

OFFENDER'S DECISION MAKING: AN ASSESSMENT OF  
CONVICTED BURGLARS IN THAILAND

by

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to the memory of my beloved king, King XI Bhumibol Adulyadej.

I am very proud to have been born in his reign.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES .....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xiii
ABSTRACT .....	xiv
 CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Lack of Burglary Research in Thailand.....	1
The Importance of Cross-National Research on Offenders.....	2
The Necessity of Burglary Research.....	4
The Purpose of the Study.....	5
Conceptual Framework.....	6
Implications of the Study.....	11
Definitions .....	11
2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	13
Burglary Definition.....	13
Linking Burglary and Conceptual Theory.....	14
Rational Choice Perspective .....	15
Routine Activity Theory.....	19
The Opportunity Perspective .....	21
Social and Cultural Perspective.....	24
Thai Cultural Value .....	27
Comparing the Thai and American Cultural Values .....	30
The Influence of Effects of Cultural Value on Burglars' Decision Making.....	32
Target Selection.....	35
Measures or Cues That Discourage Target Selection.....	36
Alarms.....	37
Signs of occupancy .....	37
The presence of dogs.....	38

	Locks, doors, and windows .....	39
	Level of affluence and inside information.....	40
	Location of a house .....	41
	House environment .....	41
	Significant Characteristics of Burglars .....	42
	Gender Age and Experience Differences.....	44
	Chapter Summary.....	47
3.	RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH.....	49
	The Qualitative Approach.....	49
	Sampling Strategy .....	50
	Sampling Procedures .....	51
	Interview Material .....	53
	Interview Protocol Quality Concerns.....	58
	The Pilot Study .....	58
	Interview Administration.....	60
	Transcription Process .....	64
	Data Analysis Method.....	65
	Deconstruction Stage.....	65
	Interpretation Stage.....	68
	Reconstruction Stage .....	69
	Benefits and Risk Assessment for Interviewees.....	69
4.	RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY IN THAILAND .....	72
	Introduction .....	72
	Sample Characteristics .....	72
	Motivation to Commit Burglary.....	74
	Burglary and Money.....	74
	Burglary and Drug Use.....	77
	Burglary and Alcohol .....	81
	Burglary and Illegal Gambling .....	83
	Burglary and Retribution.....	84
	Decision Making to Commit Burglary .....	87
	First Step: The Process to Get Involvement in Residential	
	Burglary Commission.....	87
	Second Step: Planning Process .....	90
	Burglary planning.....	90
	General burglary v. burglary for hire .....	92
	The chance of being arrested .....	96
	Third Step: Target Selection .....	98

Views on the assessment of the environmental conditions in target selection.....	98
Occupancy .....	99
Detection by neighbors .....	102
Dogs .....	103
Burglar alarm systems.....	105
Camera surveillance system (CCTV) .....	107
Display of signs .....	109
<i>Signs displaying an official position</i> .....	109
<i>Signs of repeat victimization</i> .....	111
Locks .....	113
Security guards (watchmen) .....	114
Burglary Displacement .....	116
Fourth Step: Burglary Process .....	117
Time of burglary.....	117
Type of residences.....	123
Techniques for committing burglaries .....	125
Commuting to target areas .....	125
Techniques of gaining entry.....	126
Preferred property .....	128
Disposal techniques .....	129
Fifth Step: Working with Co-Offenders.....	131
Female Burglars in Thailand .....	140
Burglary Prevention Strategies: Offender's Perspectives.....	142
Chapter Summary.....	144
5. CHOICE OF RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY AREA SELECTION .....	145
The Best Areas for Residential Burglary.....	147
Level of Burglar Familiarity with the Area .....	155
Level of Familiarity with the Area Resulting from Proximity to Burglars' Place of Residence.....	158
Best Areas v. The Level of Familiarity with the Area .....	162
The Best Areas for Repeat Residential Burglary .....	166
Avoidance Areas for Committing Residential Burglary.....	173
Avoidance Areas Because of Poverty .....	173
Avoidance Areas Because of Police or Correctional Officers Being Present.....	179
Avoidance Areas Because of Physical Environment .....	185
Chapter Summary.....	190



6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS .....	191
Introduction .....	191
Overall Findings.....	191
Burglars' Motivations.....	192
Decision Making and Patterns of Residential Burglary .....	192
Target Selection in Residential Burglary .....	193
Best locations for burglary.....	193
Effective of residential burglary prevention measures ....	194
Burglary Process .....	195
Co-Offenders.....	196
Gender and Ages Differences in Residential Burglary .....	196
Implications for Theory, Crime Prevention and Future Research .....	197
APPENDIX SECTION.....	201
REFERENCES.....	226

## LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Inmates Serving a Prison Sentence for Residential Burglary in State Prisons and Correctional Facilities throughout Bangkok .....	52
2. Example of Data Accounting Log .....	66
3. Example of Memo Form.....	67
4. Correlations Among Offenders' Scores Regarding the Best Areas to Commit Residential Burglary.....	150
5. Correlations Among Offenders' Scores Regarding the Best Areas to Commit Repeat Residential Burglary .....	168
6. Correlations involving the Percentage of Offenders who Avoided the Area Due to the Area Being Deprived.....	176
7. Correlations involving the Percentage of Offenders who Avoided the Area Due to Police and Correctional Officers Being Present.....	182
8. Correlations involving the Percentage of Offenders who Avoided the Area Due to the Physical Environment .....	188

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Example of Map Task Procedure.....	57
2. Best Areas for Committing Residential Burglary .....	149
3. Level of Burglar Familiarity with the Area.....	154
4. Level of Burglar Familiarity with the Area Resulting from Proximity to Their Place of Residence .....	157
5. Comparison between the Best Areas for Committing Residential Burglary and the Level of Burglar Familiarity with the Area Resulting from Proximity to Their Place of Residence.....	160
6. Comparison between the Best Areas for Committing Residential Burglary and the Level of Burglar Familiarity with the Area .....	161
7. Best Area for Committing Repeat Residential Burglary .....	165
8. The Percentage of Offenders who Avoided the Area Due to the Area Being Deprived .....	172
9. The Percentage of Offenders who Avoided the Area Due to the Police and Correctional Officers Being Present.....	178
10. The Percentage of Offenders who Avoided the Area Due to the Physical Environment.....	184

## **ABSTRACT**

Burglary represents not only a violation of privacy and theft of private property; it also causes considerable fear, and this is true across the world. Unfortunately, most burglary research is conducted with data for Western countries, and there is especially little comparative research of U.S. and Asian countries, which have different social and cultural contexts. This study draws on the rational choice perspective which argues offenders who are likely to engage in rational decision making processes as they estimate the costs and benefits of committing a given crime. Two central questions guide this study: What considerations Thai offenders have when deciding whether or not to commit crime, and how they choose specific targets. This study addresses these questions using data from interviews with incarcerated residential burglars in Thailand. Data were collected primarily through semi-structured interviews with 45 Thai inmates who had been incarcerated in federal and local correctional institutions around Bangkok and vicinity, and had been convicted of residential burglary at some point in their criminal careers.

Interviewees were asked about their own experiences in committing burglaries, including those in which they wanted to commit a burglary but chose not to do so as originally planned. Interviewees were asked to complete a map task to clarify the locations of their targets on a map of Bangkok City. A central focus of the study was the offenders' target selection methodology, and in the study interviewees were explicitly queried as to how they went about identified suitable residential targets for burglary.

Special attention was given to the extent to which offenders utilized rational processes to select potential burglary targets, and what environmental conditions and features they used as discriminative cues in the process.

Although the findings of this study should be interpreted carefully due to the relatively small sample size of the interviewees, analysis of the study data indicates that both the risks and the rewards of residential burglary influence burglars' target selection. However, when assessing potential residential burglary targets, burglars are significantly more influenced by environmental cues related to risk than by cues related to reward. Most burglars considered some burglary prevention measures such as burglary alarms, neighborhood watch, dogs, and sign of repeat victimization.

Important key findings relate to cultural differences in burglars' target selection and the decision making during the burglary process. For example, most burglars believed in fate and luck when they decided to commit burglary. Gender and age are both important factors causing differences in residential burglars' decision making about target selection and crime commission. Based on the findings of this study, guidelines that could be useful in the development of various residential burglary prevention initiatives and measures, such as increasing more police patrol, developing job training programs inside prison, and establishing neighborhood watch programs, are put forward for consideration.

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Property crime is common in nations in all parts of the world. Research seeking to understand the criminological factors associated with the decision making of property-crime offenders has yielded interesting results. For burglars specifically, researchers have used victimization surveys, interviews and surveys with active or incarcerated offenders, and secondary data. Many studies—for example, Bennett and Wright (1984), Coupe and Blake (2006), Maguire and Bennett (1982), Tseloni, Witterbrood, Farrell and Pease, (2004), Tunnell, (1992)—have contributed significantly to the literature on burglary offenders. Other studies have contributed to the understanding of auto thieves' decision making (Charbonneau & Copes, 2006; Fleming, 1999).

### **Lack of Burglary Research in Thailand**

In the Kingdom of Thailand (hereafter Thailand), crime is viewed as a threat to the stability of the country and as an impediment to economic development. During the 2000s, crime prevention has emerged as a key challenge facing the Thai Government. Various initiatives have been undertaken to strengthen the country's law enforcement capabilities, and to encourage the private sector and research institutions to assist with crime prevention. In this context, recognizing the need for research on the 'crime problem' in Thailand, it was decided to focus this study on burglary, a specific type of crime that has a significant impact on the daily lives of many Thai citizens. Under the provisions of Section 335 of the Thailand Criminal Code (2012), burglary is defined as the unlawful entry of a place with the intent to commit a theft on the premises.

Burglary represents not only an intrusion of privacy and the theft of private property; it also fosters a climate of fear and anger in the community. This situation poses a challenge to the safety and security of Thai people in all strata of the society. Law enforcement officials tend to regard burglary as less serious than some other forms of crime due to its non-violent nature. The reason is that burglary does not usually involve direct, face-to-face contact between offenders and victims. Also, victims sometimes do not report burglary unless they have an economic reason, such as planning to make an insurance claim. The protection of property is more likely to be considered a private security matter (Coupe & Blake, 2006). Nevertheless, burglary is one of the most crimes in Thailand, and the current trend of burglaries indicates that this type of property crime will probably remain a serious problem for the foreseeable future. A comparison of Thai victimization surveys between 2008 and 2012 reveals that the number of crimes against property, especially burglary, has significantly increased (Suwananon, 2013). Most of the crime research conducted in Thailand has examined crimes other than burglary, creating a need for systematic burglary research. This study seeks to address this need.

### **The Importance of Cross-National Research on Offenders**

Cross-national research in criminal justice is important for theory and methodological development as well as for practical reasons. Cross-national research gives researchers a more thorough understanding by testing the extent to which theories and/or interventions are applicable globally, or are geographically limited in their applications. The knowledge gained from a cross-national criminal justice perspective not only helps us to understand how crime and criminal justice systems operate across the world, it also helps us to more fully understand our own nations. Well-developed global

perspectives allow for the development of innovative solutions that may never have been envisioned. Cross-national research also helps to narrow the gaps between different nations, and creates bridges for the flow of information internationally. According to Jowell (1998, p. 168), “the importance and utility to social science of rigorous cross-national measures is incontestable. They help to reveal not only intriguing differences between countries and cultures, but also aspects of one’s own country and cultures that would be difficult or impossible to detect from domestic data.”

It has long been recognized that there are universal phenomena of crime and crime control (Piquero, Gibson, & Tibbetts, 2002). Accordingly, it is believed that, in all nations, adolescent and young adult crime rates are significantly higher than those of older adults, that girls and women commit fewer crimes than boys and men, particularly for violent crimes, and that a very high proportion of crime in general is committed by a small group of persistent offenders (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). On the other hand, there are huge differences in rates of specific crimes, such as violent crime, organized crime or white-collar crime, and corruption (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Also, there are differences between developing and developed nations in the ratio of property crimes to violent crimes (Suwananon, 2013). To what extent these differences can be attributed to differences in cultural characteristics is highly contested in criminology.

A primary principle of criminological theory is that crime and social control are largely social and cultural phenomena. Criminologists often assert that cultural patterns are decisive in shaping the systems of penal justice and formal social control, thus influencing the subsystems of legal culture (Cromswell & Thurman, 2003; Hirschi, 1969). Criminalizing particular behaviors, specifying criminal sanctions, and reacting to



offenders on all levels of the criminal justice system are determined by cultural values and practices.

While burglary is a typical social problem in many countries, there is little or no research in different countries to investigate or explain burglary. Most studies have relied on data collection in Western countries, such as the United States (U.S.), United Kingdom (U.K.), Canada and Mexico (Tseloni et al., 2004; Tunnell, 1992; Wilcox, Quisenberry, Cabrera & Jones, 2004). While the knowledge gained in these nations is important, burglary research in other nations, especially Asian nations, is limited. Also, there have been few empirical studies of differences in offenders' decision making by demographic characteristics, such as gender, age, or educational level.

### **The Necessity of Burglary Research**

The current study will focus on burglary in Thailand. Thai citizens from all spheres of life are exposed to the risk of victimization by burglary. However, the current focus of the Thai police is more on law enforcement than on crime prevention or the protection of individual property. With limited resources at their disposal, the Thai police find it difficult to satisfy the needs and expectations of communities regarding protection against burglary. An additional problem is presented by the fact that, although most of the existing crime prevention strategies in Thailand are nationally developed and controlled, the responsibility for implementing these strategies is delegated to lower-level authorities.

This top-down approach to crime prevention is essential for the determination of priorities and for the creation of a climate favorable for the effective and efficient

operation of criminal justice agencies, especially law enforcement agencies. However, without locally designed crime-prevention strategies to supplement those at the national level, it remains doubtful that any strategy will ever have the desired results. It is in this area of locally designed crime-prevention strategies at the neighborhood, street, or individual level that there is a need for expertise and resources. There is little research in Thailand to guide the development of such locally designed strategies.

At present, there is limited knowledge of the situational dynamics and context in which any particular burglary event takes place. Consequently, there is little basis on which to build appropriate preventive measures against burglary. This lack of knowledge and expertise justifies further research. The present study will focus on the following research questions. First, what makes residential burglars in Thailand getting involved in crime commission process? Second, how do residential burglars make decisions in each step of the crime commission process? Third, how do residential burglars in Thailand choose their targets? Fourth, what factors are considered by burglars during target selection? Fifth, what deters burglars from burglarizing specific targets? Sixth, what techniques do burglars use when committing burglary? Seventh, are there gender differences in burglary motivations, target selection, and techniques? Eighth, are there age differences in burglary motivations, target selection, and techniques.

### **The Purpose of the Study**

In relation to the research questions, the purpose of this study is to investigate burglars' decision making, in order to identify and explain the key factors in the burglary

process. The results of the study can help to formulate guidelines for burglary-prevention initiatives.

Specifically, this study seeks to add to the knowledge base concerning the motivation and techniques used by burglars as they select targets and commit their crimes. Additionally, this study will examine physical barriers, such as preventive devices, location of security, and individual guardianship that may deter offenders from committing burglary. Moreover, the study will provide significant insight into the similarities and differences in motivations and actions of the Thai burglars compared to burglars in other nations as described in prior research, with particular emphasis on gender and age differences.

### **Conceptual Framework**

In recent years, the Thai people have become increasingly concerned with rising crime rates generally, and specifically with perceived increases in burglary (Suwananon et al., 2013). In order to better understand burglary in Thailand, it is important to explore the following questions: What goes into burglars' decision making? How do they select specific targets? Are Western theories of crime accurate in saying that criminals (1) engage in "rational" decision making processes in which they estimate the risks and benefits of committing a given crime and (2) read 'cues' in the environment that help them to assess the likelihood of success and the magnitude of the rewards before committing a crime.

The rational choice perspective is a theoretical framework specifically designed to address decision making carried out by an offender in the course of considering a specific

crime (Clarke & Cornish, 1985; Piquero, Gibson, & Tibbetts, 2002). The rational choice perspective assumes that criminals offend because crime provides a convenient means of achieving desired benefits, such as money, material goods, sexual gratification, and domination of others. Criminals decide whether to commit a crime by weighing the risks, efforts, rewards, and costs associated with alternative courses of action. According to Cornish and Clarke (1987), the making of decisions and choices reveals a measure of rationality, albeit constrained by limits of time, personal ability, and the availability of relevant information.

Complementary to rational choice perspective, routine activity theory posits that crime results from the convergence in time and space of three essential elements: (1) a motivated offender; (2) a suitable target; and (3) the absence of capable guardians (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Some research indicates that crime prevention and target-hardening measures, such as alarm technology, the presence of dogs or capable guards, or car alarms and ignition locks, have been effective deterrents against burglary (Bennett & Wright, 1984; Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981; Cromwell & Olson, 2006; Goodwin, 2007; Wright & Decker, 1994). However, there has been no research in Thailand investigating burglars' decision making on choosing targets, or specific types of target-hardening measures that could improve burglary prevention.

Social and cultural variables could affect decision making by Thai burglars. Two dimensions of culture are most important. First, culture is a way of life, embodied in social organization. Individualism characterizes Western nations, while collectivism is characteristic of Asian nations. Second, differences in social organization lead to

differences in key cultural values relevant to social control, crime, the concept of justice, and approaches to criminal justice.

Collectivism is the source of key Asian values relevant to crime control ideas: morality, attachment, honor, and harmony. It can be assumed that offenders might consider not to burglarize some targets if they find that only old poor ladies are there. The offenders might feel bad if they burglarize these victims because their acts would harm weaker people. Instead of burglarizing these victims, offenders might change their targets to affluent people because they believe that such people could afford their loss; they may be perceived to be rich or able to get reimbursement from an insurance company.

Asian offenders might feel sympathy for someone who is weaker than others. Also, attachments to other people might be related to criminal decision making. Asian values emphasize human relationships and one will make decisions depending on other people to whom they are close. In criminology, one can assume that crime can be learned by spending time with other offenders. It can be assumed that co-offending is a significant factor that influences offenders' decision making.

There is possibly a difference in the decision making patterns between cultures with individualism and collectivism in the situations where risk-taking is involved, including crime. It is believed that members of cultural groups with high independency (or an individualism culture) show more risk-averse behavior (Becker et al., 2012; Fischer, 2009; Schwartz et al., 2011; Varnum et al., 2010). It is interesting to note that this pattern is observed only when risk is material in its nature, and not observed when risk is of a social nature (Becker et al., 2012; Varnum et al., 2010). The "cushion

hypothesis” attempts to explain this difference. It assumes that members of collectivist nations are more prone to risk-taking because they know they will be more likely to receive help from friends or extended family when they fail as collectivism endorses social relatedness and interdependence (Early & Gibson, 1998; Schwartz et al., 2011).

Another dimension of culture is the cognitive mode or thinking style. Related to individualism is the analytical mode of thinking; related to the collectivism is the holistic thinking mode. Prior research has revealed different patterns of perceiving and thinking in different nations. Some results show that Westerners tend to think more analytically and East Asians tend to think more holistically (Ji, Peng, & Nisbett, 2000; Kitayama et al., 2009; Knight & Nisbett, 2007). Analytic thinking is a cognitive style characterized by logical reasoning, a narrow focus on conspicuous objects in the foreground, and a belief that events are the products of individuals and their attributes. Analytic knowledge is the main type of knowledge required for schoolwork (Ji et al., 2000). However, it is also required outside of school any time a person must solve problems involving a physical or natural system. For instance, a good car repairperson must be able to analyze the problems with a car brought in for repair. He or she must understand how the components of the system function and work together.

On the other hand, holistic thinking is characterized by dialectical reasoning, a focus on background elements in visual scenes and a belief that events are the products of external forces and situations. Holistic thinkers tend to give broad attention to context and relationships, which help to explain why the decisions of East Asians are greatly influenced by other people (Ji, Peng, & Nisbett, 2000; Kitayama et al., 2009; Knight & Nisbett, 2007). A holistic person does not tear things apart mentally to understand them.

Holistic people often excel in social situations requiring sensitivity, intuition, and tact. The ability to get a general feeling about a situation may open people's minds to subtle nuances of complex situations (Knight & Nisbett, 2007).

To illustrate with computer jargon, a holistic person might be regarded as a parallel processor. That would be the case if a correct response evolved out of widespread simultaneous activity, instead of resulting from a controlled step-by-step process. Most cultural psychologists agree that the observed differences in cognitive style are produced by differences in social orientation (Kitayama et al., 2009; Varnum et al., 2010). For example, some North American and Western European nations promote an independent social orientation that values autonomy, self-expression, and individual achievement. Other cultures in East Asia and Latin America nations promote an interdependent social orientation that values, harmony, relatedness and success of the in-group.

The assumption here is that cultural differences between Western and Asian nations will be likely to play important roles in burglars' decision making. According to the cultural dimension, Thai burglars might perceive the concept of crime differently compared to the Western burglars who have been studied. Thai burglars may perceive burglary as less of a sinful act than other crimes, such as murder, homicide, or rape. In contrast, Western burglars may not be as likely to judge and define their criminal acts in moral terms. Culturally different burglars might hold different values that influence the ways they commit burglary. Thai burglars may not choose houses where the owner is an old poor lady because they feel pity for these victims. Importantly, the difference in thinking styles may result in different rational cognitions between the Thai burglars and other burglars. Whenever it is time to choose a target house, Thai burglars may listen to

their partners when making decisions, while Western burglars may be more likely to work alone. It is easy to see Thai burglary as a group crime.

In addition, it is assumed that even though Thai people might hold to some cultural values that protect them from committing crime, they also hold to specific beliefs that justify and support law-violating behavior. It is suggested that most Thai burglars will use techniques of neutralization to support their decision making when it is antagonistic to the norms, culture, and values of Thai society. For example, some Thai burglars may apply denial of injury and denial of victims to argue that the victims can afford it or that there were no real victims.

### **Implications of the Study**

This research is useful for understanding the decision making and target selection of Thai burglars. The results of this study will have policy implications for individuals and organizations in the criminal justice system of Thailand, particularly when it comes to assessing of crime problems and developing effective prevention methods. The research can assist in identifying myths associated with existing problems and proposing evidence-based prevention measures for burglary. The results may also support the development of appropriate prevention strategies for reducing other crime problems.

### **Definitions**

*Burglary* in this project refers to the unlawful entry of a place with the intent to commit a theft on the premises according to the Thai Criminal Code, section 335. However, burglary in this project will refer only to residential burglary because prior



research usually distinguishes residential burglary from commercial burglary. This study will only cover the burglaries of houses or other places where people live.

## 2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature review is divided into two parts. A conceptual framework originates from the relevant literature. Research expectations for the study are then presented. The first section focuses on theories of criminal motivation and environmental criminology. These theories can be utilized to describe and explain the occurrence of residential burglary. The second part focuses on similar projects, models, and other research findings that are relevant to the study, and will ultimately lead to the formulation of research expectations for the study and how this project contributes to the field.

### Burglary Definition

Before discussing the motivation of burglars, it is important to discuss the legal definitions of burglary in various countries, because such definitions are not consistent. Burglary or ‘breaking and entering’ is one of the most common crimes worldwide. In the U.S., the FBI’s Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program defines *burglary*<sup>1</sup> as the “unlawful entry of a structure to commit a felony or theft” (2010). In Canada, the term *burglary*<sup>2</sup> includes the elements of breaking and entering with intent, committing an

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<sup>1</sup> To classify an offense as a burglary, the use of force to gain entry needs not have to occur. The UCR program has classified burglary into three groups: forcible entry, unlawful entry where no force is used, and attempted forcible entry. The UCR definition of “structure” includes an apartment, barn, house trailer, or houseboat when used as a permanent dwelling, office, railroad car (but not automobile), stable, and vessel (i.e., ship).

Source: FBI’s Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) program, 2010, United States.

<sup>2</sup> Everyone who

- a) breaks and enters a place with intent to commit an indictable offence therein
- b) breaks and enters a place and commits an indictable offence therein, or
- c) breaks out of a place after committing an indictable offense therein.

offense, or breaking out. In the U.K., the definition of *burglary*<sup>3</sup> refers to circumstances in which the offender enters or tries to enter any building as a trespasser with the intention of committing theft, rape, grievous bodily harm, or unlawful damage. The Thai concept of *burglary* seems to be more complicated than other countries because it lacks a unique definition in the Thai Criminal Law Code. However, the term falls under the offense of *theft*,<sup>4</sup> which refers to incidents in which an offender commits theft “in the place by damaging a barricade made for the protection of persons and things or by using a passage not intended for human entrance, or a passage opened by an accomplice.”

### **Linking Burglary and Conceptual Theory**

Important research on the decision making or target selection process practiced by burglars originated with the concept of the “reasoning criminal” (Bennett & Wright, 1984; Shover, 1991; Wright & Decker, 1994). In order to better understand residential burglary, it is important to explore how and why offenders make decisions to commit particular burglaries. Theories on environment and crime share certain common assumptions in this regard, namely, that criminals engage in “rational” decision making

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<sup>3</sup> A person is guilty of burglary if

a) he enters any buildings or part of a buildings as a trespasser and with intent to commit any such offence or

b) having entered any building or part of buildings as a trespasser, he steals or attempts to steal anything in the building or that part of it or inflicts or attempts to inflict on any person therein any grievous bodily harm.

<sup>4</sup> Whoever dishonestly takes away any property of another person or which the other person to be co-owner to be said to commit the theft, shall be imprisoned not out of three years and fined not more of six thousand Baht. Whoever commits theft under any of the following circumstances:

(1) By night.

(2) By damaging a barricade made for the protection of persons or things, or by penetrating through such barricade by any means whatever.

(3) In a dwelling place, official place or place provided for public service which he has entered without permission, or has hidden himself therein.

(4) By disguising himself, or by impersonating another person, or by blackening his face or doing otherwise so that he may not be seen or recognized.

in which they weigh the perceived costs and benefits of committing any given crime, and that criminals read “cues” in the environment that help them to make decisions about committing crimes. These assumptions also underscore the conceptual framework of this study.

### **Rational Choice Perspective**

In criminology, the rational choice perspective is a theoretical framework specifically designed to address decision making carried out by offenders in the course of specific crimes (Cornish & Clarke, 1987; Piquero, Gibson, & Tibbetts, 2002). The rational choice perspective assumes that criminals offend because crime provides the most effective means of achieving desired benefits, such as money, material goods, sexual gratification, and domination of others. Criminals choose to commit a crime by weighing the effort, rewards, and costs involved in alternative courses of action. According to Cornish and Clarke (1987), the making of decisions and choices reveals a measure of rationality, albeit constrained by limits of time, ability, and the availability of relevant information. They claimed that criminals make decisions about crime risk, weighing the costs, and the possible benefits associated with the commission of a crime (Cornish & Clarke, 1987).

The decision process and the elements taken into consideration will vary by the type of offense and the stage of an offender’s career (onset, duration, and desistence). Motivated criminals may be discouraged from committing a particular crime if they perceive a potential target to be too risky, to involve too much effort, or to offer inadequate profits for the venture to be worthwhile (Cornish & Clarke, 1987). The

rational choice perspective assumes that crimes can be prevented by increasing the risks, increasing the required effort, and reducing the rewards from the point of view of the potential criminal.

However, a limited or “bounded” rational choice perspective assumes that offenders sometimes pay attention to only some of the facts or sources at their disposal, employing shortcuts or rules of thumb to speed the decision process (Cornish & Clark, 1987; Lattimore & Witte, 1986). Because information necessary to make good decisions is frequently unavailable, rational behavior sometimes does not have to be carefully preconceived and planned or require hierarchical, sequential decision making. It is sufficient that rational offenders can choose between alternatives based upon their immediate perceptions of the risks and gains involved. The decision does not have to be the best possible under the circumstances, nor does it have to be based upon an accurate assessment of the situation. Decision making is thus perceived to be optimal; it does not require deliberate, careful weighing of costs and rewards, or alternatives and consequences.

The rational choice perspective has a central premise that offenders choose to commit crimes for the benefits they expect. It is an assumption about crime, and to a lesser extent, criminality. The rational choice perspective assumes an offender’s behavior is purposive and that offenders endeavor to advance themselves by criminal pursuits. This involves the making of decisions and choices, however basic in formulation they may be. A decision design is constrained by temporal limits, an offender’s cognitive capabilities, and the accessibility of appropriate information. In other words, an offender exhibits limited rather than normative rationality. The degree to which the thought

processes vary stretches on a continuum from extremely rational and well-thought through to almost opportunistic thinking. Offenders are goal-orientated, and their endeavors are not totally thoughtless. Decisions are made to meet needs with the least effort, and some effort can be made to check behavior (Coleman & Fararo, 1994). According to Bohman (1992), rational choice perspective remains an incomplete theory of social action. It can only remain relevant if it incorporates other theories of crime, such as routine activity theory, crime pattern theory, and others.

Much property crime research (Copes, 2003; Cromwell & Olson, 2006; Cromwell, Olson, & Avary 1991; Hochstetler & Copes, 2003; Jacobs & Cherbonneau, 2014; Shover 1991; Wright & Decker, 1994) has emphasized the rational process by which an offender chooses a criminal career, selects targets, and commits criminal acts. Whether burglars carefully plan their crimes and choose their targets by rational means, or whether they primarily choose targets of opportunity are one of the most significant questions for the formulation of burglary-prevention strategies. The findings of some residential burglary studies of decision making strategies in target selection, have been inconsistent with regards to the degree of planning that characterizes the decision making (Bennett & Wright, 1984; Cromwell, Olson, & Avary, 1991; Nee & Taylor, 1988; Rengert & Wasilchick, 1985; Reppetto, 1974). Reppetto (1974) describes burglars as planning and executing their crimes in a rational plan, weighing the potential risks versus the potential gains and choosing a course of action that optimizes gains. Other scholars have recognized an opportunistic quality among burglars, but have generally supported a “rational manner” perspective (Bennett & Wright, 1984; Shover, 1991; Rengert & Wasilchick, 1985). With regard to rational choice perspective, it is argued that burglars

are not completely rational but rather they respond to various factors with little thought; and in addition, they are faced with limited choices (Wright & Decker, 1994). Rational choice perspective remains an incomplete theory of social actions and provides too little explanation of the subjective role of emotions, such as anger, desperation, or defiance, as contrasted to the role of logical thinking, in the offender's decision making process (Wright & Decker, 1994). Moreover, the moods experienced by offenders can change their thinking and can make them unconcerned about risk. With regard to offenders' decision making, Wright and Bennett (1990) distinguish between the initial and the final decision. In the case of the initial decision to offend, the motivation for the decision is seldom influenced by physical situational elements, although it is frequently affected by social, cultural, and economic factors. However, in the case of the final decision to offend, which is a decision that is taken with respect to a particular target; physical situational factors are likely to influence the decision.

In the case of burglary, Cromwell et al. (1991) identify two assumptions of burglars' decision strategies. First, the limited-rationality explanation of burglary assumes that burglars are seeking satisfactory target choices, not optimal ones. Burglars do not assess all the available information about a target; rather they consider only information which, according to their own experiences, or those of co-offenders, other burglars or even acquaintances, are perceived to be reasonable predictors of success or failure. As a result, most opportunistic burglars do not heavily weigh long-term costs, risks, or benefits. The second assumption is that burglars expect some minimal gain from each potential burglary.

## **Routine Activity Theory**

Besides rational choice perspective, the routine activity theory (RAT) is particularly useful in explaining burglary. The RAT was first developed by Cohen and Felson in 1979 (Aantjes, 2012; Paternoster & Bachman, 2001). The RAT is different from other crime theories. While other theories examine the causes of crime and characteristics of criminals, the RAT focuses on questions about how the routines activities of people affect their victimization risks and what attracts offenders to crime (Arnold, Keane, & Baron, 2005).

The RAT includes the assumption that most crime occurs as opportunities arise during the course of routine, daily life. A crime is likely to occur when a motivated offender, a suitable target, and lack of “guardianship” come together at the same time and place (Cohen & Felson, 1979). In other words, someone who is inclined to commit a crime will be likely to do so if she/he encounters a desired target and thinks it is possible to get away with it. Similar to classical theory, the RAT accepts the offender as a free-willed individual who decides on crimes out of self-interest. Offenders look for specific targets, which can cause lucrative gain but fewer risks. For example, offenders prefer expensive and lightweight items. Routine activities of people in their daily lives make them suitable targets (Arnold et al., 2005). The activities range from formal work to leisure activities, to the methods that people utilize to acquire food, shelter, education, and other basic needs. The house of an individual is a suitable target of burglary if there is no guardian for it at night. Besides this, if anybody often goes out at night for a drink, and she or he chooses a bar close to downtown, she or he is more likely to become a victim of a crime. If anybody chooses the local bus to go to work rather than an



automobile, she or he is more likely to become a victim of such a crime as theft, pick-pocketing, assault, or harassment intimidation. The presence of a guardian capable of protecting the possible targets increases the risk of being caught. Therefore, these kinds of targets are not preferable. “Guardians” refer not only to law enforcement officials, but other guardians of a possible burglary target, such as a dog, a private security, or a housekeeper. Moreover, a wheel lock or a car alarm might be the guardian for a possible car-theft target.

Additionally, the RAT also explains variation in crime rates by hour of day and season of year (Cohn & Rotton, 2003; Hipp, Curran, Bollen, & Bauer, 2004; Rotton & Cohn, 2003). According to the theory, people mostly go out for different purposes, such as dinner, drinks, picnics, and other entertainment, in warm and hot seasons. Staying out long in these seasons increases opportunities for offenders to commit crime. In the absence of guardianship, houses of the people who are out become attractive targets for burglars. On the other hand, when it is cold, people prefer to stay home. Therefore, opportunities for burglars (at least residential burglars) are limited. In addition, crime is more likely during specific times of during the day (Paternoster & Bachman, 2001). Crime rates are higher at the specific periods when people are in their offices during the day and when they go out at night. Hipp et al. (2004) insist that the number of women in the labor market has increased because of structural changes in the U.S. Therefore, all property crime rates have increased in the U.S. because a greater number of houses have been unoccupied during daytime hours.

Closely connected to the RAT, the crime-site selection model is also useful for explaining a burglar’s decisions about target selection (Aantjes, 2012; Brantingham &

Brantingham, 1993). The crime-site selection model is originally developed from the crime pattern theory by Brantingham and Brantingham (1993). According to crime-pattern theory, crime occurs at the intersection of three important elements, namely nodes, paths, and edges. Nodes are the places where people travel and return. Some nodes can contain places that cause crime or where crime is present. An offender seeks opportunities for crime in or around his or her personal nodes. Crime can occur on the paths that an offender takes to move from one place to another. Edges are the third element which contains the edges of areas in which people live and move. Crime often occurs at these edges where individuals meet each other. Residential burglaries have different crime patterns because of different opportunity surfaces. The crime-site selection model indicates the environment emits many cues about the characteristics of the site. These signals enable criminals to locate and identify easy targets. If a specific building closely matches a criminal's typical target choice (pattern), the probability increases for that specific building to become a crime target. According to the crime-selection model, actual commission of crime is a final result of a multi-staged decision process, which seeks out and identifies a target in time and space.

### **The Opportunity Perspective**

The opportunity perspective says that the chance of committing a crime increases when the opportunity is greater (Felson & Clarke, 1998). This theory suggests that every crime has something to do with opportunity. Without opportunity, there is no crime even though there may be a motivated offender. The opportunity perspective is related to situational crime prevention. Cromwell et al. (1991) assume that if most burglars are less rational and more opportunistic, crime prevention tactics based on a rational choice

model might prove to be ineffective. Their findings suggest that a burglar's decision to victimize a given target is based primarily on environmental cues perceived to have immediate consequences. Most burglars appear to attend only to the present; future events or outcomes do not appear to weigh heavily in their risk-gain calculation.

To explain the nature of burglary from the opportunity perspective, some principles of crime opportunity by Felson and Clark (1998) have been discussed. According to Felson and Clarke (1998), crime opportunities are crime-specific; a single opportunity factor cannot account for every type of crime. This concept may be applied in a comparative context to predict that a Western burglar might be looking for specific properties, like cash or jewelry, while a Thai burglar might only look for expensive Buddhist amulets. Opportunities are always concentrated in time and space. There are many places, people, and properties that are not suitable for crime. On the other hand, people who prevent criminal behavior, like police officers, private security officers, housekeepers, and gardeners cannot be everywhere.

Also, an offender easily gets involved in other crimes (Felson & Clarke, 1998). For instance, a burglar who first steals certain properties may later sell the stolen goods or may use money to buy drugs. In addition, offenders may threaten or rape residents during a burglary. The value of the properties also creates the opportunity for crime. Some properties are more sensitive to crime than others. Residential burglars often search for cash, jewelry, cell phones and electronic devices rather than kitchen appliances, tables, chairs, or even luxury dresses.

Burglars usually know their victims (Budd, 1999; Shover, 1991; Weisel, 2002) who may include casual acquaintances, neighborhood residents, people for whom they have provided a service (in their capacity of housekeepers, gardeners, movers or similar), or friends and relatives of friends. Thus, burglars have some knowledge of their victims by seeing their daily routines, which allows them to better plan a burglary.

