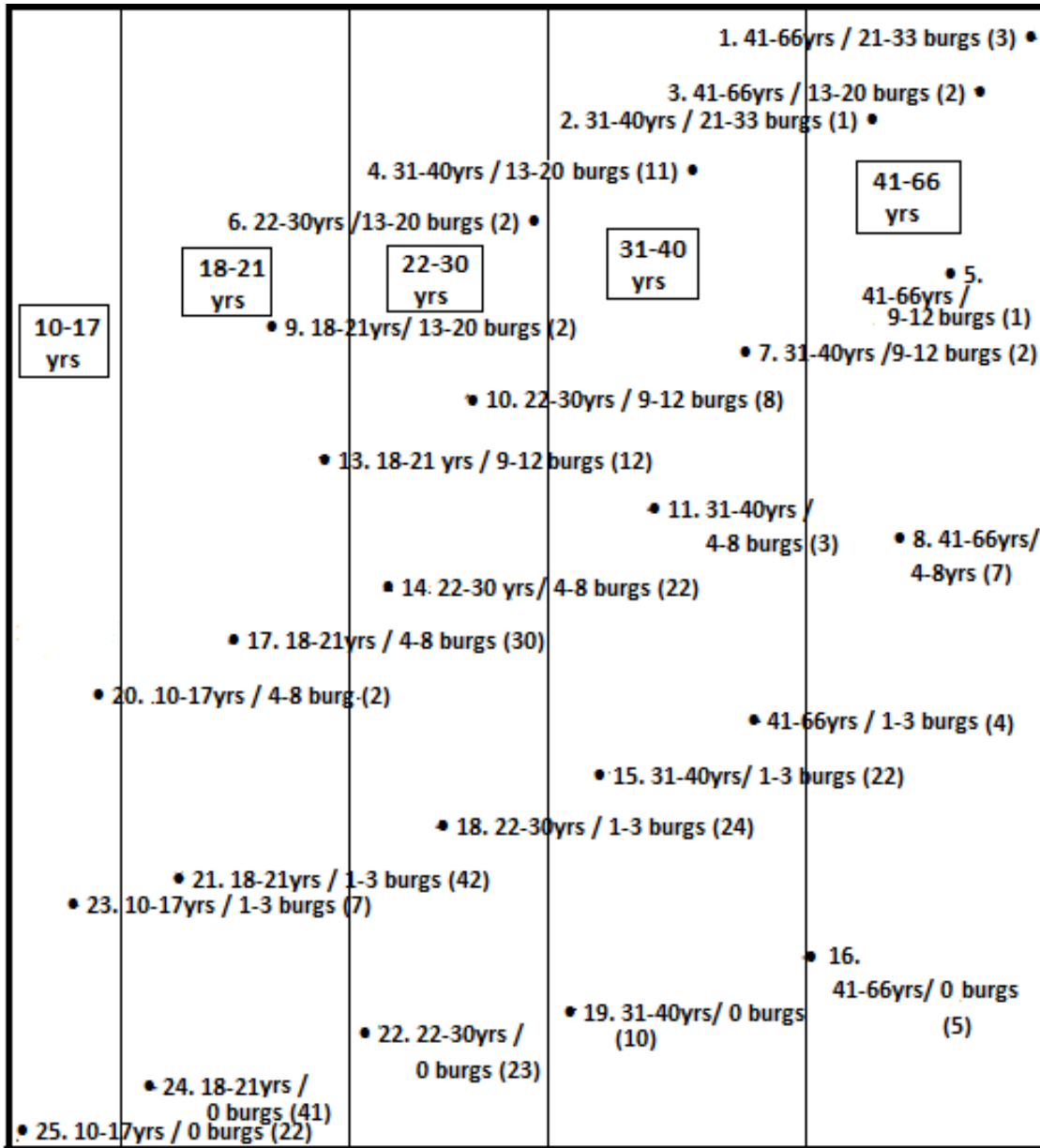
Figure 10.2: A partial order scalogram with coordinates (POSAC) of the age groups and frequencies of previous like offences for 296 domestic burglars with dominant Adaptive behavioural themes in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014

Beyond these profiles, three others demonstrated identical levels of occurrence within the population. 31-40yrs/1-3 previous, 31-40yrs/4-8 previous and 10-17yrs/0 previous each appeared on twenty-two occasions. In total, the above group of offenders accounted for 226 offences, 76.4% of Adaptive

adventure burglaries. While age groups generally followed the pattern set out in the age-crime curve, there were a substantial number of older, active offenders. The commonality throughout these groups however, was in zero-mid levels of previous domestic burglary offending, suggesting that there was a peak in the frequency of such offending for many individuals. Thus, the Adaptive adventurer's commitment to task-focused offending and victim awareness could not be associated with any high levels of domain specific experience, or in fact, age. Rather, these traits would appear to be inherent in the individual and their regard for themselves in their ever-unfolding life story.

Other profiles appeared in much lower frequencies, with the most frequent high-experience groups being 18-21yrs/9-12 previous (12) and 31-40yrs/21-33 previous (11). The lack of a correlation between age and experience was further demonstrated by the oldest group of offenders – those aged 41-66years. Lesser experienced older offenders – 41-66yrs/4-8 previous (7), 41-66yrs/0 previous (5) and 41-66yrs/1-3 previous (4) each occurred with slightly greater frequency than those with greater levels of domain specific experience. As such, the image of the older domestic burglar as a veteran, highly-experienced house breaker became something of a fallacy.

The underlying structures in POSAC could be best determined by the identification of common differentiations along the horizontal (X) and vertical (Y) axes, which are the base coordinates of the POSAC algorithm (Borg & Shye, 1995). Here, both the horizontal and vertical axes were based upon qualitative differences between offenders. In fig. 10.3, the vertical Y-axis was based on differences in levels of maturity and experience in the location of profiles featuring increased levels of domestic burglary experience. In the 10-17years partition, to the far left of the plot, levels of experience appear only in the lower half of the plot and rise only in the 4-8 previous domestic burglary mark. Directly to the right of that partition, in the 18-21 years partition, profiles appear higher up the plot and extend to 13-20 previous domestic burglaries.



Note: Y partitioning loading coefficient = .98

Figure 10.3: *Partitioned item diagram for age group at time of domestic burglary for Adaptive offenders (frequencies) (n = 296)*

This was the case in the 22-30 years region. Beyond that, offenders aged between 31 and 40, and then 41 to 66 reach the maximum burglary experience groups of 21-33 previous offences. This has an

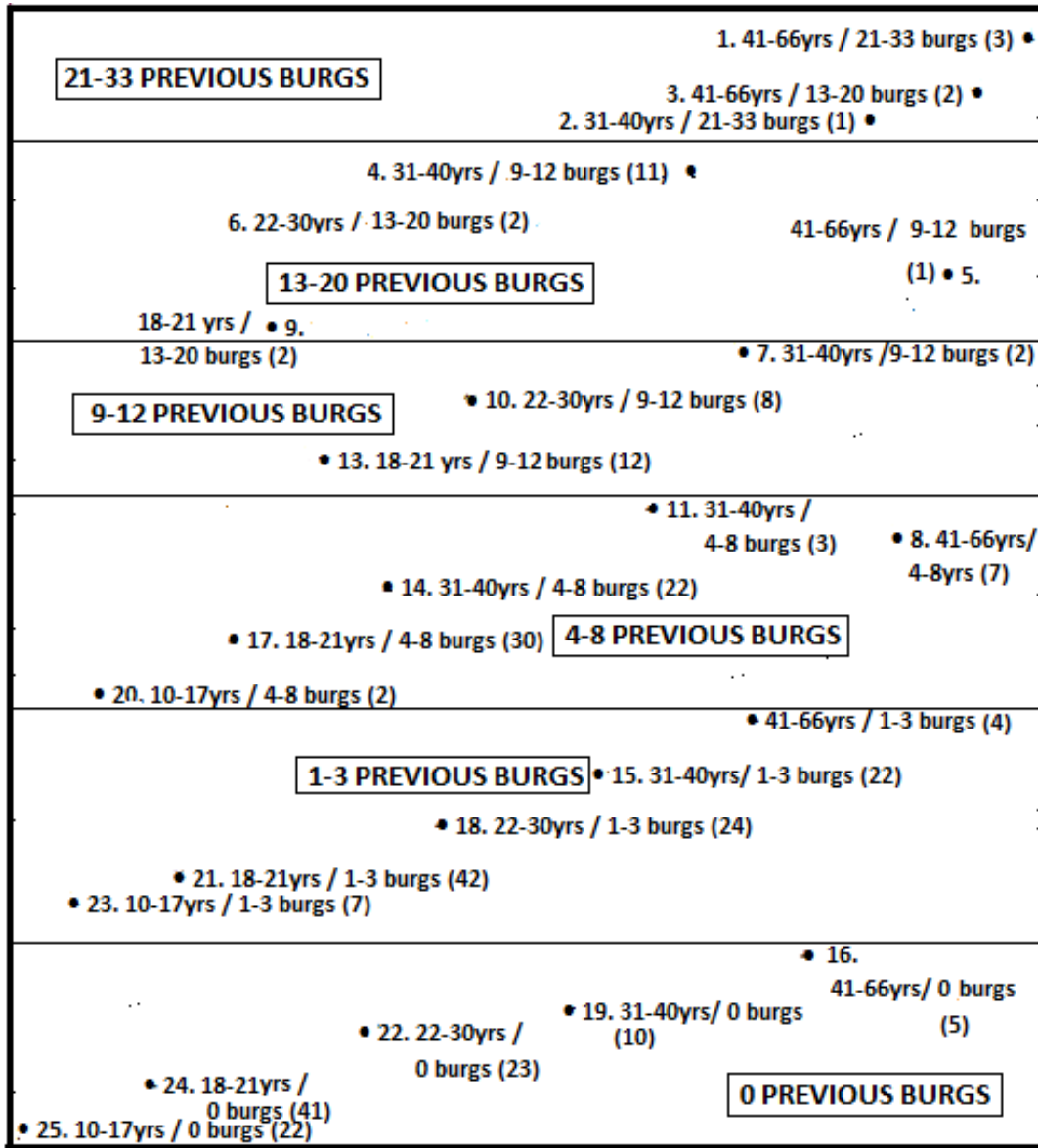
important implication for the understanding of the co-existence of maturity and experience for the adaptive offender.

Although there was considerable differentiation in the number of domestic burglary offences previously committed by individual offenders, that differentiation was to some extent, bound by age. There were no highly prolific 10-17 or 18-21year old offenders who had already committed more than 9-12 offences. Nor were there any equally prolific 22-30year olds who had more than 13-20 previous offences. To go beyond twenty previous domestic burglary offences, the individual had to be at least 31years of age.

The same was not true however, at the opposite end of the age/burglary frequency scale. Each maturity group featured categories of offenders who had zero or 1-3 previous burglary offences. So, a heightened level of maturity did not necessarily translate to a greater level of domain specific experience.