Social, cultural and technological changes affect decisions about crime opportunity, especially for burglary. Some items are no longer attractive to burglars due to the technological revolution. A video-tape player, a cassette tape radio or a home telephone might not be stolen anymore because they are no longer produced and barely used, or because their resale value is very low (Felson & Clarke, 1998). The profits derived from these stolen items might not outweigh the risks.

Crime opportunities are not related to only social and technological change. A cultural perspective also accounts for offenders' decisions to commit crime. Crime can be prevented when the opportunity is removed. Some cultural factors influence the opportunities for burglars. For example, Thai families always live together in homes with both parents and grandparents. The parents or grandparents who have retired from jobs usually stay home in the daytime; as a result, the opportunities for burglary are reduced. Similarly, most people could reduce burglary opportunities by locking doors and putting away money, and this probably holds cross-culturally. New technological equipment, such as a surveillance camera, an auto locking remote control, or an alarm could reduce burglary opportunities.

## **Social and Cultural Perspective**

People from different cultural backgrounds have different expectations, norms, and values, which can influence their judgments and decisions, as well as their behaviors. For example, Europeans and Americans are generally influenced by the positive consequences of a decision, whereas Asians appear to be more influenced by the negative consequences that may occur from a decision or line of action (Ji et al., 2000; Kitayama et al., 2009; Knight & Nisbett, 2007).

Numerous definitions of culture reflect diverse perspectives. Keesing (1974) says that culture is a system of knowledge enabling communications with others and interpretations of their behavior. Klausner (1993) and Ruben (1989) say culture can be learned and shared by a large group of people. People will then create perceptions about beliefs, values, knowledge, folklore conventions, information-processing patterns, rules, norms, and lifestyles that reflect their behavior. Knutson, Komolsevin, Chatiketu, and Smith (2003) summarize definitions of culture by saying first, culture is “learned” through our interactions with other members of the culture. Human beings are not born with culture. Second, culture provides rules of appropriate and acceptable behavior in the form of values, beliefs, and norms. Cultures identify desirable behavior for their members. Third, cultures provide a means of organizing and classifying our environment in distinctive ways. Culture structures daily life. Fourth, culture provides a way of seeing the world. Fifth, culture is transmitted from generation to generation, giving consistency and tradition to the group.

The notion of value is at the core of all social and behavioral sciences (Knutson et al., 2003). According to several definitions, values are descriptive in that they provide ways in which beliefs can be tested as right or wrong, true or false. Values are evaluative, enabling judgment of good or bad. Values also guide action and influence particular positions on various social concerns, including crime commission. Values serve as means and ends of competency, righteousness, and morality. Finally, values reduce ambiguity by creating criteria that specify the way people should behave with respect to means and ends.

“Social influence” generally refers to processes whereby an individual’s beliefs, opinions, attitudes, values, and behaviors are affected by other(s) through social interaction (Hofsterde; 1991; Manstead & Parker, 1995; Natarajan, Balasubramanian, Balakrishnan, & Manickayasagam, 2013). Hofsterde (1980, 1991, 2003) provides a foundation upon which to compare cultural values. He used survey data in 40 countries to classify and make predictions about the way people from different cultures respond to social situations. His factor analyses revealed four dimensions of national culture: power dimensions, uncertainty avoidance, individualism-collectivism, and masculinity-femininity (Hofstede, 1984). Power distance indicates the extent to which a society accepts an unequal distribution of power in institutions and society. Uncertainty avoidance reflects the extent to which a society tries to avoid ambiguous situations.

Individualism-collectivism refers to the extent to which relationships are based on loose social frameworks rather than on collectivism where people are tightly integrated into primary groups. According to Hofstede (1984), individualist cultures, like the U.S., tend to focus actions and solutions on personal interests and are less likely to make

decisions based on group norms. House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman, and Gupta (2004) described the U.S. as having a high-performance orientation, driving competitiveness and results-oriented decisions. Low in-group collectivism in the U.S. affects decision making, resulting in less attachment to family or similar groups than what may be found in other countries. Some studies (Fulmer et al., 2010; Griffith, Myers, & Harvey, 2006; Weber, Ames, & Blais, 2004) show that cultural norms and values are not the only variables to affect behavior. The extent to which they come into play also depends on situational factors, and how much the situation calls these norms and values to mind when a judgment or decision is being made.

Another example: individuals in collectivist cultures are less inclined to act in accordance with their cultural beliefs when they do not experience peer pressure (Bagozzi, Wong, Abe, & Bergami, 2014; Weber et al., 2004). Peer pressure is one significant cultural difference between Westerners' and Asians' decision making. With regards to what collectivist culture dictates, Japanese and Thai students are more likely, compared with U.S. or Italian students, to decide whether they will eat in a fast food restaurant on the basis of their personal attitudes (Bagozzi et al., 2014). However, this individuality is much more salient when people make plans whether to eat with friends and less salient when they decide whether to eat in a fast food restaurant on their own. In the latter context, the likelihood they will act contingent on their attitudes significantly increases (Bagozzi et al., 2014).

The notion of masculinity-femininity refers to the rigidity of gender roles in a different culture, which could explain differences in decision making. "Confucian dynamism," the additional dimension found later by Hofstede (1991), distinguishes Asian

and Western people. Asian people value pursuit of certain goals, and they order relationships by status, harmony and stability relationships. They care for others and are loyal and emphasize trustworthiness. Conversely, Western people have a short-term orientation to support personal and stability and emphasize equality.

### **Thai Cultural Values**

Thai values can be examined from the perspective of value orientation theory by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's study in 1961 (Hills, 2002). The value orientation theory is a set of principles guiding the solution of common human problems. The theory includes four value orientations: man-nature, time, activity, and relationship (Hills, 2002). The man-nature orientation is the extent to which people are seen as subjugated to, in harmony with, or having mastery over nature. The time orientation assesses whether people primarily view the life cycle as predominately past, present, or future. The orientation of activity indicates whether individuals are perceived as being, becoming, or doing. Finally, the relational orientation is the degree to which the culture depicts interpersonal affiliations as linear, collateral, or individualist.

Regarding the man-nature orientation, Thais see themselves as subjugated to nature. Thais' attitudes toward the environment are one of passive acceptance: "*what will be, will be.*" The Thai phrase "*mai pen rai,*" translated literally as "*never mind,*" reflects the Buddhist notion of "*karma,*" a belief in destiny determined by previous existence. Mulder (1992) explains that this value contributes to a nonchalance displayed by Thais when facing seemingly insurmountable problems, a response that frequently strikes outsiders as unfounded self-confidence. A Thai accepts events more philosophically than



Westerners, he or she does not strive to methodically control nature to fit one's will (Kulick & Wilson, 1992).

Thais place greater emphasis on the present rather than the past or the future. Time is seen as a series of cycles with recurring phases, as opposed to the Western view of time as progressing along a straight line. Cooper and Cooper (1982) note the idea of a time and place for everything is very flexibly applied in Thailand. With respect to the activity orientation, Thais value being, and see life as something to enjoy. Spontaneous expressions of enjoyable liveliness characterize Thai culture, and a Thai saying "Doing whatever pleases one's mind" (Nakata & Dhiravegin, 1989, p.183) suggests this being orientation.

In the relational orientation, Thais place great value on deferential behavior and submissiveness. Thai society is arranged in a hierarchy such that almost every relationship is defined in terms of superiority or inferiority. According to Nakata and Dhiravegin (1989), Thais are taught to obey and respect people with higher social status by birth, education, knowledge, social status, or age. The Thai term "*kreng jai*" embodies the relationship orientation and refers to the desire to be self-effecting, respectful, and extremely considerate as well as the wish to avoid embarrassing others or intruding or imposing upon them. "*Kreng jai*," probably unique in Thailand, characterizes the daily interpersonal relationships of Thai people. Another grateful relationship orientation is expressed by "*bunkhun*," or the reciprocity of goodness. Gratitude occupies a prominent place in Thai social interaction. Kindness must be recognized and appreciated as well as returned, and "*bunkhun*" is the foundation of strong relationships or friendship (Klausner, 1993). "*Bunkhun*" inspires close personal relationships, the key to the stability

of Thai social life. Friendship, for the Thai, is a process of continual giving and receiving kindness, dispensing and obtaining favors, and recognizing that time and distance do not mitigate “*bunkhun*.”

For Thais, the flexibility-and-adjustment orientation value emphasizes the situation and the immediate circumstances, not the ideology (Knutson et al., 2003). The person and the situation are always given preference over the system and principles. Given the extreme avoidance of disturbing other people, the expression of gratitude orientation and the desire for smooth social relations, the flexibility and adjustment value is understandable (Knutson et al., 2003). The religious-psychic orientation of the Thai is strongly influenced by Buddhism, the religion of 95% of the population. Buddhism, a philosophy as much as a fate, teaches harmony and the impermanence of all things.

The interdependence orientation refers to the value of cooperation and collaboration, particularly in rural areas. Ratanakul and Then (1990) note the industrial and economic development process in urban areas has decreased cooperation and has increased the gap between the rich and the poor. One can readily observe the importance of the interdependence orientation value, however, in business negotiations, where the establishment of social rapport is critical. Thais usually develop social relationships that could lead them to business cooperation (Fieg, 1989). Two business people prefer to have drinks or lunch together, search out their common interests, and perhaps meet later to share a favorite pastime. As their social relationship develops, business will be blended; and eventually the business negotiation will begin. In general, the Thai people do help one another and cooperate with one another in such a way as to make these characteristics dominant values.

One of the unique Thai values is fun and pleasure. The Thai term “*sanuk*,” meaning to have fun and enjoyment, actually supports the higher Thai value of interpersonal interaction and social harmony. The Thai place great value on fun; if something is not “*sanuk*,” including work, it is not worth doing. Komin (1991) goes so far as to remark that “Thai people are easily bored or “*buua*,” not because of having nothing to do like Westerners, but because the repetitive activities they are doing are not “*sanuk*.” The Thai value represented by the achievement-task orientation, not surprising in light of “*sanuk*,” is ranked much lower than the values associated with harmonious social relationships. Thai people perceive pleasant, amiable, social activities as more important than task-related, problem-solving, decision making work.

### **Comparing the Thai and American Cultural Values**

The most important cultural value of Americans (representing a Western culture), is individualism (Knutson et al., 2003). Self-identity is determined by personal achievement, and the world is subject to human domination and control. Equality is preferred in interpersonal relations, but friendship seldom results in deep mutual dependence. Emotional displays are not as restricted as in other parts of the world. A monochronic, linear view of time is taken, and “doing” rather than “being” is valued. Americans see “a world of peace” and “honesty” as the most important terminal and instrumental values, respectively. Finally, getting down to task-oriented concerns with a “do-it-yourself” attitude probably best describes American values in action.

Knutson et al. (2003) summarize several differences between Thai and U.S. values. The first difference can be found in the way in which Thai people and Americans

view the world. Thais see themselves as subjugated by nature and typically accept the environment in a passive way. Americans, on the other hand, take a problem-solving approach in their attempt to dominate nature and the environment. Thais see human beings as part of nature, and Americans view people as separate from nature. Thais often attribute the vicissitudes of life to fate; Americans rage against nature and environment, attempting to solve problems. In general, Thais can be seen as reacting to nature, whereas Americans exercise a proactive approach to nature and the environment.

The religious beliefs of the two cultures also influence the perception of man and nature. Christianity influenced people to challenge the conditions under which they lived. A good and moral person is one who works hard and is rewarded with eternal salvation. On the other hand, the Thais saw little need for change given their relatively comfortable environment, and the Buddhist tradition of "*karma*" provided little impetus to take control of the future. Since people would be given many lives, returning to earth repeatedly in forms determined by past lives, little could be done to change the natural order. "*Fate*" is the word used to describe the Thai view of nature. "*Change*," on the other hand, portrays the U.S. conception of the environment (Knutson et al., 2003).

With respect to the relationship orientation, there are several interesting differences between the two cultures. While Thais conduct themselves in a deferential way according to social hierarchy, Americans value equality in their interactions and activities with others. For Americans, the rigid social hierarchy characteristic of Thai culture does not play an important role in relationships. Thais value consideration of others in their relationships, but American values are more oriented to the "self" and usually depict a relationship as a means to an end (Knutson et al., 2003). U.S. values

emphasize individual satisfaction in terms of self, but the Thai values indicate an other-oriented approach. Respect and obedience are highly valued in Thai society. Americans value the more informal aspects of relationships.

Regarding the activity dimension, Thais usually highlight “being.” Life is to be, and little emphasis is placed on either the past or the future. Americans, on the other hand, value “doing,” not experiencing. Activity is seen as an important right for Americans as they face the future with predictions based on the past. For the Thai, time is arranged in cycles, and life is seen as a series of repetitions in the form of birth-life-rebirth. Conversely, Americans view time in a linear fashion and act according to the clock and calendar. Punctuality is valued in the U.S. In contrast, Thais often disregard precise arrangements for meeting and appointments.

The masculinity-femininity dimension also reveals a difference between Thailand and the U.S. Thais place value on people and quality of life while de-emphasizing the acquisition of material things. Americans have a strong achievement motive and see work, rather than people, as central to their lives. The American quality of self-interest can be seen as an assertive value, and the Thai people’s respect for others, a nurturing characteristic, can be viewed as a gentler disposition.

### **The Influence of Effects of Cultural Value on Burglars’ Decision Making**

With respect to the cultural values and social perspectives of Thais, several hypotheses about burglar’s decision making can be derived in this study. Regarding the man-nature orientation, Thai burglars might apply this concept to explain why they have to commit burglary and how their acts are acceptable because they do not cause much

harm to their victims. As a result, their acts could be said to be “*mai pen rai*” or “*never mind*.” Some burglars might defend a choice to burglarize only rich residences by saying the burglary is acceptable because they have no sufficient way to support themselves and their families.

Cooper and Cooper (1982) note the idea of a time and place for everything as being very flexibly applied in Thailand. Precise arrangements for meeting and appointments are not important for Thais. This concept also influences a Thai person’s decision making, including the decision making of criminal offenders. Thai offenders may commit crimes without a plan; they instead may commit a crime when an opportunity is exposed. It is unknown whether burglars in Thailand are rational planners as some researchers claim (Bennett & Wright, 1984 Rengert & Wasilchick, 1985; Repetto, 1974; Shover, 1991). A view of flexible time and place also could influence burglars when they choose time and targets. Thai burglars may choose their targets and time based on convenience. Burglary in Thailand may not be seasonal. Also, some burglars may believe in fate when they commit burglary. This may mean they avoid possibly rewarding opportunities to commit crime.

With respect to the obedience value, it can be assumed that most burglars in Thailand will not choose a residence of a highly respected person in a community such as a community president, police officer or prison warden because they would feel like “*kreng jai*” to those people. Similarly, some burglars may not break into the residence of an old lady due to a wish to avoid embarrassing others.

According to the interdependence orientation, Thais emphasize the value of cooperation and collaboration. This concept is true for group crimes. Co-offending is common among burglars and is reported to reduce anxiety about punishments (Hochstetler, 2001). Individuals may also become involved in burglary through social interactions. Burglary in Thailand is often a group crime, a street-gang crime, or even a family production. Cromwell and Olson (2006) note that social contributors include gangs, delinquent subcultures, peer approval, and status. Hochstetler (2001) shows how involvement in street life leads to criminal activities through complex interaction effects between peer encouragement and collaboration. Criminal collaborations may be especially important for inexperienced or part-time offenders and for females (Cromwell et al., 1991; Mullins & Wright, 2003; Nee & Meenaghan, 2006; Wright & Decker, 1994;). Examples of such collaborations include being a street-gang member, co-offending, sharing or receiving information about potential targets, and fencing of stolen goods.

It could be assumed that most Thai offenders usually take drugs and alcohol before or during the commission of a burglary. According to Thai values, most Thai people place great value on fun and enjoyment. It is not worth doing something if it is not fun. Taking drugs and alcohol may influence a burglar's decision making and may make burglary "*sanuk*" or "*fun*." In addition, Thais perceive pleasant, amiable, social activities as more important than task-related, problem-solving, decision-making work. With respect to this concept, some social activities, such as gambling, nightlife, partying, or involvement in a street gang, will be related to burglary. Burglars may decide to commit burglary because they need money to support such pleasant activities.

## **Target Selection**

Several researchers have focused on burglars' decision making in accordance with the RAT, especially during the target selection process (Bernesco, 2003; Kuo, 2014; Hakim, Rengert, & Shachmurove, 2001; Wright & Decker, 1994). Burglars usually choose their targets after a careful decision process (Bernesco, 2003; Hakim et al., 2001). Burglars usually assess the benefits and risks of a target in two steps. First, they decide on a suitable area. In order to reduce the risk of burglary, offenders often choose the target in the neighborhood where they live, or a similar well known area. Later, burglars make a decision and select a suitable target with the preselected area. Attractiveness, opportunity, and accessibility are part of a burglar's target selection criteria. Most residential burglars, for example, choose small houses because the burglaries can be completed quickly. And they steal lightweight items that are very portable.

Based on the crime-site selection model, a few empirical studies on residential burglary have attempted to identify environmental characteristics that meet a burglar's view of a "good target." Bennett (1990) found from his study of 40 convicted burglars that risk, ease, and reward are three significant environmental characteristics, with risk playing the most important role in the target selection process. Similarly, Taylor and Nee (1988) conducted an experiment with 15 convicted burglars and 15 members of the public, using a simulation with pictures of actual residences. The results of their research showed that the situational cues that influence the decision making processes of residential burglars when selecting their targets are generally classified into four categories, namely layout cues, wealth cues, occupancy cues, and security cues. There were also differences in target-searching methods between burglars and non-burglars.



However, both groups appeared to use almost identical environmental cues in their decisions about target selection. Another study was conducted by MacDonald and Gifford (1989). In their study of 43 convicted burglars, the subjects were asked to sort 50 photographs of single-family houses along a seven-point scale of likelihood of being a burglary target. Their results showed that environmental cues about surveillability play the most important role, but some environmental cues, such as lighting, fences, or security signs have no significant effects.

According to Cromwell, Olson, and Avary (1999), offenders choose the target sites by opportunity rather than purposefully. There are three common patterns when burglars choose their targets. First, the burglar happens to be by the potential burglary site at an opportune moment when the homeowners are clearly absent and the target is perceived as vulnerable, such as when there is an open garage door. Second, the target house is one that had been previously visited by the burglar for a legitimate purpose (as a guest, delivery person, maintenance worker, or other such activity). Finally, the target site is chosen after dealing with neighborhoods and searching for a criminal opportunity and detecting some subtle cue as to vulnerability or potential for material gain.

### **Measures or Cues That Discourage Target Selection**

Several researchers have determined which environmental cues or sets of cues cause a burglar to perceive potential targets as vulnerable to burglary or that act to discourage selection of particular targets (Wright & Decker, 1994; Bennett & Wright, 1984; Brantingham & Brantingham, 1981). Some studies (Bennett & Wright, 1984; Brown & Altman, 1983; Cromwell & Olson, 2006; Wright & Decker, 1994) have

focused on the burglar's use of distinctive environmental stimuli that function as signals to provide significant information about the environment's temporal, spatial, sociocultural, psychological, and legal characteristics, and hence the value of particular targets. An offender who is motivated to commit burglary uses these discriminative cues to locate and identify target sites. Much of the recent research on burglary concludes that several specific cues could have varying effects on decision making.

### **Alarms**

An alarm or alarm sign has a deterrent effect for burglary (Bennett & Wright, 1984; Buck, 1989; Buck, Hakim, & Rengert 1993; Cromwell, 1994; Cromwell et al., 1991; Wright & Decker, 1994; Wright, Logie, & Decker, 1995). Hakim et al. (1993) showed that an alarm system or obvious alarm sign were good cues in burglary deterrence. Burglars felt threatened by a good alarm system (Kristie, 2012). Accordingly, some insurance companies offer premium discounts to clients who install alarm systems (Buck, Hakim, & Porat, 1992).

On the other hand, Taylor and Nee (1988) found that 60% of burglars believed that alarms were not a deterrent; only 40% insisted that these devices were an effective deterrent. Cahalane (2001) concluded that the main problem with the rise in the utilization of alarms as a prevention measure has been the remarkable rise in false alarms and the problems this causes for emergency service personnel, especially police.

### **Signs of occupancy**

Some studies have found that the noise from a television or radio, and the lights on inside a house have a slight deterrent effect. Scarr, Pinsky, and Wyatt (1973) and

Maguire and Bennett (1982) found that several cues that signal a lack of occupancy were highly attractive and influential. Buck and Hakim (1992) found that interior lighting was an effective deterrent for burglary. According to Taylor and Nee (1988), 52% of burglars said that occupancy was very important as a deterrent, while only 36% were conditionally deterred, and 12% actually preferred an occupied house as there was more chance of finding valuables, such as cash, jewelry, and credit cards. Similarly, Bennett and Wright (1984) found occupancy a marginal deterrent to burglars. A car in a driveway has been recognized as a deterrent (Bennett & Wright, 1984) because it signals to a burglar that a house may be occupied. Several studies (Buck and Hakim, 1992; Hough, 1987; Rebscher, 1990; Wright et al., 1995) insist that a car in a driveway was an effective deterrent to burglars.

### **The presence of dogs**

Some research indicates that the presence of dogs can deter burglars from choosing a target house (Cromwell, 1994; Cromwell et al, 1993; Wright & Decker, 1994; Bennett, 1990). From interviews with 168 burglars, Bennett and Wright (1984) found that two-thirds of burglars “would avoid choosing a target in which they knew or suspected that there was a dog” (p. 84). Later, Bennett (1990) found that dogs did have a deterrent effect. Bennett’s finding is similar to those from other studies (Cromwell, 1994; Cromwell et al., 1993; Wright & Decker, 1994). Other research, however, has found that the presence of a dog did not have a deterrent effect on burglars (Buck and Hakim, 1992; Hough, 1987; Wright et al., 1995). A beware-of-dogs sign had no significant effect on the decisions of burglars and non-burglar controls (Wright et al., 1995). Therefore, the influence of dogs on burglars’ decision making remains unclear.

### **Locks, doors, and windows**

Some studies suggest target hardening of doors and windows is a good deterrent (Buck & Hakim, 1992; Kristie, 2012; Wright et al., 1995), while others suggest that good locks only delay a burglar's break in (Bennett & Wright, 1984; Cromswell et al., 1993; Hough, 1987; Maguire & Bennett, 1982; Winchester & Jackson, 1982; Wright & Decker, 1994). Buck and Hakim (1992) found that 70% of burglars entered through either the front or the back door (as opposed to through a window, for example). They found that a deadbolt lock did act as a deterrent. Wright, Logie and Decker (1995) found that the presence of an extra lock reduced attractiveness for control subjects but not for burglars. It may be the case, that to a layman, a good lock is a foreboding deterrent, but to a skilled or even semi-skilled burglar, it is a slight inconvenience or even a signal that there may be something good to steal. Tilley and Webb (1994) studied a crime prevention initiative that utilized the introduction of better locks in two housing areas. Compared to a control area, the two housing areas experienced 60% and 90% reductions in burglary.

Edgar and McInerney (1987) found that no lock is impenetrable. The only effect of a good lock is how long it takes to defeat it. Having said this, a longer time period may increase the chance of detection. Edgar and McInerney (1987) list 20 easily learned methods that can defeat some of the best and most expensive locks available. They even listed the numerous ways a burglar can gain entry via a locked door even if the lock on the door is beyond a burglar's experience. Hough (1987) found that one-third of the entry to homes was via the front and two-thirds from the rear or side. However, for apartments, two-thirds of burglars entered from the front, and one-third from the side or rear even if some of these doors were locked.

According to the results from burglary prevention programs in Kent and the Thames Valley area reported by Mayhew (1984), prevention campaigns based on target hardening have only a marginal deterrent effect on the overall level of burglaries. In the study by Taylor and Nee (1988), 92% of the burglars stated that high-level target hardening was ineffective. Additionally, 75% stated that double glazing of windows (i.e., double pane) was not a deterrent.

### **Level of affluence and inside information**

The cues that indicate affluence or wealth were highly attractive to burglars (Bennett & Wright, 1984). Taylor and Nee (1988) and Wright and Decker (1984)'s found that residences with signs of wealth, such as well-kept gardens, were more attractive to burglars. Hough (1987) suggested that the exterior appearance of affluence of a target house was a strong predictor of target attractiveness. However, there is contrary evidence. Poor homes were targeted only marginally less than middle-class and upper-class homes. The obvious appearance of wealth increased the attractiveness of a target. However, Wright, Logie, and Decker (1995) found that affluence was unimportant. Affluence and resident absence can also be determined by an offender gaining inside information either directly or indirectly. Wright and Decker (1994) found that one-fifth of burglars choose to burglarize the homes of people they knew. Additionally, Budd (2001) found that 34% of burglaries involved offenders well known to the victims and 17% informally known to the victims.

### **Location of a house**

Many studies (Buck & Hakim, 1992; Repetto, 1974; Taylor & Nee, 1988) have provided strong evidence that a house situated on a corner is more vulnerable because of its accessibility. Burglars rated possible targets as more attractive if they had multiple routes with many methods of escape (Bennett & Wright, 1984; Taylor & Nee, 1988). Also, burglars preferred targets where reconnaissance and access can be the rear of homes. Hough (1987) stated that accessibility is taken into account by burglars. Physical access to the rear of properties is important. Similarly, Hakim and Gaffney (1995) determined that properties adjacent to wooded areas or deserted areas, such as railroad tracks, were more preferred targets because they have easy rear access.

### **House environment**

House surroundings, such as the denseness of the trees, hiding places within the target place, and high fences can be attractive to burglars (Bennett & Wright, 1984; Rebscher, 1990). Appleton (1975) concluded that people seek a place where they have a wide uninterrupted prospect that aids surveillance and provides a safe refuge. Similar to Appleton's study, Fisher and Nasar (1992) argue that places with limited or restricted viewing and plenty of ways to escape are places that potential offender would favor. Potential offenders prefer limited prospect and high refuge areas, while potential victims feel most safe in areas with open prospect and no refuge areas. The results from a study of a university campus in Ohio by Fisher and Nasar (1992) suggested that areas with refuge for the offender and limited prospect for the victims contributed to fear of crime,

whereas areas with an open prospect for the victim and limited refuge for the offender contributed to feel of safety.

In addition, Pablant and Baxter (1975) found that schools with high walls or vegetation that obstructed a view from the street onto the school were vandalized significantly more than schools that provided an open view. Also, Camp (1968) and Tiffany and Ketchel (1979) reported that bank robbers preferred banks that had poor visibility from the outside in, but good visibility from the inside out. Taylor and Nee (1988) found that burglars look for site cues that increase concealment.

### **Significant Characteristics of Burglars**

Much research has been conducted with burglars to examine their decision making, especially about target selection. Most research categorizes burglars as novice, middle-range, and professional (Bennett & Wright, 1984; Cromwell et al., 1999; Taylor & Nee, 1988; Wright & Decker, 1994). “Novice burglars” are younger, make minimal gains from burglaries, burglarize nearby dwellings, and can be easily deterred by dogs, alarms, or locks. “Professional burglars” are older, carry out bigger burglaries are willing to take on security devices, and are more mobile, scouting good targets farther from home. “Middle-range burglars” fall somewhere between the other two types, and more often work alone. A key feature distinguishing these types of burglars is the way they dispose of goods. Professionals tend to have well-established outlets, while novices must seek out markets for stolen goods. Burglars can be quite prolific. Repetto (1974) found that offenders commonly committed at least two burglaries per week. Some studies

suggest there is great variability in the number of burglaries offenders commit (Cromwell et al., 1999; Wright & Decker, 1994).

Burglars do not typically limit their offending to burglary, they participate in a wide range of property, violent, and drug-related crimes (Shover, 1991; Wright & Decker, 1994). Some burglars, however, appear to specialize in burglary for short periods of time. Burglars tend to be recidivists. They are more likely to have the highest rate of recidivism arrests and convictions of all property offenders (Bennett, 1990; Budd, 2001; Cromwell & Olson, 2006; Goodwin, 2007).

Some scholars suggest that most burglaries involve more than one offender (Shover, 1991; Wright & Decker, 1994). One study showed that 36% of burglars committed crime alone, while 75% had co-offenders (Wright & Decker, 1994). Another study reported that in 45% of residential burglaries, offenders had a partner. Young offenders were more likely to have partners (Cromwell et al., 1999).

Most burglars are motivated by need. Offenders usually commit burglaries to get quick cash, often for drugs or alcohol (Kristie, 2012; Shover, 1991; Wright & Decker, 1994). Some offenders, particularly younger ones, are motivated by the thrill of the offense. Small numbers of burglars are motivated by revenge against someone, such as an ex-girlfriend or an employer. Some studies (Rengert & Wasichick, 2000; Reppetto, 1974; Wright & Decker, 1994) show that drug or alcohol use and financial problems are reasons for committing burglary offenses. Drug and alcohol use can impair the ability to assess consequence and risks. Many burglars use their gains to party and gamble, which may be accompanied by frequent and heavy use of drugs and alcohol and a lack of



regular employment. Burglars are not more likely to think about the consequences of their actions than the potential rewards from crime commission, or tend to believe there is little chance of getting caught (Cromwell et al., 1999).

### **Gender Age and Experience Differences**

One deficiency in previous research is a general failure to consider possible relationship between an offender's decision making and their gender, age, and experience. Gender, age, and experience are three variables that can interact with an offender's interpretation of a cue (Byrnes, Mullins & Wright, 2003; Guevara, Herz, & Spohn, 2006; Hochstetler, 2001; Miller & Schafer, 1999; Wright & Decker, 1994). For instance, the presence of a good alarm could have a different influence on males compared to females; and on a young inexperienced burglar compared to an older experienced burglar.

While the body of research exploring gender, age, and experience among offenders has grown significantly, there is relatively little research regarding burglary in particular (Guevara et al., 2006; Hochstetler, 2001; Mullins & Wright, 2003; Wright & Decker, 1994). Burglary is typically considered a male-dominated crime. A few early ethnographic samples report a small percentage of female offenders (Goodwin, 2007; Mullins & Wright, 2003; Wright & Decker, 1994). In comparison, the proportion of female burglars is sizable in Thailand. According to the Department of Corrections (2014), there are more than 1,500 women housed in prisons around Bangkok and vicinity. They make up 23% of all inmates. So it will be interesting to compare the perceptions

and expectations about burglary, including target selection, among male and female offenders in Thailand.

Perceptions and expectations of burglary are different for male and female burglars. Females are more likely to be introduced to burglary by their significant others (Mullins & Wright, 2003), while males tend to become involved through peer networks (Hochstetler, 2001). Some females claim they were initially unaware of their partners' burglaries, but eventually began participating (Wright & Decker, 1994).

Among females who willingly engage in burglary, their motivations are not markedly different from males, except that women more often report using the proceeds to support their children, in addition to partying (Mullins & Wright, 2003). Target information-gathering differs slightly as males exploit their legal occupations (landscaping, construction, service work, etc.) or use their social networks (peers, fences, etc.), while females depend on intimate or social relationships with males or on sexual manipulation of potential targets (Wright & Decker, 1994). Females prefer to work in groups, and their roles are typically limited unless the group is all female (Hochstetler, 2001). However, performing a lesser role is considered valuable, as they believe their limited participation will be viewed as less incriminating or sinful, which is similar to collectivist groups' beliefs like those in Thai culture. The risk of getting caught and being incarcerated is not an instrumental factor in their decision making.

Empirical differences between male and female burglary offenders are infrequently the focus of research. However, several key findings emerge from the select body of available research. First, both males and females are drawn to burglary to obtain

money. The need for money often results from drug and alcohol addictions. Target selection is relatively the same, except that males are able to generate more information from their legal occupations or their social networks. Additionally, the perception of risk apprehension and prosecution are low for both groups. Crime rates for both males and females tend to fluctuate together and are strongly correlated with poor social and economic conditions. Overall, evidence suggests that male and female burglars are similar in many ways.

A burglar's age also affects his/her decision making. In general, burglary has been classified as a crime driven by the need of cash and as a crime that involves substantial planning and preparation. However, some studies (Baldwin & Bottoms, 1976; Bennett & Wright, 1984; Chun & Lee, 2013; Mullins & Wright, 2003; Wright & Decker, 1994) have found different patterns for young and older burglars. For example, young burglars are motivated by the feeling of thrill to commit burglary (Bennett & Wright, 1984). The burglaries committed by young offenders tend to be more impulsive than those of adults (Wright & Decker, 1994). In addition, young burglars are more constrained in their mobility than older burglars (Chun & Lee, 2013). According to Chun and Lee (2013), young offenders usually commit burglary within an area in close proximity to where they live, whereas older offenders tend to choose targets further away from their homes. Some studies (Baldwin & Bottoms, 1976; Chun & Lee, 2013; Mullins & Wright, 2003) indicate that young burglars make shorter crime trips than older burglars because they are less likely to have an automobile or other way available to transport them across long distances.

Some previous research (Cromwell et al., 1999; Goodwin, 2007; Wright & Decker, 1994) have distinguished between experienced and inexperienced burglars. For example, most experienced burglars (Wright & Decker, 1994) dislike working with unskilled female burglars, as they may be less able to use force or to have the necessary strength to carry heavy items (e.g., heavy electronics, safes). Most inexperienced and youthful offenders typically offend with more experienced offenders (Steffensmeier & Ulmer, 2005). Offending in groups allows an inexperienced burglar to learn some of the necessary skills to be successful (Cromwell et al., 1999; Goodwin, 2007). The inexperienced offender may begin by acting as a lookout, gradually becoming more involved as offending experience increases. As offenders gain more experience, they are more likely to become solo offenders as they become professionalized and learn more of the knowledge and information needed to be successful. Burglaries are more profitable when experienced offenders can offend on their own, because they do not have to split the gain with others. Wright and Decker (1994) say the more experience that the offender has, the more likely the offender will commit an offense successfully, or without getting caught.

### **Chapter Summary**

Burglary is a very common crime that can have mild to overwhelming effects on victims. Researchers argue that many income-producing crimes are committed to finance drug addictions. Burglary is a crime that is often utilized to get money or property to exchange for money. The inadequacy of traditional policing methods has led to police trying alternative methods to prevent burglary. The results of these methods have been mixed. There is a need for theoretical research on burglary to better inform prevention

initiatives. The research aim of this study is to conduct theoretically well-founded research on burglary, with prevention as its ultimate objective.

Environmental influences can inform a researcher about how burglars are drawn to particular street types. These influences have their effect well before any decision making takes place. However, research on burglars' decision making explains why one particular house in a street is the target of a burglary, and not another house. Previous research has settled on a number of cues that could figure in the decision making of burglars. All of these cues are considered in this study. Also, some deficiencies, such as the social and cultural value perspective, gender and age perspective, or even deficiencies found in previous burglar decision making research, are addressed in this study.

### **3. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH**

As stated in Chapter 1, the purpose of this study is to investigate burglars' decision making and target selection. Burglary victimization does not appear to be a random event, but rather, one in which the offender selects a target according to certain situational criteria. Most people, however, rarely witness crimes first-hand, or know about the decision making that leads to a crime being committed. Offenders' decision making, therefore, is best understood by asking offenders themselves. As Walsh (1986) explains, examining offenders is a very useful technique for learning about burglars' decision making and target selection:

“Because offenders are the source of the crime, it would seem absurd not to avail oneself of their visions of what they are doing and why. Linked with this, other methods of data collection, valuable as they may be, seem to both skirt the issue and generally be impractical for crimes characterized by great secrecy” (p. 49).

#### **The Qualitative Approach**

To achieve this goal, a qualitative methodology was utilized in this study. In order to undertake a qualitative study of the burglary process, it was necessary to adopt a research method that would ensure an in-depth understanding of the variables that can influence burglars' decision making. A qualitative approach is useful for discovering the meaning that an individual assigns to experiences, and for understanding the emotions, motivations, empathies, and other subjective aspects that belong to the naturally evolving life of an individual (Berg, Lune, & Lune 2004). There is a large body of research that attempts to explore the factors that burglars take into account when deciding to offend and in selecting targets. Several qualitative studies have been conducted by talking to

burglars about their attitudes, assumptions, perceptions, and beliefs, as well as about their decision making strategies and other aspects of their crimes. With limited exceptions, this research has involved interviews with burglars who have been incarcerated at the time of the interview. In their review of methodologies used in burglary research, Nee and Taylor (1988) noted that the more sophisticated experimental and ethnographic designs have served mainly to validate and triangulate the interviewing methods used in earlier research, and the findings were generally consistent.

This study included semi-structured interviews with convicted burglars housed in Thai correctional facilities around the Bangkok area. This method is appropriate, since interviews can provide a framework for learning about events and activities that are not easily studied by other methodologies, such as surveys.

### **Sampling Strategy**

In qualitative research, subject selection is purposeful. Participants are selected based on their ability to inform the research questions and enhance understanding of the phenomenon under study. The qualitative researcher should identify appropriate participants based on the research questions, theoretical perspectives, and evidence informing the study (Lewis, & Dillion, 2003; Sargent, 2012; Spencer, Ritchie).