The X-axis, in contrast, depicted the qualitative differentiation in levels of previous domestic burglary experience. Those in all previous burglary frequency groups extending between 0 and 9-12 followed a frequency pattern akin to the number of individuals in each age group in the overall population. Peaks in frequency could be seen in the 18-21year group, with declining numbers for each group thereafter. This was not the case however, in the 13-20 and 21-33 previous offence groups. In the 13-20 group, the largest category of offenders (11) was those in the 31-40years age group, whilst in the 21-33 previous offence group, the number of offenders, although slight increased as levels of domestic burglary experience did. This identified a small number of highly prolific, persistent offenders who had extensive and ongoing domestic burglary records, which defied the expectations of the age-crime curve of the population, depicted previously in fig. 6.1. When the quantitative nature of the relationship between

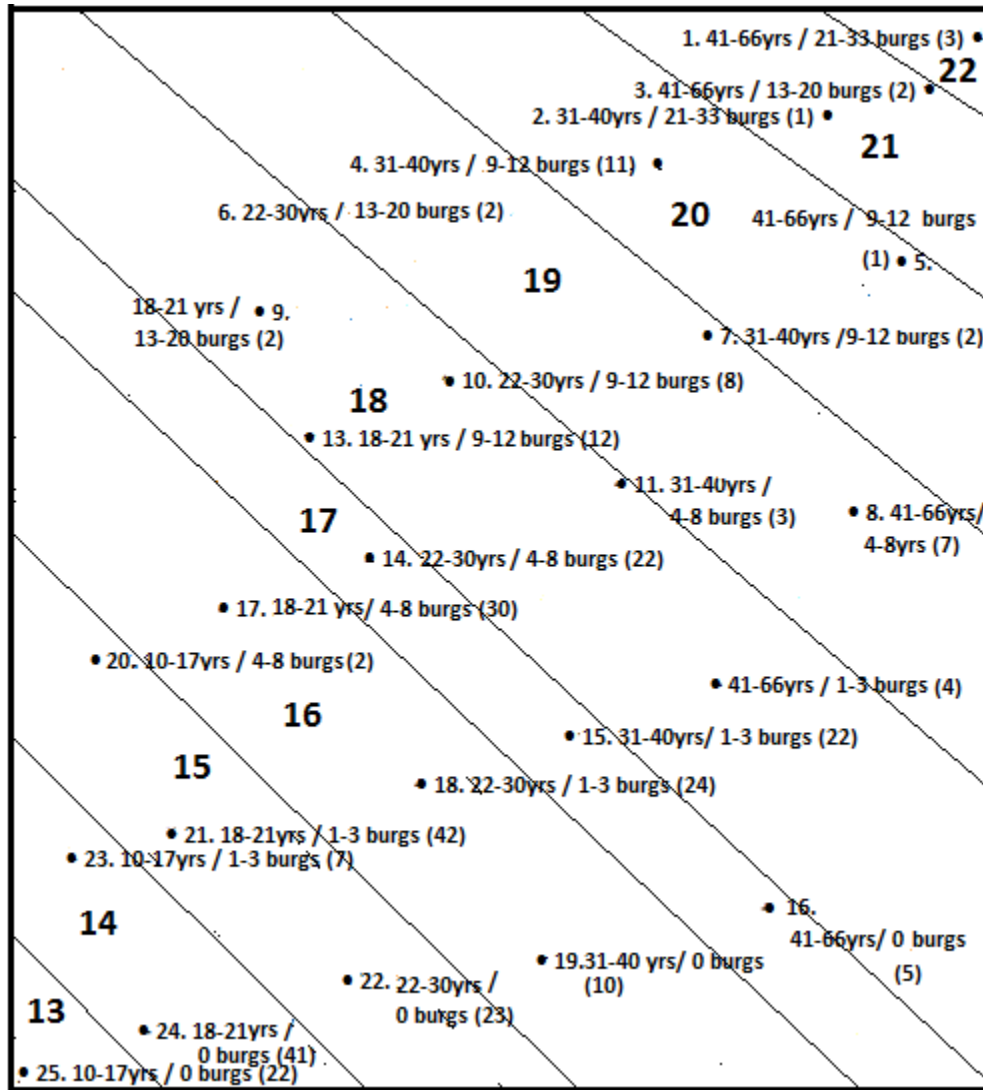
maturity and experience was examined in fig. 10.5, a greater understanding of the influence and effects of both factors could be mined.



Note: X partitioning loading coefficient = 1.00

Figure 10.4: Partitioned item diagram for frequency of previous like offending at time of domestic burglary offence for Adaptive offenders (n = 296)

The diagonal L-axis differentiated maturity/experience groups by their total scores in the structuples presented in fig. 10.2, thereby differentiating offenders on a quantitative basis (made up of accrued levels of maturity and experience).



Note: L partitioning loading coefficient = 1.00

Figure 10.5: Partitioned item diagram for frequency of previous like offending at time of domestic burglary offence for Adaptive offenders (n = 296)

In the lower left corner of the plot was the lowest scoring group of twenty-two offenders with the lowest possible levels of maturity (10-17years) and burglary experience (0). Moving outwards were then two maturity/age groups with an identical score of 14, made up of 41 offenders with increased age (18-21) but no increase in experience (0). Only seven offenders were of the same age as those at the opposite side of the first diagonal division (10-17), but with increased experience (1-3 burgs). Thus, age was the dominant factor over experience for those offenders. For those with a score of 15. The 18-21/1-3 groups were dominant, and so the abundance of domestic burglars aged between 18 and 21 meant that there was also those within that group with increased levels of experience. This was also true in the diagonal divides for those who scored 16, 18-21year olds with 4-8 previous offences were dominant. As in previous studies of the age-crime curve, the dominance of that age group in domestic burglary offenders meant there were large numbers of offenders with different levels of experience within that age group, which was capped at 9-12 previous domestic burglary offences.

Importantly however, the dominant groups in the remaining quantitative categories did not feature the 22-30years group. Rather, the remaining categories were made up of older offenders – 31-40 and 41-66years, with increasing levels of domain specific experience. For the Adaptive adventure domestic burglar then, the correlation between maturity and burglary experience was not linear. An abundance of 18-21year old offenders was made up of a variety of levels of experience, making age the decisive factor. Beyond that, levels of experience increased in a linear fashion for older offenders. For those scoring 19. 41-66year olds with 4-8 previous were dominant, then in the 20-score group, 31-40year olds with 9-12, followed by 41-66year olds with 13-20 in the 21-scoring category and finally, 41-66 with 21-33 offences in the final 22-score category. Thus, while age was the dominant factor up to 18-21years in older offenders, domestic burglary experience was the more consistent factor.

10.7 - Maturity, experience and development in the Conservative behavioural theme

The Conservative tragedy was dominant in a lesser number of offences (146) and presented a slightly reduced number of profiles (22).

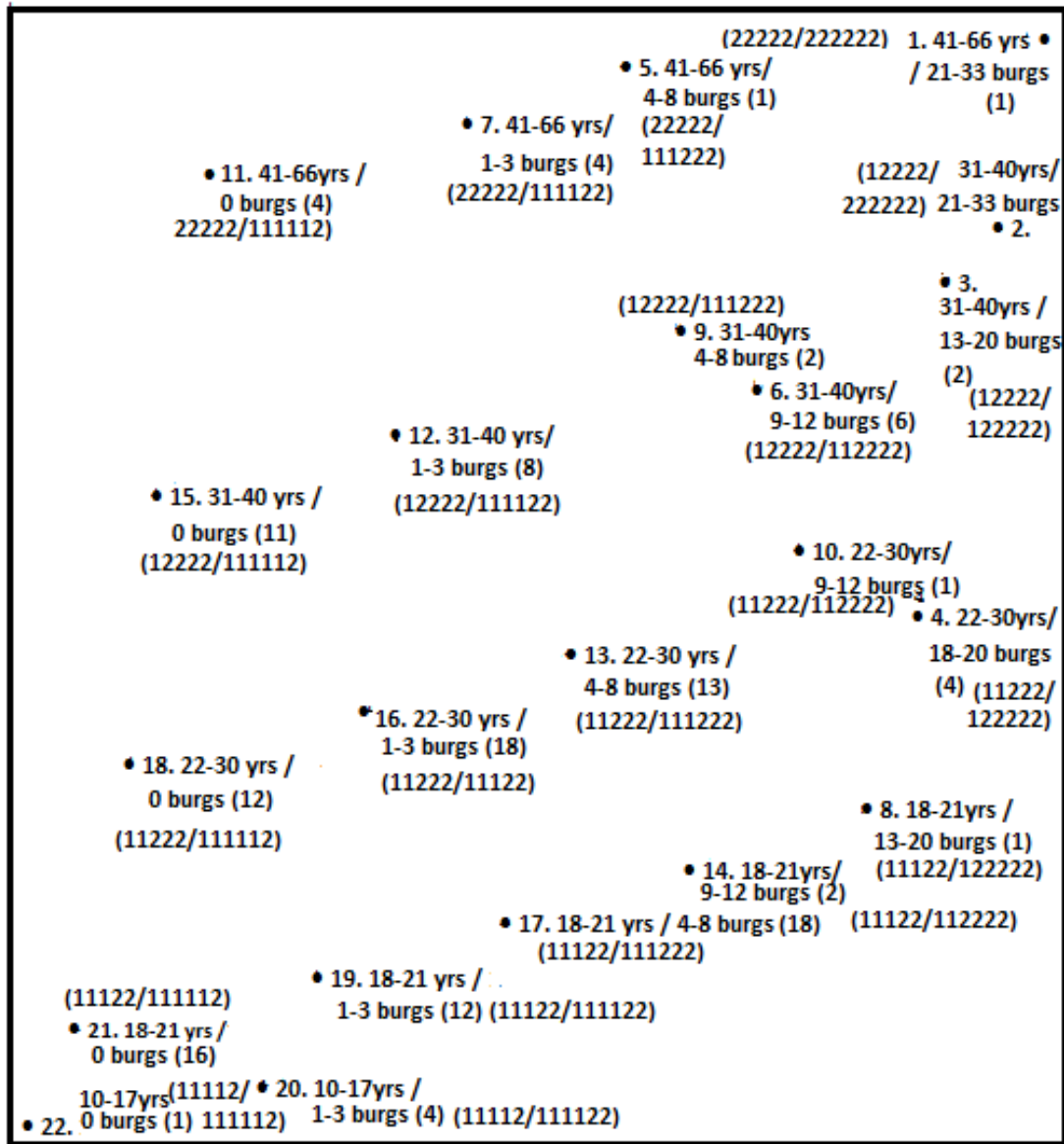
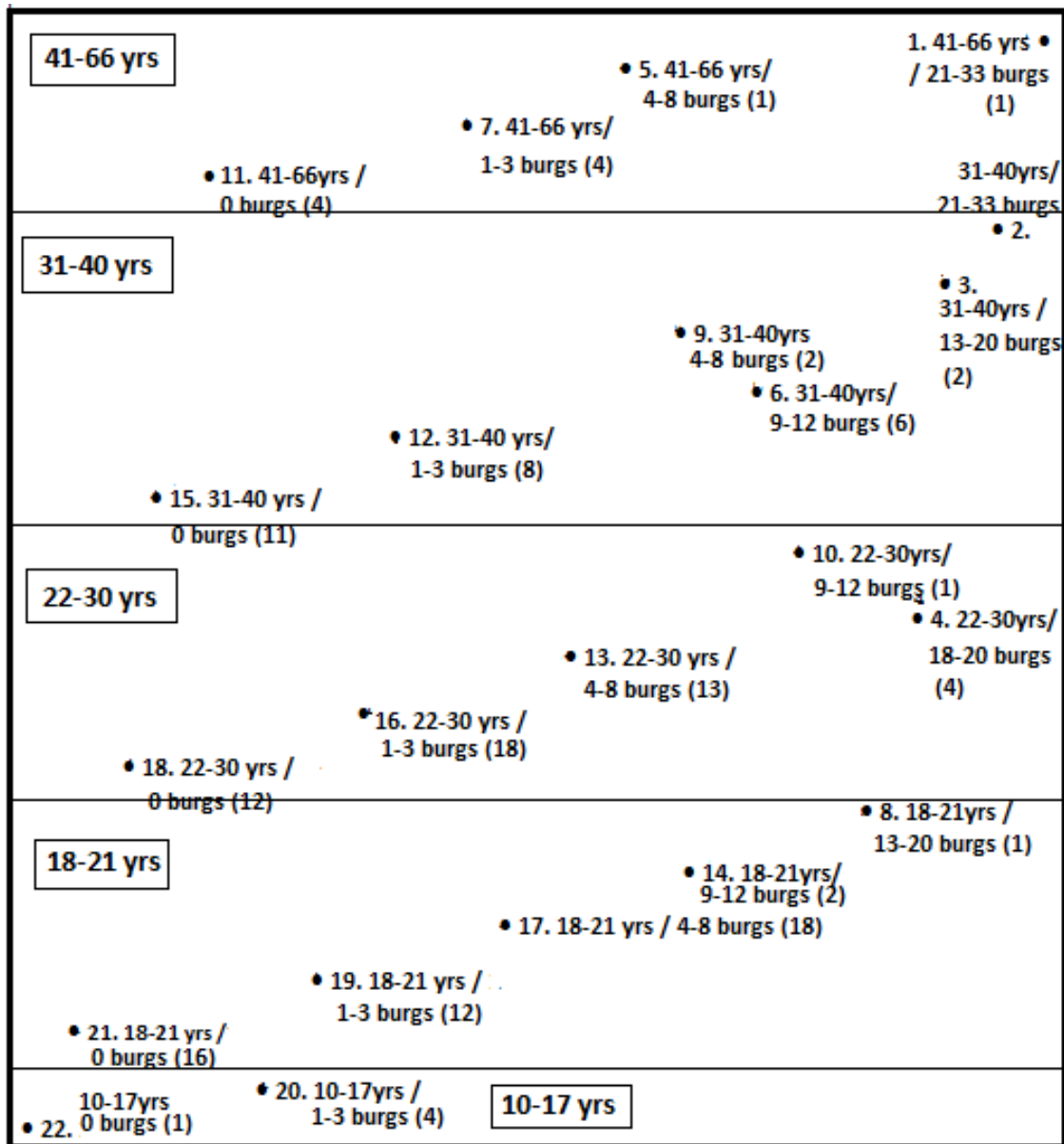


Figure 10.6: A partial order scalogram with coordinates (POSAC) of the age groups and frequencies of previous like offences for 146 domestic burglars with dominant Conservative behavioural themes in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014

Missing from the conservative theme were two high experience groups in the 41-66years age category – the 9-12 and 13-20 previous domestic burglary groups. With only one 41-66years/21-33 previous offender, this presented a differentiation from the adaptive theme, with less highly experienced, mature offenders.