The focus of this study is burglars' decision making. Purposive sampling strategies were utilized. All adult inmates ages 18 to 65 who were currently incarcerated and who had been convicted of at least three residential burglaries were eligible for the study. The requirement of three burglaries helps to guarantee they have sufficient experience with committing burglary. However, one research question is emphasized the gender variable, so the researcher will also recruit the two group design comparing

participants based on gender (male and female offenders). Fewer female burglars were included because burglary is more a male offense.

It is hard to predetermine the exact sample size needed in qualitative research. Preferred sample size depends on the number required to inform fully all important elements of burglars' decision making. The sample size is complete when "data saturation" is achieved (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Patton, 1990). The sample size is sufficient when additional interviews do not result in new information. To determine when data saturation occurs, the researcher analyzes data simultaneously with the data collection in an iterative cycle. This allows the researcher to document the emergence of new information that may otherwise be overlooked.

### **Sampling Procedures**

The Department of Corrections provided an initial sampling frame that contained identification and facility information around Bangkok for adult inmates currently serving a prison sentence for residential burglary or other property offenses. From this sampling frame, the researcher was able to select facilities of differing security levels with ample numbers of potential respondents. Once the facilities were chosen, the final sampling frame was created using the inmates within the selected institutions, and the sample of potential respondents was selected from the list.

The target population for this study was 3,319 inmates who committed residential burglary and who were residing in seven state prisons, five correctional institutions, and two detention houses (local jails) around Bangkok and vicinity (Table 1).



**Table 1. Inmates Serving a Prison Sentence for Residential Burglary in State  
Prisons and Correctional Facilities throughout Bangkok**

<b>No</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Population</b>	<b>Sample</b>
1	Klong Prem Central Prison	100	4
2	Bangkok Remand Prison	1,554	11
3	Thonburi Remand Prison	742	10
4	Thonburi Women Correctional Institution	76	3
5	Central Women Correctional Institution	146	5
6	Minburi Remand Prison**	659	11
7	Central Correctional Institution for Drug Addicts*	42	1
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,319</b>	<b>45</b>

**Source: Department of Corrections (DOC), October, 1 2015**

\* This site was selected for the male offender pilot study.

\*\* This site was selected for the female offender pilot study.

The prisons and correctional institutions located in Bangkok were selected for the interviews. Seven Bangkok were selected, namely (1) Bangkok Remand Prison, (2) Klong Prem Central Prison, (3) Thonburi Remand Prison, (4) Minburi Remand Prison, (5) Thonburi Women Correctional Institution, (6) Central Women Correctional Institution, and (7) Central Correctional Institution for Drug Addicts. Selection of participants from more than one site helped to minimize sample-selection bias.

It was initially estimated that 55 inmates would be interviewed. The estimate was consistent with previous published studies (Bennett and Wright, 1984; Chun and Lee, 2013; Maguire and Bennett, 1982) that used similar methods and focused on similar topics. According to the research plan, approximately 30 male inmates would be selected from the four target prisons located around Bangkok area: (1) Bangkok Remand Prison, (2) Klong Prem Central Prison, (3) Thonburi Remand Prison, and (4) Minburi Remand Prison. Twenty-five female inmates would be recruited from Thonburi Women Correctional Institution and Central Women Correctional Institution. The researcher worked with the Thailand Department of Corrections to determine the appropriate sampling and data collection process.

### **Interview Material**

A semi-structured interview was the most cost-effective and reliable method for acquiring detail information from the offenders. The interviews were based largely on previous research. The main objective of the interviews was to explore burglars' decision making, the initial decision to burglarize, target selection, and disposal of goods, as well as variables that impacted decision making in a Thai context. The first section of the interview contained demographic questions about gender, age, and criminal history. Then the offenders were asked about their drug and alcohol history to determine whether drug and alcohol use affected their burglaries and their decisions in regards to target selection. The second section asked burglars to give detailed descriptions of a recent typical burglary, beginning with the initial decision to commit such an offense. They then were also asked about target selection, and they were required to complete a map to indicate where they had committed burglaries. They were also asked details about

gaining entry and searching the property, departure from the burglary site, disposal of the stolen goods, and the involvement of co-offenders, if any.

Here are illustrative questions:

- Can I start by asking how old you are?
- What was your marital status at the time you were arrested for your last residential burglary?
- Roughly how many times have you been convicted of residential burglary?
- When you have committed residential burglaries, did you typically use drugs?  
As in:
  - 1) Were you a drug user?
  - 2) Were you high at the time of the residential burglary?
- How did the use of drugs influence your choice of targets?
- How many hours per week did you typically spend committing residential burglaries?
- How do you find residences to burglarize?
- How did you go to the location that you decided to burglarize?
- How did you choose which residence to burglarize? What kind of residence did you usually go for?
- When you break and enter into a house, what is the first thing you usually do?  
What is the second thing you usually do?
- What items do you usually look for?
- How do you usually dispose of the items you got from the burglary?

A full copy of the interview schedule, including instructions to participants, is in Appendix A.

Following Summers, Johnson, and Rengert's (2010) study, a cartographic map of Bangkok was used as a data-gathering instrument. The map was an actual map of Bangkok containing specific geographic areas, detail of outlines of streets, physical barriers, such as rivers, and landmarks, such as hospitals. The use of a Bangkok map helped to assess offender's awareness and perceived opportunities for burglary. It also was used to help to explore a burglar's journey-to-crime patterns.

Interviewees were given a map of the Bangkok area, which showed the geographical boundaries of the 45 districts. It was a blank, black and white map with the only information being the boundaries and names of the districts. This map was given to all of the male interviewees. Female interviewees were not included in the map task because they had insufficient experience with burglary to complete it. Using an eleven-point rating scale (from 0-10), interviewees were asked to rate each district in terms of their familiarity with it and which areas they would be most likely to commit burglary. With the map presentation, interviewees were asked to tell the interviewer about areas they would select for burglary and areas they would not, including reasons for their selections, how familiarity affected their decisions, and whether consensus could be reached across offenders about the "best" district for the commission of a burglary (Summers et al., 2010).

Here are sample questions:

- Will you show me which area was your home (or where you slept overnight) by drawing with BLUE small point?
- Can you tell me what other areas of Bangkok are you familiar with?

What I would like you to do is draw on this map in **RED** smaller areas and give each of these areas a score from 0 (I don't know this area at all) to 10 (I know this area as well as my own home neighborhood).

- How do you know these areas?

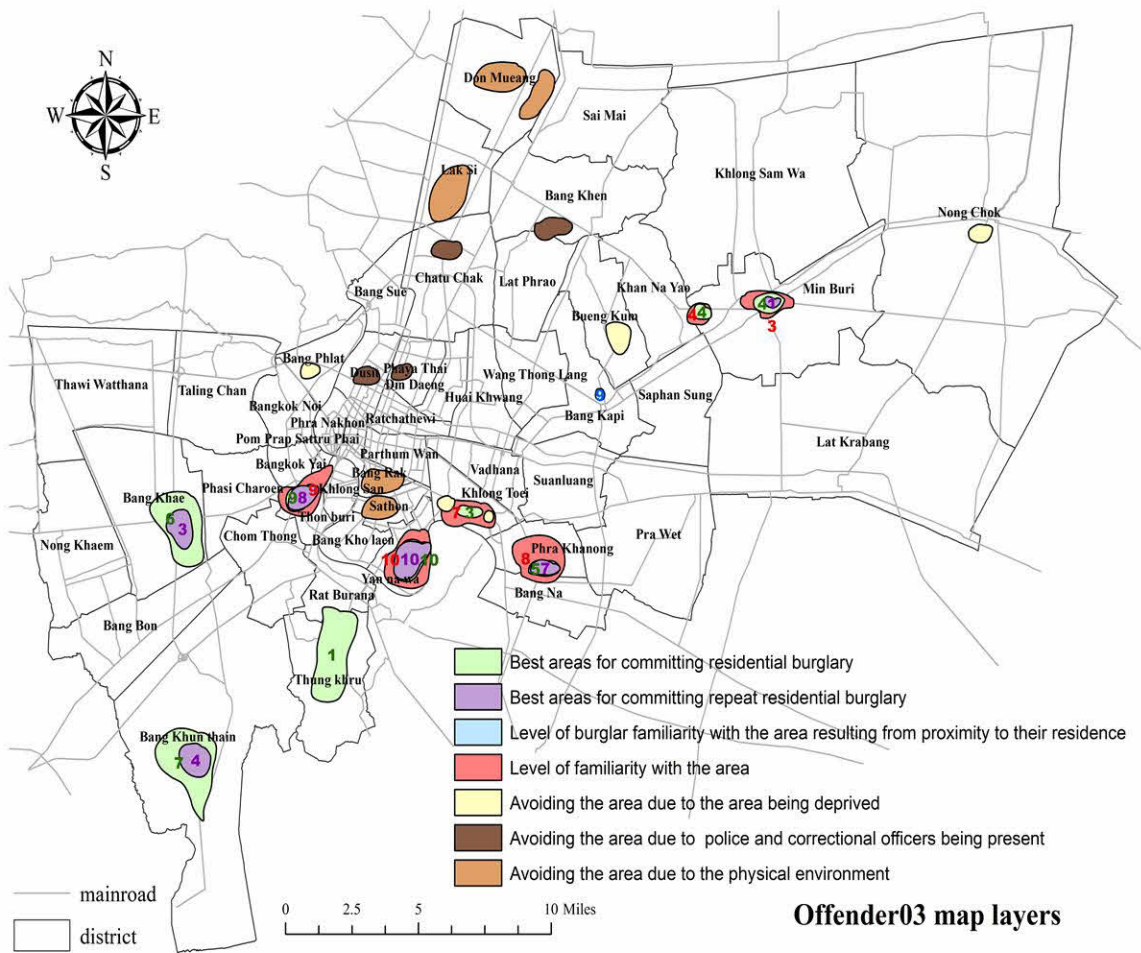
PROMPTS: Area where your family/friends/associates live?

Place of work/ burglarizing/recreation?

- Which are the best areas for burglarizing, do you think? Which kind of area did you usually choose for your residential burglaries?

What I would now like you to do is give each of the small areas a score in **GREEN**, using a scale from 0 (This is the **WORST** possible area for burglarizing) to 10 (This is the **BEST** possible area for burglarizing).

Interviewees was asked to use a blue color pen to point out their homes (or where they slept overnight), a red color pen to point out the other areas of Bangkok with which they were familiar, and a green color pen to indicate the best and the worst places to burglarize. To illustrate, as shown in the Figure 1, one interviewee indicated that the Sai Mai area was his home, and he marked a 9 to indicate that he was very familiar with his home area. The interviewee used the red color to indicate other areas of Bangkok with which he is familiar, such as Talingchan, Bang Khen, and Lak Si. Also, he used a green color pen to identify his home area (Sai Mai) as the worst area to burglarize and the Talingchan area as the best place by marking 10 in green color. Hence, this offender preferred to burglarize in areas further away from his home. In addition, the interviewee was asked to provide the reasons why these areas were the best places or the worst places to burglarize.



**Figure 1: Example of Map Task Procedure**

### **Interview Protocol Quality Concerns**

To ensure the quality of the interview questions, the researcher submitted the interview to both American and Thai experts with experience and expertise in studying offenders' decision making and burglary in order to improve the questions. Later, the researcher revised the semi-structured interview according to the suggestions of the experts.

### **The Pilot Study**

The researcher conducted interviews with three male offenders from the Central Correctional Institution for Drug Addicts, and two female offenders from Minburi Remand Prison as a pilot study prior to the main data collection. The objective was to improve the interview questions, evaluate the interview process regarding whether it covered the full burglary process, whether the sequence of questions was properly ordered, whether the questions were appropriately worded, how best to conduct a good interview, how long it would take to complete an interview, and how best to create a good relationship with the interviewees. Lastly, the pilot study allowed the researcher to familiarize herself with the interview process to improve the quality of the data collection.

The interviewees were informed about consent prior to obtaining their agreement to participate in the study. The interviewees were also advised about the questions to be covered so they could decide to refuse to answer some questions and not participate if any of the topics in the interview were too sensitive to them. Moreover, interviewees could stop and quit the interview at any time (consent form is included in Appendix).

Fortunately, no interviewee expressed discomfort during the interviews. They did not appear to feel threatened by the interview or by the questions posed to them. Most of the questions were general, not specific, and were not personal in nature. The questions were focused on interviewees' experiences with burglary and the details of the factors surrounding the burglary events.

During the pilot study, the researcher found that both male and female interviewees had some difficulties with a few questions. One example of such a question was "how many hours per week did you typically spend committing residential burglaries?". The researcher decided to modify the question to ask "how many days per week did you typically spend committing residential burglaries?"

Two questions were added to the interviewee schedule, following the pilot, as follows: "Did you search in the kitchen and/or bathrooms? Why?" These were the areas in the house most burglars declined to search for valuable items. The second question was: "did fate or luck affect your decision to commit the burglary?" This was to learn whether fate or luck impacted a burglars' decision making or burglary plan, procedure, and even target selection.

Importantly, the researcher found female offenders had some difficulties with some of the questions, both during the pilot study and the main data collection. One characteristic of female burglary patterns affected the way to ask the questions. The researcher needed to skip some questions or change the way to ask some questions in the interview because many female burglars lacked sufficient breadth of experience. For example, one female offender committed a burglary as a gangster, and she worked as a decoy by applying to be the residence's housekeeper and working as a "Doo Lay"



(seeking information about target). According to her interviewee, the researcher needed to skip the question “how did you go to the area of burglary” and instead ask her “how did you apply for the housekeeper job?” and “how do you know that your target house needed an employee?”

Completion of the map task was sometimes difficult. Based on most female offenders’ interviews, they could not complete the map task, or they could complete it but it would not provide enough useful information. The researcher decided to take the map tasks out of the interviews with the female offenders. This means 35 completed maps were obtained in the end.

The rest of the questions did not present problems of interpretation for the interviewees in the pilot study, except for minor word changes. The questions also proved sufficient to cover most parts of the burglary process and decision making by Thai burglars. The duration of the interviews varied from one to two hours, approximately. Data were collected through both note-taking and tape-recoding. The researcher decided to include the pilot interviews with the female offenders in the total sample due to difficulties with identifying enough female burglars.

### **Interview Administration**

The interviews were conducted in four male prisons and two female prisons which were selected by purposive sampling as explained in site selection section. This method of selection yielded reasonable numbers of male and female burglars. Once the researcher got the approval from both Texas State University Institution Review Board and Mahidol University Institution Review Board (local Thai IRB), the process of data

collection began. While waiting for local IRB approval, the researcher started to acquire the official permission from each correctional site and prepare for the interview process.

Forty nine interviews were conducted over a five-month period between October 2015 and February 2016. The interviewees were recruited with the help of prison officials and posters placed in the prisons. The method of selecting inmates to interview varied by prison. In most of the prisons, the researcher, with the assistance of prison officials, would conduct searches of the criminal records database to locate suitable offenders serving sentences for burglary. Where the computerized system was not available, the researcher would search paper records to identify suitable participants. The researcher displayed a large poster on the wings, informing inmates of the study and requesting suitable volunteers who met the selection criteria. After the researcher got a list of volunteers from each prison, the appointments with prospective interviewees were scheduled. The interviews were scheduled from Monday to Friday (only weekday) between 8.00 am and 12.00 pm, and between 1.00 pm and 3.00 pm (one hour for break lunch). Interviews took around one hour to two hours to complete through note-taking and tape-recoding with the interviewees' permission. On average, five interviews could be completed in each week.

At the start of the interview, interviewees were placed in a private room. This helped to put the interviewees at ease. With each interview, the researcher first introduced herself and explained the nature, objective and the procedures of the study. The interviewees were assured that the interview would be confidential. In order to ensure confidentiality, the researcher assigned an English name (e.g., John, Nathan, Alex, Nancy, Candice, Amanda) to each interviewee and told him or her that this fake name

would appear in the research, not the interviewee's real name. After the introduction of the study's objective and once the consent form was had been completed, interviewees were asked about their backgrounds and their previous burglaries and prior contact with the criminal justice system, for burglary or for other crimes. Then, the map of Bangkok was presented to the interviewees, and they were asked to point to the areas with different colors based on the guidelines provided earlier. Questions were then asked what motivated the burglaries, how targets were selected, whether they committed burglary alone, and whether they consumed drugs and alcohol beforehand. A major advantage of this kind of interviewing is that respondents are allowed to answer questions in their own words with minimal direction from the interviewer, with the flow of the discussion determined in part by the offender. The main disadvantage of semi-structured interviews is that interviews can sometimes be wide-ranging, and not every issue raised might be covered by every respondent.

During the interview process, the researcher found that the interviewees were able to communicate to the researcher very well, and they seemed to discuss most topics and questions openly. Some were nervous at the beginning of the interview and worried how the report of the study might impact their criminal case. The researcher took time to explain to create familiarity and trust. Then, they relaxed as the interview progressed and eventually completed the interview session.

After five months of data collection, 45 interviews (35 male offenders and 10 female offenders) were completed and prepared for transcription and analysis. Four incomplete interviews were excluded from the study because interviewees stopped and

quit during the interview. The 45 completed interviews provided sufficient coverage of the topics. Theoretical saturation was reached.

All inmates permitted audio-taping of the interviews. Recording made the interview proceed smoothly and last shorter than if typing or writing alone had been implemented. It was also less intrusive and distracting. Importantly, it helped to get better information from the interviewees. The researcher took limited notes during each interview, and some additional notes were made upon completion of the interview. The purpose of note taking was to conceptualize, describe, analyze, and combine the interview information during the interview process. In addition, the researcher also kept a research diary over the five months of data collection. The diary included comments on how different forms of data connected with each other, and it was used to identify emerging patterns in the data that were being collected. Due to the time schedule, the research diary was written each night after each interview day ended.

Institutional files were utilized to validate or supplement the information given by the interviewees, despite them appearing cooperative and were unlikely to lie in answering questions. The institutional files provided data on interviewees' background information, such as age, education, marital status, employment, income, and criminal record, including the circumstances and details of previous burglaries and court sentence information. If the researcher found that certain information supplied by the interviewee appeared to contradict the official record, the researcher would monitor and ask the interviewee to provide additional information. This happened three times.

## **Transcription Process**

The researcher first considered hiring someone to help with the transcription. However, the need for confidentiality prevented her from doing so. In the end, the researcher decided to transcribe all the audio tapes by herself without any assistance, despite the transcription process being time-consuming.

There were two steps to the transcription. Initially, the researcher would transcribe everything recorded and heard on the tape in Thai. For the actual verbal transcription of the audio-taped interviews, it is important to leave all complete words, as a way of respecting the interviewee's original words. It is then necessary to select excerpts from the complete transcripts. The researcher decided to exclude some of the words that were extraneous, repetitive, or caused encumbrances that significantly obscured the clarity of the meaning of an interviewee's words.

The second step of the transcription process involved translating the Thai transcripts into English. To ensure the accuracy of the translation, the researcher asked two reviewers to check its accuracy. The first reviewer was a Thai member of my committee. Another reviewer was a Thai doctoral student in criminal justice at Mahidol University in Thailand. Both of them understood empirical social science research and were fluent in both Thai and English. Backward translation was utilized in order to check the precision of the researcher's translation of the interview script in question; after the researcher had completed the English translation, both reviewers were asked to translate what the researcher translated back into Thai. The three Thai versions were then compared to each other. In most instances, the back translated Thai versions of the scripts

matched the original Thai script. Where significant differences were detected between the three Thai versions of the scripts, the researcher and the reviewers returned to the original information and translated it again until all agreed on the final English version. Some of the original Thai words needed to be left on the final script because it was necessary for the content analysis.

### **Data Analysis Method**

Data analysis began during the translation process. The data were initially analyzed while the tapes were being heard during transcription. As spoken language moves so quickly, a statement or a passage or section of speech dialogue would have to be replayed and reviewed several times in order to transcribe it correctly. In effect, already at this initial stage of making the physical transcription, the transcripts were being analyzed with each re-listening, re-writing, and re-reading.

The purpose of qualitative analysis is to interpret the data and the resulting themes and to facilitate understanding of the phenomenon being studied. An interpretive analysis was utilized in this study to gain a deeper understanding of the results and to acquire new ideas or theories about decision making among burglars. The data analysis plan in this study involved three stages: (1) deconstruction, (2) interpretation, and (3) reconstruction.

#### **Deconstruction Stage**

The researcher broke the data down into component parts in order to see what was included. This required reading and re-reading interview transcripts and then breaking the data down into categories or codes that described the content. The researcher prepared data document forms, such as a data accounting log, a data accounting sheet, a memo

summary form, interim case summary forms, and an explanatory effects matrix form. The data accounting log (Miles, Hunberman, & Saldana, 2014) summarized all types of data collection from each interviewee in the six prisons in a single form (Table 2). The analyst entered data in each cell when a set of data was in hand, plus any supplementary notes. The memo summary form (Miles, Hunberman, & Saldana, 2014) was a one-page document with some focusing or summarizing questions about an interviewee in order to develop overall main points (Table 3).

**Table 2. Example of Data Accounting Log**

<b>INTERVIEW</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Site</b>	<b>Interview Script</b>	<b>Mapping Task</b>
INTERVIEW 1	Female	WCI	05/31/2015	05/31/2015
INTERVIEW 2	Male	BRP	06/01/2015	06/01/2015
INTERVIEW 3	Female	WCI	07/03/2015	07/04/2015
<b>DOCUMENTS</b>	<b>Method</b>	<b>Site</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Memo</b>
PRISON RECORDS	See for access	WCI	05/31/2015	
STATISTICAL REPORT	Has copy	DOC	05/20/2015	

**WCI:** Central Women Correctional Institution

**BRP:** Bangkok Remand Prison

**DOC:** Department of Corrections

**Table 3. Example of Memo Form**

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Interview Number: <b>5</b>	Assigned Name: <b>Hugo</b>	Site: <b>BRP</b>
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Interview date: **05/31/2015** Today's date: **06/01/2015**

**1. What is the main issue or themes that I found from this participant?**

The co-offender is not important for him to choose the target. Dog might be the unimportant cue for him.....

**2. Summarize the information that I got (or failed to get) on each the target questions for this participant.**

<b>Issues</b>	<b>Information</b>
Target Selection	Single house/Rich people house/Avoid...
Familiar area	Do not familiar areas near his house, choose target areas from their co-offender suggestion
Reducing risk cues	Alarms, Dogs.

**3. What new (or remaining) target questions do you have in considering the next contact with this site?**

Whether the network of offenders is important during target selection among the burglars?

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The second step in the deconstruction stage is coding data. The interview information was coded with NVivo 10.0 programs and subjected to descriptive and content-theme analysis. One benefit of using the NVivo program in data analysis is to ensure the trustworthiness of the analysis. Some descriptive and reference statistics could be reported. The coding process included a two- cycle coding stage. The first cycle included codes initially assigned to the data pieces. Miles, Hunberman, and Saldana (2014) suggest that there are 25 different approaches for the first cycle coding stage. However, the researcher used the mix-coding approach (coding with more than one technique), such as the narrative coding (coding participants' stories including their interaction with others), in NVivo coding (coding by using participants' own words such



as ‘never again’, ‘Doo Lay’), process coding (action coding such as drug use, sleeping), theming coding (using a phrase or sentence to describe or capture the meaning of an aspect), values coding (coding participant’s values, attitudes, and belief such as belief and luck) , attribute coding (coding features of interviewees, such as their gender, age), and hypothesis coding (coding with an assumption) to analyze the data in the first stage.

For the map task analysis, the researcher used the ArcGIS software, to determine the collective awareness and perceptions of burglary opportunities within Bangkok. Following Summer et al. (2010), a lattice of 200 m X 200 m cells was created, and a ‘spatial join’ was used to assign values to the lattice cells, based on the digitized maps. Density maps were then created based on these spatially joined data.

When the first coding cycle had been finished, the pattern coding was completed, using the NVivo 10.0 programs. This procedure generated and grouped data summaries from the first coding cycle into a smaller numbers of categories, themes, and constructs, such as the cues that burglars usually used for target selection. Narrative description, matrix display, and network display approaches of pattern coding were utilized in this study.

### **Interpretation Stage**

The researcher interpreted the data from the deconstruction stage in order to understand and link the coded data to burglars’ decision making. Several strategies were used to compare the findings of this study with comparable findings from other studies, exploring theories that might explain relationships among themes, and exploring some negative cases that did not conform to the dominant themes in more detail.

## **Reconstruction Stage**

The process included recreating or repackaging the prominent codes and themes in a manner to show the relationships and insights derived from the interpretation phase and that explain them more broadly in terms of existing knowledge and theoretical perspectives. Generally, one or two concepts emerged as central, and others appeared as subthemes that further contributed to the central concepts. Decision regarding target selection and the impact of burglary prevention cues on burglars' decision making were the two central theme concepts in this study. A "data triangulation" process was used in this study. This refers to the process by which researchers corroborate their key findings using several information sources. Theory triangulation was a good fit for this study because the researcher could link the research findings with offender decision-making theories.

## **Benefit and Risk Assessment for Interviewees**

It was expected that the research would enhance understanding, not only about burglars' decision making, both situational and in a more general context. In addition, this study determined how offenders respond to various environmental cues for burglary and crime control tactics and assessed the changes that can be made to deal with cues so as to impact offenders' decision making. The research was useful in identifying myths associated with existing problems and prevention measures for burglary. Any knowledge derived from the research may be utilized to improve existing and develop new burglary control measures.

The offenders did not directly benefit from participating in this study. This was made clear to all interviewees before they decided to take part. There was no compensation due to the policy of the Department of Corrections (DOC). Participation in this study was voluntary and was not considered parole in review conditions. However, some minimal benefits probably came from participation. For example, some offenders might have enjoyed taking part because of interest in the research.

Minimal harm was estimated during the research. Offenders might have been upset as a result of participation due to the sensitivity of some interview questions. However, the probability and severity of harm, if any, was minimal. In order to minimize this possibility, participants were informed of the topics to be covered before the interviews started, so interviewees could make a decision to refuse to answer some questions and not to participate if any of the topics in the interview were sensitive to them. Moreover, the interviewees could stop and quit the interview at any time if such issues arise during the interview process. However, no harm was reported during the interview session.

Negative attitudes for taking part might also have been an additional small risk in this study. Offenders might have misperceived that their participation was reported to the police or a similar agency. This risk was minimized by clearly explaining the purpose of the study, as well as increasing the credibility of the researcher in order to increase interviewees' trust. In order to promote this, the researcher displayed information through advertising materials, such as posters and pamphlets.

The confidentiality of the information provided by the interviewees was another concern in this study. No specific identifying information about their personal backgrounds and the burglaries they committed were required, and none were collected. Interviewees were asked about how they make decisions in general terms. For example, interviewees were asked if they had committed burglary with someone else and how they initiated the relationship with their co-offenders, but no specific information, such as the co-offender's name, was asked.

To further ensure the confidentiality of the interviewees, no personal data or unique identifiers were attached to the data, so that it was not possible to associate the data with individual interviewees. Any identifiers that would enable the direct or indirect identification of the interviewees were removed. The interviewees were not asked to provide their real names. Instead, the researcher assigned an English name (e.g. John, Nathan, Alex, Nancy, Candice, Amanda) to each interviewee instead of the Thai name.

To confirm that all data remained confidential, the researcher stored the consent form securely and separately from the data. The researcher did not convert any data from the consent forms into an electronic format. The interviewees were clearly told this during the interviews. Later, the researcher will destroy all consent forms after the minimum retention period (i.e., five to seven years after the research is completed).

## **4. RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY IN THAILAND**

### **Introduction**

The research methodology and interview process utilized in this study have been discussed in Chapter 3. This includes questions and ethical issues raised during the data collection process. The study involves interviews with an offender sample confined in six prisons in Bangkok, Thailand, who had committed at least three residential burglaries. The focus is on the decision making of the burglars as they went about committing their crimes. This chapter reports and summarizes what interviewees said about their motivation to commit burglary and their target selection, their decision making to commit burglary, and the process by which they committed burglary.

### **Sample Characteristics**

Thirty-five of the 45 respondents in this study were male. However, the sex distribution of the sample did not differ from the general population of detained burglars in Thailand (National Statistical Office, 2010). According to available information, 82.5% of the offenders sentenced for burglary in Thailand in 2014 were male (Department of Corrections, 2014). In addition, some prior research on burglary has classified it as primarily a male crime. Male offenders accounted for the majority of all serious property crimes (Morris, 1987; Mann, 1984).

Interviewees were between 23 and 57 years old. The average age at the time of the interviews was 33.5. The majority (62.2%) of the interviewees were aged 23-33, while 26.7% were aged 34-43, 8.8% were aged 44-54, and only one offender was aged 55 or older. All of the interviewees were working-age (between 15 to 59 years) which is the

largest age group in Thailand (67.9%), according to the 2010 census reported by the National Statistical Office (2010).

Almost all of the interviewees were Thai Nationals (95.5%); two (4.5%) were Burmese. Most of the interviewees were Buddhist (77.8%), followed by Christian (13.3%), and Muslim (8.9%). This matches the characteristics of the Thai population; 95.9% are Thai nationals, and 93.6% practice Buddhism according to the 2010 census in Thailand (The National Statistical Office, 2010).

Most of the offenders (62.2%) were single, and 20.0% were married, while 8.9% were divorced or separated. Around 70% of the interviewees had finished primary school (Grade 1-6), 15.6% had finished high school (Grade 7-12), 8.9% had finished training school, and only 4.4% had completed a bachelor's degree. Interviewees were also asked where they came from. Most (46.7%) came from Bangkok. Approximately 26.6% came from either the north or northeast region, and 26.7% came from the central, east, or south.

Interviewees were asked how old they were when they committed their first burglary; the average age was 18. When interviewees were asked approximately how many burglaries they had committed, their responses may have been exaggerated. They reported a large number of burglaries: 50 (42.2%); 50 to 100 (26.7%); 101 to 150 (17.8%); 151 to 200 (8.9%); 201-250 (2.2%); and 250-300 (2.2%). If there was exaggeration, this might have been due to faulty memory and poor math skills, or they could have been trying to impress the interviewer. To check for accuracy, a similar question was asked later in the interview, period, and responses were roughly comparable.

Interviewees were asked about their number of burglary convictions and sentences. The average number of burglary convictions and sentences was 4.7. The majority (55.6%) of the interviewee had been convicted and sentenced one to four times, while 41.9% had been convicted and sentenced five to eight times. Only 4.4% had been convicted and sentenced more than eight times.

### **Motivation to Commit Burglary**

In order to understand the decision making to commit burglary, it is necessary to know the offenders' motivation. The 45 interviewees were asked what usually made them decide to commit a burglary. Respondents offered more than one reason.

### **Burglary and Money**

Money was the primary reason most offenders committed burglary. Thirty-seven out of 45 (80%) mentioned a need for immediate cash as the reason for their burglaries. A need for money also affected how many burglaries they committed.

*"The main reason I committed several burglaries was I did not have money. I felt scared the first time. When time passed, I felt like it was okay to do that. I never thought about anything except the money that I could get from the burglary"* (Offender No. 8, Brandon, Male).

*When my friend asked me to do it the first time, I did not think about the risk; but I was broken, so whatever I could do to earn money, I told myself I should do it. After my first time, the second time occurred, then the third time until more than hundred times"* (Offender No. 30, Andrew, Male).

*“To live in a big city like Bangkok, you need to have money. In what job could you make a lot of money if it is not the burglary job?” (Offender No.14, Noah, Male).*

The results of this study are consistent with the results of prior studies in the U.S. and U.K. Several prior burglary studies have indicated that the need for cash is the main reason most burglars commit burglary. Reppetto (1974), for example, conducted a study of robbery and residential burglary in Boston and found that the desire for money was the most important motivator for most burglaries. Other studies in the U.S. have reported similar findings (Bennett & Wright, 1984; Blevins et al., 2012; Cromwell et al., 1991; Wright & Decker, 1994). In a three-year UK study on perceptions and decision making among 309 burglars, Bennett and Wright (1984) found that 46% ranked money as the most important motivation. Cromwell et al. (1991) conducted interviews with 30 active burglars in Texas and found that the need for cash to buy drugs or alcohol was the primary reason for their burglaries. Wright and Decker (1994) reported similar findings from their study of 105 active burglars in St. Louis, Missouri: “More than nine out of ten of the offenders in our sample - 95 of 102 - reported that they broke into dwellings primarily when they needed money” (p. 36).

Recently, Blevins et al. (2012) conducted a survey of 422 incarcerated male and female burglars in North Carolina, Kentucky, and Ohio to examine their decision making and found that 37% cited a need to acquire money as their top reason for committing burglary.

Some studies outside the U.S. (Chun & Lee, 2013; Goodwin, 2007) report similar findings. From interviews with 60 imprisoned burglars in Tasmania, Goodwin (2007)



found that 43% of experienced burglars who had committed 10 or more burglaries in their lifetime reported that money was one of the two top motivations for burglary, the other being drugs need. Chun and Lee (2013) conducted a study in Korea and reported that 45 out of 52 offenders claimed money was their primary motivation for committing burglary.

Most interviewees in the study were poor, low educated, and unemployed, or employed in low-paying jobs. This creates a need for money. They believed that burglary was a way to survive. The offenders saw burglary as the best option for getting money quickly, as one interviewee said:

*“I was broken. This is the main problem that I was always suffering. I decided to commit burglary when I did not have money. I committed more than 100 burglaries because I did not have money. I felt worried the first time, and then I felt indifferent more than scared”* (Offender No. 5, Danny, Male).

*“When my friend asked me to do it (burglary), I needed money to pay bills, support my family, and sometimes buy drugs”* (Offender No. 12, Donald, Male).

Moreover, six interviewees in this study claimed they had committed burglary while employed in a legitimate job. However, burglary could bring them more money more quickly than a legitimate job that was low-paying. Burglary could provide them with extra money as a means to solve their financial problems.

*“When I committed burglary, I had my regular job, but my income from my regular work was not sufficient to cover all my expenses. My girlfriend could not earn any income, so I needed to commit burglary”* (Offender No. 26, George, Male).

## **Burglary and Drug Use**

Much criminal offending is associated with drug use, and this is true of burglary. Many studies have found that a major reason for burglary is a desire to obtain drugs (Cromwell, Olson, & Avary, 1991; Goodwin, 2007; Wright & Decker, 1994). Cromwell et al.'s (1991) study of Texas burglars found they committed burglary mainly to acquire money to buy drugs.

The findings in this study are consistent with the findings in prior studies and shed further light on drug use as a motivation for burglary. When interviewees were asked how they spent money they got from burglary, 37 interviewees (82.2%) said they spent it on illegal drugs, such as amphetamine, cocaine, and ice. Eighty-nine percent (40 offenders) said they had used drugs in their lifetime. Nearly all of them (95.5%, 38 offenders) admitted they were using drugs in the three to 12 months prior to their imprisonment. The most commonly used drugs were amphetamines (97.5%), ice (82.7%), heroin (65.0%), marijuana (12.3%), methadone (8.7%), and a variety of pharmaceuticals, including Rohypnol, Valium, Serepex, Ritalin, and Normison. Polydrug use was also common, with 62.2% of the interviewees reporting that they had used two or more different types of drugs in the three to 12 months prior to their imprisonment. Amphetamines and ice were the top two types of drugs offenders reported using together. Offenders called ice "Big," while they called amphetamines "Small."

Here is what offender number 21 said:

*"Sometimes I need "big." I mean ice. Sometimes I use "small," which means I use amphetamine"* (Offender No. 21, White, Male).

Another offender said:

*“I usually used big and small together; well you know I mean I used ice and amphetamine. I sometimes used heroin but not often”* (Offender No. 34, Earth, Male).

The majority of interviewees (72.5%, 29 out of 40 offenders) reported they were using drugs on a daily basis, approximately four to seven days per week, while 27.5% (11 offenders) reported use on a weekly basis.

As offender number 7 said:

*“I used it daily; I used it seven days a week. I used small around five to six tablets per day, and I used big one around two grams per day”* (Offender No. 7, Paul, Male).

Here is what offender number 22 said:

*“I mostly used it every week but not every day. I had used drugs four days per week. I usually took four to five tablets per day”* (Offender No. 22, Denial, Male).

Another offender, number 43, said:

*“I started using amphetamines with my boyfriend; we sometimes also smoked marijuana. If you asked how often we had taken them, we could afford it when we had had money from burglaries; we used them approximately once or twice per week”* (Offender No. 43, Linda, Female).

It is important to consider when the burglars used drugs – before or after a burglary. Eighty-six percent indicated they had used drugs before their burglaries. Ten percent said they used drugs after they finished a burglary. Only four percent said they had used drugs both before and after they committed burglary. None of them said they took the drugs while going to the target place because it might be trouble if they were pulled over by police at a DUI checkpoint.

Many interviewees explained why they took drugs before they went to commit burglaries. Almost everyone (95%) said they took drugs because they could not commit burglaries without them. Taking drugs helped them to be more brave, and drugs reduced their anxiety, fear, or excitement when they went to commit burglary. Some of them mentioned the word “Deed,” and they explained the meaning as they had more energy, more excitement and more bravery, which enabled them to commit more burglaries.

One offender said regarding the relationship between his drug habit and burglary:

*“I do it before and after. I do it before in order to push me up to do it. My drug habit influences me to do more burglaries for buying more drugs, more heroin. I need to choose the great house, the right house to ensure that I have enough money to seek those expensive drugs. Yeah, I was at lower than normal. For example, normally I used three to four amphetamine tablets, but when I am at burglaries, I used around one to two tablets. You know, you are not scared then. It makes you like superman. If I want to get something heavy, I will take amphetamines and ice. Taking drugs gives you strength. But it is like, say for instance we broke in this place, and there was nothing there but TV’s and a big safe and stuff like that. Well you need strength to pick that stuff up, so I took one tablet of amphetamines, you know. I do not take so many tablets to make me go haywire you know. I took enough to give me courage” (Offender No. 12, Donald, Male).*

Two offenders said about the word “Deed”:

*“Drugs make me feel ‘Deed,’ which means excitement and bravery for doing burglary” (Offender No. 27, Steve, Male).*

*“I sometimes drank alcohol but not very often. Well, I always used drugs. If I would not take drugs, I could not do something (burglary) like this. I felt scared to do risky things like commit crime. But drugs made me feel like ‘Deed.’ You know it means I felt like tripping out” (Offender No. 32, Jeff, Male).*

Here is one female offender who said drugs helped her to be brave enough to commit burglary:

*“When I did burglary, I usually was drugged. Before I committed residential burglaries, I took some stimulant medicine called Valium and Serepex. That makes me feel drugged, but I also took methamphetamine, ice, and amphetamines. I need to take these medicines because I could not commit burglary without them. It influences me to be braver and feel fearless” (Offender No. 36, Nancy, Female).*

Only two interviewees (5%) believed that taking drugs did not help them to commit burglaries. Sometimes they used drugs, but and there was no connection between their drug use and burglary.

*“I do not think that drugs affected my decision to commit burglary. I used it every day like my hobby. When I felt I wanted to go to commit burglary, I just only thought that I needed money but it was not dependent on my drug habit” (Offender 5, Danny, Male).*

In sum, the results suggest a relationship between burglars’ drug use and their decision to commit burglary. The more drugs they took, the more likely they were to commit burglary. Using drugs before going to commit burglary weakened offenders’ self-control and moral thinking. They would instead be more impetuous and reckless to do something more risky and deviant, like committing crime. Drugs also pressed offenders

to seek cash to buy it. When they did not have sufficient money to support their drug use, they would make the quick decision to commit residential burglary.

### **Burglary and Alcohol**

Although several studies point to a relationship between drugs and residential burglary, Chun and Lee (2013) found no relationship between the two in their Korean study. They said the reason was that Korea is a drug-free country. Due to the severe punishment for drug offenses, it is very hard to obtain drugs in Korea. Chun and Lee (2013) found that most Korean burglars drank alcohol before they committed burglary, but they did not use other drugs. Korean offenders believed that consuming alcohol would help them to be more exciting, more courageous, and less scared about committing crimes. Many previous studies (Goodwin, 2007; Wright & Decker, 1994) mention not only a relationship between offenders' drug use and their residential burglaries, but also point to a relation between their alcohol use and crime.

This study found a moderately strong relationship between alcohol use and burglary. Sixty-nine percent of the interviewees (31 offenders) had consumed alcohol in the three to 12 months prior to their imprisonment. The top three alcohol types that offenders had consumed were beer (73.6%), whiskey (21.8%), wine (3.2%), and other alcohol beverages (1.4%). Most interviewees (83.4%) reported they mostly consumed alcohol on a weekly basis, probably once or twice a week. About 12% of interviewees drank alcohol on a monthly basis; only 4.9% reported consuming it on a daily basis.

However, when interviewees were asked whether they consumed alcohol before, during, or after committing burglary, the majority (93.5%) said they never consumed

alcohol before or while committing a burglary. They usually preferred to drink alcohol after a successful burglary for the purpose of partying and relaxing. They reasoned that consuming alcohol before a burglary might have bad effects on their performance. First, interviewees said it was too risky when they were traveling to the target, as they might get pulled over for DUI. Second, they believed that if they consumed too much alcohol, they might lose control and make mistakes while committing the burglary. Finally, consuming alcohol reduced their energy and made them feel sleepy.

One interviewee said:

*"I just only like to drink to relax, for the purpose of committing a burglary.*

*Drinking has nothing to do with burglary"* (Offender No. 6, Romeo, Male).

Here is what offender number 18 said:

*"Nah, you could not drink before committing burglary. Don't do that. It is not a good plan. You might be detected at a DUI checkpoint. I never drank before the burglary was completed. I sometimes drank after that with my friends to celebrate"* (Offender No.18, Edward, Male).

Another interviewee said:

*"Drinking alcohol and taking drugs were totally different. Taking drugs gave you more power... well more energy, which most people called 'Deed' (also known as 'high') to do something exciting and fun. While drinking alcohol gave you opposite effects. I could not do anything after I consumed alcohol. I felt sleepy. It was very risky if I had committed burglary after drinking alcohol"* (Offender No. 29, Terry, Male).

## **Burglary and Illegal Gambling**

There is not much prior research on residential burglary in the U.S. or other countries on the relationship between gambling and burglary. However, gambling is one of the important reasons why a Thai offender chooses to commit burglary. This study found a strong connection between gambling and burglary. Fifteen interviewees (33.3%) mentioned that they spent money from their burglaries on gambling. Seven out of these fifteen said they were addicted to gambling, and this compelled them to commit burglary. Five interviewees said they usually committed burglaries three to four days a week, and they spent the other days in a casino. If they got money from gambling, they would stop committing burglaries until the money ran out. Then they would commit burglaries again. Two of them said they owed a lot of money to someone because they lost on football and online gambling. They needed to continue to commit residential burglaries because that was the fastest way to get a lot of cash in a short time.

Here is what offender number 3 said about how gambling influenced him to commit burglary:

*"I was addicted to gambling. I usually go to the casino for gambling on weekends (Saturday and Sunday). When I lost money in the casino, I committed a burglary on Monday. I disposed of the stolen property on Tuesday. Once I got money from a burglary, I went to the casino and stayed there until my money ran out. I usually avoided committing burglary on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday because most family members stay at their residence, but the main reason was that was when I gambled"* (Offender No. 3, Adam, Male).



Another two offenders similarly said:

*“I love all types of gambling. I love to take risks on gambling. Every week I had to bet the football game online. I won sometimes, but I mostly lost; however, I still keep playing. I think it is my habit. When I lost on the gambling game, I needed to pay them. If I would not pay, they might hurt me. In the first period, I used my salary from my regular job to pay off my debt. Later, my debt was so high my salary couldn’t pay it. It was when I started to commit my first burglary. My friend, who also gambled with me, asked me to do the residential burglaries because he also wanted money to pay off his debts. After the first successful residential burglaries, we learned how to find money for our betting on gambling and how to find money in case we lost on the games. Therefore, I can say, we are addicted both to gambling and committing residential burglaries” (Offender No. 16, Bob, Male).*

*“I loved to play cards with my friends. Playing cards like Black Jack, Poker, and Dummy was a lot of fun. I needed money to put on my game. Therefore, I mostly followed my husband to commit burglary or got hired by his friend to be a decoy by applying for a housekeeper job. After the job was done, I got money to play card games with my friends. If I earned a lot, I would sometimes go to the casino with my husband. He also loved gambling” (Offender No. 44, Nicky, Female).*

### **Burglary and Retribution**

Revenge is one of the unexpected answers that interviewees offered when asked what made them commit burglary. Five interviewees said some of burglaries they committed were due to revenge. They usually picked the owners of a house as targets for revenge. Three male interviewees said they committed burglaries when someone made

them feel bad or mad. They believed that committing burglary was one way to help them to get retribution. Two female offenders had worked as housekeepers or babysitters and never thought about committing burglary until their bosses (usually the owners of the house) cheated them on their wages or looked down upon them. They viewed burglary as a way to force their bosses to pay them the money they were due.

One interviewee said:

*“I did some burglaries not only for money. I did some burglaries because I wanted revenge against someone who made me mad or bullied me. For one burglary I did, the owner of the house was a police officer, and he bullied me by arresting me for no good reason. Actually, I deserved to get arrested, but this police officer said I did something worse than I did. I was sentenced for several years until I was released. At that time, I thought I needed to pay him back. I wanted him to know how much I suffered. It was just that he deserved to lose something for what he did in the past”* (Offender No. 6, Romeo, Male).

Another interviewee said;

*“Two houses from all I did, the owners of these houses deserved to pay me because they cheated me for work I did for them. They were rich, but they were very selfish. Additionally, they could accept their property loss; they were millionaires. They could buy new property in just a few days”* (Offender No. 10, Panter, Male).

Two more interviewees said:

*“My first burglary began when I immigrated from Myanmar when I was 15 years old. I applied to be a housekeeper through a hiring agency. The house where I worked was usually the nice house near Yan Nawa. In the first period of working, everything was*

*good. I had money from my work. However, the last two to three years, my bosses had changed. They began to pay my salary late; they sometimes cheated me out of my wages. I felt sad, bad, and mad. Can you imagine my feeling when someone cheats you? Then, something popped into my head, I needed to do something to get my money back. At that time, I felt very resentful towards them. I started to talk with my boyfriend who I met during my first year of working. He drove a motorcycle taxi, and he was a street gangster around there. When I talked to him, he said, "Hey girl you know what, we should do burglary at your bosses' house. We could not only get revenge from them, but we could also earn a lot of money. Therefore, he started to teach me about the plan. He asked me about my bosses' information, what they did, what their routine schedule was, and when they usually were on vacation" (Offender No. 37, Rachel, Female).*

*"They were from a superior class in society, but they were very selfish. I was their employee, but they put me down as if I was not human. They usually cheated and harassed me. When they got mad, they talked and acted very rudely. I could not be tolerant as time passed. My boyfriend knew about my story. He told me that I should do something to let them know the word 'suffering.' So, as you know burglary was the answer" (Offender No. 40, Bonnie, Female).*

## **Decision Making to Commit Burglary**

The information from the 45 interviewees led to the identification of five steps in the decision to commit the burglary. The first step is initial introduction to burglary by friends and others. The second step is planning, including obtaining information about a prospective target. The third step is choosing a suitable target. The fourth step includes decisions about how to commit the burglary. The final step is working with co-offenders.

### **First Step: The Process to Get Involvement in Residential Burglary Commission**

The interviews revealed that most offenders became involved in committing burglary because of criminal friends or professional burglars they knew. Their criminal friends, unemployed friends, or friends who were professional burglars would ask them to drive around a target to surveil it. When they found a suitable target, most offenders would be invited to participate in the burglary. However, the offenders usually worked as a driver or the backup-entrance person in their first residential burglary, and their friends usually went inside the house to steal property. Later, when the offenders gained more experience, they would do it by themselves or form their own burglary team. According to one of the interviewees:

*“My first burglary started when I moved to find a job in Bangkok. I moved to Bangkok and went to meet my old friend. I found later that he was a professional burglar. On my first night in Bangkok, my friend asked me to drive around Yannawa, and he assigned me to drive his car. Then I saw my friend and another guy break into a single house around 2:00 am. After 15 minutes, he and the guys came out with two bags of*

*valuable property. Then I decided to earn quick money from burglary, so I had to gain more experience until later I could become the planner” (Offender No. 10, Panter, Male).*

Here is what offender number 17 said:

*“My first burglary began during my unemployed period. I went to visit and stay with two of my friends who lived in the rental row house near Bang Khae area. I asked them about helping me to find a job that I could earn money. It was funny that both of them were also unemployed. However, one of them had committed residential burglary, and he asked us to commit residential burglary. He told us that we could earn a lot of money, and all of his personal expenses came from burglaries. I refused him on the first night, so the two of them went together. He again asked me to commit burglary on the second night. I decided to go with them this time because I wanted to impress them, and I needed to get money even though I felt scared in the beginning. However, the decision to select the target house and the process to commit the residential burglary, my friend told me what I needed to do. I was the driver and waited for them in the car to look around while they broke into the house. Later, I found that it was an easy way to earn money, so I continued to go with them to commit burglaries until I got the first arrest after one year” (Offender No. 17, Alfred, Male).*

Offender number 35 said:

*“I had to get involved in my first burglary because my friend showed me tons of money that he could earn from burglary. He said I could earn money like him, the easy way if I was interested. He influenced me to commit burglary with him. I thought about the chance of getting arrested and ignored him the first time. He asked me several times.*

*One day I needed money to support my drug use, so I decided to follow him and did as he told me. This was the first time that I started to become a burglar” (Offender No. 35, Boss, Male).*

Thai burglars can also be influenced by their family members, cousins, boyfriends, or girlfriends. The relationship with such people is an important factor in encouraging offenders to get involved or even commit their first burglary. Some offenders were influenced to commit burglary by their family members, their cousins, or boyfriends, especially female offenders. This is what interviewee number 21 said:

*“My first burglary started with my cousin. He was about four years older than me. So he was about 20. I was about 16. He told me he knew the way to make some quick cash without working hard. He pointed his finger to one of the houses while we drove around one village. He asked me to think about the valuable property inside that house. I knew immediately what he meant. He told me about the burglary process. I already knew how to get in it. That is what he told me. Then he said, well we will go in and look for property and we will leave. Before I made the decision to commit my first burglary, I felt scared, but he said it was okay. He would back up me” (Offender No. 21, White, Male).*

Another interviewee said:

*“That’s my boyfriend who teaches me about burglary. That is who got me started. Therefore, I was really in love with him, so that is how it really got started. He did what he had to do to the locks, and he just went in” (Offender No. 38: Barbara, Female).*

## **Second Step: Planning Process**

Planning is the second step in the decision making process to commit residential burglary. Planning includes ways to obtain information about prospective targets and ways to search for targets.

### **Burglary planning**

Most recent studies (Bennett & Wright, 1984; Chun & Lee, 2013; Goodwin, 2007; Maguire & Bennett, 1982; Wright & Decker, 1994) have concluded that most burglars usually do some planning before a burglary. Chun and Lee (2013) found only a small number of opportunistic burglars; the majority of their Korean burglars planned their offenses. Also, in a study of Tasmanian burglars, Goodwin (2007) reported that 20% of experienced burglars usually planned their burglaries, while 22% planned them sometimes. Bennett and Wright (1984) reported that only 7% of the burglars in their study were opportunistic, while 93% completed planning and other decision making prior to finally selecting targets. Other studies have reported similar findings, such as Maguire and Bennett (1982) and Nee and Taylor (1988).

Consistent with the above studies, the majority (93.3%) of the interviewees in this study said they usually planned their burglaries, and only 6.7 % (three offenders) described themselves as opportunistic burglars who had committed burglaries without planning. Twenty-eight interviewees said more than 90% of their burglaries were planned, although an additional 14 interviewees said they only sometimes planned them.

Here are examples of some of the comments:

*"I sometimes plan ahead when I committed burglaries as a gangster. My friend will act as a scout. He went to the area and observed a target in several ways, such as how many people were there, what they did, when they went out and got home every day, how rich they were, how they dressed, how much jewelry they had, and what make of car they drove. Those questions had to be answered if they were rich, not poor"* (Offender No. 2, Henry, Male).

*"I usually plan all of them. They are the ones you could be pretty sure that you would not get arrested for"* (Offender No. 7, Paul, Male).

*"Good planning is very important. Without good planning, there would be risk"* (Offender No. 18, Edward, Male).

Offender number 28 said he planned some burglaries, and some burglaries were unplanned:

*"I often planned burglaries. But I could plan fifty percent of all burglaries, but some burglaries I would not have time to plan them"* (Offender No. 28, Bully, Male).

Another offender said similarly:

*"Fifty-fifty... I mean only some of them I create a plan. Another fifty percent I would not plan"* (Offender No. 32, Jeff, Male).

Generally, the majority of interviewees demonstrated discrimination in choosing burglary targets rather than responding spontaneously to random opportunities. However, a small number of offenders described themselves as opportunistic burglars. The



opportunistic burglars were different from the burglars who planned their crimes. They would not think about the burglary until they saw a good target house.

*“No. I do not plan anything. I normally walked to look each house, and if I found the opportunity to do it. I would do it immediately, not plan ahead”* (Offender No. 02, Henry, Male).

*“My burglaries depended on the opportunity. I need to see the suitable target first that made me feel like ...umm, I need to get something inside there”* (Offender No. 13, Joey, Male).

### **General burglary v. burglary for hire**

According to interviewees, there were two different forms of burglary planning - general burglary and burglary for hire. With general burglary, the burglar's primary decision is to burglarize. When the decision had been made, offenders search for a target, finally deciding on a residential target. In contrast, burglary for hire is more focused; an offender is hired to burglarize a particular residence.

Like prior studies, general burglary was more common among the interviewees in this study. Approximately 70% (32 offenders) committed general burglary where the target was not selected initially. Suitable houses were found after the decision to burglarize had been made.

*“When my pocket was empty. I felt like I need some amphetamines, which means I needed some money. Then, I decided I would do burglaries to get it. I just drove around looking for picking a suitable house”* (Offender No. 17, Alfred, Male).

*“One case I remembered, I just went visiting and hanging around with my friends, and they were burglars too. When we were drinking at one of my friend’s house, we would just go out and look for a place to burglarize” (Offender No. 33, Andy, Male).*

Most interviewees said that some plans were also developed before they broke into the target place. The offenders often commuted into the target areas to search for a target residence. Most offenders usually drove their personal vehicles, mostly motorcycles and cars to search for a suitable target. More than half of the interviewees explained they usually used a motorcycle because of its ease of movement, while 24.4% preferred to use cars. About 16% of all interviewees said they used public transport, especially taxis, for travelling to targets. When they found a suitable target, they would watch it. Nearly all burglars in this study (90%) said the Thai word “Doo Lay,” which means they searched for information in the nearby environment, watching the routine schedule of people in the house and nearby neighborhood.

Three interviewees said about “Doo Lay” process:

*“Well, you know I prefer spending as much time to ‘Doo Lay’ as possible before committing burglary because it is safer than if you don’t ‘Doo Lay’ (Offender No. 1, Tommy, Male).*

*“We need to find information and ‘Doo Lay’ about a week. So we did it Thursday; we watched their routine, you know. How they go to work in the morning and all. This was during the week. He told me how many people lived there, if he had any kids or what time they go to school. Therefore, he went in and said it was perfectly safe. Nobody will*

*be here. If they come home, something serious had to happen” (Offender No, 21 White, Male).*

*“At the time I do my direct sale, I need to knock every door. The first time I went to the target area, I will search and remember. I will search around the area – ‘Doo Lay’ which means search the area and find the suitable opportunity” (Offender No. 36, Nancy, Female).*

Another group of interviewees (28.8%) spoke about being hired for burglary. A burglar would be hired to burglarize a particular house and steal specific property in the residence. With burglary for hire, the target houses were preselected, and the offenders knew the target and obtained information from the person who hired them. Some offenders indicated that burglary for hire is like organized crime with careful planning. The offenders did not “Doo Lay,” or search for their target residence. There was also no need to watch the target. But they might have someone, often a female offender, work as a decoy by applying for a job as a housekeeper, babysitter, gardener, or cook.

Offender number 7 explained the process of burglary for hire:

*“Not only the general burglary that I usually did... I sometimes received the burglary job order. I would be hired to break into the house and steal one or two specific things. Most of the things were expensive, such as old Buddhist amulets, antiques, and famous artist drawings. I could earn around \$5,000 - \$15,000 (150,000 – 500,000 Baht) per time, including the other things that I could steal. I can tell you about one job for example. A person hired me to steal an antique, expensive Buddhist amulet. He gave me information about the target, which included the people’s schedule, the house layout, and*

*the security system. I had to cooperate with a middle-man who received the order, delivered the order and information, and finally disposed of the valuables. After I received the job order, I would create the plan. The plan for a burglary for hire differed from normal; sometimes it might be more complex than the usual one. Sometimes we needed three to five people in our team to complete the job. Actually, this burglary pattern gave me more monetary rewards than did the regular burglaries. I sometimes got the percentage after they had disposed of the stuff, in case I needed to cooperate with a middle-man who received the order, delivered the order and information, and finally disposed of the items” (Offender No. 7, Paul, Male).*

Offender number 20 similarly said about burglary for hire:

*“Some offenders, including me, preferred to commit the burglary for which someone hired you to break in and steal what they wanted from that house. This pattern of burglary mostly related to illegal antiques. A gangster would ask you to burglarize the house or the place. They would provide the information about the job, the place, the people, the place to sell the stolen property. I was responsible for planning, breaking in, and stealing the property” (Offender No. 20, Christ, Male).*

Offender Number 41 also said this about burglary for hire:

*“I believed most of the burglaries I committed were burglaries for hire. My husband had a team, and he acted as the boss of the team who planned everything, including to put me into the house to work as a housekeeper or babysitter. I needed to work inside the house and seek the opportunity” (Offender 41, Tina, Female).*

Overall, planning of burglaries is rational, or at least a “limited rational” decision about target selection and other parts of the burglary process. In the present study, the planning for “general burglaries” differed from the planning for “burglaries for hire.” For the latter, most interviewees planned their burglaries ahead. For general burglaries, the majority of interviewees frequently would decide to commit a burglary and then search for a suitable target. On the other hand, some interviewees described themselves as opportunistic burglars, who committed burglary without any significant planning, responding spontaneously to opportunities as they became available. However, some interviewees applied the concept of “bounded rationality” when they planned, committed burglaries, and made rational decisions based upon an assessment of environmental conditions.

### **The chance of being arrested**

Interviewees were asked if they ever worried about being arrested. They were asked the probability of being arrested (0% to 100%) for their most recent burglary. The average probability was 72.4% among all 45 interviewees. Ten out of 45 rated their chance of being arrested as 0% to 30%. Eighteen rated their chance of being arrested as 30 % to 60%. Twelve rated the chance as 60% to 90%, and only five rated it as 100%.

In sum, more than half of the interviewees said they had worried about some chance of being arrested. Some of them also said they usually thought they would be arrested eventually as a result of their burglaries. They identified the chance of being arrested as one factor in their decision making.

As offender number 17 said:

*“I was always thinking about it when I committed a crime. When I committed a burglary, I am normally thinking 50/50”* (Offender No. 17, Alfred, Male).

Another offender number 22 said:

*“I estimated the chance of being arrested at around 70%. What I did was always risky, so there was a chance of being arrested. In addition, I think that I sometimes committed burglaries without careful planning and with few precautions”* (Offender No. 22, Denial, Male).

A few offenders pointed to fate as affecting the likelihood they would be arrested.

As one of offender number 31 said:

*“I have a chance to get arrested because there is always a chance of mistake, bad luck, or fate”* (Offender No. 31, Jonathan, Male).

The findings regarding the chances of being arrested are not consistent with findings from previous studies (e.g., Bennett & Wright, 1984; Goodwin, 2007; Walsh, 1986). Only 30 out of 83 offenders in the Bennett and Wright (1984) study had considered the chances of being arrested. Only minority of burglars in the Walsh (1986) study insisted they hardly thought about the risks of arrest. Additionally, 35 out of 60 imprisoned burglars in the Tasmanian study by Goodwin (2007) said they did not care about getting arrested and what sentence they might receive.

Although most interviewees in this study had thought about their chance of being arrested, a sizeable minority of burglars (15 offenders) said they did not take any precautions during the burglary process, not even wearing gloves to avoid leaving

fingerprints. Ten interviewees said they only sometimes took precautions. They said, however, that forgetting to wear gloves and leaving fingerprints was a major mistake.

Offender number 21 said regarding this issue:

*“Mistakes.... several things, such as finding less information about the target, making a wrong decision about target selection, telling people about their crimes, acting recklessly, forgetting to wear gloves, leaving their fingerprints”* (Offender No. 21, White, Male).

### **Third Step: Target Selection**

Rational choice perspective posits the commission of a crime requires reasonable offenders to have the necessary information that will allow them to weigh the potential costs and benefits of offending at a specific place at a specific time (Cornish and Clark, 1986).

#### **Views on the assessment of the environmental conditions in target selection**

The decision to choose a specific house by offenders depended on an assessment of the risks related to the environmental factors of particular targets. Interviewees tended to assess the environmental factors of any target residence by comparing the risks and the potential gains from burglary. The best targets were those that provided more gain and less risk. The potential risks considered by the interviewees in deciding to choose a target residence were occupancy, detectability, and, physical and nonphysical barriers. Other conditions considered were the valuables in the target residence, and the kind of people living there.

## Occupancy

Prior research suggests that an unoccupied house would be the best choice for a target (Chun & Lee, 2013; Cromwell, Olson, & Avary, 1991; Wright & Decker, 1994). Unlike the findings in prior research, this study found no consensus about whether an occupied house would be safer than an unoccupied one. More than half of the interviewees (53.3%) in this study said they did not pay much attention to whether people were at home when they made the decision to choose a target.

Most of the interviewees (27 offenders) preferred to burglarize in the nighttime, when most people were at home and sleeping. This suggests they would not care whether a prospective target was occupied.

Offender number 5 said:

*"I preferred to commit burglary at night, so I would not care whether people were at home. I had hit the house and committed burglary when people were at home and sleeping. I walked into the bedroom, and they were there. However, the important thing is you need to do everything very quietly. Several times, I committed it successfully, and they did not wake up. You should grab what you want and get out quickly. Just grab everything you can, but do not take a long time to do it"* (Offender No. 5, Danny, Male).

Here is what Offender number 29 said:

*"It is not important whether they are at home. If I want something inside, I could find any way to get it. I do not care whether there were people at home. Nevertheless, I would not want to encounter them. Therefore, I usually committed burglary in the nighttime when people were asleep already"* (Offender No. 29, Terry, Male).



Some interviewees who committed burglaries both during the day and at night also said they thought that the occupancy was not an important consideration.

As offender number 16 said:

*"I have committed burglary when people are at home. I think this also helps you to commit burglaries easier because you do not waste your time on breaking the locks. I did burglaries both day and night. One time, I committed burglary at one house in the daytime, around 10 a.m. A woman, I think she was an owner's wife, stayed at home, hanging out their clothing, and washing in the back. I looked over the fence, and I saw that she still had lots of things to do outside the house. The good thing was that she left the whole house unlocked, the windows open. It was easy to get in. I waited for 5 to 10 minutes, checking if anyone else was at home, except her. I decided to enter through the front door, head to their bedrooms, and then grab the wallet, purse, and cell phone. Then I ran out very quickly" (Offender No.16, Bob, Male).*

Occupancy was also not a consideration for a group of offenders who committed burglary though their legitimate job and some of them acted as decoys like maintenances housekeepers or babysitters.

*"The only thing I would be concerned about is that I would choose the house that had cable installed or an air conditioner, which might enable me to act as a cable or AC repairman, or a house with a clumsy housekeeper or watchman, usually old people. If I found a great opportunity and it was safe, I would commit the burglary instantly. I pick the time for burglarizing when people go to work in the morning while the housekeeper or watchman stays alone" (Offender No. 25, Lee, Male).*

*“Nah, I knew what time the gardener who worked in the house went to bed. He usually drank every day, which made him sleep deeply so it was hard to wake him up. That is why I would not worry too much”* (Offender No. 36, Nancy, Female).

*“As I worked as a decoy as a housekeeper or babysitter, I encountered people like gardeners and drivers. Therefore, people staying at home did not apply in my case. My burglaries could be committed both daytime and nighttime with someone staying at home, at least me”* (Offender No. 42, Amanda, Female).

Conversely, a significant number of interviewees (15 offenders) also mentioned they avoided a house if they saw someone inside.

*“I would determine whether no one was inside. If no one was inside, it meant a great opportunity to enter. I also looked at whether the door was unlocked. Normally, people lock their front door either inside or outside, when no one is inside. This is the way to check”* (Offender No. 19, Bill, Male).

*“The first thing that you need to consider when you decide to pick the house is whether the house is unguarded with people. The first thing that I looked for during the “Doo Lay” process was whether no one was inside the home”* (Offender No. 30, Andrew, Male).

Similar to studies in the U.S. (Cromwell et al., 1991; Hakim et al., 2001; Rengert & Wasilchick, 2000) the most common method of determining residential occupancy was to knock on the door or ring the doorbell. Twelve offenders referred to this as a way of checking if the house was empty. Some of them admitted that they knocked on the door or rang the doorbell even if they believed the house was empty. If someone came to open the door, the interviewee normally would ask a question about a fictitious person or

address. For example, *“Hi, I am looking for Mr. Jimmy. Does he stay in this house” or “Is the house number 211?”*

### **Detection by neighbors**

The interviewees in this study identified the possibility of detection by neighbors as a strong deterrent to burglary. Thirty-five mentioned that neighbors would influence their decisions about suitable targets. For example, two interviewees mentioned that the neighborhood environment was important information in the ‘Doo Lay’ process.

*“Well, when we think about this house, first of all we need to find information. What is the people’s routine schedule? When do they go in and out? I also look at the nearby environment too. For example, security guards, neighborhood watch. Neighborhood watch is an important feature of the nearby environment. Neighborhood watch is the best security guard to protect against burglary”* (Offender No. 13, Joey, Male).

*“Well, the type of neighbors around my target is one piece of information that I ordered my team to look for when I sent one of my team members to check. Good neighbors are an evil for us. They would help each other to look out for and protect their house”* (Offender No. 34, Earth, Male).

Another two interviewees said they usually avoided residences with vigilant neighbors.

*“The bad target areas are the areas that contained vigilant neighbors. I would avoid committing burglaries in houses located in areas where people nearby usually*

*watched and asked when they met strangers who went into their areas” (Offender No.08, Brandon, Male).*

*“Some villages combined with a group of residents who are nosey persons. This type of person would be dangerous for most burglars because they usually love to look at what happened to other people’s houses near them. I often avoid a village like Bang Kren Soi 9 where many nosey neighbors could be easily found” (Offender No. 24, Dick, Male).*

The present findings about the importance of neighbors are consistent with findings from several prior studies. Three studies (Maguire & Bennett, 1982; Waller & Okihiro, 1978; Walsh, 1986) reported that the best targets are houses easy to break into without being seen by other people. Most offenders in the study by Bennett and Wright (1984) indicated they were worried about being seen by neighbors (also see Buck & Hakim, 1992).

### **Dogs**

Dogs were often seen as deterrents to burglary. However, the interviewees’ statements about dogs were mixed. Some saw dogs as a strong deterrent; others saw them as a partial deterrent; still others saw them as no deterrent at all. Twenty-seven interviewees said that dogs were strong deterrents when they thought about target selection. They usually avoided picking a house if dogs were inside. The main reason was that dogs could make loud noises, which could lead to detection. Some interviewees mostly chose to switch to a new target rather than find a way to deal with the dogs.

Two interviewees mentioned the impact of dogs:

*“Dogs were important. Dogs would bark and make noise, and the nearby neighborhood might hear and go checking”* (Offender No. 2, Henry, Male).

*“I would not choose a place with dogs, including the neighbor’s dog barking next door. I usually avoided such places because they made noise, and people might be aware something happened”* (Offender No. 20, Christ, Male).

A second group of interviewees (12 offenders) had a different opinion about the deterrent effects of dogs. One offender said that even a residence with a dog required some further consideration as a target and maybe a plan to deal with the dogs. This group of people said that when they encountered dogs inside a house, they would still pick the house if they thought the monetary rewards outweighed the risks. However, they would find a way to decrease the threat of the dogs.

*“Dogs were sometimes not important. It depended on what type of dog. Some breeds of dogs are kind and friendly. A large dog would deter me more than a small dog. However, if I encounter big dogs, I sometimes buy them food to be friends with them”* (Offender No.10, Panter, Male).

*“Dogs had little effect on my decision to choose a particular house. However, big dogs could scare me when I got inside a house, but there were many ways to get rid of them, such as anesthetizing them, bringing a small female dog to deflect them from us, and then I just moved on to get entry”*(Offender No. 16, Bob, Male).

The smallest group of interviewees (five offenders) expressed little concern for the presence of a dog because they knew how to deal with dogs. They believed that dogs would not put them off from the decision to commit a burglary. Two male offenders talked about never having problems with dogs.

*“Dogs, no impact. I buy food to make friends with them”* (Offender No. 1, Tommy, Male).

*“I used to be a dog trainer. I also had dogs. That is why I was familiar with dogs. I knew techniques to make them become my friend. I sometimes gave them a treat to make them feel happy and felt like I was not their enemy. If they were still barking at you, anesthetize them with medicine (such as a cerapax) mixed with a piece of meat or something and keep feeding them until they fell sleep. You see there were several easy ways to deal with the problem”* (Offender No. 14, Noah, Male).

### **Burglar alarm systems**

According to the findings of this study, a burglar alarm system was an excellent deterrent to burglary. Twenty-seven interviewees (60.0%) insisted they would avoid a place if there was a visible burglar alarm system. The burglars believed that the presence of an alarm system would increase the risk of arrest.

*“Alarms are very important. I once got inside a place, and the alarm went off. I needed to get out because the alarm was so noisy”* (Offender No. 12, Donald, Male).

*“It is very well known by most burglars that many alarms are connected to the police station. Once the alarms are activated, the police take just a few minutes to come*

*to the house. Also, the neighbors are important because once they hear the noise, they might call the police or watchman in their village” (Offender No. 19, Bill, Male).*

*“If I saw a burglar alarm installed in the place, I would choose to avoid committing a burglary there. Why take risks when there are places without them out there?” (Offender No. 26, George, Male).*

*“The alarms would make you get arrested; it was too risky to decide to commit burglary in the house where the alarms were installed. The noise would make neighbors notice what happened in the nearby house. In addition, the dogs had been barking while the alarms were making a loud noise” (Offender No. 33, Andy, Male).*

Additionally, two interviewees who could be classified as professional burglars claimed they could deal with any alarm system because they had sufficient skills to disable them. However, they would sometimes avoid a complicated alarm system because it would take them too long to deal with them. Instead of disabling a difficult alarm system, they would find another target.

*“It was easy to disable it. We had learned professional techniques from my uncle who was also was a professional burglar. In several of my successful burglaries, a burglar alarm system was not a big problem for us” (Offender No. 7, Paul, Male).*

*“Most owners believed that the alarm system would protect them from us, but in reality it was not good for them. Every time we decided to commit burglary at the residence, we would not change our intention unless there was not really good property in there” (Offender No. 30, Andrew, Male).*

The findings with respect to the efficiency of burglar alarms are consistent with those of several prior studies (Conklin & Bittner, 1973; Cromswell et al., 1991; Hakim, Buck, & Porat, 1992; Goodwin, 2007; Wright et al., 1995; Wright & Deckor, 1994). Conklin and Bittner (1973), for example, found that there were fewer stolen goods reported in houses where alarm systems were installed. Krainz (1990) reported that most burglars felt threatened by a good alarm system. Similar findings were found by Hakim, Buck, and Porat (1991) – a house with a burglar alarm system was safer than one where there was no alarm system. Recently, over half of the offenders in a study conducted by Goodwin (2007) said that burglar alarms provided some prevention to burglary. However, 16% of their offenders said the effectiveness of a burglar alarm depended on other factors, such as the type of alarm, whether it was possible to disable it, the location of the residence, the time of day, and the likely response time.

### **Camera surveillance systems (CCTV)**

It is not just burglar alarms that are considered effective deterrents. Camera surveillance systems (CCTV) are also viewed as effective deterrents. In general, there are two objectives of installing a camera surveillance system to prevent crime. One objective is to increase an offender's perceived certainty of detection. The other objective is to help in identifying suspects and facilitate their arrest and prosecution. With the help of advanced technology today, more home owners are likely to install a CCTV system in and around their residences, compared to the past. That is why CCTV is seen as a significant concern to many burglars in Thailand. The findings in this study speak to the benefit of CCTV as preventive devices. The majority of interviewees (30 offenders) usually picked a house without CCTV.



*“CCTV affects my decision about where to commit burglary. I prefer a place that does not have CCTV or a burglar alarm system” (Offender No. 2, Henry, Male).*

*“Cameras are dangerous. If you want to be a burglar, you need to pick a house without it” (Offender No. 9, Alex, Male).*

*“There were a lot of houses without CCTV. Why choose a house with CCTV where there were increased chances of getting caught?” (Offender No. 14, Noah, Male)*

*“It is a good idea to skip a house without CCTV and find another house where you would not worry about it” (Offender No. 23, Bean, Male).*

A small number of interviewees (four offenders), nevertheless, were not concerned with camera surveillance systems. The presence of a camera would not deter them from committing burglary at a house they chose. With respect to the impact of a camera on the chances of being caught, they reasoned they could find a way to hide themselves from a camera by wearing a hat and sunglasses. Some of them mentioned they had enough skill to disable a camera system. It was not important if there was valuable property in the house. As two of interviewees reported:

*“I was not worried about having my picture taken, like other burglars say. Even if my picture was captured by a camera surveillance system inside a house, no one could identify me. I wear a hat and sunglasses, sometimes a cross-play dress to conceal my identity” (Offender No. 24, Dick, Male).*

*“There is no question that camera surveillance devices and alarms could prevent burglaries. Nevertheless, I was not deterred. I could deal with them. I knew how to disable many alarms and CCTV” (Offender No. 32, Jeff, Male).*

Some recent studies (Goodwin, 2007; Lee, 2006) outside the U.S. report advantages of cameras as deterrents. Lee (2006), for example, found that the use of a camera surveillance device in a house was a good preventive strategy against burglary. Lee (2006) found that 84.6% of Korean burglars said that most houses with camera surveillance systems were not good targets. Goodwin (2007) reported similar findings in his study in Tasmania. The majority of Tasmanian offenders said they refrained from committing burglaries in houses with cameras.