Note: X partitioning loading coefficient = .98

Figure 10.7: Partitioned item diagram for age group at time of domestic burglary for Conservative offenders (frequencies) (n = 146)

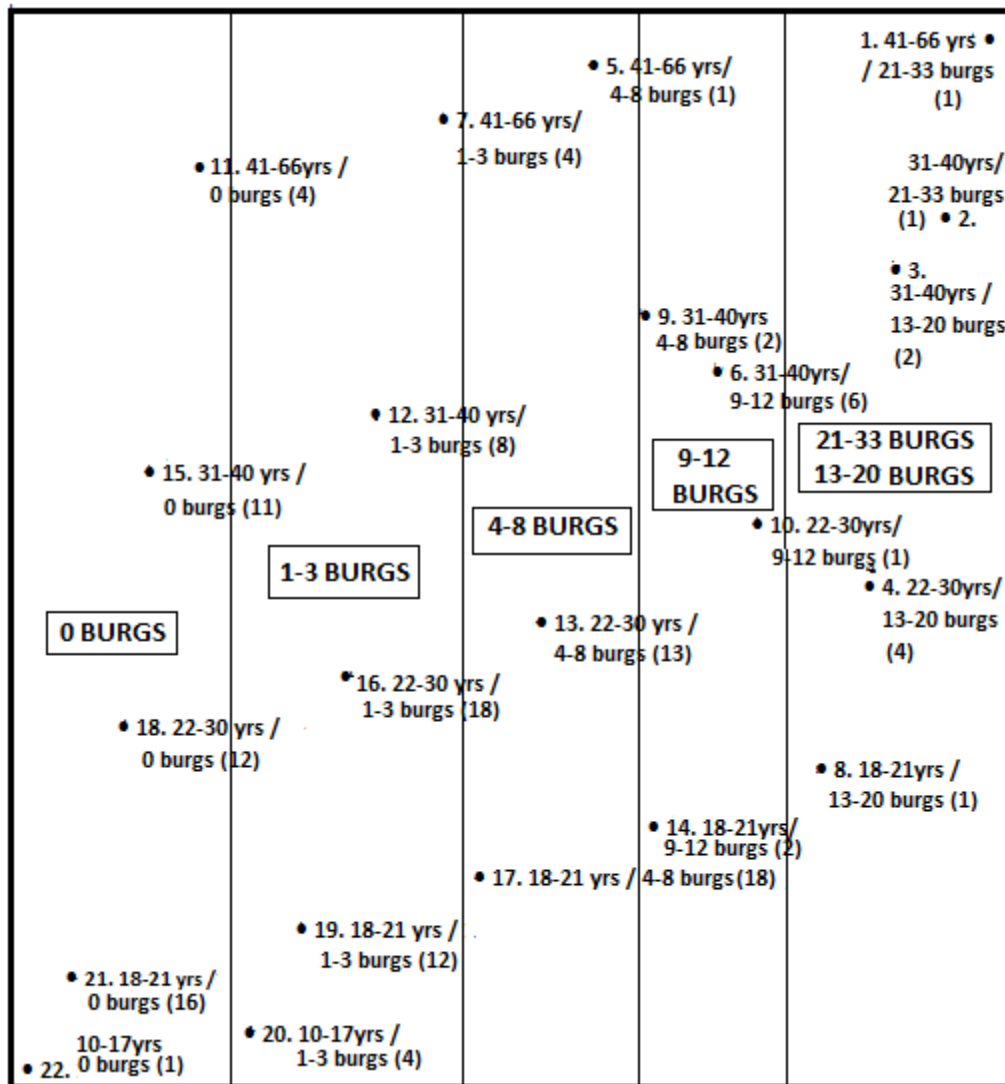
In this theme, offenders aged 22-30 were more frequent than in the adaptive theme. Eighteen offenders were of that age group and had committed 1-3 previous burglaries, the most frequently occurring profile in the conservative theme. Those with 4-8 burglaries (13) and 0 burglaries (12) were also prominent. Domestic burglars aged 18-21, with either 0 or 4-8 previous also appeared frequently, as they had in the previous theme. Beyond that however, the remaining maturity/experience profiles appeared with a comparable frequency to those demonstrating adaptive behavioural themes.

When the POSAC plot was divided along the horizontal (X) axis, depicting maturity groups, the relationship with burglary experience was consistent with that in the adaptive theme, with one small exception. In the 10-17years group, the experience of conservative offenders extended only to 1-3 offences, as opposed to 4-8 in the adaptive theme, suggesting that some in this group may be either late starters, or less prolific than their adaptive counterparts.

Maturity did not rise hand in hand with increasing experience. From a starting point of the largest group of 10-17 years offenders having 1-3 previous, the most frequent group of 18-21year olds had 4-8 previous domestic burglary offences, but this is where the correlation ended. The highest frequency group of 22-30year olds had only 1-3 previous, while in 31-40year old offenders, the highest frequency group had 0 previous, showing a reverse trajectory for experience to maturity. In 41-66 years, the highest frequency groups had either 0 (4) or 1-3 (4) previous domestic burglaries. Thus, older conservative offenders were in the main, less experienced than older adaptive offenders.

Frequencies of previous domestic burglary offences were defined by the Y axis. Here, conservative offenders presented a different pattern to that of adaptive narrative offenders. Those with no previous experience and 4-8 previous offences were most prevalent in the 18-21years age groups, akin to the age-crime curve. All other frequency groups however, peaked at different ages, all higher than 18-21years. This identified an important differentiation between themes in that conservative offenders

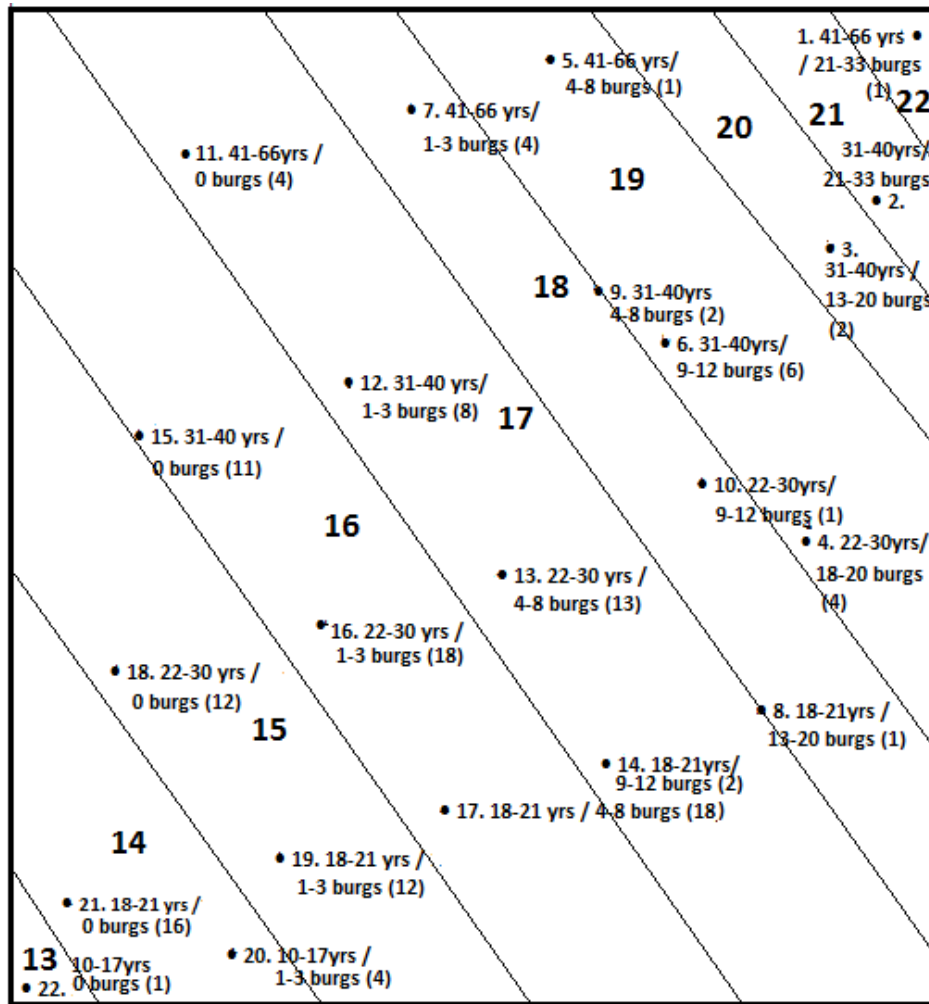
were generally less prolific, having lower levels of offending experience at later ages. Eighteen conservatives had only 1-3 previous burglary offences by the age of 22-30, while six with between 9 and 12 previous offences were aged 31-40, depicting a rate of domain specific offending lower than that of the adaptive-narrative offenders.



Note: Y partitioning loading coefficient = 1.00

Figure 10.8: Partitioned item diagram for frequency of previous like offending at time of domestic burglary offence for Conservative offenders (n = 146)

This was largely counter to earlier theories on desistance through age-related social and cognitive changes and suggested that many older offenders would present different trajectories of historic offending, but were in the main, inexperienced domestic burglary offenders.



Note: L partitioning loading coefficient = 1.00

Figure 10.9: Partitioned item diagram for frequency of previous like offending at time of domestic burglary offence for Conservative offenders (n = 146)

Quantitatively, age appeared to be the dominant theme for conservative offenders, with an ascending pattern of age in the most prevalent groups, progressing through the increase in quantitative scores. In

general, an increasing pattern of levels of experience was also documented. This presented a far more linear age and experience correlation than in the adaptive theme. For the conservative domestic burglar, domain specific offending progressed at a steadier, more measured pace, but there was also a lower frequency of prolific, more mature offenders, suggesting that conservative offenders turned to desistance in later years, after measured histories of offending.

10.8 - Maturity, experience and behavioural development in the Expressive behavioural theme

By contrast to the two previous themes, the Expressive romance was dominant in only thirty-nine cases, and perhaps because of this, featured only fifteen maturity/experience profiles as opposed to the twenty-five exhibited by the adaptive theme or twenty-two by the conservative. Eight of the ten profiles that appeared in the adaptive theme, but which were absent here were for offenders with eight or more previous offences, suggesting that the relationship between maturity and experience for the expressive offender may hold less qualitative variation than in other themes.

Dividing the plot along the X axis revealed a distinctive commonality in levels of maturity for this domestic burglary behavioural theme. The three most prevalent profiles in the plot were for offenders who were either 22-30 years of age, or 41-66 years. All profiles that occurred on more than two occasions were for offenders ages 22 or over, a stark contrast to the previous two narrative themes which had an abundance of offenders in the 18-21 age group.

Only eight of the thirty-nine offences were committed by an offender aged twenty-one or below. This convincingly evidenced an association between the expressive form of domestic burglary and the more mature offender and was distinct from the pattern of offending presented by the age-crime curve.