### **Display of signs**

Numerous studies (Lee, 2006; Maguire & Bennett, 1982; Nee & Taylor, 1988; Wright & Deckor, 1994) have looked into the preventive effects of signs. The most two common signs are (1) stickers for displaying security devices, such as alarm stickers or CCTV stickers, announcing that such devices are operative at a residence and (2) beware-of-dog signs. There was no evidence in this study that either sign was an effective deterrent to burglary. However, a sign indicating the resident held an official position and a sign of repeat victimization protected against burglary.

#### *Signs displaying an official position*

There were numerous interviewees (29 offenders) in this study who said that a sign displaying an official position could discourage them from committing a burglary in a particular place. Most of them reported they usually skipped houses where officials lived, especially police and correctional officials. The offenders mostly reasoned that it was too risky to steal something from these houses, as they were concerned about the consequences if they were arrested and sentenced to prison. In addition, they were

worried that this kind of person might have guns to protect themselves, which increased the risks. Three offenders spoke of the deterrent effects of signs displaying an official position:

*“Safer means avoiding this type of house. The house that you probably knew or felt that someone inside the house worked as police officer or correctional officer. Either sign or sticker of their position was the clue for you to realize that this house should be avoided. Remember, if you want to be a successful burglar in Thailand, you need to pass the houses displaying this form of sign”* (Offender No. 10, Panter, Male).

*“I mostly skip a house with a sticker like ‘The house of Bang Kren Chief Police’ or ‘The house of Director of Bang Kwang Prison’. Such stickers make me think about the consequences if I got arrested. I might face difficulty in the investigation and hearing process, especially in the prison after I was sentenced. It was not worthwhile to commit a burglary in their houses”* (Offender No. 18, Edward, Male).

*“It was hard to determine whether the people in the house with a sign displaying an official position had a gun. However, I could guess, right? I did not want to take the risk, the risk to be shot by them”* (Offender No. 22, Denial, Male).

Only five interviewees indicated they were not concerned about a sign displaying an official position because they thought the people could make a fake sign. No one inside the house worked in that position. Some of them mentioned that their burglaries were opportunistic, so the sign would not be important to them.

One interviewee said this about a fake sign:

*“[Hah-ha] no sign could change my mind. In addition, it might be a fake sign. The people might make a big lie to you that one of their family members had a high position. In reality, however, it was not the truth”* (Offender No. 25, Lee, Male).

Another interviewee said a sign displaying an official status would not be important:

*“Most of the burglaries that I had done occurred suddenly when the opportunity was provided. Therefore, I would not care whether there was a sign at the house. If I saw a good opportunity, I would not hesitate to earn money from the burglary”* (Offender No. 6, Romeo, Male).

#### *Signs of repeat victimization*

Similar to the sign displaying an official status, the sign of a repeat victim also acted as a deterrent to burglary. Some homeowners believed hanging a repeat-victim sign would indicate that this house did not have any valuable property to be stolen, and this would stop for further burglary. The interviewees in this study supported this belief. Nearly 70% of the interviewees mentioned that they would not choose a house if they saw a sign indicating someone had broken into it before. With respect to Thai culture, the majority of interviewees (22 offenders) reported that they felt empathy with their victims regarding repeat victimization. Thus, the offender chose a new target. Two interviewees said:

*“Well, once I was thinking about breaking into a place. I would not pick the place where I found the owners had posted a banner indicating they were repeat victims”*

(Offender No. 16, Bob, Male).

*“I felt bad if I decided to break into a house where the owner suffered from the loss in a previous burglary. If I saw the billboard or banner around their places, I would change to a new target”* (Offender No. 28, Bully, Male).

Some of the interviewees (seven offenders) reasoned that it would not be worthwhile to break into a house where they could steal less property with little value. One interviewee offered this:

*“When I saw the place with the billboard showing the sentence [This house does not have any valuables inside], I assumed that there was nothing inside the house, and it was not meaningful to steal from that house”* (Offender No. 35, Boss, Male).

Four interviewees, on the contrary, mentioned they would not pay attention to a sign representing a repeat victim. Just like offenders said about a sign displaying an official status, they pointed to the possibility of a fake sign. Two interviewees said:

*“No sign could deter me from deciding to commit burglary. I need money, even if I felt poorly for them, but my life also suffered too unless I would get money”* (Offender No. 01, Tommy, Male).

*“Again, it might be a fake sign to protect them from a silly burglar. Only stupid burglars believed that this was a true story and they would miss what they deserved to get”* (Offender No. 13, Joey, Male).

## **Locks**

Wright and Decker (1994) noted that most offenders disliked dead bolt locks, especially double-cylinder dead bolts, but that they could be defeated with tools or physical force. Cromwell et al. (1991) claimed that different offenders responded differently to dead bolt locks. Rational offenders would seek other methods of entry when faced with physical obstacles. Opportunistic offenders, on the other hand, would be more deterred, and some would proceed to a new target.

This study generated equivocal findings regarding the deterrent effects of locks. Locks prompted three different types of responses. One group of interviewees (10 offenders) mentioned that good locks provided some preventive effect when selecting a target for burglary. These interviewees, however, were deterred only by locks that required extreme effort to defeat them. Fifteen offenders in a second group said that good locks did not deter them from committing burglary, but good locks influenced the timing of their burglaries. The largest group of interviewees (20 offenders) said that locks had no deterrent effect on their burglaries. Many of them said they could find another way to gain access, while some of the interviewees reported they had skills to smash any type of lock.

A supporting quote for the first group was:

*"I could not say that good locks could absolutely deter me from breaking into a house. I sometimes went to a new house with a simpler lock rather than waste my time dealing with complicated locks"* (Offender No. 11, Tony, Male).

Two offenders in the second group said:

*“Good locks required more effort to break. It might waste my valuable time when I could find a house that required only minimum effort”* (Offender No. 8, Brandon, Male).

*“I could save time if I choose a house with simple locks on the door and windows”* (Offender No. 15, Jack, Male).

The following statements represented the third group:

*“Locks had no impact because I could open all types of locks”* (Offender No. 1, Tommy, Male).

*“You could deal with any type of lock if you had some tools like a screw driver or a hammer. It was not hard, as I could overcome this barrier”* (Offender No. 7, Paul, Male).

*“If I found good locks or double locks on the doors, I just gained access through windows or rear doors”* (Offender No. 29, Terry, Male).

### **Security guards (watchmen)**

It was unclear whether security guards or watchmen prevented burglaries. Around half of the interviewees reported that security guards had no deterrent value, whereas another half mentioned they normally avoided burglarizing houses or apartments located in villages with watchmen.

The first group of respondents did not care whether guards or watchmen were present when they picked a target. They said that watchmen were lazy and did not pay attention to the houses or watch for strangers. Some of them mentioned they could become friends with watchmen by drinking and hanging with them. Offenders later took advantage of the friendship by seeking information about a target. Or they sometimes had watchmen who worked as decoys. As two interviewees reported:

*“I would not see security guards or watchmen as a problem. They sometimes would be my friend and my crime partner after we had hung around and drank two or three times”* (Offender No. 4, Ray, Male).

*“Most of them were lazy. Several times when I had committed burglaries in this village, I saw the guards hardly checked my identification card as guards in other villages did. Also, everyone knew that most guards slept in the night shift”* (Offender No. 34, Earth, Male).

On the other hand, most burglars in the second group reported they preferred to pick a target without guards or watchmen. They reasoned that watchmen acted to prevent burglaries because they could identify them as strangers in an area.

*“I chose only villages or apartments where there were no security guards or watchmen present. I would be easily noticed by them. They might call the police if they identified you as a stranger in the area”* (Offender No. 12, Donald, Male).

*“The watchmen were checking you when you went to enter the village or apartment. They might ask for your identification, which might identify who you are.*



*Also, they sometimes rode a bicycle to check houses when they were unoccupied”*

(Offender No. 27, Steve, Male).

### **Burglary Displacement**

“Crime displacement” refers to the ability to adjust the planning and commission of a crime because of changes to the circumstances related to the crime, especially improvement in crime deterrence measures (Lab, 1992). The interviewees in this study were asked how they responded when they were prevented from committing previously planned burglaries. Overall, the interviewees would not attempt to commit another burglary on the same day. Twenty-eight claimed that if they were prevented from committing a previously planned burglary, they usually gave up and went home.

As offender number 36 said:

*“I would give up and go home and later find a new room in the next round because I would think my first target was an unsuitable”* (Offender No. 36, Nancy, Female).

Moreover, a belief in fate was an important reason as offender number 21 said:

*“...if I got stuck with something which could put me off from burglarizing, it was better to pick a new target on a new day. I believed that I was not lucky on both target and date. If I was not lucky on that day, it would be better to avoid everything. Stop everything; go back and stay home. It might be pretty safe, but if I attempted to do it, who knows, I might be arrested”* (Offender No. 21, White, Male).

These findings are consistent with those of Bennett and Wright (1984) who reported that 41% of their offenders generally did not attempt to commit another burglary on the same day if they were prevented from committing a previously planned burglary.

#### **Fourth Step: Burglary Process**

##### **Time of burglary**

Around half of the interviewees (27 offenders) in this study mentioned they preferred to commit burglaries at night between 1:00 a.m. and 4:00 a.m. when people were asleep.

*“The nighttime around 1:00 a.m. – 4:00 a.m. is the best time for burglars to go out and work... because it was very quiet and people were sleeping deeply”* (Offender No. 17, Alfred, Male).

However, 25% of the interviewees (11 offenders) mentioned that daytime was better than nighttime, between 8:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m. and the mid-afternoon between 1:00 p.m. and 3:00 p.m.

*“All burglaries I did only in the daytime because I could not go on at night. I had to stay with my family or I went to hang out, nightclub, or party at night. So I chose to commit in the daytime... well from 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. because the houses were unguarded. People usually were working, shopping, sending their children to school. Around 4:00 p.m. onward, it was the time to stop going around and committing burglary due to people mostly being back home, especially the women and children because it was the time for class to be finished”* (Offender No. 24, Dick, Male).

Additionally, 22.2% of the interviewees (10 offenders) said they would commit burglaries during both the day and night. Some of them found it difficult to identify a preferred time; timing of a burglary depended on opportunity.

*“I prefer working in the day around 10:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. It is better. I sometimes committed burglary in the night too around 1:00 a.m. to 2:00 a.m.”* (Offender No. 7, Paul, Male).

*“Uhh..., I could not tell you exactly what time. In my mind, I think that I could do anytime as I tell you it depends on the opportunity. I can tell you I see myself as a burglar. So if I see the opportunity is ‘Prong’ I would do it instantaneously. However, I never hurt victims”* (Offender No. 29. Terry, Male).

Approximately 85% of the interviewees (39 offenders) committed burglaries on a daily basis. They spent at least three to seven days a week committing burglaries, while 8.8% (4 offenders) said they did it on a weekly or monthly basis. They mentioned that they would commit it when they were broke or someone hired them to commit a burglary. Two female interviewees mentioned that they would commit burglary when someone asked them or hired them to be a decoy or get information. Consequently, they could not estimate how much time they spent committing burglaries.

Twenty-eight interviewees said they preferred to commit burglary on weekdays rather than weekends. Ten preferred to commit burglary on weekends and long holidays, while only seven burglars would do it any day; it depended on the job and opportunity.

*“I usually commit burglary on weekdays from Monday through Friday. I would not work on weekends or long holidays because it posed a high level of risk; people*

*usually stayed home. We could not estimate the exact time when the house was unguarded when they were spending time at home on weekends” (Offender No. 24, Dick, Male).*

*“I mostly chose the payroll period because people had money and go out, and on long official vacations, such as Songkran Day, New Year Festival because nobody was at home. They were gone for vacation and travel. However, during the weekend I could commit more burglaries because people usually went out and came back very late. It was a very good opportunity” (Offender No. 2, Henry, Male).*

*“Again I could not tell you exactly. It also depended on how my target was available for me. The houses and apartments, they would not be in and out of their places differently. Assume I went to pick a house and I found an interesting one. I would go check their routine, their schedule, in and out. When I found a good opportunity, I would commit the burglary immediately” (Offender No. 9, Alex, Male).*

According to Rengert and Wasilchick (1985), choice of time by residential burglars was determined by the temporal patterns of their victims. Burglars worked during periods when houses were unoccupied. Most burglars in their study preferred to be active between 9:00 a.m. and 11:00 a.m., and mid-afternoon, from 1:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m. They chose these hours because people were out. Offenders in the study also stated they did not commit burglaries on Saturday because people usually guarded their houses. Instead, they preferred to work on weekdays, Monday through Friday, and Sunday morning, during church hours.

According to Rengert and Wasilchick (1985), if a residence was occupied during the day, it was likely to be occupied by a woman. Their offenders said that a good time for committing burglary was when the women who do not work outside the home went out for shopping, working out, or visiting friends or relatives. Some burglars also observed that Saturday and Sunday were good times for burglary when family members who work outside were not at the residence.

Additionally, most interviewees identified a best season for committing burglary. The majority of Thai burglars (82%) said they preferred to burglarize in the rainy season. Rain would allow them to burglarize without fear of detection from neighbors, police, or even the people inside the residences. Two offenders said:

*“Yeah the season does affect burglary commission. Rainy season is the best for burglary because it drowns out the noise, and there are fewer patrol officers during the rain. I can say ‘Rainy season is very ‘Prong’” (Offender No. 1, Tommy, Male).*

*“Well, you know I believe most burglars, including me prefer rainy season and winter. You know, it’s very safe when you commit burglary during the rainy season because the sound of rain would hide your break-in noise, and you will be safe from detection by neighbors or police. No one likes to do anything in the rain” (Offender No. 19, Bill, Male).*

Besides the rainy season, winter was a popular season for burglary. Sixteen percent of the interviewees (seven offenders) mentioned winter as the best season for committing burglary. Two interviewees said:

*“Well, winter is good too especially when you commit burglary in the night. Cold weather makes people sleep for a long time and deeply”* (Offender No. 8, Brandon, Male).

*“Not only rainy season, but winter is also good to commit a crime. People go to bed early in winter, and they are sleeping easily and are hard to wake up. People avoid hanging out or drinking in front of their houses in the winter. So you could avoid detection from someone”* (Offender No. 23, Bean, Male).

A small number of interviewees (three offenders) did not care about the season. They would commit burglary in any season, as offender number 03 said:

*“My style is I can do it every season. I mean the season does not impact my decision”* (Offender No. 3, Adam, Male).

One important finding in this study is about the role of fate in picking a lucky day and time for committing burglary. Thai people mostly practice Buddhism, and they believe in fate and luck. Some interviewees (15 offenders) in this study also indicated they sometimes pick a day and time to commit a crime depending on fate. They usually asked their friends or relatives who were fortunetellers, and the monk, to check for a lucky day and time before they committed a burglary. They believed that if they committed a burglary on a lucky day, they would be successful. Some of them also avoided specific days, as they believed that they were unlucky for them. They worried about being caught if they did something on an unlucky day.

Three male interviewees mentioned the importance of fate to their burglaries:

*“If the opportunity was provided, I usually did my burglaries every Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. These three days were lucky for me. I never failed to complete the job on these days”* (Offender No. 6, Romeo, Male).

*“Before I had committed burglary, I would ask my relative who was a fortune teller to check my fate first, which provided me more confidence to do it. This helped me to reduce the unnecessary risk...You are right; my commission of burglaries depended on my fate and lucky day. If my relative told me that the day that I planned to commit burglary was unlucky or unconnected to my fate, I would not hesitate to change the day and restart the planning, especially for a big job”* (Offender No. 11, Tony, Male).

*“It is important for lucky or fate checking before you do something with high risk. You need to be sure that everything will go smoothly. When I ignored fate and committed a crime on my unlucky day, I was often caught by the police or had a problem after that”* (Offender No. 28, Billy, Male).

*“How much I could earn from burglaries depended on my luck. If I committed burglaries on my lucky day, I could sometimes get into three or four rooms in one apartment per day. Definitely, I earned a lot of money”* (Offender No. 36, Nancy, Female).

## **Type of residences**

Thai burglars preferred to commit burglaries in single houses, townhouses, luxury condominiums, and apartments. Twenty-four interviewees (53.3%) in this study chose to commit burglary in single houses and townhouses, either one or more than one story.

*“Bang Na, Rat Burana, Bang Phakok, Probprab, and Taling Chan: I give 10 (Referring to the map task) because the house is big and usually a single house. So I love to commit burglary here”* (Offender No. 21, White, Male).

*“I mostly committed burglary in single houses and townhouses in the village. I hardly choose apartments or condominiums because those types of places had security systems. It is very difficult to get inside because of a security system”* (Offender No. 27, Steve, Male).

Eighteen interviewees (40%) mentioned that their main targets were apartments or luxury condominiums. Other residences, such as row houses and business row houses would be targets if they provided good opportunities.

*“I had committed burglaries only in apartments because the areas that I chose to do my burglaries were where several luxury apartments and condominiums were located”* (Offender No. 12, Donald, Male).

*“I prefer to commit my burglaries in apartments and condominiums because I could break into several rooms and grab several things at once”* (Offender No. 15, Jack, Male).



However, the majority of offenders mentioned that they might choose to commit burglary in more than one type of residence; they would not limit their burglaries to only one type. The assessment of a suitable target was the main reason why a target was selected.

*“It is difficult to identify, I had always burglarized single houses, townhouses, apartments, row houses, and other types of residence. The best place for committing burglary for me means the place that offers the best opportunity” (Offender No. 9, Alex, Male).*

*“For ten years of committing burglaries, I had committed them all in houses. I mean single houses, townhouses, apartments, row houses, or even business row houses. I did not see the importance of thinking ‘Oh well I prefer to commit burglaries in single houses’ because I could break into any type of residence even though it might require different procedures to get in” (Offender No. 26, George, Male).*

Additionally, a small number of interviewees (nine offenders) identified special conditions when they chose a type of residence to burglarize. Some offenders pretended to be air conditioner or cable maintenance people in order to get inside a place without breaking the doors, so they would need to choose a residence with air-conditioning or cable.

*“I will look and search while I drive my motorcycle along the route. I think even one neighborhood should have at least one house with cable where I can do my job. I usually dressed as a cable maintenance man while I was searching for a suitable target...So my target places should have at least air-conditioning or cable” (Offender No. 03, Adam, Male).*

Some female offenders committed their burglaries while they had worked in their regular jobs, such as direct sales jobs. They would commit burglary in row houses, college student dormitories, and apartments where they could do their direct sales jobs at the same time.

*“My best target is my customer for my direct sales job. Therefore, I will choose to do direct sales jobs in row houses and apartments. I see opportunities to commit burglary when I work in direct sales. The people are careless. They are suitable targets for burglary. Single houses or townhouses are not my favorite targets because it is hard to sell the products there, and I could not use my work time to commit burglary”*  
(Offender No. 40, Bonnie, Female).

### **Techniques for committing burglaries**

Interviewees were asked several questions about the techniques they used to commit burglary. The questions included how they got to the target, what techniques they used to enter and exit it, what they preferred to steal, and what were their disposal strategies.

#### *Commuting to target areas*

As stated above, most offenders usually drove their personal vehicles, mostly motorcycles and cars to search for suitable targets. Seven out of ten interviewees reported they usually used cars for committing a burglary, followed by a motorcycle, taxi, or other public transport. Only a few interviewees (2% of offenders) mentioned they sometimes walked to commit a burglary.

*“I will look and search while I drive my motorcycle along the route. I think every neighborhood should have at least one house with cable where I can do my job”*

(Offender No. 3, Adam, Male).

*“The usual way to get to the house is driving my car”* (Offender No. 17, Alfred, Male).

*“I went to do burglaries by car, sometimes my own car. Sometimes I borrowed my friend’s car”* (Offender No. 31, Jonathan, Male).

#### *Techniques of gaining entry*

When the interviewees were asked how they gained entry into a residence, most interviewees (70%) said they entered through open windows or doors or forcing windows or doors open. Back or rear doors were preferred. Approximately one in seven offenders reported picking locks or using an imitation key that they had previously acquired to gain entry. A small group of interviewees (7 offenders) reported they usually sent one of their team members to the target place in advance for cutting the security system wire, alarm wire, or telephone wire. Screwdrivers, crowbars, hammers, imitation keys, and acid liquid were common burglary tools that most offenders preferred to carry with them when they committed burglary. Two-thirds of the interviewees reported carrying lock-picking tools, and one third indicated they disguised themselves in some way prior to a burglary.

Nearly ninety percent of the interviewees said that most of their burglaries were quick. They said that the total time for the entire process should be less than half an hour.

However, some offenders insisted they might spend from 30 minutes to one hour in a sophisticated burglary.

All bedrooms, except children's bedrooms, were the areas most interviewees preferred to search for property. They said that once they had entered a house, they usually went to the bedroom first, and they usually searched the closet, the bedhead, table, or cupboard because most offenders believed that people usually kept valuable property in their bedrooms. Only four offenders said they usually searched all rooms.

Three offenders mentioned that the bedroom was the first place they searched:

*"I headed to search the master bedroom because the owner usually leaves money, necklaces, and other jewelry at the bed counter, dresser drawer and the cabinet inside the bedroom. I will search all bedrooms except the children's bedroom. I think children's bedrooms have nothing worth taking"* (Offender No. 2, Henry, Male).

*"I usually head to the bedroom for stealing stuff... Most people believed that if they keep their stuff with them all the time, it might be safer. But it was not true at all, you see!"* (Offender No. 5, Danny, Male).

*"The bedroom was my first target. Then I would go to the Buddhist meditation room (if the house had one), then the living room"* (Offender No. 21, White, Male).

One offender would not choose any particular room. He instead searched all rooms in the house:

*“I did not prefer to search only one particular room or area for finding property. I usually walked through every area, except the kitchen and bathrooms, as that’s where I thought the people might keep the property I wanted”* (Offender No. 6, Romeo, Male).

Statements by four interviewees suggest they would not attempt to find property in kitchens and bathrooms.

*“No, never. No one keeps property in the kitchen or bathroom. Haha!”* (Offender No. 21, White, Male).

*“I would not waste my time in the kitchen and bathrooms where I could find only pans, pots, bathroom papers, soap, and shampoo”* (Offender No. 29, Terry, Male).

*“Oh, only stupid people waste their time in kitchens and bathrooms for something valuable”* (Offender No. 34, Earth, Male).

*“I never think of about searching in either kitchens or bathrooms due to no one would keep property there. You might also encounter people who might be busy cooking or taking a shower”* (Offender No. 36, Nancy, Female).

#### *Preferred property*

Cash was most preferred by a majority of interviewees (93.3%), followed by gold and jewelry (84.4%), antique Buddhist amulets (78.0%), and laptops and other expensive electronic devices (66.7%). Generally, all offenders claimed they preferred lightweight property easy to carry and move. The exceptions were hired burglars. They sometimes stole heavy property, such as antiques, rare paintings, and rare Buddhist statues.

Three interviewees reported that:

*“Cash, gold, diamond, jewelry. That is all I was looking for. I was not interested in any other things. The things that I preferred were mostly lightweight and easy to transport, hard to determine they were stolen. When I committed burglary, I brought only a small backpack, only small equipment. To be safe, you have to do things like normal people when you are done with the burglary”* (Offender No. 3, Adam, Male).

*“Money, guns, jewelry, gold, Buddhist amulets, Buddhist statues, collectibles, antiques, mobile phones, iPhones, notebooks, small appliances.... Lightweight and easy to carry out without notice from other people”* (Offender No. 12, Donald, Male).

*“Only three things that I mostly looked for were cash, gold, and Buddhist amulets because they were more valuable than other items. But it should be small and lightweight so I can put it all in my backpack”* (Offender No. 33, Andy, Male).

Another interviewee who worked as a hired burglar said:

*“Beyond cash, jewelry, and lightweight valuable stuff that I usually preferred to take, I sometimes needed to steal heavy property if I got an order for stealing”* (Offender No. 7, Paul, Male).

#### *Disposal techniques*

The next consideration is the disposal of property. Most prior research (Lee, 2006; Rengert & Wasilchick, 1985; Wright & Decker, 1994) has found that offenders usually want to sell their stolen property as quickly as possible. It is too risky to keep it for a long time.

Similar sentiments were expressed by the interviewees in this study. Most interviewees (27 offenders) indicated they normally tried to get rid of all the property as

quickly as they could. Half reported they usually disposed of stolen property within 24 hours of the burglary. They reported that sometimes they brought stolen property into their homes, but they would not keep it for long time.

Here is what two interviewees said about this:

*“I need to get rid of stolen items as quickly as possible. Not more than one day after I had finished. If I kept it for too long, it might increase the chances of getting arrested”* (Offender No. 19, Bill, Male).

*“If you want quick money, you need to dispose of the property as quick as you can. Within 24 hours is the best. Otherwise, the stolen property can be used as evidence if you are caught”* (Offender No. 43, Linda, Female).

In terms of disposal of property, most interviewees (57.2%) sold it to professional fences who usually bought all illegal items at half or less than half of its market price. However, most interviewees preferred to sell property to fences because such fences would not care where it came from. As one interviewee said:

*“I usually sell them to pawn shops, illegal fences, the gold shop. For fences, they bought everything from me without concern about whether it was stolen”* (Offender No. 3, Adam, Male).

Pawnshops and general market shop, such as gold shops, were also preferred by many Thai burglars (40.0%) to dispose of property.

*“Most stuff that I got, I usually went to two or three pawn shops to sell them. It was very easy to convert it into money by selling to pawn shops”* (Offender No. 31, Jonathan, Male).

*“I sold gold to gold shops and sold mobile phones to mobile shops”* (Offender No. 16, Bob, Male).

Some interviewees (15.2%) insisted they gave stolen property to other people, such as girlfriends, parents, and siblings.

*“Some jewelry might be given to my girlfriend. I also keep some nice jewelry for myself”* (Offender No. 28, Bully, Male).

Additionally, a small percentage of interviewees (6.7%) indicated they sometimes traded stolen property for something else they needed, mostly illegal drugs or legal help. One interviewee said:

*“In some of my burglaries, I traded the stuff for amphetamines or heroin. Some items were exchanged for legal help with my criminal case”* (Offender No. 35, Boss, Male).

### **Fifth Step: Working with Co-Offenders**

Most previous research suggests that criminal offenders often commit their crimes with partners. Both inexperienced and professional offenders, especially younger, active offenders, usually commit at least some of their crimes with other offenders (Cromwell et al., 1994; Goodwin, 2007; Lee, 2006; Zimring, 1981). Burglars in all age groups in the



study by Reiss (1988) said that burglary is a crime most commonly committed in the company of others.

In this study, 34 interviewees (75.5%) had committed burglaries with co-offenders. However, they also committed some burglaries alone. All offenders reported they had committed burglary alone at least once. Generally, the number of co-offenders ranged from one to six. Considers these statements by two of the interviewees:

*“When I committed burglary, I usually did it with my colleagues, at least two people and at times four people. If it is more than four, it might be too much”* (Offender No. 6, Romeo, Male).

*“Sometimes I did it on my own, while I committed some burglaries with someone else”* (Offender No. 32, Jeff, Male).

A few (five) offenders committed all of their burglaries with romantic partners, and this was especially characteristic of female offenders. One male offender mentioned that:

*“Nah, I never did it alone. I should have a team”* (Offender No. 1, Tommy, Male).

Two female offenders stated they were involved in only co-offending burglaries with their romantic partners.

*“I started my burglaries with my husband, and I continued to commit burglaries with him. He would tell me what I needed to do. Sometimes he sent me to work as an*

*informant by having me apply to be a babysitter or housekeeper” (Offender No. 37, Rachel, Female).*

*“I never did burglaries without the support of my boyfriend. I mean all other crimes too. It’s hard for women to do something risky alone” (Offender No. 45, Candy, Female).*

However, six female interviewees reported they committed all of their burglaries alone.

*“No, I normally commit burglary alone. Not someone else ... I always keep quiet. I used to ask my direct sales colleagues. They blamed me, making me feeling embarrassed. No one likes burglars or criminals. I hardly let my colleagues or my employer know about my bad side. I committed burglary because I needed money, and it was the only way I could get a lot of money” (Offender No. 36, Nancy, Female).*

In order to understand offenders’ decision making about committing burglary, with respect to the rational choice perspective, it is important to assess the possible influence of co-offenders in a burglary. A series of studies suggest that criminal groups affect decision making insofar as group decisions differ from individual decisions. Numerous studies have recognized that the presence of co-offenders is an important factor in shaping perceptions of the risks and rewards of an offense (Brown & Altman, 1981; Cornish & Clarke, 1986; Cromwell et al., 1991; Goodwin, 2007; Lee, 2006).

Two-thirds of the interviewees who had acted at least once with a co-offender listed a variety of advantages of co-offending. Ten interviewees mentioned they needed backup by a team member to make the burglary go smoothly. Working with others

reduced the chances of problems when they broke into a house because one of them would serve as a lookout. Three interviewees mentioned that:

*“You know what! Generally, the professional burglars do not commit burglary alone. It is necessary to have a team or colleagues, at least two, because one can break inside and steal while another person has to ‘Doo Lay’ and back him up. Inexperienced burglars are usually drug users and need money for drugs. So, when they see an opportunity, they usually commit not only burglary, but also robbery”* (Offender No. 2, Henry, Male).

*“When you commit burglaries, you need some backup. In several burglaries, I needed to assign one of my team members to watch out for unexpected situations or watch out for other people”* (Offender No. 7, Paul, Male).

*“Some houses or places were too big for just one person”* (Offender No. 24, Dick, Male).

Another seven interviewees said that the presence of co-offenders helped them to reduce their anxiety and fears. In this connection, prior studies (Cloward & Ohlin, 1960; Coupe & Blake, 2006; Shover & Henderson, 1995) have suggested that participation with partners may work to moderate individuals’ fear of punishment, and thus to increase the chances of committing crimes. Burglars interviewed by Cromwell et al. (1991) suggested that the presence of others in a burglary can build confidence.

As offenders number 19 and 43 said:

*“When I worked with someone, I felt relaxed. I would not be scared too much because I knew I had friends. I had backup” (Offender No. 19, Bill, Male)*

*“I felt less anxious than if I had committed it alone. Working with people helped you to reduce both work and worry because you had someone around you” (Offender No. 43, Linda, Female).*

Learning new techniques for committing burglaries was mentioned by five of 39 interviewees as one of the benefits of committing burglaries with co-offenders. They mentioned that their partners would teach or share with them new burglary techniques, such as how to seek better information about potential targets, techniques for disabling security devices, and techniques for forcing locks open or even searching targets.

*“With the help of my professional colleagues, I learned a new technique most of the time that I committed burglaries. Before I went with one of my co-offenders, I never knew how to disable burglar alarms until I had committed burglaries with him two or three times. Now, I had the skills to disable not only alarms but also other security devices, such as CCTV, motion lights, and fingerprint protective devices. These skills would help me when I needed to commit another crime such as auto theft. This is why I love to commit crimes with other people. You get something more than when you do it alone” (Offender No. 18, Edward, Male).*

*“I usually gained new experience, new targets, and new skills when I committed burglaries with my friends. Exchange of information was important when we worked*

*together. Sometimes I learned from them; sometimes they learned from me. Believe me, co-offending is important for successful burglary” (Offender No. 30, Andrew, Male).*

Four interviewees indicated that the value of co-offenders depended on the pattern of burglary. Female offenders usually required help from co-offenders because they worked as informants by applying to be babysitters or housekeepers. They then would deliver information about the residence to their burglary partners. Burglary for hire is another burglary pattern for which co-offenders are needed.

One female interviewee said regarding the requirement of partners in her burglaries:

*“I needed to commit burglary with my husband and his colleagues. Actually, my burglary style depended on the co-offending. I usually received the order from my team, what I needed to do. I meant my burglary style could not be successful unless I had a team to support me” (Offender No. 45, Candy, Female).*

One male interviewee said that a hired burglary pattern required the involvement of a co-offender:

*“When we did a hired burglary, we needed a team, and we needed more than two people working together. A careful plan was required with the team members’ duties assigned” (Offender No. 7, Paul, Male).*

Thai culture helps to explain why many Thai burglars committed their crimes with co-offenders. Thai people usually rely on others in their everyday lives, especially

people they love or with whom they are familiar. Family members and peers are preferred co-offenders.

Twenty-one interviewees said they usually committed burglary with their close family members, and this was especially the case with younger offenders. Most of them reasoned that committing a burglary with family members was safer than committing it with someone else.

*“I usually committed burglary with my family members and relatives, such as my wife, my wife’s sisters, or grandchild, and sometimes other relatives”* (Offender No. 5, Danny, Male).

*“Working with someone you can totally trust. That is why I usually commit burglaries with my brothers, my uncle, and even my girlfriends. However, I sometimes committed burglaries with professional burglars; most of the time. I preferred to do it with my family members”* (Offender No. 10, Panter, Male).

Two interviewees spoke of the influence of their family members on their decisions to commit burglary:

*“My first burglary began with my uncle, my second time with my cousins. I can tell you that most of my family members were involved in burglary. I was born in a burglar’s family. Since I was young, I was around and attached to burglary environment. It is my life. It seemed like I was born to be a burglar”* (Offender No. 20, Christ, Male).

*“It is my boyfriend who teaches me about burglary. That is who got me started”* (Offender No. 39, Mary, Female).

Fourteen interviewees said that most of their burglary partners were friends, who were burglars too. Peer association affected both inexperienced and experienced offenders.

Three interviewees said:

*“Most of my burglar colleagues were friends”* (Offender No. 11, Tony, Male).

*“My preferred partner was usually my friend. I had one friend who is now confined in another prison that we often committed burglary together”* (Offender No. 13, Joey, Male).

*“I usually did most burglaries with other professional burglars who were later my close friends and co-offenders”* (Offender No. 23, Bean, Male).

The presence of co-offenders was also important for the interviewees’ choices of suitable targets. The decision about whether to choose a particular target appeared to be a collective one. Of the 39 interviewees who usually co-offended, 20 (51.3%) stated that target selection was a group decision. Most team members had to agree in target selection. They also sometimes shared target information among them.

Two interviewees reported that the target selection was one of the decision making steps that revealed the importance of co-offenders:

*“When we plan a burglary, one of us will spot an interesting residence, and we need to check it out together. All of us had to be in agreement that it was an excellent target”* (Offender No. 27, Steve, Male).

*“Target selection, for example, was a group decision. The decision to pick the house was made by all of us. It is a group risk, so you have to decide together. All partners had an equal say in it” (Offender No. 25, Lee, Male).*

However, decisions about target selection were sometimes left to a group leader with considerable influence. This was sometimes true when there was an older member in a group. The older member would play an important role in pressuring the younger group members to conform to his opinions, and the younger ones would often do so regardless of whether the older member’s opinion was correct. In such cases, the older members were usually leaders of the group.

One interviewee said picking the house target was often based on only one person in his group:

*“My friend will choose the place and make the major decision on target selection. Suppose you find a very good target house; my friend will plan and set the time to commit the burglary. I am the person who breaks into the house and takes the property. Our team also has two watchers at both front and back doors, and one driver. I prefer to do it with a team because they offer more encouragement” (Offender No. 2, Henry, Male).*

Another interviewee explained how target selection was influenced by an older member:

*“We usually trust an older person who had a lot of experience in burglary. He told and directed us about all things regarding burglary. He was telling us about burglary, and he told us how to do it. I wanted to be a professional burglar like him” (Offender No. 9, Alex, Male).*



## Female Burglars in Thailand

There were broad similarities between male and female burglars in this study. The major difference was the pattern of their burglaries. According to the interviews with the female offenders, they were usually decoys or informants in burglaries. Female offenders were usually ordered to apply for a legal job, such as a housekeeper or a babysitter. After working inside the target residence, the female offender would work as an informant to seek and deliver necessary information, such as the house layout, the schedules of the household members, the location of property, and the security system. She sometimes helped to remove physical barriers and make it easier to access the target.

Two female offenders said this about their roles as informants:

*“Well, I am a woman. I might fit this type of burglary. First thing I needed to do was apply to be an employee as a housekeeper, a cook, or a babysitter. We would do it when my boyfriend or our gangster king boss had an order to steal some valuable property. In addition, we usually decided to commit this type of burglary when we were sure that we could get a lot of things and money. Therefore, when we choose the house for this job, the house should be big, nice, and rich to guarantee that it’s worthwhile for taking the risk” (Offender No. 40, Bonnie, Female).*

*“Our plan began by hiring one of the housekeepers in the house to quit her job. We contracted and paid her money to quit. Then I would apply to replace her. When I got the job and worked as a housekeeper, I would work as a decoy. I would check information need to commit the burglary, such as the location of things, the security equipment, (CCTV, theft alarm), presence of dogs, and the resident’s schedule. After I*

*had worked for around three to six months, we would plan and set the burglary day based on the people's schedule. As I said earlier, we would set the day when the residents were gone for long periods for business or vacation. When everything was prepared, we committed the burglary. On the burglary day, I would be a lookout"* (Offender No. 38, Barbara, Female).

Burglaries also occurred through regular jobs, such as direct sales, freelance hiring, or housekeeping. Female interviewees mostly used their jobs to commit burglary:

*"I had worked in direct sales. I went to knock on doors and sell products. I began to commit burglaries; I hardly sold the products due to the economic crisis, which made direct-sales products expensive and hard to sell"* (Offender No. 36, Nancy, Female).

This type of female offender was less likely to spend time planning burglaries. Compared to male offenders, female offenders were more likely to report committing opportunistic burglaries and complete a burglary within one day, if they spent any time planning. Male offenders, on the other hand, were more likely to spend several days or more planning a burglary. Additionally, male offenders who planned their burglaries were more likely to surveil a suitable target in advance to gather information.

As one female interviewee said about her crime:

*"My burglaries occurred when I went to do direct sales. I had seen their property, and the residents seemed careless. I needed money; so when I saw the opportunity when they were taking a nap, I decided to burglarize their house"* (Offender No. 42, Amanda, Female).

When female offenders were asked about the effectiveness of security and prevention measures, they said they did not see them as important or related to their particular burglary styles. Seven out of the ten female interviewees reported they preferred to burglarize with someone else rather than alone. Thai culture requires women to listen and follow their spouses' orders. This is important in understanding female burglars. More female interviewees reported engaging in burglaries with a spouse (60.0% of females, 17.9% of males). Conversely, more male interviewees reported committing burglaries with friends and colleagues (20.0% females, 82.0% males). Interestingly, more female interviewees indicated that target selection was not left to them. It was left to their co-offenders, especially their spouses. Male interviewees were more likely to report the influence of their peers in target selection.

### **Burglary Prevention Strategies: Offenders' Perspectives**

Although a question about prevention strategies was not put in the interview protocol, 23 interviewees provided suggestions about how homeowners could prevent burglaries. Each interviewee provided more than one suggestion. Fifteen mentioned strong neighborhood cohesion as the best preventive against burglary and other crimes.

As one offender said:

*"If you live together, you should help each other, right?. Strong neighborhood bonding should be a better prevention than some other devices like CCTV, alarm. The more people help each other, the safer they would get."* (Offender 14, Noah, Male)

Another offender said similarly:

*“Tell your neighborhood to look out for your house is the best way to protect your place.”* (Offender 34, Earth, Male)

Twelve interviewees mentioned increasing free market drug sales to reduce drug-related burglaries. Ten interviewees suggested that burglary could be prevented if there were better employment opportunities.

*“Government should find the way to solve the drug problems. They should consider open free drugs market. If drugs are easy to seek and cheap, we would not commit burglary to seek a lot of money to obtain it.”* (Offender 27, Steve, Male)

*“More job opportunities, more training for some professional jobs might help us to get a better job with better pay. If we have a good job, we might not need to commit crime for money.”* (Offender 11, Tony, Male)

Nine interviewees suggested that improvement of prison programs, such as job training and other pre-release programs could prevent burglaries. Other suggestions included better parenting, better education, and more severe sentences for burglary.

*“I think if there were some rehabilitation programs to help us after release, such as job training, drug abuse rehabilitation, so we could get out and get proper jobs. I would not get involved in crime commission again.”* (Offender 45, Candy, Female)

*“We need to improve the laws and more severe sentences for burglary offense.”*  
(Offender 24, Dick, Male)

## **Chapter Summary**

Overall, most findings are similar to those in other studies. However, there are also some different findings that should be noted. Although Thai burglars apply some rational decision making in committing residential burglary and in selecting targets, there are some differences in motivation, target selection, and burglary patterns by Thai burglars, such as gambling and retribution motivations. Compared to prior studies in several countries, most burglars usually plan ahead on their crime and mostly make rational decisions in target selection. However, some of them committed burglary more opportunistic depends on their moods feeling and moral judgments.

In addition, there are two types of burglary pattern in Thailand, namely general burglary and burglary for hire. Burglar alarms, neighborhood watch, dogs, camera surveillance, signs displaying an official status and signs of repeat victimization provide more effective prevention for burglary than other measures. Some culture variable influence Thai burglars' decision making. For example, some burglars usually believe in fate and luck when they decide to commit burglary. It should be noted that the dependency relationship (like family issue), gender and age are also important factors in decision making in the Thai context.

## **5. CHOICE OF RESIDENTIAL BURGLARY AREA SELECTION**

This chapter discusses the results of the map task which aimed to identify the hot spot areas for burglary in Bangkok and its vicinity. As described in the methodology section in chapter 3, the offenders were asked to mark maps with different color pens to answer certain questions. Thirty-five male interviewees completed the map task. The 10 female interviewees were excluded from the map task because female burglars could not provide the information necessary to complete the task. Each interviewee was asked to complete seven maps as follows: (1) the green map represented the best area for committing residential burglary; (2) the purple map represented the best areas for committing repeating residential burglary; (3) the blue map represented the level of familiarity with the areas resulting from proximity to the burglar's residence; (4) the red map represents the level of the burglar's familiarity with the areas in Bangkok besides their place to live; (5) the yellow map represented avoidance of areas because they were poor; (6) the brown map represented avoidance of areas due to police or correctional officers being present; and (7) the orange map represented avoidance of areas because of the physical environment (e.g., the business zones, outbound areas).

During the interviews, interviewees were asked to assign numbers from 0 to 10 on the green map to represent the best areas for committing the residential burglary. They were asked to assign numbers from 0 to 10 on the purple map to show the best areas for repeating residential burglary. Interviewees were asked to complete the same procedure on the blue map to represent the burglar's familiarity with the areas resulting from the proximity to their residence. They were also asked to assign a number from 0 to 10 to

show their level of familiarity with the area. The interviewees were asked questions about the reasons they picked particular areas and assigned numbers after they were asked to draw map layers. The yellow color was used for interviewees to identify which areas they avoided because the area was poor. The brown map was used to show when they chose to avoid areas due to police and correctional officers being present. The interviewees used the orange map to portray areas they avoided due to the physical environment. It is important to clarify that marked areas were only rated as whether the areas were selected or not selected rather than on a 0 to 10 scale for these last three maps.

Once all map data were collected, the GIS was used to analyze the data. The offenders' map representations became the case through polygon layers. Each of the polygons in each color represented the areas that an interviewee chose depending on the question. Data attributes were created to assign numbers from 0 to 10. Then all the variables and layers were converted from vector data format into raster data format for the analysis, thereby converting the unit of analysis to the grid cell. Then, the spatial analysis was utilized to calculate the averages for the 35 interviewees.

It was necessary to determine what grid cell size to use in the analysis before the vector data could be converted into raster format and analyzed by spatial analysis. To determine grid cell, it was necessary to balance between choosing an accurate representation of drawing polygons of various sizes and maintaining a manageable file size (ESRI, 2015). The optimal grid is the largest cell size that best represents each drawing polygon. It was decided to utilize a cell size of 200 \* 200 feet.

For the green, purple, blue, and red maps, which the interviewees used to assign numbers from 0 to 10, each variable was converted from vector to raster format into the score rating format from 0 to 10 in each grid cell. Each variable was then converted from vector to raster format into a dichotomous variable with 0 denoting absence and 1 denoting presence. A grid of values for each variable in each color was constructed, and then a 'spatial join' was used to assign values to the lattice cells, based on the digitized maps. Density maps were then created based on these spatially joined data.

### **The Best Areas for Residential Burglary**

Prior research has suggested that burglars have to consider a large area while they are searching for a suitable house (Kang & Lee, 2013). They would first search a large area and then select a particular residence to burglarize within the area.

The map in Figure 2 shows different shades of green ranging from the light green color, which indicates the worst areas for committing residential burglaries to the dark green color, which indicates the very best areas for committing residential burglary. The green map demonstrates Yanawa, Rat Burana, Bang Na and Lad Phrao, according to the interviewees, were the best areas to commit burglary. However, there was considerable disagreement. The white areas denote either no one picked the area for burglary or they were perceived as worse.

Twenty-two interviewees assigned high scores from 8 to 10 to those areas. The interviewees revealed that areas were selected for burglary if: (1) there was a large number of easily accessible targets; and (2) there was a large number of affluent targets.



One of the interviewees said he assigned a high score to one area because of the presence of easily accessible targets:

*“I assigned Yanna Wa a score of 10 due to it being a rich area. Most residents are Chinese or Thai-Chinese. Thai-Chinese usually keep their money, jewelry, and gold inside their houses. In addition, I could speak Chinese, which helped me to burglarize easily”* (Offender No. 3, Adam, Male).

Another interviewee said he assigned a high score because of the presence of affluent targets in the area:

*“I gave 10 score to Bang Na, Rat Burana, Bang Phakok, Probprab, and Taling Chan because the houses are big and usually single houses. So I love to commit burglary there”* (Offender No. 21, White, Male).

However, not all interviewees agreed that these areas were the best for burglary. Some said these areas were bad for burglary. Four of thirty-five interviewees said they had committed a burglary in these areas but they rated these areas with low scores, ranging from 1 to 3. They mentioned police presence and difficulty of gaining access to target residences.

One offender said the police presence made it difficult to gain access in the Bang Na area.

*“I gave Bang Na a low score because it was hard to access the house because of police presence”* (Offender No.15, Jack, Male).

Another interviewee similarly indicated about Rat Burana and Bang Na:

*“I rarely choose Rat Burana and Bang Na because of the police. These areas have great police presence”* (Offender No. 31, Jonathan, Male).

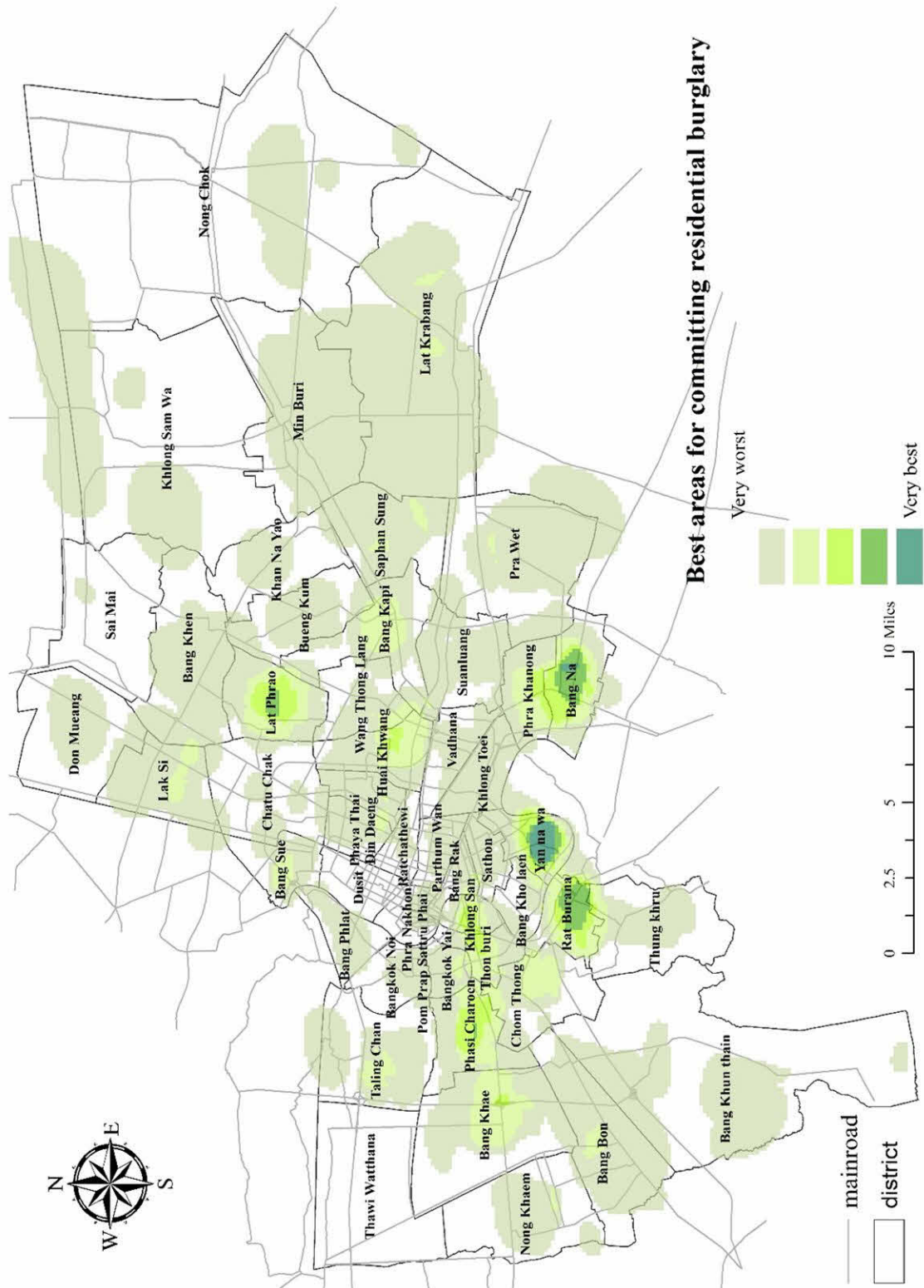


Figure 2. Best Areas for Committing Residential Burglary

**Table 4. Correlations Among Offenders' Scores Regarding  
the Best Areas to Commit Residential Burglary**

Offender number	Mean	Weakest correlation	Strongest correlation	Number of positive correlations	Number of negative correlations
OFF01	0.15	0.015	0.428	27	8
OFF02	0.13	0.014	0.428	24	11
OFF03	0.09	0.016	0.348	25	10
OFF04	0.03	0.011	0.168	18	17
OFF05	0.05	0.013	0.163	30	5
OFF06	0.14	0.017	0.350	31	4
OFF07	0.09	0.011	0.265	29	6
OFF08	0.10	0.011	0.232	30	5
OFF09	0.03	0.016	0.176	23	12
OFF10	0.03	0.017	0.197	17	18
OFF11	0.05	0.011	0.189	23	12
OFF12	0.09	0.009	0.315	24	11
OFF13	0.11	0.011	0.322	28	7
OFF14	0.02	0.020	0.122	17	18
OFF15	0.10	0.011	0.368	21	14
OFF16	0.10	0.014	0.416	19	16

**Table 4. (Continued) Correlations Among Offenders' Scores Regarding  
the Best Areas to Commit Residential Burglary**

Offender number	Mean	Weakest correlation	Strongest correlation	Number of positive correlations	Number of negative correlations
OFF17	0.08	0.015	0.262	27	8
OFF18	0.07	0.016	0.298	22	13
OFF19	0.02	0.005	0.140	13	22
OFF20	0.06	0.010	0.246	24	11
OFF21	0.09	0.008	0.265	26	9
OFF22	0.10	0.018	0.402	31	4
OFF23	0.01	0.017	0.298	27	8
OFF24	0.04	0.035	0.298	27	8
OFF25	0.01	0.007	0.146	29	6
OFF26	0.12	0.035	0.374	26	9
OFF27	0.02	0.008	0.189	7	28
OFF28	0.13	0.014	0.355	28	7
OFF29	0.09	0.008	0.233	29	6
OFF30	0.12	0.017	0.347	31	4
OFF31	0.05	0.016	0.218	22	13
OFF32	0.09	0.014	0.346	21	14
OFF33	0.14	0.013	0.355	28	7

**Table 4. (Continued) Correlations Among Offenders' Scores Regarding  
the Best Areas to Commit Residential Burglary**

Offender number	Mean	Weakest correlation	Strongest correlation	Number of positive correlations	Number of negative correlations
OFF34	0.17	0.020	0.402	33	2
OFF35	0.03	0.007	0.158	17	18

Correlations among offenders' ratings regarding the best areas for burglary are summarized in Table 4. The numbers assigned by an interviewee to indicate the best and the worst areas for burglary were correlated with the numbers assigned by all other interviewees, and a mean was calculated for the correlations. Hence, the ratings of offender 1 were correlated with all other offenders' ratings regarding the best areas for burglary. For example, the answers for offender 1 were correlated with the answers for offender 2. Then, the answers for offender 1 were correlated with the answers for offender 3 and so on for all 35 offenders. The result was 35 correlations for each interviewee, which were used to compute the means.

The smallest and largest correlations for each interviewee are shown in Table 4 as well as the number of positive and negative correlations for each. The number of positive correlations indicates agreement with other interviewees, whereas negative correlations indicate disagreement with other interviewees. If there are more positive than negative numbers, there was more agreement than disagreement with other interviewees.

Overall, the mean and individual correlations for choice of the best areas for committing residential burglary are weak. The strongest correlation (based on absolute value) is 0.478, while the weakest correlation is 0.005. The largest mean correlation is 0.17. This indicates there was considerable disagreement about the best areas for committing residential burglary among interviewees. However, there is more agreement (based on the number of positive correlations) on the best areas for committing residential burglary than disagreement (based on the number of negative correlations).

Sahawattana et al. (2009) showed the hot spot areas for committing residential burglary in Bangkok and its vicinity. They used the calls for police service data to create the residential burglary hot spots. The crime locations were plotted on a digital map using GIS software in order to identify the hot spots areas where residential burglaries occurred. Sahawattana et al. (2009) found the hot spots covered only about 2.02% of the Bangkok area but accounted for 16.17% of the residential burglaries.

The results from the green map in this study are consistent with the study by Sahawattana et al. (2009). The green areas in Figure 2 show that the four best areas (Yanawa, Rat Burana, Bang Na and Lad Phrao) for committing residential burglary were also the hot spots areas where Sahawattana et al. (2009) found the number of residential burglaries was very high. However, the results of this study show that the good areas for committing residential burglary cover more than 50% of Bangkok.



### **Level of Burglar Familiarity with the Area**

The map in Figure 3 can be interpreted the same way as Figure 2. For this map, each interviewee was asked to mark the area on the Bangkok map with a red color to indicate his level of familiarity with the area. He was asked to assign a number from 0 to 10. A “0” was assigned to an area if a burglar was not familiar with the area at all, and a “10” was assigned to an area to indicate very familiar with the area. One interviewee was not familiar with any of the areas, except his home area.

The map in Figure 3 shows the mean ratings for all 35 offenders with different shades of red from light to dark red, which indicates the level of familiarity with the area. A white area denotes an interviewee was not familiar with the area at all. The darkness of the shade increases when the level of familiarity increases.

Kang and Lee (2013) conducted a study in the U.S. and suggested that familiarity with an area played an important role in determining target selection. Other U.S. studies report similar findings (Maguire & Bennett, 1982; Wiles & Costello, 2000). However, the results from this study are different from prior research. More than half of the interviewees mentioned that they would not pick an area and the house to burglarize that was near the areas with which they were familiar.

The interviewees in the study did not pick familiar areas for burglary because they feared detection in those neighborhoods. Moreover, they were concerned about their family’s reputation. They did not want their parents or other family members to be affected, directly or indirectly. Some interviewees, however, mentioned their familiarity with these areas and how they were the safest places for hiding from law enforcement officials after committing their crimes.

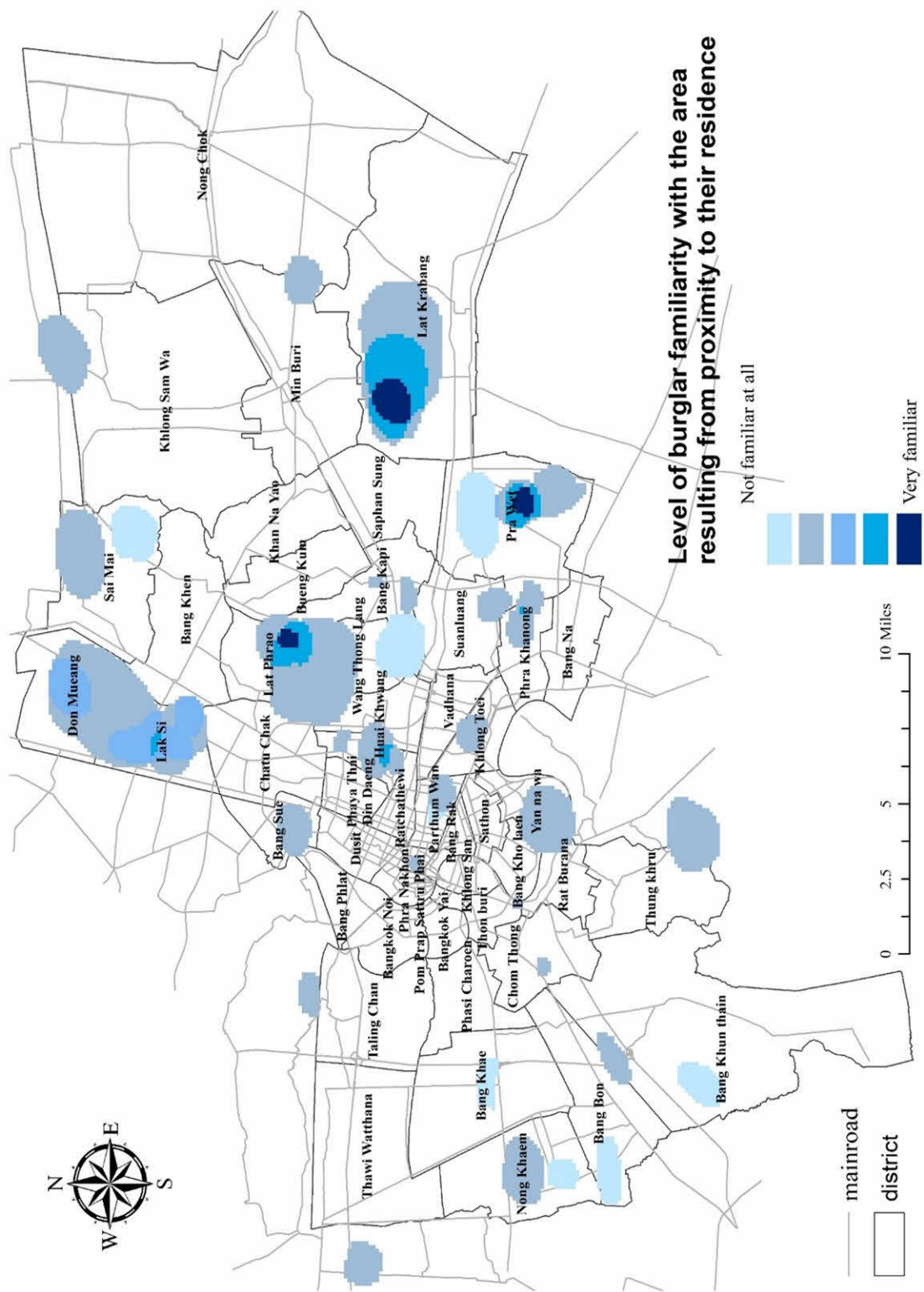


The culture of Thailand helps to explain these findings. In Thai culture, people are worried about their family reputation. If someone does something bad in their neighborhood, the other residents usually blame the parents and family members. This would affect offenders' decision making. In the interviews, most of the burglars indicated that they usually picked the target residence in areas far away from familiar areas. They feared being arrested easily as offender number 21 said:

*"No, I never committed burglary at a place near to my house and the area that I am familiar with. You know, you might easily be detected. Many people know you and your friends and family. If they could not find you, they might go and ask your family or friends. It is stupid to commit burglary where people know you"* (Offender No.21, White, Male).

Moreover, they felt guilt or embarrassment about the possibility like offender number 1 said:

*"I came from Ratchaburi and stayed at Thonburi. Many relatives also lived there. I would not commit burglary in an area I am familiar with. Well, I go to another area where few people know me. I never choose the house near my house, including my family, my relatives, and my friends' place. I couldn't think about it. I don't know why, but their houses were not in my head when I was thinking about burglary. I would not like anyone around me feeling disappointed in me. You know if I did that, my family and I might be embarrassed from other people in the neighborhood. We can choose right, so we should pick the house which is far away from your area"* (Offender No. 1, Tommy, Male).



### **Level of Familiarity with the Area Resulting from Proximity to Burglars' Place of Residence**

With respect to the blue map, each interviewee was asked to mark the area on the map with a blue pen to indicate his familiarity with areas vis-à-vis proximity to his residence. Interviewees assigned numbers as they did with preceding map, from 0 to 10. An interviewee would assign "0" if he was not familiar with the area at all, and he would assign "10" if he felt very familiar with the area due to its proximity to where he lived.

Similar to the earlier figures, this map shows different shades of blue, from light to dark, to indicate the level of familiarity with the area due to the proximity to his home. White areas meant an interviewee was not familiar with the area at all. Lighter blue denotes very little familiarity and dark blue denotes very familiar with the area.

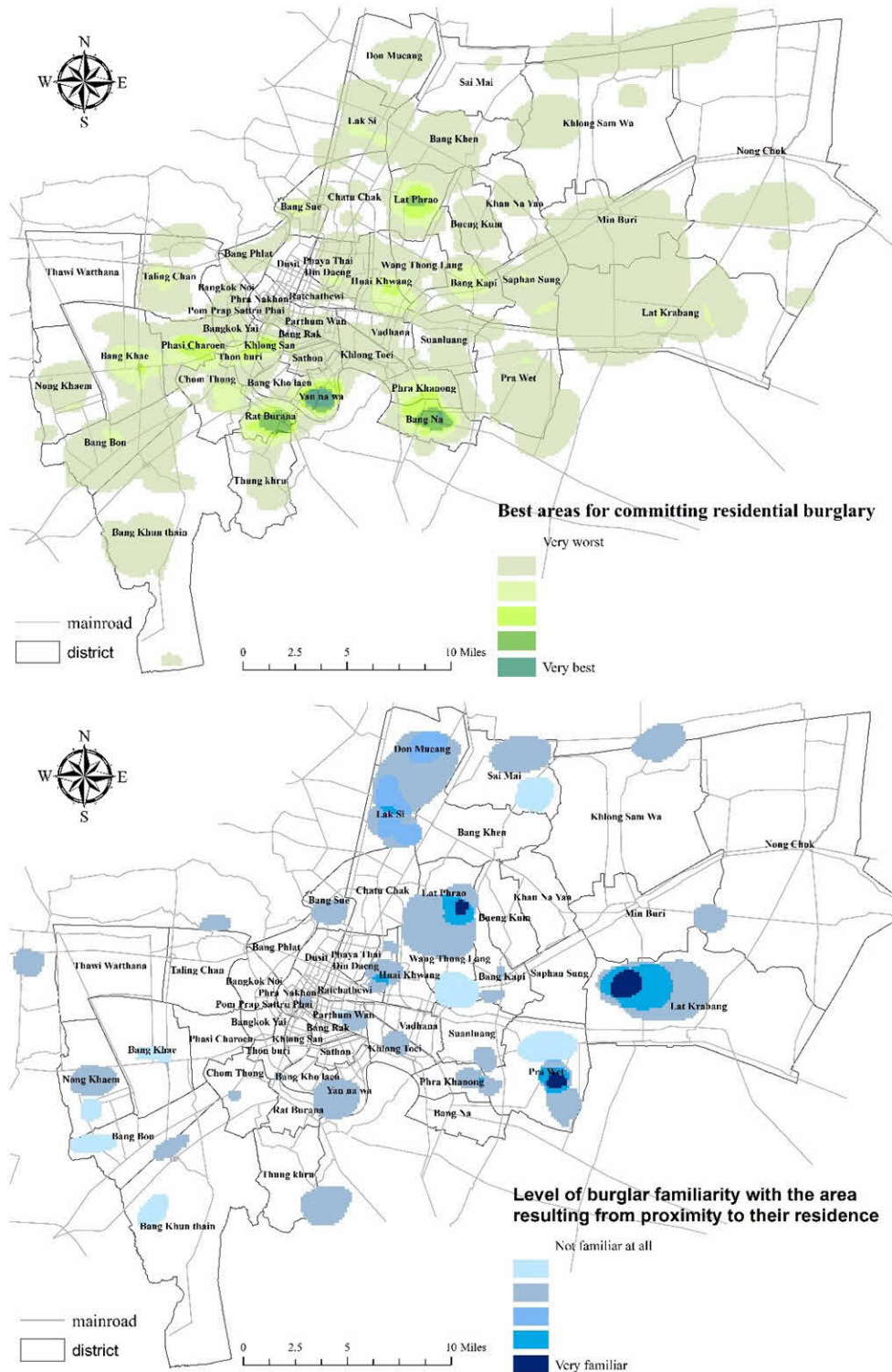
Some interviewees indicated that they never choose targets in the same neighborhood because they worried about their neighbors' reaction; they worried that other people in the neighborhood would hate them and their family. They might end up leaving their neighborhood. In addition, a house might belong to a relative, friend, or someone they respected. They did not want to hurt their feelings and relationship like what offender number 25 said:

*"I usually pick the targets far away from my neighborhood. This is my rule. I never do such things in my neighborhood, never, never. You know what? People know you, and you know them. How can you destroy your feelings and relationships with them just because of money, while you could find another target house"* (Offender No. 25, Lee, Male).

Moreover, four interviewees indicated they would not choose a house in the neighborhood where they lived because their house and their neighborhood were the

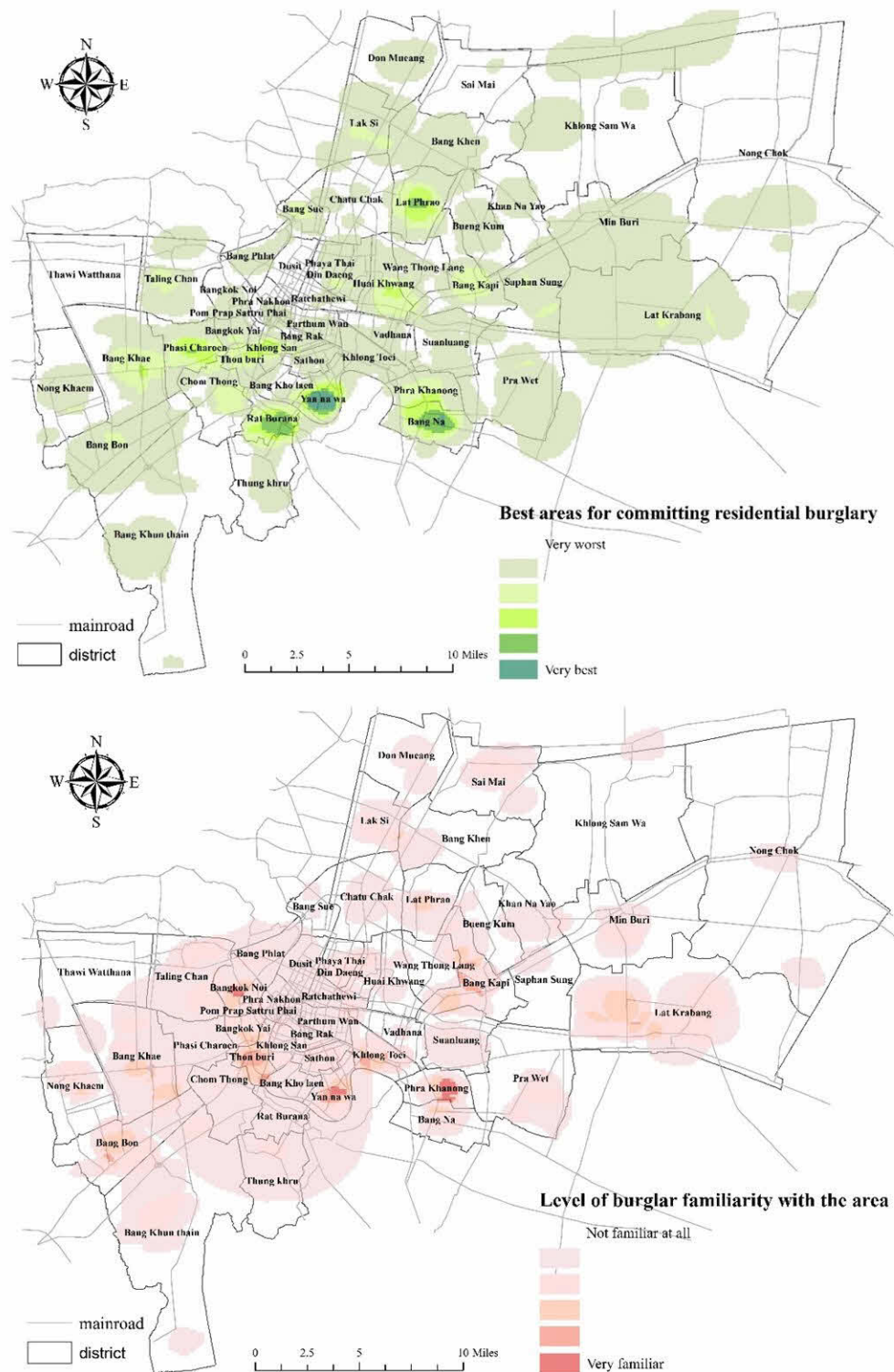
safest places to hide after their crimes. If they had a good relationship with their neighbors, they later might help him by not telling police where he was or hiding. As offender number 11 said:

*“Nah, every burglary I did, you could not count my home areas or my neighborhood as the target. I never think about it. That place was my hiding place. Did I destroy my safest place from police? Nah! Impossible” (Offender No. 11, Tony, Male).*



**Figure 5: Comparison between the Best Areas for Committing Residential Burglary and the Level of Burglar Familiarity with the Area Resulting from Proximity to Their Place of Residence**





**Figure 6. Comparison between the Best Areas for Committing Residential Burglary and the Level of Burglar Familiarity with the Area**

### **Best Areas v. The Level of Familiarity with the Areas**

Figure 5 shows the best areas for committing residential burglary and the interviewees' level of familiarity with the area as a result of closeness to their residence. Figure 6 shows the best areas for committing residential burglary, vis-à-vis familiarity with the area.

Areas interviewees believed best for committing residential burglary are indicated by dark green color. It can be seen that interviewees picked areas for committing residential burglary far away from where they lived. The interviewees mostly avoided burglary in areas close to where they lived. For example, the Bang Na and Ratburana areas are marked in dark green color whereas white colors in the blue map revealed that the offenders were not familiar with these two areas at all, because of closeness to their home.

A Spearman's rho correlation test revealed a significant weak positive correlation between the level of familiarity of an area around the interviewee's home location and its suitability for burglary ( $\rho=.34, p<.001$ ). Figure 6 showed similar findings. Areas where an interviewee was familiar were not the best areas for burglary. A Spearman's rho correlation test revealed a significant moderate positive correlation between the level of familiarity with an area and its suitability for burglary ( $\rho=.56, p<.001$ ).

These correlation results appear to contradict offenders' narratives, as they stated they would avoid burglarizing in their own neighborhoods, or other areas where family or friends might recognize them. However, if an offender is not familiar with an area at all, then he/she would not be aware of any crime opportunities and a burglary would not be likely to occur. Furthermore, an offender may be familiar with an area due to their

burglary experience, rather than because they, their family, or their friends live there; in such cases, these areas would likely be rated as the best areas for committing burglary. For these reasons, the results are consistent with prior research, despite the cultural differences noted. For example, Summers et al. (2010) found that the relationship between offenders' ratings of area familiarity and suitability for the commission of residential burglary was also positive ( $\rho=.66$ ,  $p<.001$ ).

Findings from the present study suggest an offender's age is an important for consideration. In the present study, age of the interviewees (23-55 years old) was associated with a tendency to seek targets far away from their home or areas with which they were familiar. The findings are consistent with prior research (Baldwin & Bottoms, 1976; Repetto, 1974) about the relation between offender's age and mobility. Repetto (1974) conducted a study in the U.S. and found that age affected where burglars committed their crimes. Juveniles were more likely to commit burglaries in their own neighborhood. Young burglars, ages 18-25, would commit more than 50% of their burglaries out of their own neighborhoods. Burglars over the age of 25 would pick areas far away if the areas were more favorable. Affluence of an area was more important even if they had to travel in order to burglarize a more preferable area. Another study in the U.K. by Baldwin and Bottoms (1976) found that adult burglars would travel to further areas than would juveniles.

The relation between age of the burglar and mobility could help to explain some of the findings in Figures 5 and 6. Lad Phrao and Pha Khanong were areas with which offenders were familiar, with and they also picked them as the best areas for committing burglary. Interviewees who insisted to choose familiar areas were 23 to 25 years old.