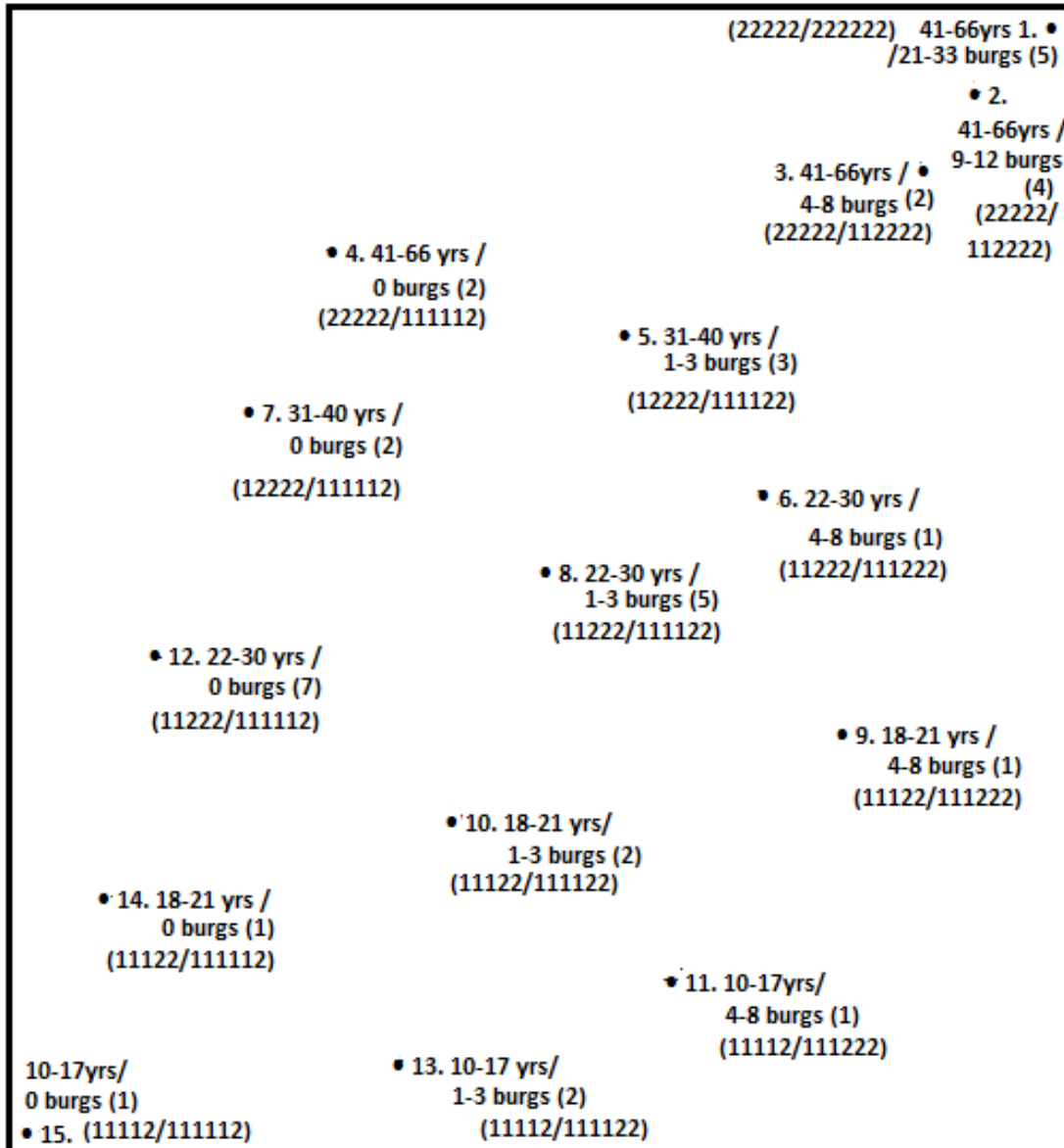
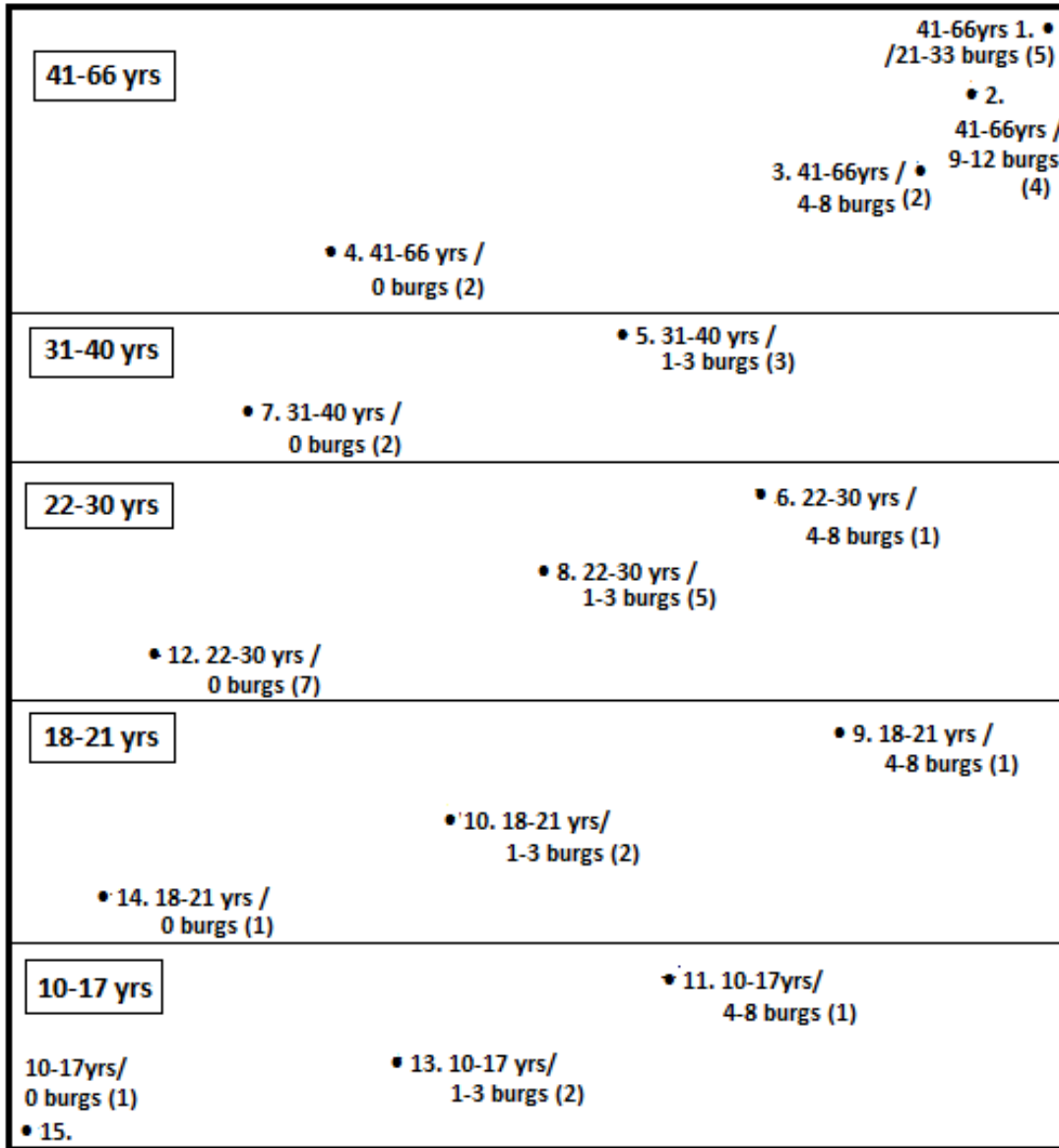


Figure 10.10: A partial order scalogram with coordinates (POSAC) of the age groups and frequencies of previous like offences for 39 domestic burglars with dominant Expressive romance behavioural themes in the southern policing district of a northern city, 2010-2014

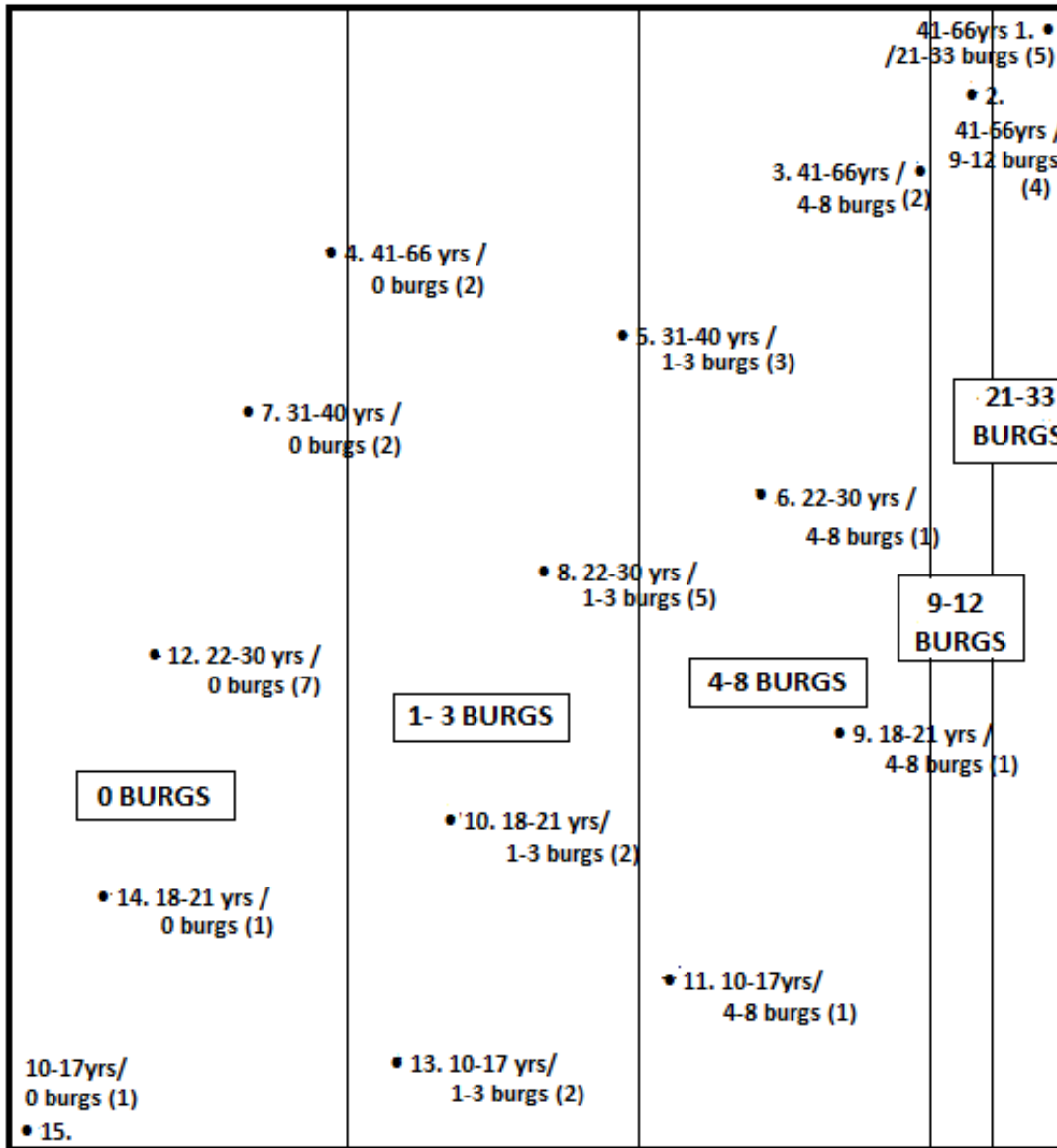
Quite opposed to the hypothesised association with adolescent offending, this indicated that more victim-focused offences became of interest to those who would be expected to be desisting from crime.



Note: X partitioning loading coefficient = 1.00

Figure 10.11: *Partitioned item diagram for age group at time of domestic burglary for Expressive offenders (frequencies) (n = 39)*

In terms of experience, dividing the plot along the vertical Y axis showed that expressive offending did not hold the same relationship with domestic burglary experience as it did with maturity.



Note: Y partitioning loading coefficient = .98

Figure 10.12: Partitioned item diagram for the frequency of previous like offending at time of domestic burglary offence for Expressive offenders (n = 39)

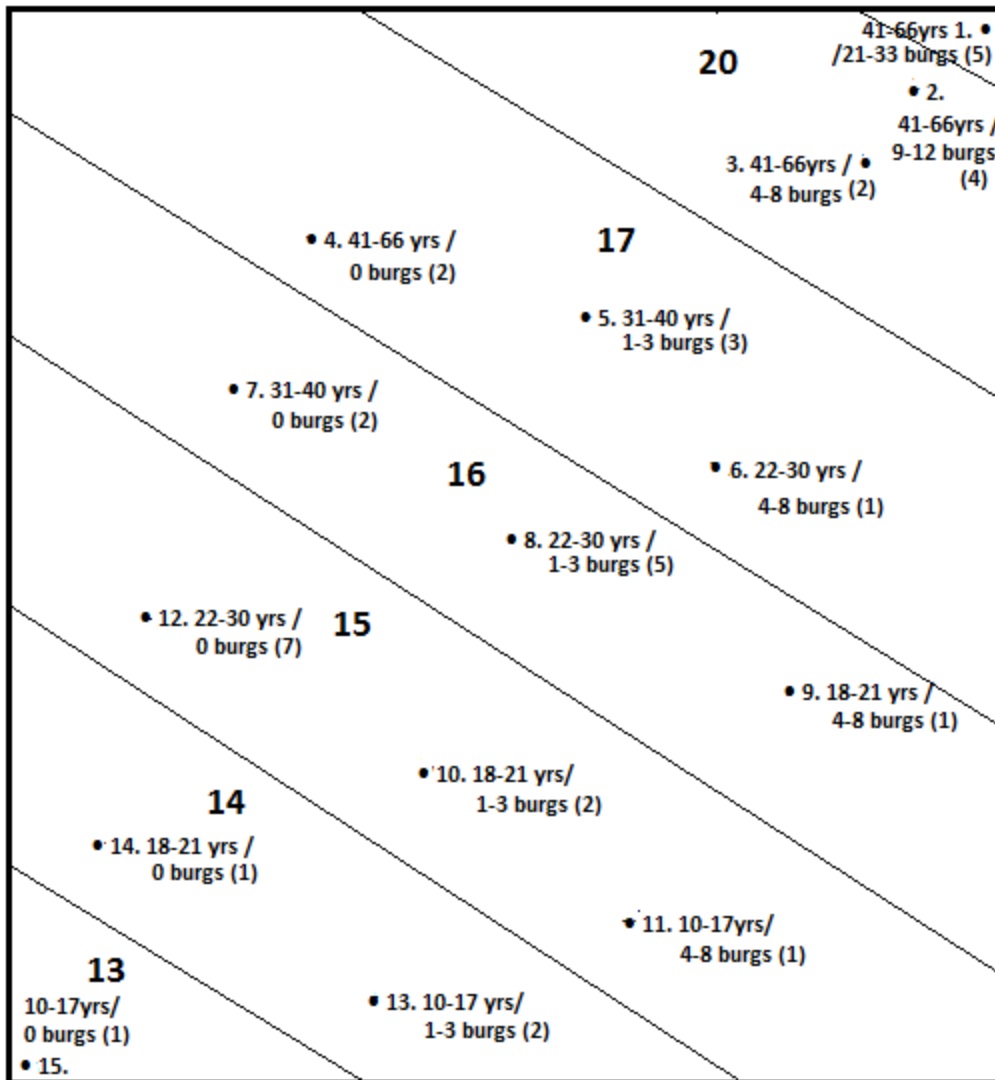
Thirteen of the thirty-nine offences were committed by those with no previous domestic burglary experience, with eleven of those offenders being aged 22-30, or over. A further twelve had only 1-3

previous like offences, and of those, nine were twenty-two or over. When it came to expressive burglars who did have more domain specific experience than that, eleven of the remaining fourteen offenders were aged between forty-one and sixty-six years. This located the Expressive romance domestic burglar in two very distinct offending groups. Older offenders aged twenty-two and beyond with very limited domestic burglary experience, or those aged over forty with extensive histories of burglary. Whilst levels of maturity beyond those expected of domestic burglars was the common thread between most expressive offenders, levels of experience were divided between two ends of the spectrum. Maturity and experience therefore demonstrated a unique quantitative relationship with expressive domestic burglary offending.

In figure 10.13, quantitative aspects of this relationship could be appreciated, and once again, a distinctive pattern emerged. In all age-groups up until 31-40years, the most offences appeared in the 1-3 previous domestic burglary category, revealing further detail about the relationship with low levels of domestic burglary experience. In the final categories however, with twenty or twenty-two scores, offenders with high levels of previous domestic burglary experience were more prevalent, Offenders in each quantitative category could generally be characterised by extremes in either maturity or experience. For example, in those with a seventeen score, high age and low experience (41-66years / 0 burg, and 31-40years / 1-3 burgs) were more prevalent than those with more consistent levels of maturity and experience (22-30years / 4-8 burgs). This was also evident in those with scores of fifteen and sixteen, and collectively accounted for twenty-four of thirty-nine offences (61.5%).

Only in the 41-66years group did levels of either factor begin to run parallel to each other, with frequencies of offences involving higher levels of both maturity and experience being greater than those with a greater level of only one factor.

The expressive theme then, was adopted by individuals of both low and high experience, but consistently appeared in the offences of older offenders demonstrating a distinctive relationship with maturity.



Note: L partitioning loading coefficient = 1.00

Figure 10.13: *Partitioned item diagram for frequency of previous like offending at time of domestic burglary offence for Expressive offenders (n = 39)*

10.9 – Behavioural development in domestic burglary narrative-based themes

Within this framework of maturity/experience profiles, the central concerns of the thesis could be addressed, namely how behaviour differs or remains consistent based on the presence or absence of varying levels of the two traits. One of the key aspects of behavioural co-occurrence within the adaptive theme was that many of the behaviours assigned to this theme were also the core actions of most other domestic burglars. To examine behavioural development therefore, the top three most frequent behaviours which occurred within the adaptive theme, but outside of the core were considered.

Table 10.2 demonstrates that there were some recognizable differences from behavioural changes as measured by maturity, and those measured by experience. The *stealing of vehicle keys/vehicle* became of greater interest to offenders aged 18-21, an age when many individuals might be expected to be learning to drive or developing an interest in driving, but it appeared to also be of interest to offenders with different levels of domestic burglary experience, perhaps for more practical or financial reasons. Thus, such a behaviour could be viewed as a product of maturity, with levels of experience a secondary factor. From this, it could be expected that the forty-one 18-21 years/0 previous offenders, the forty-two 18-21 years/ 1-3 previous and twelve 18-21 years/9-12 previous offenders would be particularly inclined towards this behaviour; hence it's substantial presence within the dataset.

Table 10.2: Comparison of most frequently occurring crime scene behaviours for maturity and experience groups for domestic burglars with an Adaptive behavioural theme

Adaptive - Maturity				
10-17	18-21	22-30	31-40	41-66
Exit diff. to entry (10) (A)	Keys/veh (64) (A)	Force entry (78) (A)	Identifiable prop. (34) (A)	Multiple rm search (14) (C)
Tools from scene (10) (A)		Exit diff. to entry (39) (A)	Exit diff. to entry (19) (A)	Conceal approach (6) (A)
Audio-vis equip. (6) (A)		Entry – climbing (26) (A)	Entry-climbing (14) (A)	Audio-vis equip. (4) (C)

Adaptive – Frequency of previous domestic burglary					
0 prev.	1-3	4-8	9-12	13-20	21-33
Keys/veh. (35) (A)	Keys/veh. (41) (A)	Forced entry (57) (A)	Ent. Window (15) (A)	Entry – climb. (7) (A)	Identifiable prop. (5) (A)
Entry – climb. (24) (A)	Carrier (32) (C)	Entry – climb. (14) (A)	Entry extension (3) (A)	Keys/veh. (4) (A)	Mult. Offs (3) (A)
Audio-vis equip. (21) (C)	Entry – climb. (29) (A)	Tools frm scene (10) (A)	Secure (1) (E)	Prep. Exit (3) (C)	Ent. Window (3) (A)
			Mal. Damage (1) (I)		

Similarly, *entry – climbing* became a more prominent behaviour in older offenders, those aged 22-30 or 31-40 years. The fact that this behaviour was less prominent in 41-66year old offenders was commensurate with the expected fitness and physical attributes required to perform such a task. *Climbing* was a popular behaviour for those in several different experiential groups, again signalling that this was a more maturity-based activity. The offenders who demonstrated the relevant levels of experience in the 22-30 and 31-40 years age groups totalled 89 offenders, with the behaviour occurring on 79 occasions throughout the dataset. In contrast, *entry – window* was a core behaviour of most all domestic burglars at any level of maturity, but became a specific action of the adaptive offender, only for the most experienced individuals. This suggested the development of a specific M.O. for more experienced offenders who presented this behavioural theme.

If there was any consistency in maturity and experienced based adaptive behaviours it would seem to be that younger and less experienced offenders were more concerned with the task-focused element of the narrative. Early behaviours in both respects appear to be about effective execution – as in *tools taken from scene used* (maturity), *carrier taken from scene* (experience), while older and more experienced offenders appeared to have a greater interest in the threat posed by the victim, as in *exit different to entry*, *concealed approach* (maturity), *property secured* and *offender prepared exit*

(experience). This change appears to begin in the 22-30 years group onwards, which was consistent with the understanding of cognitive development, the perception of risk and future orientation.

The conservative theme had presented a distinction from adaptive burglary in that although some conservative behaviours did appear within the core actions of some offenders, those cores were not dominated in the way that they were with adaptive behaviours. Thus, table 10.3 compared the most frequently occurring behaviours within the Conservative tragedy theme, based on levels of maturity and domain specific experience.

Tools brought to the scene and used was a significant behaviour, although it appeared too frequently to be able to be readily assigned to a specific degree of maturity or experience. It did appear however, as a frequent behaviour of both the youngest age group and of those with no previous domestic burglary offending. It was a distinct indicator then, of the Conservative tragedy offender's mindset. The committing of a skilled, technically adept offence required the use of tools and foresight, which were present in the offender's behavioural theme, rather than born out of experience or maturity. The stealing of *audio-visual equipment* appeared at different levels of experience, but in terms of maturity was most prevalently located in the 18-21 and 22-30 age groups, possibly the age groups who would have the most interest in, or knowledge of such items. A *concealed approach* to the attacked premises was intriguing as this was a behaviour which appeared in all previous domestic burglary frequency groups. It appeared however, in only one maturity group – 31-40years – suggesting that this was a foresight drawn from maturity as opposed to experience, which in this theme would seem to be focused more on technical awareness.

Taking a carrier from the scene appeared in only one experience group (13-20) and two maturity groups (22-30, 41-66), presenting itself as a general practicality born out of age-related wisdom and applied to domestic burglary through extensive experience.

Table 10.3: *Comparison of most frequently occurring crime scene behaviours for maturity and experience groups for domestic burglars with a Conservative behavioural theme*

Conservative - Maturity					
10-17	18-21	22-30	31-40	41-66	
Identifiable prop. (14) (A)	Skilled entry (42) (C)	Untidy srch (46) (C)	Conceal approach (25) (A)	Untidy srch (10) (C)	
Tools to scene (14) (C)	Audio-vis equip. (41) (A)	Audio-vis equip. (27) (A)	Skilled entry (21) (C)	Tools to scene (7)(C)	
Skilled entry (8) (C)	Entry – climbing (27) (A)	Carrier (8) (C)	Phones/comps (17) (E)	Carrier (5) (C)	
Conservative – Frequency of previous domestic burglary					
0 prev.	1-3	4-8	9-12	13-20	21-33
Tools to scene (58) (C)	Untidy srch (50) (C)	Conceal entry (37) (A)	Audio-vis equip. (4) (C)	Conceal approach (11) (A)	Multiple rm search (4) (C)
Untidy srch (52) (C)	Skilled entry (42) (C)	Keys/veh. (31) (A)	Keys/veh. (12) (A)	Carrier (7) (C)	Audio-vis equip. (2) (C)
Conceal approach(46) (A)	Conceal approach (37) (A)	Audio-vis equip. (26) (C)	Conceal approach (11) (A)	Tools to scene (7) (C)	Untidy srch (2) (C)
			Tools to scene (11) (C)	Exit diff. (7) (A)	Conceal approach (2) (A)

The effecting of a *skilled entry* presented a vivid depiction of behavioural development through experience for the conservative domestic burglar. This appeared throughout different age groups including the youngest, demonstrating that skill was not a product of maturity. In terms of experience it appeared only in the 1-3 previous group. Thus, *skilled entry* required learning and development that could only be obtained through previous domain specific experience.

An examination of the most frequently occurring crime scene behaviours in maturity and experiential groups within the Expressive romance theme revealed very little indication of behavioural development through either trait, but a great deal about the behavioural theme itself. *Property occupied* was almost universal in its appearance across maturity and experience groups, negating an exclusive association with either, but connecting it firmly with the motivations and emotional underpinnings of the Expressive

romance narrative itself. Similarly, the targeting of *phones or computers* appeared across a variety of levels of either trait.

Table 10.4: *Comparison of most frequently occurring crime scene behaviours for maturity and experience groups for domestic burglars with an Expressive behavioural theme*

Expressive - Maturity					
10-17	18-21	22-30	31-40	41-66	
Occupied (14) (E)	Occupied (39) (E)	Occupied (39) (E)	Occupied (31) (E)	Occupied (24) (E)	
Phones/comps (8) (E)	Phones/comps (27) (E)	Phones/comps (28) (E)	Forens. Careless (15) (E)	Identifiable prop. (12) (A)	
Forens. Careless (6)(E)	Forens. Careless (25) (E)	Forens. Careless (24) (E)	Off. Known AP (16) (E)	Phones/comps (9) (E)	
	Off. Known AP (25) (E)				

Expressive – Frequency of previous domestic burglary					
0 prev.	1-3	4-8	9-12	13-20	21-33
Occupied (55) (E)	Occupied (41) (E)	Skilled entry (29) (C)	Insecure (15) -	Occupied (9) (E)	Cash (8) (E)
Off. Known AP (35) (E)	Off. Known AP (25) (E)	Occupied (25) (E)	Cash (8) (E)	Phones/comps (9) (E)	Phones/comps (8) (E)
Cash (20) (E)	Phones/comps (25) (E)	Phones/comps (19) (E)	Occupied (8) (E)	Entry extension (1) (A)	Forced entry (3) (A)
		Forens. Careless (19) (E)			

One behaviour only, gave any kind of indication of experiential development. *Offender known to aggrieved person* appeared in two distinct age groups, 18-21years and 31-40years, but did not appear in experience groups with any more than 1-3 previous offences. From this, could be inferred an early, possibly experimental engagement in domestic burglary in older, inexperienced offenders targeting individuals known to theme. Beyond that, the expressive theme presented a large degree of consistency of behaviour across and between maturity and experience groups. As had been noted

within the thesis, the motivations for an expressive style of domestic burglary offence would appear to be rare and distinctive amongst the population. A behavioural theme that was not focused on the task itself, being as it was a means of achieving an alternative, largely internal goal would likely afford little consideration to ways of developing or improving methods of completing that task.