They were younger than those who said the opposite. Moreover, some interviewees indicated they committed their first burglary near their neighborhood when they were 14 to 19 years old. Nevertheless, when they grew up, they preferred to commit burglary in areas where they could get a lot of money, which were usually further away. They said they preferred to commit burglary in rich areas where they were sure that it was worthwhile for them.

Here is what one interviewee said:

*“Bang Khae is the place where I lived for almost 15 years since my family immigrated from Phijit (Central Region), so I have a lot of friends and relatives there. However, for the other area, I have friends, families, or even girlfriends who live or work there. Another reason why I am familiar with those areas is they later became my burglary hot spots”* (Offender No. 12, Donald, Male).

Another interviewee similarly said:

*“My first period of burglary during my teenage years, I preferred to commit the burglary nearby my neighborhoods, where I could tell who was in my neighborhood. I felt safe when I committed burglary in or near my neighborhood during my first burglary. However, I picked further away from my house when I was grown up and had more experience. I picked the house far away from my home where I could get a lot of stuff and a lot of money”* (Offender No. 26, George, Male).

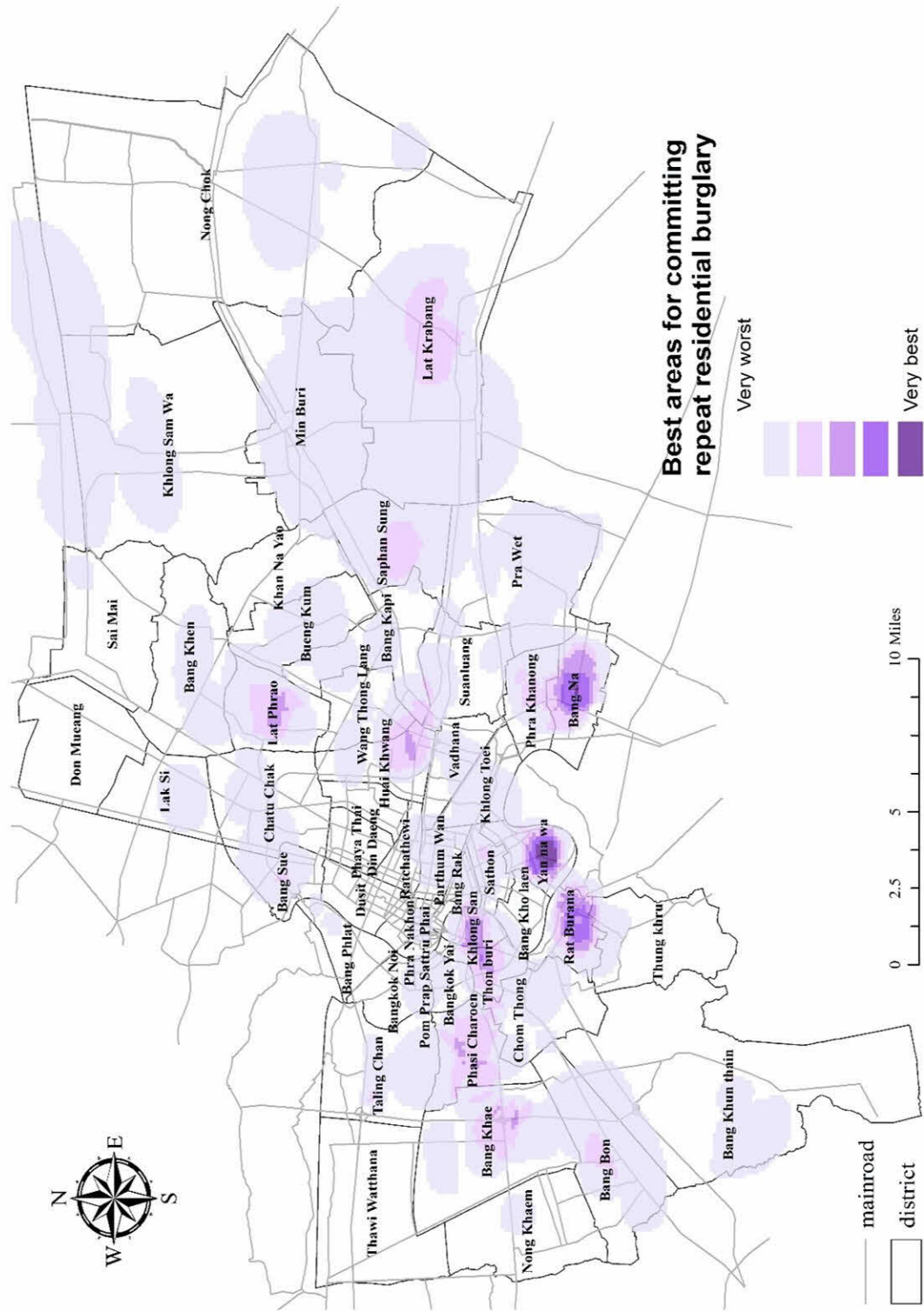


Figure 7. Best Area for Committing Repeat Residential Burglary

### **The Best Areas for Repeat Residential Burglary**

Each interviewee was asked to indicate the best areas for committing repeat residential burglary and to assign a number from 0 to 10. An interviewee assigned “0” to an area if he believed it was the very worst area for committing repeat residential burglary, and he assigned “10” to an area when it was the very best for committing repeat residential burglary. The light purple color in Figure 7 shows the worst areas for committing repeat residential burglary, while the dark purple color represents the best areas for committing repeat residential burglary.

Overall, there are many areas around Bangkok that interviewees believed they were suitable for committing repeat residential burglary. Yanawa, Rat Burana, Bang Na and Lad Phrao are the most preferred areas for going back and committing repeat residential burglary. However, there were additional areas, such as Klong San, Thonburi, Phasi Charoen, Bang Kae, and Huai Kwang, the interviewees also picked for repeat burglaries even if they were not the hot spots. Similar to the green map (Figure 2), a white area means either no one picked the area for committing repeat residential burglary or it was perceived as the worst.

Roughly 85% of the interviewees in this study (38 out of 45), including the female burglars, insisted that they usually committed repeat residential burglary in the same areas due to several reasons. First, 56% insisted that their successful prior burglaries influenced them to go back to commit more burglary. As an offender number 15 said:

*“I regularly went to commit burglary there. I also committed burglary in neighborhood sorting and house sorting. I prefer to repeat in these areas because I got a lot of money when I went to commit burglary”* (Offender No. 15, Jack, Male).

About 30% indicated that areas were suitable for repeat burglaries because many rich houses were located there. As one interviewee said:

*"I usually went to repeat three main areas around Taling Chan (10), Bang Na (9), and Yan na wa-Ratburana (8). However, I sometimes go to Thung Mahamate (2), Pom Prap Sattuphai (1), and Ratchatewe (3) ... These areas are suitable for repeating. Uh-ha, the reason is that you can find the good house, big house and rich house. If you know that you can earn money from those areas, it would not make sense if you did not go back, right? I love to go back to these areas because they were excellent areas, and I could tell that I never failed to commit burglary there. I always did a good job in these areas"* (Offender No. 21, White, Male).

Only 12% insisted insists they chose to go the same areas due to familiarity with the areas from prior burglaries.

**Table 5. Correlations Among Offenders' Scores Regarding  
the Best Areas to Commit Repeat Residential Burglary**

Offender number	Mean	Weakest correlation	Strongest correlation	Number of positive correlations	Number of negative correlations
OFF01	0.03	0.005	0.212	16	17
OFF02	0.04	0.016	0.334	11	22
OFF03	0.09	0.015	0.374	19	14
OFF04	0.03	0.020	0.340	7	26
OFF05	0.03	0.018	0.147	19	14
OFF06	0.08	0.015	0.276	21	12
OFF07	0.04	0.010	0.212	16	17
OFF08	0.07	0.005	0.293	19	14
OFF09	0.02	0.016	0.279	9	24
OFF10	0.01	0.011	0.279	3	30
OFF11	0.04	0.006	0.332	10	23
OFF12	0.08	0.025	0.378	16	17
OFF13	0.02	0.010	0.272	11	22
OFF14	0.07	0.010	0.359	16	17
OFF15	0.10	0.009	0.371	15	18
OFF16	0.06	0.014	0.340	13	20
OFF17	0.04	0.013	0.212	15	18

**Table 5. (Continued) Correlations Among Offenders' Scores Regarding  
the Best Areas to Commit Residential Burglary**

Offender number	Mean	Weakest correlation	Strongest correlation	Number of positive correlations	Number of negative correlations
OFF18	0.02	0.005	0.204	10	23
OFF19	0.02	0.016	0.244	5	28
OFF20	0.09	0.007	0.458	19	14
OFF21	0.07	0.014	0.286	16	17
OFF22	0.01	0.010	0.194	1	32
OFF23	0.02	0.028	0.194	18	15
OFF24	0.02	0.006	0.254	5	28
OFF25	0.07	0.028	0.314	18	15
OFF26	0.01	0.010	0.066	3	30
OFF27	0.10	0.025	0.401	20	13
OFF28	0.07	0.008	0.368	17	16
OFF29	0.09	0.016	0.371	21	12
OFF30	0.01	0.017	0.170	5	28
OFF31	0.07	0.022	0.349	16	17
OFF32	0.10	0.016	0.401	24	9
OFF33	0.09	0.020	0.314	28	5

**Table 5. (Continued) Correlations Among Offenders' Scores Regarding  
the Best Areas to Commit Residential Burglary**

Offender number	Mean	Weakest correlation	Strongest correlation	Number of positive correlations	Number of negative correlations
OFF34	0.07	0.007	0.458	14	19

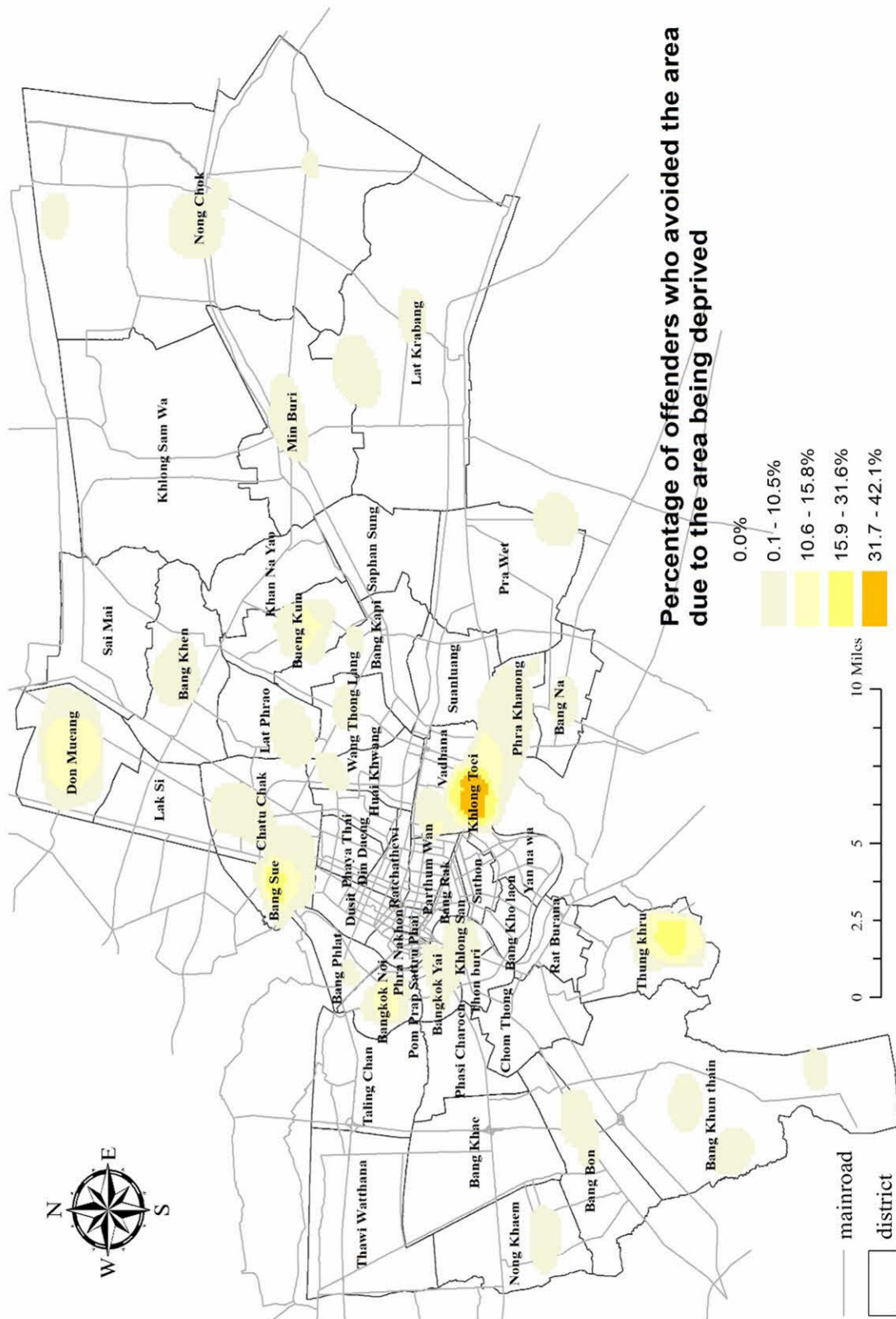
Correlations among offenders' scores regarding the choice of best areas for committing repeat residential burglary for each offender are provided in Table 5. As before, the rating assigned by an interviewee to indicate the best and the worst areas for committing repeat residential burglary were correlated with the numbers assigned by all other interviewees. Then means of the correlations were calculated. For example, the responses by interviewee 1 were correlated with the responses by interviewee 2. Then, the responses by interviewee 1 were correlated with the interviewee 3's responses, and so on for all 34 interviewees. The result was 34 correlations for each interviewee. One interviewee indicated that he had never committed repeat residential burglary, and is therefore not included in this analysis.

The weakest and strongest correlations for each interviewee are shown in the Table 5, as well as the number of positive and negative correlations for each interviewee. The number of positive correlations reveals agreement with other interviewees, whereas, the number of negative correlations reveals disagreement. If there are more positive than

negative correlations, an interviewee agreed more than disagreed with other interviewees regarding the best areas for committing repeat residential burglary.

Consistent with the green map (Figure 2), the mean and individual correlations for the best areas for committing repeat residential burglary are weak. The strongest correlation is 0.458, while the weakest correlation is 0.005. The strongest mean correlation is 0.10. This indicates there was considerable disagreement among interviewees about the best areas for committing repeat residential burglary. The reason might be each offender went to commit repeat residential burglary based on the success of their prior burglaries and their opportunities. Interviewees usually picked a target that provided the best opportunity.





**Figure 8. The Percentage of Offenders who Avoided the Area Due to the Area Being Deprived**

### **Avoidance Areas for Committing Residential Burglary**

During the map process, each interviewee was asked to point out not only the best areas for committing residential burglary and for committing repeat residential burglary, he was also asked to indicate areas he usually avoided due to: (1) the areas being poor (yellow map); (2) police or correctional officers being present (brown map); and (3) the physical environment (orange map). Each interviewee was asked to draw each map color as described above with reasons why they chose to avoid those areas.

### **Avoidance of Areas Because of Poverty**

The yellow map in Figure 8 shows the percentage of interviewees who avoided areas because they were poor. White areas denote that none of the interviewees chose them. Bang Kho Laen, Yan Na Wa, Rat Burana, and Pathum Wan are examples of areas interviewees would not avoid because they were poor. Approximately 11% of the interviewees indicated they avoided burglary in areas located in 23 out of 53 districts of Bangkok because of the poverty of the areas. Between 10% and 30% of interviewees avoided Don Mueng, Bang Sue, Bangkok Noi, Thung Khru, and Khlong Toei. Lastly, 30 -40% of interviewees indicated that Khlong Toei was the area they usually avoided because it was poor and decadent.

Overall, most of the areas the interviewees preferred to avoid because of poverty are outside the best areas for committing burglary and repeat burglary. Interviewees indicated they usually avoided committing burglary in such areas because they might feel bad about committing burglary against poor people. They knew the feeling of struggling because of poverty so they would not victimize poor people. This is what one offender said:

*“I hardly or never went to poor areas because I feel pity for them. I think I knew their feeling. I grew up in a poor family. I understand poverty. I do not want to hurt them even if they have the things I want to burglarize. I choose to go for the rich ones. I believe if I stole something from them, they could afford the replacement”* (Offender No. 5, Danny, Male).

Some offenders said they did not commit burglary in poor areas because it was not worthwhile for them to take the risk. They believed they could not get much property or money from residences located in these areas. Some also mentioned that these areas were very decadent, which would make it unattractive for committing burglary. It was a waste of time to commit burglary in these areas. One offender said:

*“I do not mess with nobody that is poor like me. I hit only the people that have money”* (Offender No. 21 White, Male).

The correlations for avoidance of areas due to being poor are provided in Table 6. A number “0” was assigned to indicate the area the interviewee did not choose to avoid, while the number “1” was used to indicate an area an interviewee chose to avoid due to the area being poor. The responses by interviewee 1 were correlated with the responses by interviewee 2. Then, the responses for interviewee 1 were correlated with interviewee 3’s responses, and so on for all 30 offenders. The result was 30 correlations (Pearson’s test) for each offender. Five insisted they would not care about the area being poor when they decided to commit burglary. They picked a house depending on the opportunity it presented. If they found the opportunity to break into a house, they would not think about whether the owner of the house was rich or poor.

The weakest and strongest correlations are shown in Table 6, as well as the number of positive and negative correlations for each interviewee. The number of positive correlations indicates agreement among interviewees, whereas negative correlations indicate disagreement. If there are more positive than negative numbers, an interviewee had more agreement than disagreement with other interviewees regarding the areas they usually avoided due to the area being poor.

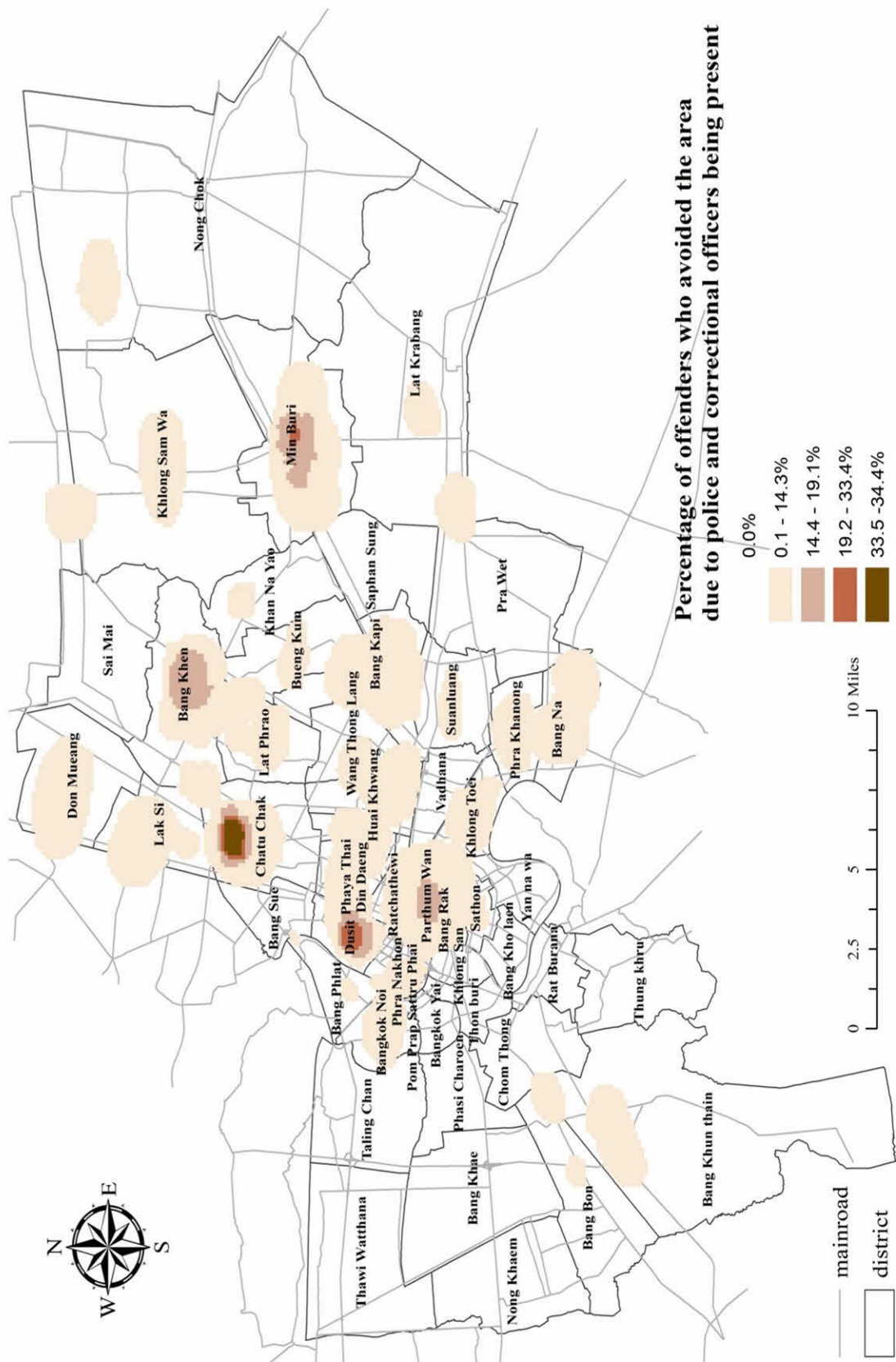
The means and correlations in Table 6 are moderate. The strongest correlation is 0.709, while the weakest correlation is 0.002. The strongest means of correlation is 0.30. This indicates there was considerable agreement, among interviewees about areas to avoid because they are poor. There was more agreement than disagreement based on the number of positive correlations versus the number of negative correlations.

**Table 6. Correlations involving the Percentage of Offenders  
who Avoided the Area Due to the Area Being Deprived**

Offender number	Mean	Weakest correlation	Strongest correlation	Number of positive correlations	Number of negative correlations
OFF01	0.26	0.007	0.593	22	7
OFF02	0.18	0.009	0.593	20	9
OFF03	0.08	0.002	0.295	22	7
OFF04	0.27	0.005	0.670	20	9
OFF05	0.18	0.003	0.439	21	8
OFF06	0.31	0.004	0.697	20	9
OFF07	0.01	0.003	0.136	2	27
OFF08	0.05	0.005	0.287	7	22
OFF09	-0.01	0.004	0.035	1	28
OFF10	0.30	0.004	0.697	22	7
OFF11	0.06	0.009	0.455	22	7
OFF12	0.27	0.003	0.651	22	7
OFF13	0.24	0.004	0.543	22	7
OFF14	0.26	0.007	0.635	23	6
OFF15	0.18	0.006	0.509	23	6
OFF16	0.25	0.004	0.709	20	9

**Table 6. (Continued) Correlations involving the Percentage of Offenders  
who Avoided the Area Due to the Area Being Deprived**

Offender number	Mean	Weakest correlation	Strongest correlation	Number of positive correlations	Number of negative correlations
OFF17	0.08	0.003	0.358	10	19
OFF18	0.02	0.006	0.159	19	20
OFF19	0.07	0.008	0.286	11	18
OFF20	-0.01	0.001	0.006	0	29
OFF21	0.29	0.004	0.635	25	4
OFF22	0.20	0.008	0.466	22	7
OFF23	-0.01	0.001	0.007	0	29
OFF24	0.15	0.006	0.390	20	9
OFF25	0.08	0.009	0.172	20	9
OFF26	0.24	0.005	0.612	21	8
OFF27	0.25	0.003	0.571	25	4
OFF28	0.19	0.008	0.403	23	6
OFF29	0.21	0.007	0.455	25	4
OFF30	0.22	0.003	0.709	20	9



**Figure 9. The Percentage of Offenders who Avoided the Area Due to the Police and Correctional Officers Being Present**

### **Avoidance Areas Because of Police or Correctional Officers Being Present**

Some interviewees indicated certain areas should be avoided due to police or correctional officers being present. Figure 9 shows the percentage of interviewees who avoided areas due to police or correctional officers being present. None of the offenders indicated areas around the central area of Bangkok, such as Bang Kho Laen, Yan na wa, Rat Burana, Bangkok Noi, and so on, would not be avoided because of police and correctional officers being present (white areas). Comparing these results with the results from the green map (Figure 2) some of the white areas were the best areas for burglary, such as Yan na wa and Rat Burana. About 14% of interviewees identified areas in 25 districts they might avoid because of police and correctional officers (light brown). Around 20% to 35% of interviewees avoided Dusit, Chatu Chak (Lad Yoa), Pathum Wan, Min Buri, and Bang Kren.

Similar to the yellow map (Figure 8), most areas interviewees preferred to avoid because of police or correctional officers being present are outside of the best areas for committing burglaries and repeat burglaries. The offenders pointed out some reasons they would not prefer to commit burglary at a residence where police or correctional officers were present. Some offenders mentioned they would worry about how the police or correctional officers would act when they were arrested or sent to prison. They worried about unfairness during the investigation process or the processing of their cases by authorities. However, 90% of interviewees insisted they would worry about being hurt or harmed inside prison if they committed burglary at a house where correctional officers lived. Offenders mostly wanted to avoid committing burglary at houses where the correctional officers lived because they worried about retribution from the officers when



they were in prison. Some of them, especially those who had committed previous crimes, avoided correctional officers' houses because they felt obligated (as "Kreng Jai" in a Thai word) to do such things with them and they wanted good relationships with correctional officers while in prison.

This is what offender number 02 said:

*"I will avoid Bang Ken, Bang Kra Pi, Minburi areas because several correctional officers are located there"* (Offender No. 02, Henry, Male).

Another offender said:

*"I usually avoid areas where the police officers or correctional officers live. If I see the sign showing me that this house belongs to a police officer or correctional officer, I should get away as far as possible. No need to take risks with them, especially for correctional officers. You know, if you did burglary at their place, if you do not get arrested and sent to jail, it's OK. But if you did, you might get harsh treatment in the jail. So, it's better to avoid them"* (Offender No. 14, Peter, Male).

The correlations involving avoidance of areas due to police or correctional officers presence are shown in Table 7. For these correlations, the number "0" was used to indicate the area where each interviewee did not choose to avoid, while "1" was used to indicate an area each interviewee chose to avoid if they knew there were police or correctional officers around. The researcher then correlated (Pearson's test) the responses for the first offender with the responses for all other offenders who said they avoided such areas due to police or correctional officers being present, and the mean correlation was computed. For example, the responses by offender 1 were correlated with the responses by offender 2. Then, the responses by offender 1 were correlated with offender

3's responses, and so on until for all 30 offenders. The result was 30 correlations for each interviewee. Five interviewees insisted they would not care whether police or correctional officers were there when they made the decision to commit a burglary. Two out of five interviewees said that a police or correctional officer's house might sometimes be a good target for burglary, especially when they were hired to burglarize to get rare expensive property, like an expensive antique drawing, an expensive Buddhism amulet, or a rare jewelry or diamond. One interviewee said:

*"My burglaries were sometimes a hiring job. A house of high authority officers was a good target because it held interesting stuff, like expensive rare Buddhist amulets or statues, a rare expensive diamond, and antiques. If I wanted such stuff, I needed to break into the house of this type of person"* (Offender No. 25, Lee, Male).

Table 7 also shows the weakest and strongest correlations for each interviewee, as well as the number of positive and negative correlations. Positive correlations denote agreement with other interviewees, while the negative correlations indicate disagreement. If there are more positive than negative correlations, there is more agreement than disagreement.

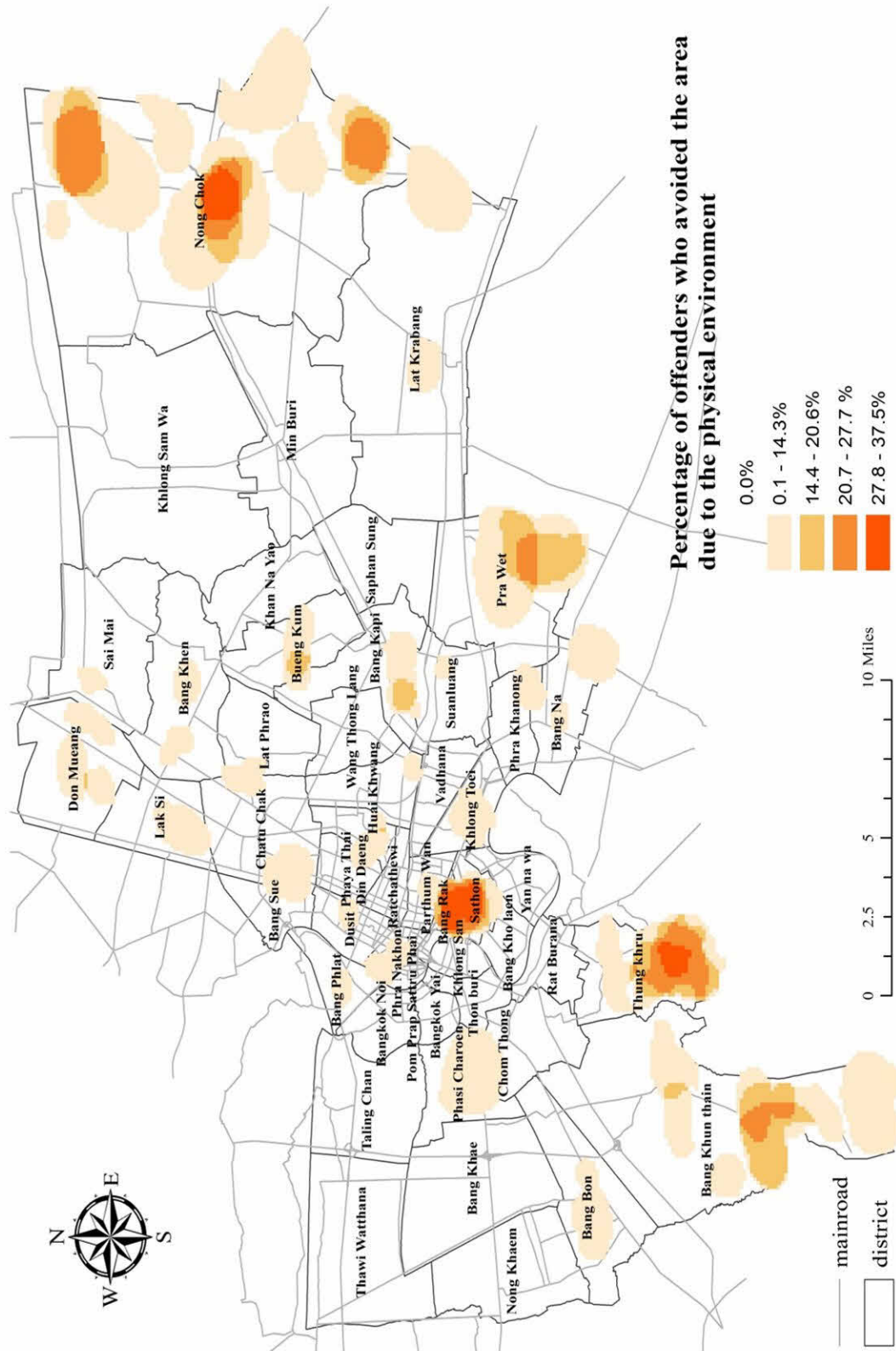
The mean and individual correlations are moderate. The strongest correlation is 0.622, while the weakest correlation is -0.002. The strongest mean of correlation is 0.26. These numbers indicate there was considerable agreement among interviewees about the areas to avoid because police or correctional officer would be present.

**Table 7. Correlations involving the Percentage of Offenders who Avoided  
the Area Due to Police and Correctional Officers Being Present**

Offender number	Mean	Weakest correlation	Strongest correlation	Number of positive correlations	Number of negative correlations
OFF01	0.22	0.005	0.622	27	2
OFF02	0.12	0.011	0.391	22	7
OFF03	0.17	0.004	0.334	26	3
OFF04	0.17	0.010	0.622	19	10
OFF05	0.22	0.003	0.524	26	3
OFF06	0.13	0.012	0.246	27	2
OFF07	0.11	0.007	0.290	23	6
OFF08	0.18	0.006	0.506	21	8
OFF09	0.23	0.004	0.619	26	3
OFF10	0.14	0.004	0.401	24	5
OFF11	0.05	0.012	0.554	19	20
OFF12	0.21	0.007	0.554	26	3
OFF13	0.15	0.004	0.470	26	3
OFF14	0.19	0.008	0.554	26	3
OFF15	0.18	0.006	0.446	24	5
OFF16	0.18	0.004	0.506	23	6

**Table 7. (Continued) Correlations involving the Percentage of Offenders who Avoided  
the Area Due to Police and Correctional Officers Being Present**

Offender number	Mean	Weakest correlation	Strongest correlation	Number of positive correlations	Number of negative correlations
OFF17	0.19	0.002	0.456	20	9
OFF18	0.24	0.004	0.619	26	3
OFF19	0.20	0.005	0.619	23	6
OFF20	-0.01	0.009	-0.010	0	29
OFF21	0.10	0.011	0.242	23	6
OFF22	0.07	0.011	0.289	17	12
OFF23	0.20	0.007	0.425	24	5
OFF24	0.23	0.004	0.483	27	2
OFF25	0.06	0.010	0.188	18	11
OFF26	0.20	0.005	0.470	27	2
OFF27	0.01	0.006	0.077	2	27
OFF28	0.23	0.003	0.619	23	6
OFF29	0.15	0.012	0.328	25	4
OFF30	0.18	0.005	0.390	26	3



**Figure 10. The Percentage of Offenders who Avoided the Area Due to the Physical Environment**

### **Avoidance Areas Because of Physical Environment**

The orange map (Figure 10) indicates the percentage of interviewees who avoided the areas due to the physical environment, such as business areas, outbound areas, or poor accessibility. The white areas are where none of offenders would avoid, such as Rat Burana, Yan na wa, Bang Khae, Bangkok Noi, and so on, due to the physical environment. Some of the areas they would not avoid were the same areas the interviewees said were the best areas for burglary such as Rat Burana and Yan na wa. However, 14% of interviewees chose to avoid 22 out of 50 districts, shown in the light orange due to the physical environment. Around 14% to 27% of interviewees would avoid nine districts. Most interviewees (27% to 37%) avoided Silom, Bang Rak, Thung Khru, Bang Khun Thain and Nong Chok due to the physical environment.

Most interviewees chose to avoid burglaries in Silom and Bang Rak because these areas were business areas, and there were more office buildings than residential houses. Offender number 3, for example, said some areas, namely Silom, Sathon, and Bang Rak were not good for burglary because they are the business areas where most buildings are office. Additionally, another offender said:

*“I assigned a 3 and 4 to Silom and Sathon because I had sometimes picked the house around these areas due to its proximity to the rich areas. I could find a rich house in this area, but the target was limited because most buildings were business offices. But I could sometimes pick pockets on the street while I was in these areas”* (Offender No. 13, Mike, Male).

Some interviewees chose not to commit burglaries in some areas, such as Bang Khun Thain and Nong Chok because it was hard to travel there and they were country areas. This is what offender number 8, for example, said:

*“I gave Nong Khaem, Bang Khun Tian, and Nong Chok only 2’s because I committed burglaries only 2-3 times there because they were very far. It’s very hard to go to those areas. They were the rural areas”* (Offender No. 8, Brandon, Male).

Moreover, another offender said:

*“No, not Bang Khun Tian, Thung Khru, and Pra Wet. They are very far away, and they are rural areas. No nice houses for burglary were there, and they were not good areas for picking good targets”* (Offender No. 30, Andrew, Male).

The correlations for avoidance of areas due to the physical environment are shown in Table 8. The number “0” was used to indicate an area where each interviewee did not choose to avoid, while the number “1” was used to indicate an area where each interviewee chose to avoid because of the physical environment. The researcher then correlated responses for one interviewee with answers for all other interviewees. The mean was then computed. For example, the responses by offender 1 were correlated with the responses by offender 2. Then, the responses by offender 1 were correlated with offender 3’s responses, and so on until for all 28 offenders. The result was 28 correlations for each offender. Seven insisted that physical environment barriers would not affect their decision to commit the burglary. Four out of seven admitted they would not care about physical environment barriers if they could earn some money from a target house even if there were some obstacles. Offender number 6 said that he could travel to burglarize in

the areas, such as Bang Khun Tian and Nong Chok, because he thought that if he had to burglarize such rural areas, few police patrols would be present.

The means and individual correlations in Table 8 are weakest. The strongest correlation is 0.775, while the weakest correlation is 0.003. The strongest mean correlation is 0.10. Hence, there was considerable disagreement among offenders about the areas to avoid because of barriers in the physical environment.