10.10 - Discussion

The thesis set out to examine and gain an understanding of the influence of maturity and offending experience within dominant behavioural themes of domestic burglary crime scene behaviours, based on a narrative framework. This was achieved through multidimensional scaling procedures to document changes and similarities in themes of behaviour for offenders at different points in the maturation process, and at different stages of domain specific offending experience. The results of the analysis can best be appreciated by dividing the discussion into two areas of research. Firstly, establishing a narrative basis for behavioural themes allowed for the assessment of the influence of maturity or experience within a psychological framework. This enabled a far more complex understanding of narrative roles as could be derived from crime scene behaviours. Secondly, the thesis presented fresh insight into the nature of maturity and experience themselves, within a domestic burglary context. In consequence, a substantial contribution could also be made to the present knowledge bases of domestic burglary and those who took part in that domain of offending.

The influence of maturity and experience was found to vary within each behavioural theme and differed greatly between the themes that exhibited different levels of task focus. The Adaptive adventure in domestic burglary, as defined by Canter & Youngs (2009), represented an offender with a high degree of task focus, together with a high level of victim awareness, which manifested as an acute alertness of the victim posing a potential risk to their liberty and successful completion of the offence.

Offenders of this mindset derived satisfaction from the perception of their mastery of the offending environment. Canter & Youngs found that this often resulted in offences which targeted smaller, easily movable, but valuable items. In the present thesis (see: chapter five), none of the eight behaviours assigned by Canter & Youngs to this theme appeared as a recognizable theme, but rather, a collection of eleven behaviours which best represented the task-focus, victim-aware elements of the adaptive theme were identified. Dominance of the environment could be seen in a preoccupation with the method of entry. *Forced entry, entry – window, entry – rear, entry – climbing* and *entry by extension* each illustrated the expression of mastery as a fundamental part of this kind of domestic burglary. Alertness to risk was demonstrated in *concealed approach, exit different to entry* and to some extent in *multiple offenders*. An interest in small, movable but valuable items was no better demonstrated than in the stealing of *vehicle keys/vehicles*.

When dominant behavioural themes for individual offenders were examined, the Adaptive adventure was by some distance the most prominent within the population, accounting for 296 of 673 (44.0%) domestic burglary offences. The reason for such dominance however, became clear when co-occurrences of behaviours were explored. In almost all maturity or experience categories, there existed a core group of predominantly adaptive behaviours which were the base of all behavioural themes. As such, the adaptive theme was at times, difficult to differentiate from the core. Ultimately however, some offenders operated solely within the core group of behaviours, while others extended their adaptive behaviours into its own distinct theme. Thus, a large percentage of domestic burglaries emerged from adaptive motivations.

The Adaptive adventurer theme was most prevalent in young offenders, aged within the 10-17 or 18-21 groups. There, the theme accounted for at least 50% of offenders. Beyond that, the adaptive theme occupied between 33-40% of the population, but it was in these later age groups where the theme appeared as a more distinctive form of the offence, removed from the core. Counter to what might

have been expected in terms of development, the quantity of behaviours enacted within adaptive offences did not increase with age, but rather became streamlined and concentrated into an economy of effort.

There was some evidence of behavioural development based on domain specific experience, with younger offenders skewing more towards the task-focused elements of the behavioural theme. *Tools from the scene used* was a more prominent behaviour in younger adaptive offenders, while *exit different to entry* and *offender prepared exit* became more frequent in older (22-30+) individuals. The *stealing of vehicle keys/vehicles* was prominent in the 18-21years age group, at which time, while *entry – climbing* increased in 22-30 and 31-40year olds. Ultimately however, no recognisable correlation could be found between maturity and experience, with many young offenders exhibiting greater domain-specific experience than those much older than themselves.

Canter & Youngs' (2009) description of the Conservative tragedy theme identified a high degree of task focus, coupled with a lack of victim consideration. Such domestic burglary offences were defined by technical ability and efficiency, with a considered approach to both target and goods selection. Offenders were driven by feelings of being disadvantaged, and wealthy targets were often engaged in retaliation.

In contrast to the Adaptive adventurer's focus on the point of entry, many of the conservative's behaviours, defined in chapter five were elements of the actual commission of the offence itself. *Tools brought to the scene and used, offender prepared exit, disable alarm* and *carrier taken from scene* highlighted the forethought and competency described by Canter & Youngs. The only type of entry was a *skilled* one, reiterating the technical ability that was a point of pride for this kind of offender. The lack of victim awareness might be inferred from *multiple rooms searched* and *untidy search*, emphasising maximum yield over the effects on the unfortunate victim. Property commonly targeted was *audio-*

visual equipment and *fixtures/piping*. The Conservative tragedy theme was the second largest to be drawn from the dataset, but as the dominant theme in 146 offences (21.7%), its frequency was half that of the Adaptive adventure.

The theme presented an altogether different relationship with maturity, beginning in its lowest percentage frequency in the 10-17 age group (16.1%), and rising incrementally until the 31-40years group, where it dominated 27.0% of the offences in the dataset. As such, this behavioural theme was most likely to be found in the offences of those aged 22-30 and 31-40.

Percentage frequencies of the conservative theme were relatively consistent across numbers of previous non-domestic burglary offending, and once again the offending style of historic offending did not demonstrate any kind of relationship with the narrative's appearance in domestic burglary crime scene behaviours. When it came to the frequency of previous domain-specific offending, the conservative theme was slightly more prominent in those with lower levels of previous offending. The theme dominated between 21.4-24.4% of the offences committed by those with either 0, 1-3 or 4-8 previous domestic burglaries, but only 17.6% of those with a greater level of burglary experience. Unlike adaptive behaviours, conservative offenders branched out into a greater array of behaviours, supportive of the desire to demonstrate technical acumen.

The relationship between maturity and experience took on a more linear design in older offenders, with those aged 22-30 being most prominent, with previous domestic burglary records between 0 and 4-8 offences. This was followed by the 31-40years group, wherein conservative offenders with 9-12 previous burglaries were more frequent. This was not necessarily the case with the 18-21years group where offenders with 4-8 previous burglaries outnumbered those aged 22-30 who had the same record of burglary offending.

With respect of behaviour, evidence of development within the conservative behavioural theme was on a par with that of the adaptive theme. *Skilled entry* was prominent in both younger (10-17) and older (31-40) conservative burglars, but only appeared in experience groups for those with 1-3 previous offences. This indicated that although the intent or desire to demonstrate skill was present in even the youngest offenders, it required several attempts before it was applied effectively. This therefore, was a behaviour that emerged through the initial stages of experiential development. Stealing *audio-visual equipment* was present in the 18-21 and 22-30 age groups, and in several experience groups after 4-8 burglaries. This positioned this behaviour as a product of both age and experience. The age groups would be consistent with individuals who might be most interested in such items, while they were equally targeted by those with some experience. The same could be considered of *taking a carrier from the scene*, which only became of substantial importance to offenders aged 31-40, and with 13-20 previous offences. Evidently, any offender with a lower level of either trait would be less likely to affect this behaviour. Interestingly, *concealed approach*, an adaptive behaviour appeared at all levels of experience, but only in the 22-30 and 41-66 maturity groups. This would suggest that such a consideration was born out of experience within the conservative theme, even though it also occurred with a different narrative-based theme.

One noticeable differentiation between the conservative and adaptive themes was in the increasing number of behaviours in the offences committed by older individuals. This was consistent with the focus on technical ability inherent in this approach to the offence.

The Expressive romance behavioural theme was built from a lack of task focus together with a need to impact on the victim (Canter & Youngs, 2009). This group of offenders saw themselves as being on a heroic quest and were intent on providing the victim with a demonstration of their prowess. In Canter & Youngs' study, this frequently resulted in careless, risk taking or simply unnecessary behaviours and a lack of focus on monetary gain. This was strongly supported in the present thesis, with the theme

incorporating *property occupied*, *forensic carelessness* and *offender known to aggrieved person*, marking out a very distinctive form of domestic burglary offending, in terms of both the underlying motivations and actual behaviour. Compared to the adaptive theme, here there were no behaviours detailing the approach or entry into the attacked premises, and the only items targeted were smaller, easy to conceal items – *cash* and *phones or computers*. Adding weight to the notion of this being a distinct strand of domestic burglary, the theme was dominant in only 39 offences, or 5.8% of the dataset.

It was immediately noticeable in the previous chapter that links, albeit surprising ones could be seen between maturity and domain specific experience within the Expressive romance theme. Dominant expressive behaviours appeared in only very low percentages (1.7-6.5%) across all maturity groups until the 41-66years group, in which 23.2% of offences were dominated by this theme of behaviour. Similarly, in terms of domestic burglary experience, the theme again appeared in low percentages (3.6-7.8%) up to the most prolific burglary group, accounting for 35.8% of those who had previously committed 21-33 burglaries. Thus, at the stage in domestic burglary offending records when adaptive and conservative themes were becoming less prevalent, the Expressive romance remained consistent, but in low numbers. That many of these offenders were both mature and experienced suggested that these may be personal offences enacted by long term domestic burglars.

The POSAC plot presented in this chapter (fig.10.9) however, refuted the link with experience, and demonstrated that the 23.2% of mature offenders were not necessarily the same offenders who made up part of the 35.8% of highly experienced individuals. This presented two strands of expressive domestic burglars; older offenders from both ends of the experiential spectrum. Thus, the Expressive romance theme emerged with age, rather than from domestic burglary experience. That conclusion was supported by several factors. Firstly, no evidence of an association with any other form of experience – namely the quantitative and qualitative aspects on non-burglary previous offending – was identified. Accordingly, the expressive theme could not be linked in any way to offender experience. Secondly,

when actual crime scene behaviours were examined, no firm evidence of development across any maturity or experience group could be found. A lack of task focus resulted in a static form of offending behaviour across all levels of maturity and experience, with little consideration for the mechanics of the offence itself. Only *offender known to aggrieved person* demonstrated any form of change, appearing in the 18-21years and 31-40years maturity groups, and in the 1-3 previous group, pointing to a behaviour that appeared in various age groups but only for those with a low number of previous offences.

In sum, an intriguing overall pattern of association with maturity and experience in behavioural themes was presented by the thesis. The prevalence of such themes changed through age, across the scope of maturity groups. The Adaptive adventure narrative was most prominent in the 10-17 and 18-21years age groups, the Conservative tragedy was at its height in the 22-30 and 31-40 years groups and the Expressive romance was the dominant theme in the 41-66years group. For the first time, narrative-based behavioural themes could be linked, in aggregated data to an offender's age at the time of their offence.

For development in crime scene behaviours, the picture was more complex. Some individual behaviours in the adaptive and conservative themes appeared to develop through maturity, whilst others emerged from domain specific experience. Some, were representative of both. Neither the frequency nor qualitative nature of non-domestic burglary previous offending had any influence on subsequent domestic burglary crime scene behaviours, squarely locating any behavioural development within the maturation process or domain specific experience.

One final theme, previously noted by Canter & Youngs (2009) was identified within the behavioural distribution of the entire population of offenders, that being the Integrative irony, which was comprised of a mix of a lack of task focus and a disinterest in the victim, either as a witness to their own capabilities or as a threat to their successful execution of the offence. Rather, the focus was on their own needs and

resolution through immediate gratification. This resulted in an absence of foresight or skill. In Canter & Youngs' study, this frequently produced offences committed against those known to the offender. With that behaviour falling under the expressive behavioural theme in the current thesis, the integrative theme was made up of *malicious damage*, the later *discarding of property*, *leaving own property at the scene*, *jewellery stolen* and *stealing by extension*. The last of those behaviours would seem out of place, suggesting that it required skill to complete. In an integrative context however, this would be an opportunistic, impulsive behaviour, likely bereft of foresight or skill. When tested for dominance within the crime scene behaviours of the population, the Integrative irony theme was entirely absent, suggesting that such lack of focus or awareness was anathema to domestic burglars. A closer examination of the distribution of behaviours however, revealed a possible explanation for this. The integrative irony comprised of only five behaviours, less than any other. Given that each offence began with a core of functional behaviours which were largely adaptive, with some conservative actions, it would be very difficult for the integrative theme to dominate behaviour in any single offence.

In chapter six, evidence of the co-occurrence of integrative behaviours could be seen in all age groups from 18-21 onwards. In chapter ten, it was present within the 1-3, 9-12 and 11-20 previous experience groups, in the latter two appearing at the outer edges of other themes. It could be inferred from this that this behavioural theme required some form of maturity and experience to come about. First time burglars did not feature. This would locate this theme as an infrequent, impulsive form of the offence for which some form of earlier criminal experience was required. Rather than being absent from domestic burglary behaviour, this would seem to be a 'hidden' behavioural theme, disguised by the abundance of adaptive behaviours required for the offence to qualify as a domestic burglary.

The role of maturity and domain specific experience in domestic burglary crime scene behaviours was complex and non-linear. Although not correlated with each other, the thesis found strong connections between maturity and behavioural theme, and domestic burglary experience with behavioural

development. Maturity presented a previously undocumented association with the narrative-based behavioural theme. Each narrative claimed its greatest percentage of the population within different age groups. Although the prominence of the Adaptive adventure theme in 10-17 and 18-21 year old offenders, the Conservative tragedy with 22-30 and 31-40 year olds and the Expressive romance theme with 41-66 year old offenders suggested a form of progression, this was not the case. Individuals did not mature through the various themes with age, because the thesis also found that older offenders in many cases were no more experienced than their younger counterparts. Behavioural themes were linked to age simply in that an adaptive offender was more likely to be younger than a conservative, who in turn was likely to be younger than an expressive-themed domestic burglar. Intriguingly, task focused offenders were more likely to be younger than those who were not. Task focus was not born out of maturity, but of the underlying narrative. Perhaps counterintuitively, young offenders were more likely to commit a focused, competent offence than older ones. As a counterpoint to this, offences lacking in task focus were most likely to be undertaken by more mature offenders. Apparent carelessness appeared with age, even though some older offenders were considerably more experienced than others.

The relationship between maturity and behavioural theme role was also different throughout. Adaptive offenders presented a pattern something akin to the age-crime curve. Conservative offenders demonstrated an ascending frequency within increased age, but only in older offenders, which was as close to a linear correlation as the analysis of the dataset provided. Expressive offenders rose to prominence only in the oldest age group, and so were stridently linked to the individual's maturity.

While empirical support for a maturity-behavioural theme relationship was strong, the age of the offender would seem to hold only a limited influence on the preference for certain behaviours. Those behaviours that did appear to have been influenced, appeared to hold practical or logical explanations as to why they would be favoured by those of a certain age. *Stealing vehicle keys/vehicles* (adaptive)

and *audio-visual equipment* (conservative) were prevalent in 18-21 year olds, the years in which an interest in such items was likely to have peaked. *Entry by climbing* (adaptive) was mostly conducted by those in the 22-30 and 31-40 age groups, where offenders would be old enough to be confident in their abilities, but before the physical demands become too much. The stealing of *fixtures/piping* (conservative) occurred more in older offenders, being those who could best appreciate the value of such items, or not look too conspicuous being in possession of them.

Maturity only increased the criminal repertoire of the conservative offender. The adaptive domestic burglar streamlined their effort in an advanced efficiency. The expressive individual however, evidently felt no compulsion to adapt their behaviour, being as it was a means to an alternative end.

A relationship between domestic burglary experience and behavioural theme was not as apparent, with offenders of all levels of experience being driven by one of the three represented themes. There did however, appear to be a relationship between domain specific experience and the favouring of certain behaviours within themes. While less experienced adaptive offenders were *stealing vehicle keys/vehicles* and *entering by climbing*, those with more previously recorded offences were ensuring that the *property was secured from the occupant* and that an *exit route was prepared*. In a behavioural theme which was both task-focused and victim aware, efficient, productive offences were the aim at any level of experience, but increased experience would seem to breed caution.

In the conservative theme, *taking a carrier from the scene* appeared in the behaviours of mature (22-30, 41-66) and experienced (13-20) offenders, suggesting that was a practice born out of maturity, but applied a domestic burglary due to experience. *Untidy searches* occurred in several maturity groups, but only in the behaviours of those with the most (21-33) domain specific experience, as seemingly an act of thoroughness and confidence to remain at the scene long enough for this to be conducted.

For Expressive romance burglars, whose behaviour appeared unaffected by maturity, only one experience-based change could be ascertained. Offences where the *offender was known to the aggrieved person* peaked at the 1-3 previous burglary experience level, suggesting that even in a theme wherein the task itself was secondary to its effects on the victim experience lead the offender towards seeking alternative targets.

Some crime scene behaviours could therefore be linked to an offender's maturity through their pertinence to a certain age group, whereas others provided evidence of learning and development. Maturity demonstrated a relationship with behavioural theme in that certain themes were more prevalent within certain age groups. Domestic burglary experience showed no such association, with each theme being present in the behaviours of those with all levels of experience. Domain specific experience did however, lead to some form of behavioural development. In victim aware themes, these were generally exercises in greater caution, while in the Conservative tragedy development favoured the advanced ability and the continued maximisation of the yield.

11

Contributions, considerations and conclusions

11.1 – Theoretical contributions

Behavioural themes themselves were found to differ from those identified by Canter & Youngs (2009) in terms of specific behaviours but were thematically consistent with the narrative roles on which they were based, with the overarching elements of task focus and victim awareness providing an abiding means of psychological and behavioural differentiation between offenders.

The thesis progressed from adding support for Canter & Youngs' narrative-based behavioural roles by examining the distribution of such themes amongst a population of domestic burglars. The prominence of the Adaptive adventure theme, dominant in 44.0% of offences was equally supportive of conclusions drawn in previous studies on the core acquisitive or financial motivations for domestic burglary offending (Bennett & Wright, 1984, Cromwell, et al., 1991, Wright, et al., 2011 and Fox & Farrington, 2012). Adaptive crime scene behaviours formed a core which was the starting point for almost all domestic burglaries, regardless of the additional behaviours undertaken alongside them. Whilst some simply enacted that base group of behaviours, others demonstrated a development of adaptive motivations into a distinct form of the offence. Other motivations for offending were therefore put into a quantitative perspective. The possibility that a domestic burglary was a form of interpersonal transaction between offender and victim was put forth by Canter (1989), and although there was evidence that such offences were present, they accounted for only 39 offences, 5.8% of the dataset. The Integrative irony theme was made up of very few behaviours, which were possibly overwhelmed by the number of adaptive core actions, and so was not a dominant theme for any single offence. From this, it could be inferred that being either task-focused, victim-aware or indeed both, was a necessary trait for a domestic burglary offender. The prominence of the adaptive theme lent a degree of support to Bennell

& Jones' (2005) assertion that discriminating behavioural styles were unlikely to be found in domestic burglary behaviours, due to the prevalence of the offence. Many offenders here, did indeed adopt an adaptive behavioural style, but it was most certainly not the case that no other styles of offending could be identified.

In examining the role of maturity in this domain of offending, results were found to be somewhat at odds within a substantial amount of the previous research into the links between age and crime, and the predicted behavioural effects of the maturation process. Recurrent examinations of life-course offending have identified an abundance of offending in mid-late adolescence, rising to a peak in or around the age of seventeen (Sweeten, et al., 2013), something which had been further examined specifically within burglary offences. Steffensmeir, et al. (1989) found that 50% of arrests had been for offenders under the age of eighteen. This was not the case in the present thesis where a much lower number of offenders under the age of eighteen were present (62 of 673 offences, only 9.2% of the dataset). This called into question the influential power of many of the pre-cursory factors for adolescent offending, such as future orientation, peer influence or modelling (Lerverso, et al., 2015). Steinberg, et al. (2008) had also found that younger adolescents (under thirteen) were more likely to steer towards instant gratification rather than superior long-term rewards. These factors were not however, greatly reflected in the current analysis wherein frequencies of domestic burglary offending peaked sharply at eighteen and continued until the age of twenty-one. To this extent, the findings were more aligned with contradictory conclusions presented by Quadrel, et al. (1993) and Beyth-Marom, et al. (1993), who found that the adolescent tendency to engage in risk taking behaviours was much the same as that of adults. The drop off in domestic burglary frequency from the age of twenty-two was however, commensurate with sociological and cognitive explanations for adult desistance from crime, although the 371 (55.1%) of burglaries committed by those aged 22-30 or above demonstrated that adult offending in this domain was far from being a negligible concern.

The distribution of behavioural themes within age-groups was also contrary to expectations, as those containing neither a lack of task-focus or concern for risk were less prevalent in adolescence, where distorted perceptions of risk and impulsivity had been cited as prominent traits. The Expressive romance theme occurred more frequently in offences where the offender was aged over forty than those of adolescents. Rather, task-focused themes – adaptive and conservative – appeared in 74.2% of offences committed by 10-17year olds and 82.1% of those by 18-21year olds. This was of great theoretical significance, as it effectively relocated the commission of skilled domestic burglary offences from under the banner of age-related competence to the individual's psychological attributes. Skill, in this domain of offending, shared a stronger association with narrative than age. The influence of age on the narrative-based behavioural themes was not represented by a linear ascension from young, naive offenders to old masters, technically adept and conscious of risk. In fact, the reverse appeared to be the case.

Evidence of maturity-based behavioural development was found in task-focused themes, and largely centred around those behaviours that were more conducive to the age-groups they were prominent in, suggesting that maturity-related development emerged organically, rather than any conscious effort on the part of the offender. This development was not found in the expressive theme however, where victim impact was prized over efficiency, acumen or even concern about detection. This was an intriguing addition to the understanding of domestic burglars and the crime scene behaviours, in that this was evidence that the meaning of the offence to the offender not only influenced behaviour, but also the development of that behaviour.

The thesis then moved on to the examination of offending experience, its links to the behavioural theme and evidence of behavioural development. To do this, offending experience was differentiated into three dimensions; the frequency of previous general offending and whether this could inform the individual's approach to domestic burglary, the style of previous offending and finally, previous domestic burglary experience itself.

No support was found for a thematic consistency between the type of previous non-burglary offending undertaken and the subsequent behavioural theme demonstrated in the domestic burglary offence. For this, the thesis followed the research model presented by Youngs, et al. (2014) and was thereby able to contribute to the abiding debate on the tendency of offenders to be versatile in their choice of offending domains, or specialists. On the evidence discovered here, many individuals turned to domestic burglary after offending histories which varied greatly, both in length and in content. Very few specialised exclusively in even a style of offending (instrumental or expressive), let alone a specific domain. This offered support to researchers who had argued for a prevalence of versatility in offending histories (i.e. Baker, et al., 2013), and to Gottfredson & Hirschi's theories on general propensity, in which low self-control and impulsivity left an individual exposed to a tendency to be open to most forms of criminal opportunity. It also put forth a reinterpretation of the way life-course narratives could be applied to criminal behaviour, more in line with Mischel's (1968) work on the power of the situation to effect behavioural consistency. McAdams' (1997) life-course narratives would seem to be highly adaptable and updatable to accommodate different interpretations of the individual's place in the world and motivations for action in different criminal situations.

This was supported in a developmental sense, in that the only type of criminal experience to demonstrate any form of behavioural evolution was previous domestic burglary experience. While levels of previous domestic burglary did not present an association with any of the behavioural themes as maturity had done, it did present changes in crime scene behaviours at different levels of burglary experience within the boundaries of those themes. Just as Chi, et al. (2014) had found that the perceptual superiority enjoyed by chess masters did not transfer to other domains, different types or quantities of previous offending did not equip the offender for domestic burglary. Only previous domain specific experience altered behaviour in any way, and it did so differently for each behavioural theme. Adaptive behaviours became more streamlined and efficient with greater burglary experience,

jettisoning any extraneous or unnecessary actions. The conservative behavioural theme saw an experience-based increase in technical, offence focused behaviours, while behaviours in the expressive theme appeared impervious to development, as they had done in the face of maturity. This would appear to be a by-product of the individual's understanding of the offence, which did not incorporate a focus on the actual enactment of the offence itself. All three patterns were extension of the themes themselves, presenting an advance in the understanding of domestic burglary narratives themselves, in line with McAdams' (1997) understanding of their developmental attributes.

The relationship between narrative, maturity and experience was complex. Offenders of a certain narrative-based behavioural themes were more likely to turn to domestic burglary at a certain age, but only to the extent that the percentage of adaptive offenders was at its greatest in 10-17 and 18-21 age groups, conservatives in the 22-30 and 31-40 groups and expressive offenders in the 41-66years age group. The adaptive theme nevertheless, remained the dominant theme throughout all groups, barring the 41-66years group, in line with its documented inherency to the domestic burglary offence. This was not however, the linear ascendancy from careless risk-taking to task focused, technically adept offences which might have been expected within a behavioural development process. Accordingly, maturity and domain specific experience did not show a correlation with each other, identifying young offenders who had substantially greater domestic burglary experience than their older counterparts, and demonstrated the attendant developed behaviour of experienced burglars, but not that of mature ones. Thus, it was the behavioural theme that remained the dominant influence of crime scene behaviour, dictating not only the meaning of the offence and the manner of its approach, but also at what age the offender was likely to be and how, both in quantity and behavioural quality, that domain of offending was likely to develop over the offender's future offending. This was the key theoretical contribution of the thesis, aligning Canter & Youngs' (2009) narrative model for domestic burglary to the developmental processes described by McAdams (1997) in the mythic narrative period, in which it was subject to the influences of

maturity and experience. This represented a substantial new empirical insight into the understanding of both the motivations of domestic burglars and of offender behaviour and development.

11.2 – Methodological contributions

Methodologically, the thesis differed from earlier research in its multiple uses of SSA to document behavioural differences for offenders at different stages of maturity or experience within a population of offenders. In previous examinations of offending behaviour, SSA has typically been employed to detail behavioural differences within an entire population, usually leading to inferences being drawn as to an underlying meaning of behavioural patterns. Here, the procedure was used much to the same ends, but at different stages of development. This allowed for an additional layer of inference to be drawn about changes in offending behaviour, based on increasing levels of maturity or experience. SSA demonstrated both a consistency across different groups and in behavioural themes, but also developments in behaviour. This greatly supported the use of SSA as an effective means of appreciating multiple dimensions of the behaviour of a population.

As in previous studies, POSAC also proved an effective way of drawing together multiple strands of previous analysis, so that the co-occurrence of maturity and experience within a population could be fully understood. This reiterated the utility of the procedure for its use in seeking an increased appreciation of offending behaviour.

11.3 – Practical contributions

The use of police records to draw inferences from crime scene behaviours presented several intriguing possibilities for its use in a 'real world' environment. In terms of police investigations, the thesis has

demonstrated that a wealth of further information could be mined from recorded information on crime scene actions, beyond the primary purpose of meeting a legal offence definition to demonstrate that a certain type of crime had occurred. For domestic burglary, offence-defining behaviours were simply the core actions in nigh on all offences, but it was from those further behaviours, which may not have been as readily apparent or have appeared secondary to the primary purpose that a great deal of revealing information about the offender could be derived. This highlighted not only a need for investigators to be alive to the potential salience of these behaviours, with an equal eye for behaviours that did not occur, but equally for police services to develop processes by which this information could be applied to the practical purpose of assisting in the eventual identification of the responsible offender. Such processes could assist in improving detection rates and help to reduce the social, economic and emotional impact of domestic burglary.

The dominant behavioural themes of offenders have now been successfully derived from crime scene behaviours by numerous researchers, and was equally effective here, where the frequency of such themes was also observed amongst a large population of offenders, captured within a specific geographical and temporal setting. An appreciation of the prevalence of behavioural themes may assist investigators in both offender prioritisation and the linking of multiple offences to a common suspect or suspects. The Expressive romance theme for example, was a relatively infrequent occurrence within the dataset. Previous research had indicated that domestic burglary offenders tended to operate, and in many cases, reside within a relatively small geographic area of familiarity. If behavioural themes could be documented for offenders, and it was found that expressive-dominant offences were being committed in an area, then it would be likely that the pool of potential suspects could be dramatically reduced.

This may not be quite so straight forward for an adaptive offence, given the prevalence of that theme and its fundamental presence to some extent in almost all domestic burglaries. In examining the roles of

maturity and experience within behavioural themes however, the thesis has presented a tantalising opportunity to advance the possibilities for offender prioritisation in accessible, practical terms. While it is certain that most investigative services would not have ready access to behavioural profiles of all offenders, they do have extensive information on previous offending records and personal information, such as an individual's age. These are tangible, practical variables which police analysts already have at their disposal.

In the current thesis, the age of domestic burglars skewed older than had been the case in many earlier studies. Adolescent offenders were relatively infrequent (62), appearing at a comparable frequency to those aged over forty (56). Most offences were committed by those aged either 18-21 (240) or 22-30 (204), providing a starting point for offender prioritisation. An appreciation of the evidence of a dominant behavioural theme may assist further, as it was found that each had a distinct age range in which it occupied a greater percentage of the population. Yet further to that, the recognition that certain crime scene behaviours were found to hold a relevance to specific age groups would assist in focusing investigative resources towards a reduced number of potential suspects.

The thesis found that first-time domestic burglars came to this domain of offending from highly varied frequencies of previous offending, ranging from 0-96 offences, and that this variance did not lead to notably different crime scene behaviours. This too, could have some practical value, in that it could alert professionals as to the ineffectiveness of seeking to identify future domestic burglars from previous non-related offending records. The same could be said of types of previous offending, which demonstrated that domestic burglars were not always discerning in their previous domains of offending. The common practice of labelling someone by their offence type (i.e. a burglar) would now appear erroneous, given that there were very few 'specialists' at work.

When domestic burglary experience was examined, the results might well be of substantial relevance to investigators, not least in the genuinely low levels of previous experience exhibited by most offenders. The fact that almost one-third of offences were committed by those with no previous domestic burglary experience highlighted a fresh dilemma for investigative bodies and went some way to explaining poor detection rates. If previous general offending records could not be used as an indication of which individuals might turn to domestic burglary, then how could those with no previous record of that offence be identified? A further third of offences were committed by those with less than three historic domestic burglaries, while in total, 85.7% of offences were committed by those with less than eight previous convictions. This could serve to inform investigators as to where prioritisation efforts should be directed.

Once again, an appreciation of the behavioural differences for more experienced offenders might assist in offender prioritisation. Thematic development over advancing levels of experience, together with specific behavioural differences could provide an effective parameter for prioritisation.

Finally, one important aspect of the study which could assist investigators would be in the acknowledgement that maturity and experience did not necessarily go hand with each other. Previously, the two traits could well have been confused for one another, but the thesis was able to effectively delineate thematic and behavioural differences, which could prove to be of great assistance to burglary investigators, reducing inaccurate readings of crime scene behaviours and focusing resources towards the responsible offender.

11.4 - Limitations

The principle concerns with the validity of the results presented in the thesis, were those documented in chapter four regarding the information employed at its core. In a study involving the effects of

previous offending experience, validity was inherently connected to the accuracy of both previous history and subsequent offending datasets. Despite police-recorded information being the most comprehensive record of any offender's history, there remained the undeniable possibility of unrecorded or inaccurately recorded offences or information, which provided the opportunity for results to be skewed. With no means of assessing the accuracy of the initial attending officer's report, that information had to be taken at face value, albeit with the acknowledgement that the disparity in purpose between crime recording and empirical data collection may have led to a degree of at source bias. The accuracy of the data however, was lent some support by the continued appearance of consistent behavioural themes across multiple maturity and experience-based groups.

The aims of the thesis all but dictated that solved offences be used, given the subjectivity needed to assign unsolved cases, and their involved behaviours in cases that had survived all efforts by the criminal justice system to name the responsible offender. Due to the documented low detection rates however, (13%), this meant that a huge number of offences could not be included. Once again, results may have presented entirely differently had a full document of those offences been known and available.

Notwithstanding concerns with the initial recording of the source information, in chapter eight the study sought to identify a thematic consistency between types of previous offending (offending styles) and behavioural themes in domestic burglary crime scene behaviour. This study would have benefited from directly comparing themes in crime scene behaviour, however, MO details for historic offences were not made available for the research. No association between offending style and subsequent crime scene behaviour was identified, but the question of whether thematic consistency based on behaviour was present remains unanswered.

Finally, a concern for the thesis was in the prevalence of the Adaptive adventure theme, both as a distinct form of the offence and in the core behaviours of most other domestic burglar offences. The

presence of the theme, may have overshadowed other behavioural themes such as the Integrative irony, which was comprised of a low number of behaviours, and thus, disguised the true nature of some dominant themes. Until the dominant presence of the adaptive theme was known however, this could not have been foreseen, and did present an accurate account of that theme's prevalence within domestic burglary offending.

11.5 – Future studies

The thesis presented a fresh approach to the examination of behavioural development in domestic burglary crime scene behaviours through multi-dimensional scaling procedures. This provided an interesting starting point for further empirical research.

The behavioural themes identified were consistent with those previously identified by Canter & Youngs (2009), and based on a narrative framework, but repeated explorations of this, employing different datasets of domestic burglars would attest to a common set of approaches to the offence, or present alternative psychological underpinnings of behaviour. As evidenced by a comparison of the behaviours identified in chapter five with Canter & Youngs' findings, the behavioural structure of those themes can differ. Further study would lead to a better understanding of how the same behaviours could be interpreted differently within and across behavioural themes.

The distribution of levels of maturity were not conducive with the expectations of the age distribution of offenders presented by the age-crime curve. Other datasets may present differently, which may in turn, provide an alternative understanding of the influence of maturity. Researchers may wish to pursue this concern with additional studies of this kind. Chapter seven found no evidence of crime scene behavioural development, based on the frequency of previous alternative offending, but that does not prevent such a link potentially being identified in other offending domains, as certain behaviours could

feasibly demonstrate more 'transferability' to other activities. The question of the influence of qualitative elements of previous offending, as addressed in chapter eight would most certainly benefit from the availability of crime scene behaviour data in historic offending, leading to a far more detailed understanding of cross-domain behavioural development. Chapter nine then presented a fresh insight into domain specific behavioural development, which might be supported or refuted by further studies of the same subject. This would determine whether the same, or alternative behaviours could be evidenced as examples of advanced maturity or experience.

There also existed the possibility that alternative cognitive factors, such as, for example, level of intelligence could also affect behaviour, as might distinct situational influences. Such subjects were beyond the scope of the present thesis, but future examinations of these points would greatly expand the understanding of crime scene behavioural development. Finally, a true indication of the validity of the results presented in the thesis could be achieved through the examination of the same subject matters, using alternative methodologies. If consistent findings on the influences of maturity or experience within behavioural themes could be established through the more traditional approaches using experimentation or interviews with convicted offenders, then this would lend substantial theoretical support to the conclusions presented by the thesis.

11.6 – Conclusions

The aims of the thesis were to examine the effects of levels of maturity and experience on the crime scene behaviours of a population of domestic burglars, whose offences occurred in the southern policing district of a northern city between 2010-2014, and to document how, if at all, those factors led to behavioural development. Domestic burglary was an offence worthy of such scrutiny for both theoretical and practical reasons; firstly, the offence has been recognized as having a significant

emotional and financial effect not only on individual victims, but also on communities and on society at large. Low rates of detection, particularly by conventional investigative means present an enduring concern, which could lead to a loss of public confidence in the criminal justice system. Theoretically, domestic burglary has proved of interest to many previous researchers, as it sits at the crossroads of instrumental and expressive psychological themes. While the offence was fundamentally motivated by financial gain, as was supported in the present thesis, it also represented a unique form of interpersonal transaction between victim and offender. It involved an often deeply effecting intrusion into an individual's personal space, which to some offenders was intended as a statement, indirectly communicated to the victim, and yet the successful completion of the offence necessitated the avoidance of physical interaction. As such, there remained many unanswered questions about what motivated such offenders.

In seeking the answers to some of those questions, the thesis made use of two expansive datasets of domestic burglary crime scene behaviours and previous offending records drawn from police records. The use of such data brought with it benefits and concerns. It provided a quantity and breadth of data that would have been unobtainable through more traditional methods of laboratory experiments or interviews with incarcerated offenders, but this had to be weighed against the possibility of bias at the point of its recording and a disparity in initial collection purposes. The use of solved cases also brought concerns as to whether any conclusions could be representative of the full scope of offending activity but was necessitated by the aim of examining quantitative and qualitative aspects of previous offending histories.

The thesis predominantly employed two multi-dimensional scaling procedures (SSA and POSAC) to differentiate between changing patterns within themes of behaviour. Smallest space analysis proved the ideal method for appreciating the co-occurrence of behaviours and was successfully employed here as a means of differentiating between various maturity and experience-based groups within the population.

This was a use of the tool that had been rarely utilised in previous research. A partial order scalogram analysis with base coordinates (POSAC) was an effective method of drawing the results of all analysis together and appreciating the co-occurrence of different themes.

Within a framework of narrative-based behavioural themes that was consistent with those identified by previous researchers, the thesis found evidence of crime scene behavioural development brought about by advancing maturity and domain specific experience. No evidence of development could be derived from the frequency or style of non-burglary previous offending. These findings were conducive with the current understanding of the development of expertise in other fields and led to the conclusion that experienced based development drew very little from other criminal activities and was resolutely domain specific.

Behavioural themes appeared to be influenced to some extent, by the individual's level of maturity, and development within those themes appeared to hold a practical relevance to the age groups in which it was presented. The most substantial behavioural developments came through increased domestic burglary experience and were inherently different in each behavioural theme.

POSAC showed that there was little correlation between levels of maturity and experience, with many younger offenders demonstrating greater levels of domestic burglary experience than their older counterparts. Perhaps most significantly, behaviours that demonstrated skill or technical ability were more a consequence of the behavioural theme rather than maturity or experience, counter to a large body of previous studies which have differentiated domestic burglars as novices or high-craft offenders, inferring that this was a trade which required hands-on learning to perfect. Rather, those abilities were more a product of the understanding of, and approach to the offence. The thesis provided a fresh insight into the nature of maturity and experience in domestic burglary, one of the implications of which

would be the presentation of an intriguing opportunity for further empirical examination of these phenomena.

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