**Table 8. Correlations involving the Percentage of Offenders who Avoided  
the Area Due to the Physical Environment**

Offender number	Mean	Weakest correlation	Strongest correlation	Number of positive correlations	Number of negative correlations
OFF01	0.03	0.009	0.213	6	21
OFF02	0.09	0.006	0.775	7	20
OFF03	0.05	0.012	0.421	6	21
OFF04	0.05	0.010	0.207	12	15
OFF05	-0.01	0.014	0.099	2	25
OFF06	-0.01	0.004	0.010	2	25
OFF07	-0.01	0.004	0.010	0	27
OFF08	-0.01	0.009	0.010	0	27
OFF09	0.04	0.004	0.213	6	21
OFF10	0.07	0.006	0.550	14	13
OFF11	0.09	0.014	0.361	14	13
OFF12	0.01	0.005	0.185	2	25
OFF13	0.08	0.006	0.571	8	19
OFF14	0.07	0.008	0.644	6	21
OFF15	0.03	0.008	0.203	8	19
OFF16	0.05	0.010	0.439	6	21

**Table 8. (Continued) Correlations involving the Percentage of Offenders who Avoided  
the Area Due to the Physical Environment**

Offender number	Mean	Weakest correlation	Strongest correlation	Number of positive correlations	Number of negative correlations
OFF17	0.08	0.005	0.571	6	21
OFF18	0.09	0.014	0.330	0	27
OFF19	-0.01	0.002	0.012	0	27
OFF20	-0.01	0.001	0.006	0	27
OFF21	-0.01	0.001	0.008	0	27
OFF22	-0.01	0.006	0.005	1	26
OFF23	0.07	0.014	0.361	10	17
OFF24	0.10	0.010	0.439	13	14
OFF25	0.09	0.008	0.775	7	20
OFF26	-0.01	0.003	0.010	0	27
OFF27	0.02	0.014	0.344	4	23
OFF28	0.03	20.007	0.194	7	20

## **Chapter Summary**

This chapter shows the information regarding some hot spot areas for burglary in Thailand, based on the offenders' ratings as the best areas for burglary.

Most offenders they would consider the number of suitable targets in the areas and how easily they could to break into the target. Most offenders also usually repeat burglaries in the same areas they considered as the best areas for burglary due to their success in the prior burglaries.

Contrary to other studies, familiarity with the areas was not important for burglars. Consistent with the interviews, most burglars insisted they usually avoided committing the burglary nearby where they lived or the place they were familiar with due to some cultural and value factors, such as the fear of lessening their family reputation and the fear of hurting their relationship with friends, and relatives in the neighborhoods.

Some cultural values also impacted an offender's decision making in locating areas for burglary. Feeling of empathy for the victims influenced most offenders to avoid poor areas. Respect for higher authorities made offenders decide to avoid the areas where police or correctional officers were present. In the end, some physical barriers, such as business zone areas, impacted decisions about areas to commit burglary.

## **6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

### **Introduction**

This study was conducted for the main purpose of exploring offenders' decision making in committing residential burglary, in the Thai context. More specially, the purpose of this study was to explore the motivations, process of target selection, selection of location, views on effectiveness of different deterrence measures, the burglary event itself, and gender and age differences in the commission of burglary. The data were collected from semi-structured interviews with 45 burglars who were confined in prisons and other correctional facilities around Bangkok, and who had a record of having committed residential burglary.

This chapter begins by discussing a summary of the findings of the study. The following discussion includes the identification of implications of the study for criminological theory about offenders' decision making as well as some principles and guidelines for the prevention of residential burglary in Thailand. The limitations of this study and suggestions for future research are also discussed in this chapter.

### **Overall Findings**

The findings of this study are, in the main, consistent with expectations. The findings for Thai burglars provided mostly similarities, as well as some differences, after comparing to findings in prior studies in U.S. and other nations. The findings in this current study clearly answer the research questions stated earlier. The following section discusses overall findings in relation to the research questions.

## **Burglars' Motivations**

Consistent with other burglary studies, this study pointed to a connection between monetary rewards and drug use and motivation of a burglar. However, gambling appeared to affect Thai burglars' decision making more so than offenders in prior research. Some of the interviewees also mentioned a psychological motivation, a desire for retribution as a motivation for burglary. There was no significant relationship between alcohol use and the decision to commit burglary, in contrast to other studies.

The question regarding how most burglars start their first burglary also yield some interesting findings. With a culture of independence in Thai society, it is interesting that most interviewees committed their first burglary with friends or their family members. These two groups of people were the major influences on interviewees decision to commit burglary more in comparing to previous burglary study.

## **Decision Making and Patterns of Residential Burglary**

A central question was whether the decision to commit a residential burglary was the result of careful planning. According to rational choice perspective, offenders commit crime in order to benefit themselves, and this involves that decisions require some degree of rationality, though the rationality may be constrained by time, ability and availability of relevant information. The findings suggest that burglars made rational choices during their decision making about burglary, with regard to target selection. Most burglars planned and made seemingly rational choices in target selection. However, some offenders committed burglary more opportunistically by selecting a target just before the burglary was carried out. Moreover, some burglars appeared to make decisions about

burglary and target selection, which were influenced by extraneous factors, such as moods, feelings, and moral judgments. Consistent with most prior studies, a majority of burglars in this study usually made the decision to commit a burglary, and then they later searched for a target, eventually selecting the best target.

Burglary for hire is a new type identified in this study - a burglar is hired by his or her boss to break into a particular place and steal specific property. Burglary for hire tends to follow practices similar to an organized criminal group in which the decision to commit the crime was a process of careful deliberation.

### **Target Selection in Residential Burglary**

Consistent with the third, fourth and fifth research questions regarding the process of target selection, most interviewees in this study engaged in a deliberative process in which several factors about the house target, as well as a variety of preventive conditions associated with the house target, were weighed and evaluated. One of the important questions in this study is whether residential burglars were rational in the selection of their best target for burglary. Consistent with expectations, the decision to choose the best target was based on environmental factors associated with the target.

### **Best locations for burglary**

Most burglars considered two main factors in identifying the best areas for residential burglary. When selecting an area to commit burglary, the interviewees would consider the availability of easily suitable targets, and the amount of valuable property. Some physical barriers such as difficulty of travelling to particular areas, business zones, as well as outbound areas led interviewees to avoid committing burglary.

Unlike several prior studies, familiarity with an area did not play an important role in assessing the best areas for burglary. Worry about family reputation prevents the burglary in Thailand from choosing a house in an area close to where they live. Moreover, interviewees usually picked a house away from where they lived or their family members or friends lived or worked because of fear of harming existing relationship. Reoffending in the same area by offenders could identify the best areas for repeating burglary commission. Success in prior burglaries was the main reason for choosing some areas for repeat burglary.

Consistent with some previous studies, the affluence targets in areas, as well as the presence of some types of people especially correctional officers, were important factors in choosing areas for burglary. Findings from the map analysis were consistent the information from the interviews in suggesting that most offenders usually avoided particular targets because of the types of people who had owned a house or stayed in the house. First, empathy for the poor led interviewees to avoid houses owned by poor people. Second, culture of respect made interviewees refrain from burglary in areas where authorities or powerful persons lived.

### **Effectiveness of residential burglary prevention measures**

Some preventive measures were clearly more effective than others were. Burglary alarms, neighborhood watchmen, dogs, and camera surveillance were the most effective measures. Conversely, occupancy, locks, security guards, signs of security devices, and beware of dogs signs were less effective. Interestingly, signs displaying an official status and signs of repeat victimization led Thai burglars to refrain from burglarizing the

houses, which is different from burglars in other country. Other prevention measures such as high fences, light or noise inside, and limited escape routes were less effective in deterring Thai burglars.

### **Burglary Process**

Once the target had been selected and the decision had been made to burglarize a house, most interviewees reported that the best time for committing the burglary was during the night between 1.00 a.m. and 4.00 a.m. when people were sleeping. Weekdays were more preferred than weekends. Rainy season was the best season for burglary. (Cromwell et al., 1991; Goodwin, 2007; Lee, 2006; Wright & Deckor, 1994). A belief in fate and luck were important influences most Thai burglars in selecting a day and time for the burglary. The four types of most preferred residences were single houses, townhouses, luxury condominium, and apartments.

Motorcycle and cars are the two types of vehicles most offenders used for committing a burglary. Like other studies (Cromwell et al., 1991; Goodwin, 2007; Lee, 2006; Wright & Deckor, 1994), most Thai burglars preferred gaining access to a house through open windows or doors. Some of them, however, also forced windows and doors open. Back or rear doors were the preferred entry points. The most common tools carried by most Thai burglars were screwdrivers, crowbars, hammers, imitation keys, and acid liquid. It was believed that burglaries should be quick. Generally, they should last less than half an hour.

Once an offender gets inside the target place, adult bedrooms were the place where most burglars usually searched and stole property. Kitchens and bathrooms seem



to be safe places to hide valuables because almost all interviewees hardly searched them. The most desirable items to take during burglaries were lightweight and easily moved such as cash, gold, watches, jewelry, antique Buddhism amulets, laptops, and luxury electronic devices (Cromwell et al., 1991; Goodwin, 2007; Lee, 2006; Wright & Deckor, 1994). After a burglary had been completed, an offender was likely to dispose of the property immediately, usually within 24 hours after the burglary. Professional fences, pawnshops, and general market shops are three places to dispose of the property (Lee, 2006; Rengert & Wasilchick, 1985; Wright & Deckor, 1994).

### **Co-Offenders**

The findings about co-offending in this study are similar to the findings in prior studies such as Goodwin (2007), Lee (2006), and Reiss (1988). Most interviewees in this study had committed burglary with a partner at least once. Groups of offenders ranged from two to six people. Additionally, most offenders usually selected burglary co-offender they could rely upon, usually peers and family members.

Several advantages of co-offending were mentioned, such as allowing a job to go successfully without problems, reducing anxiety during the burglary, and learning new techniques for burglary. Exchange of information was necessary for some types of burglary, especially with regard to target selection.

### **Gender and Ages Differences in Residential Burglary**

The findings provide some interesting answers to the last two research questions. Female burglars were more likely to work as a decoy person in a burglary. Burglary for

hire was more common among female offenders. Finally, female interviewees committed fewer burglaries than their male counterparts did.

One similarity among male and female burglars is that both genders prefer to commit burglary with co-offenders. However, East Asian cultures are based on a traditional societal hierarchy in which women are the lowest members and must show deference to men. In line with this cultural tradition, female burglars in this study tended to commit burglaries with a spouse, and male burglars tended to commit their crimes with friends and colleagues. The subordinate role of female offenders meant that decisions about target selection were left to male spouses.

Age was also an important factor in distinguishing offenders. Younger offenders usually committed burglaries within their neighborhoods, while older burglars usually picked targets far away from where they lived. Additionally, age is linked to familiarity with areas among offenders. Younger burglars tended to be more familiar than older burglars with the area they chose to burglarize. Younger offenders usually weighted more factors during target selection than older offenders did. Some prevention cues, such as locks, security guards, and occupancy were more effective deterrents to younger burglars. Finally, age was associated with co-offending. Younger burglars preferred to commit burglaries with others, while the older burglars preferred to commit their crimes alone.

### **Implication for Theory, Crime Prevention and Future Research**

Some of the findings in this study point to weaknesses in the rational choice perspective. One is the failure of the rational choice perspective consider burglars' characteristics and situational factors, such as gender, age, culture, and values. For

example, male and female Thai burglars have different paths to commit burglary. Also, younger and older offenders consider different factors in deciding whether to commit burglary. In addition, the findings suggest some degree of irrationality in the decision making of Thai burglars. Most Thai burglars in this study considered non-rational elements, such as fate and luck, moods, feelings of empathy, or feelings for dependency relationships. These non-rational factors suggest offender consider more than risks and rewards.

The findings in this study have important practical implications at both the macro and micro levels. The most important findings associated with forming the effective burglary prevention strategies are given that most burglars applied rational decision making during commission of a burglary and given the influence of environmental factors during target selection, in what appropriate strategies can be taken to reduce the attractiveness of targets. Several actions should be taken based on the information from this study. Law enforcement officials need to increase more police patrols in hot spot areas where residential burglaries are most likely to occur and establish ties with neighborhood residents for the purpose of crime prevention. Prison administrators should review treatment programs offering job training and other pre-release rehabilitation to help and support offenders after they are released. These programs would help to reduce the burglar's motivation in regards to the need for money to support themselves and their need to obtain drugs.

Although, the findings showed that most offenders did not care about occupancy, some of them would consider it as one of the risk considerations. As a result, residents in high-risk areas can be educated about risk factors and advised how to alter their lifestyles

or at least create the illusion of household occupancy or awake situation such as installing light and sound movement. Schools and businesses can offer flexible schedules for parents and employees in order to accommodate more varied, less regular, and less predictable schedules for their students and employees.

At the community level, neighbors should get to know each other, form strong bonds, and look out for each other's property. When neighbors are guarding each other's property, crime should decrease in the area. Increasing social solidarity probably should provide effective deterrents for residential burglary. Therefore, neighbors should not only interact and socialize, but they should also be visible to one another. Since, so many burglars watch and search for information about their potential victims (Wright & Decker, 1994), it is likely that they pay more attention to what people do rather than to signs announcing the presence of a neighborhood watch program. Increasing human surveillance must be accompanied by efforts to strengthen bonds among community members so they will act when they see something suspicious or out of place. Neighbors should get to know one another and participate in publicized neighborhood watch programs. Although professional security agencies and police departments can assist in residential burglary prevention, the most effective crime prevention requires the assistance of citizens (Felson, 1994).

This study provides additional evidence about offenders' decision making in residential burglary. However, some limitations should be taken into consideration. The limited sample size is the first consideration. Originally, the researcher intended to interview all available inmates who met the sampling criterion. However, there were some difficulties regarding the availability of the eligible interviewees. Forty-five

interviews were completed - the proportion of 35 male and ten female offenders, however, the theoretical saturation was reached. The proportion of female interviewees was also a limitation. However, there was a limited female offender pool eligible to take part in this study and available during the data collection process.

Generalization is another weakness of the current study. This study provided a considerable understanding of burglars' decision making in Thailand. This study conducted only in Bangkok which is the largest city in Thailand. The results might be different if the study was conducted outside of Bangkok. However, the use of confined offenders as interviewees limited the generalizability of the study. Offenders who have never been caught may be very different than imprisoned offenders.

Overall, the results of this study are consistent with most studies in the U.S. and other countries. There were largely similarities, but also differences in the Thai burglar sample. It is not clear-cut whether the present findings can be generalized to burglars outside Bangkok. It would be useful to conduct a similar study outside Bangkok and outside of Thailand.

## APPENDIX SECTION

### APPENDIX A

#### OFFENDER'S DECISION MAKING:

#### AN ASSESSMENT OF CONVICTED BURGLARS IN THAILAND

### Interview Schedule

Interviewee # \_\_\_\_\_ Gender: \_\_\_\_ Male \_\_\_\_ Female Date: \_\_\_\_\_

#### 1) PRE-INTERVIEW

- Greet interviewee.
- Explain purposes of the research and what the interview is about.
- Explain why I will be making notes and asking to tape record. Ask for interviewee's written permission for the interview and explain how the information will be later used – refer to the Informed Consent Form. Make sure to emphasize: **VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION, CONFIDENTIALITY, FREE TO STOP THE INTERVIEW AT ANY TIME.**
- Ask if there are any questions. Go through the Consent Form and sign with the interviewee (all two forms). Explain why you need to keep one copy with you at Texas State University. Give interviewee a copy.

#### 2. OVERVIEW/ INTRO

- Can I start by asking how old you are?
- What was your marital status at the time you were arrested for your last residential burglary?
- Roughly how many times have you been convicted of residential burglary?

**PROMPT:** How old were you the first time you were convicted for residential burglary?

- When you have committed residential burglaries, did you typically use drugs?  
As IN: 1) Were you a drug user?  
2) Were you high at the time of the residential burglary?

**PROMPT:** Which drugs did you take?

- How did the use of drugs influence your choice of targets?
- Most of the time when you committed burglary, did you use alcohol?

As IN: 1) Were you an alcohol user?

2) Were you drunk at the time of the residential burglary?

- How did the use of alcohol influence your choice of targets?
- Were there any particular times when you were more likely to burglarize a place? Why?  
**PROMPT:** Time of day?  
Day of week?  
Season?
- How many hours per week did you typically spend committing residential burglaries?
- Can you let me know what a typical week might have been for you when committing residential burglaries?

### 3. LOCATION

I have a map of Bangkok here

NOTES: Go over the map to make sure you understand it.

Point out location of the prison where this interview is taking place.

- Will you show me which area was your home (or where you slept overnight) by drawing with BLUE small point?
  - Do you know the street name?
- Can you tell me what other areas of Bangkok are you familiar with?  
What I would like you to do is draw on this map in **RED** smaller areas and give each of these areas a score from 0 (I don't know this area at all) to 10 (I know this area as well as my own home neighborhood).
- How do you know these areas?

PROMPTS: Area where your family/friends/ associates live?

Place of work/ burglarizing/recreation?

- Which are the best areas for burglarizing, do you think? Which kind of area did you usually choose for your residential burglaries?  
What I would now like you to do is give each of the small areas a score in **GREEN**, using a scale from 0 (This is the **WORST** possible area for burglarizing) to 10 (This is the **BEST** possible area for burglarizing).

**PROMPT:**

- If the score > 5, could you tell me what kind of residence it is? (e.g. Single houses, Apartment, Slum, Townhome)
- Do you go for rich or poor areas?

- Do you go for areas that are close to where you and your family live or work?  
If 'YES', why do you go for areas that are close to where you and your family live or work?
- Do you go for areas that are close to where your friends live or work?  
If 'YES', why do you go for areas that are close to where your friends live or work?
- \*\* For each of the chosen areas, what made them good for residential burglaries?
- How do you find residences to burglarize?

**PROMPT:**

- Did you go to that area looking for places to burglarize?
- Were you in that area doing something else when you noticed the place to burglarize?
- How did you go to the location that you decided to burglarize?

**PROMPT:**

- Did you usually walk?
- Did you use a car?
- Did you use a bus or public transportation?
- How far from your home (in kilometers)?
- Is there something about an area that would have put you off from burgling it?

**PROMPT:**

- If too busy?
- You know the people who live there? Have any of them helped you commit burglaries?
- Close to community, shopping center, markets.
- Close to police station.
- Are there areas that you avoid because of the type of people who live there? (For example, would you avoid an area where there are many old women living alone?)

**Please color these in YELLOW on the map**

**PROMPT:** Too poor? Too rich? Highly respected person?

- Are there areas that you avoid because of the physical street layout or the types of buildings?

**Please color these in ORANGE on the map**

- How often did you look for new areas to burglarize?

**PROMPT:**

- Do you usually plan ahead?
- For a typical burglary, how long do you plan for it?
- What goes into the planning? For example, do you visit the place you are planning to burglarize?



#### **4) TARGET SELECTION**

- How did you choose which residence to burglarize? What kind of residence did you usually go for?

##### **PROMPTS:**

- Did it look easy to get in?
- Were you familiar with the residences and knew that they were easy to burglarize?
- Would you first check if there was someone inside the residences?
- Would you see from the outside what you wanted to take?
- How did you normally get into the place?
  - Were there ever cues that helped you to get in (e.g., unlocked door, several entrances, hiding area, open curtain, etc.)?
  - Was there ever something that made it difficult for you to get in (e.g. double lock, high fences, etc.)?
  - How do you deal with them?
- Was there ever something about the residence that would put you off burgling it? Why?

##### **PROMPTS:** It could be because:

- It made it difficult to burglarize (e.g. locks, dogs, noisy pets, high fences, etc.).
- It was more likely that you would get caught (e.g. alarms, security guards, no or little escape route).
- The residence looked like it had nothing worth taking.
- The type of people who lived in them (only women and children, high authority person in community)
- You did not know the neighborhood.
- When you break and enter into a house, what is the first thing you usually do? What is the second thing you usually do?

##### **PROMPT:**

- What room or part of the building would you first search?
- How about the security equipment? Do you attempt to turn it off?
- What did you do if you found out there were someone inside the residence?
- What items do you usually look for?
- How do you usually dispose of the items you got from the burglary?

##### **PROMPT:**

- How often do you transform burglarized properties into money?
- How much money did you get?
- How did you spend the money?

- I am going to give you three options and I would like you to tell me which one best describes what you did when you were looking for a house to burglarize:
  - 1) I would burglarize the first house I came across.
  - 2) I would burglarize the first house I came across that met some sort of criteria.
  - 3) I would check all residences in an area and, after this was done, I would choose the best one.
- What is the most serious mistake a burglar can make when he chooses the target?
- Are Thai residential burglars different from residential burglars in other countries?
  - If yes, please explain how they are different? What makes Thai residential burglars unique?

## 5. REPEAT TARGET

- I would like you to think now of your last residential burglary, had you or anyone you know broken into this residence before?
  - ☐ Yes
  - ☐ No
  - ☐ Unsure
- What do you think your chance of getting caught was when you committed your last residential burglary?

### PROMPT:

- What makes you think that?
- In an average week, did you tend to burglarize in the same area or did you burglarize in different areas?  
 What I would now like you to do is to describe each of the small areas on the map by marking a score in **PURPLE**, using a scale from 0 (This is the **WORST** area for repeat burglarizing) to 10 (This is the **BEST** possible area for repeat burglarizing).

PROMPT: IF DIFFERENT AREAS, how far apart might the neighborhoods be (in kilometers)?

- Now in general, for all burglaries, after you had stolen property at a residence, did you ever go back to the same residence again?

**QUESTIONS:** 1) Have you ever burglarize the same residence more than once?  
 2) What was the reason for you to go back?

**PROMPTS:** Was it to get something you left behind?

Was it to get newly bought items (replacements)?

Was it because you now knew the place, so it's easier?

- How much more likely were you to go back to a place that you already burglarize?  
**PROMPTS:** Was it twice as likely? Ten times as likely? Etc.
- Did you go back to every residence?  
**PROMPTS:** Was it twice as likely? Ten times as likely?
- Did you go back to every residence?  
IF NO, how did you decide which residence to go back to?  
**PROMPTS:** Did it depend on whether you were successful?
- How long did you wait before going back?
- If you go to a residence that you planned to burglarize and you decide not to do it (e.g. you encountered dogs), which of these three options would you choose?
  - 1) Commit another residential burglary against another target during the same day
  - 2) Give up and return to burglarize the same residence in another week
  - 3) Give up and find a new target in another area to burglarize on another day
- Did you sometimes burglarize from residences that were near each other?  
IF SO:  
Why and how did you decide which one to burglarize?  
**PROMPTS:**
  - Is it because you now know the area, so it's easier?
  - Is it because the residences are similar to the one you already burglarized?
  - Did it depend on whether you were successful?
- How long will it take you to burglarize again in the same neighborhood?
- Was this different depending on whether you were successful?
- Did you burglarize other residences along the same street?

## 6. CO-OFFENDING

- Did you usually commit burglary on your own or with someone else?  
**PROMPTS:**
  - If with someone else, how many people?
  - Without telling me names of people, tell me your relationship to the people you usually commit burglary with?
- Do you ever commit residential burglaries with close family members?
- How does the presence of a co-offender affect your target-selection decisions?
- How much does a co-offender help you? How?  
**PROMPTS:**
  - Do you talk with your co-offender about other places you may have burglarized (e.g. sharing tips, techniques, point out the target house)?
  - Do you know where other burglars were doing burglaries?
- If you have committed a residential burglary with someone else, do you do things differently when you are alone? How?  
**PROMPTS:**
  - Go to different areas?
  - Choose different places?

- Number of residential burglaries carried out?
- Whether you returned to the same residence?

## 7. CLOSING

- ❖ I just want to finish by asking you about your hometown. Where is your hometown?
- ❖ Is there anything else that you would like to add?
- ❖ Thank you for your participation.

## **Informed Consent Forms**

### **Important Message**

In this document, there may be some statements that you do not understand. To help your decision making in participating the research, please take the time to read the following information carefully. Please ask the principal investigator or his/her representative if you have any questions.

**RESEARCH TITLE**            Offenders' decision making: An assessment of convicted residential burglars in Thailand.

**NAME OF RESEACHER**   Dittita   Tititampruk

**AFFLIATION**                Texas State University-San Marcos USA

**TELEPHONE**                081-925-0747

**E-MAIL**                      dt1184@txstate.edu

**RESEARCH SITES**           Bangkok Remand Prison, Thonburi Remand Prison, Minburi Remand Prison, Klong Prem Central Prison, Central Women Correctional Institution, and Thonburi Women Correctional Institution

### **What is the research about?**

You are invited to take part in a research study assessing Thai residential burglars' decision making. The purpose of this study is to explore how burglars make decisions in the target-selection process, including the motivations and techniques for selecting targets and carrying out crimes. The researcher plans to interview about 50 people who have committed at least three residential burglaries. The number of participants will be lesser or the researcher will stop to interview participants when the

researcher could get enough information. The research project is part of the study in the doctoral program at Texas State University.

### **Why the researcher needs to do this project?**

The research project is part of my final year for my doctoral degree at Texas State University. It is hoped that this research project can provide more understanding regarding offender's decision making.

### **Do I have to take part?**

No, your participation is voluntary. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. I would like you to consent to participate in this study as I believe that you can make an important contribution to the research. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet to keep and asked to sign the consent form.

If you do not want to take part, you do not have to give a reason, and no pressure will be on you to try to change your mind. You can pull out of the discussion at any time. Please note if you decide not to participate, or pull out during the discussion, you will not be affected in any way (such as your prison sentence, your legal rights or the service you receive from parole or corrections).

### **What will I do if I decide to take part?**

If you decide to take part, the researcher will interview you. It is expected that the interview will take approximately two hours. The interview process will include:

- questions about your own experiences in committing burglaries, and how you respond when something or someone made it difficult for you to commit a residential burglary. For example how many hours per week did you typically

spend committing residential burglaries? Was there ever something about the residence that would put you off burgling it?

- you will be asked to do a map task to clarify the best locations for residential burglary (in general) by using the map of Bangkok City.

The questions I will ask are general rather than specific. For example, I will ask you if you've ever commit residential burglaries with someone else, what the relationship with the co-offenders is. I will not ask you about any specific information, such as the name of the person or the address of that person.

**Will this interview be recorded and how will the recorded media be used?**

Yes, the interview will be tape recorded and later transcribed into text form.

Recording of interviews will be used only for analysis and will be deleted upon transcription. Only the researcher will be allowed access to the original recordings. As part of the presentation of results, your own words may be used in text form. This will be anonymous, so that you cannot be identified from what you said. However, the follow-up interviews will be requested and the researcher will tell you when each interview is finished.

**What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

Taking part in this study will not provide you any benefits. While, there are no immediate benefits for your participation in this study, the information you provide can contribute to the future understanding of offenders' decision making regarding residential burglary in Thailand.

### **What are the possible disadvantages or risk to taking part?**

It could be that you are not comfortable to answer some specific questions. You may experience anxiety to answer the questions but answering the questions is non-threatening and poses no risk. Thus, please note that:

- You can decide to stop the interview at any time.
- You need not answer questions that you do not wish to.
- Your name will be removed from the information.
- If you experience any sort of discomfort, they can contact Medical Correctional Hospital Unit, DOC at 02-953-3999.

### **What will happen to the results of the research study?**

All information provided by you will be stored anonymously on a safely encrypted and password computer with analysis of the information obtained. The results from this analysis will be available in one or more of the following sources: a full final dissertation, scientific papers in academic journals; and presentations at national and international conferences. If the study is published, the information that you provided to the researcher will be included in the publication and the published work will be shared with prison director. However, your name will not appear in any report / publication. If you are interested, you can contact the researcher and the researcher; will send you a copy of the final report.

### **How will the information I give be used?**

All information you provide to the researcher will be kept confidential. Your name will only be recorded on the Informed Consent Form, and this will be kept separately from the information you give us. This means nobody will know that what you



said came from you. The researcher will be the only person that will reach the information that would identify you. This includes any information you give about offenses for which you have not been convicted.

I must however inform you that if (1) you disclose information that may result in you or anyone else being put at risk of harm, (2) you disclose information that may lead to a threat to the security of the prison; I may have to inform a member of prison staff, who may take the matter further.

### **Who has reviewed this study?**

This project was approved by the Texas State University IRB [IRB No. 2015O9528] on [08/04/2015] and the Mahidol Research Ethics Committees [IRB No. 2015/318.0810] on [10/08/2015]. On the condition that you are not treated as indicated in the information sheet distributed to the subjects, you can contact the following organizations:

1. THE IRB from TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY – San Marcos USA

Office of the Texas State IRB

601 University Drive

J.C. Kellam Room 489

San Marcos, TX 78666-4615

Contact Detail:

(1) Dr. Jon Lasser, the IRB Chair (512-245-3413- [lasser@txstate.edu](mailto:lasser@txstate.edu))

(2) Becky Northcut, Director, Research Integrity & Compliance (512-245-3414- [bnorthcut@txstate.edu](mailto:bnorthcut@txstate.edu))

2. The Chair of the Committee for Research Ethics (Social Science) at the office of MU-SSIRB, Office of Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Mahidol University, Tel 66-2- 441 9180, Fax 66-2-441 9181

### **Contact for further information**

If you would like to take part, receive more information, or ask any questions about the research, please write to Ms. Dittita Tititampruk at 24 Soi Nonthaburi 35 Thasai, Muang Nonthaburi 11000 (081-925-0747; dt1184@txstate.edu), or let the person who gave you this form know so that we can get in touch.

### **Participant's Statement**

I confirm that

- I have be informed regarding the research project's origin and purpose; its procedural details to carry out or to be carried out; its expected benefits and risks that may occur to the subjects, including methods to prevent and handle harmful consequences; and remuneration, and expense.
- I have read the detailed statements in the Participant Information Sheet given to the research subjects and/or the explained the study to me.
- I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study and I have received satisfactory answers to all my questions about the study and my rights as a participant.
- I am aware of my right to further information concerning benefits and risks from the participation in the research project and my right to withdraw or refrain from the participation anytime with no consequences if I change my mind about taking part.

I consent to the researchers working on the information I give them but only for scientific research purposes.

I consent to the researchers disclosing any information I give them related to my intention to harm myself or someone else or a threat to the security of the prison.

I hereby express my consent to participate as a subject in the research project entitled offenders' decision making: An assessment of convicted residential burglars in Thailand.

I thoroughly understand the statement in the information sheet for the research subjects and in this consent form. I thereby give my signature.

_____	_____	_____
<b>Name of Participant</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Signature</b>

**Researcher's Statement**

I confirm that I have carefully explained the purpose of the research study to the participant and outlined any reasonably foreseeable risks and benefits.

_____	_____	_____
<b>Name of Researcher</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Signature</b>

## เอกสารชี้แจงผู้เข้าร่วมการวิจัย (Inform Consent Form)

### คำชี้แจง

ในเอกสารนี้อาจมีข้อความที่ท่านอ่านแล้วยังไม่เข้าใจ เพื่อช่วยในการตัดสินใจเข้าร่วมการวิจัย กรุณาอ่านข้อมูลในเอกสารนี้อย่างละเอียด หากท่านมีคำถามอะไร กรุณาสอบถามนักวิจัย หรือผู้แทนให้ช่วยอธิบายจนกว่าท่านจะเข้าใจรายละเอียดอย่างครบถ้วน

### ชื่อโครงการวิจัย โครงการวิจัย การตัดสินใจกระทำผิดของผู้กระทำผิดหลักทรัพย์ตามเกณฑ์ตามเกณฑ์ศึกษาผู้ต้องขังคดีหลักทรัพย์ตามเกณฑ์ตามเกณฑ์ในประเทศไทย

**ชื่อผู้วิจัย** นางสาว ทิติจิตา ชิตธรรมพฤษย์  
**สถาบัน** มหาวิทยาลัยเท็กซัส สเตท ยูนิเวอร์ซิตี- ซาน มาร์กอส ประเทศสหรัฐอเมริกา  
(Texas State University-San Marcos, United States)  
**โทรศัพท์** 081-925-0747  
**อีเมลล์** dt1184@txstate.edu  
**สถานที่วิจัย** เรือนจำพิเศษกรุงเทพมหานคร, เรือนจำพิเศษธนบุรี, เรือนจำพิเศษมีนบุรี, เรือนจำกลางคลองเปรม, ทณฑสถานหญิงกลาง, และทณฑสถานหญิงธนบุรี

### โครงการวิจัยนี้เกี่ยวกับอะไร?

ท่านได้รับเชิญให้เข้าร่วมโครงการศึกษาวิจัยเกี่ยวกับการตัดสินใจกระทำผิดของผู้กระทำผิดหลักทรัพย์ตามเกณฑ์ตามเกณฑ์ในประเทศไทย โครงการศึกษาวิจัยนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาวิจัยกระบวนการตัดสินใจกระทำผิดความผิดคดีหลักทรัพย์ตามเกณฑ์ตามเกณฑ์ในการเลือกเป้าหมายและเหยื่อ มูลเหตุแรงจูงใจ และเทคนิคในการกระทำความผิด ผู้วิจัยได้กำหนดคุณสมบัติของกลุ่มตัวอย่างที่จะดำเนินการสัมภาษณ์เชิงลึก จำนวนประมาณ 55 คน ที่เคยกระทำการหลักทรัพย์ตามเกณฑ์ตามเกณฑ์อย่างน้อย 3 ครั้งขึ้นไป

### เหตุใดผู้วิจัยจึงจำเป็นต้องจัดทำโครงการศึกษาวิจัยนี้?

โครงการศึกษาวิจัยนี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาระดับปริญญาเอกที่ มหาวิทยาลัยเท็กซัส สเตท ยูนิเวอร์ซิตี- ซาน มาร์กอส ประเทศสหรัฐอเมริกา (Texas State University-San Marcos, United

States) ผู้วิจัยมีความคาดหวังว่าโครงการวิจัยครั้งนี้จะเป็นประโยชน์ต่อการศึกษาเกี่ยวกับการตัดสินใจ กระทำผิดของอาชญากรในอนาคต.

### **ข้าพเจ้าจำเป็นต้องเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยหรือไม่?**

ไม่จำเป็น, การตัดสินใจเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยครั้งนี้เป็นไปตามความสมัครใจและยินยอมของท่าน ท่านสามารถตัดสินใจว่าจะเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยหรือไม่? ผู้วิจัยเชิญท่านเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยนี้ เพราะผู้วิจัยเชื่อว่าท่านสามารถให้ข้อมูลที่เป็นประโยชน์ต่อการศึกษาวิจัยครั้งนี้ หากท่านตัดสินใจเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัย ท่านจะได้รับเอกสารนี้ 1 ฉบับและท่านจะต้องเซ็นหนังสือแสดงเจตนายินยอมเข้าร่วมการวิจัยโดยได้รับการบอกกล่าวและเต็มใจ

หากท่านไม่อยากเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยนี้ ท่านไม่จำเป็นต้องอธิบายเหตุผลในการไม่เข้าร่วมโครงการและจะไม่มีกรกดดันใดๆให้ท่านเปลี่ยนหรือตัดสินใจเข้าร่วมโครงการ ท่านมีสิทธิถอนตัวออกจากโครงการนี้เมื่อใดก็ได้ โดยไม่ต้องแจ้งให้ทราบล่วงหน้า และการไม่เข้าร่วมวิจัยหรือถอนตัวออกจากโครงการวิจัยนี้ จะไม่มีผลกระทบใดๆ ต่อท่านแต่อย่างใด (เช่น ไม่มีผลกระทบต่อระยะเวลาการต้องโทษของท่าน ไม่มีผลกระทบต่อสิทธิทางกฎหมายและสิทธิต่างๆที่ท่านได้รับการพักการลงโทษหรือกรมราชทัณฑ์)

### **ข้าพเจ้าต้องทำอะไรบ้างหากตัดสินใจเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยนี้**

ถ้าท่านตัดสินใจเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยครั้งนี้ ผู้วิจัยจะขอสัมภาษณ์ท่านโดยใช้เวลาในการสัมภาษณ์ประมาณ 2 ชั่วโมง ซึ่งมีกระบวนการสัมภาษณ์ดังนี้

- ผู้วิจัยจะสอบถามเกี่ยวกับประสบการณ์ของท่านเกี่ยวกับการกระทำผิดลักทรัพย์ตามเคสสถาน และท่านมีเทคนิคและวิธีการอย่างไรหากท่านต้องเผชิญกับปัญหาจากบางสิ่งหรือจากบุคคลที่เป็นอุปสรรคในการลักทรัพย์ตามเคสสถานดังกล่าว ยกตัวอย่างเช่น ภายใน 1 สัปดาห์ ท่านใช้เวลาประมาณกี่ชั่วโมงในการลักทรัพย์ตามเคสสถาน หรือปัจจัยอะไรของเคสสถานที่ทำให้ท่านเลิกกระทำการลักทรัพย์
- ผู้วิจัยจะให้ท่านระบุในแผนที่ของกรุงเทพมหานคร เพื่อระบุว่าพื้นที่ใดเป็นพื้นที่ที่ดีที่สุดในการกระทำผิดลักทรัพย์ตามเคสสถาน

คำถามที่ผู้วิจัยจะถามท่านนั้นจะเป็นคำถามในลักษณะคำถามทั่วไป ไม่ใช่คำถามเพื่อต้องการคำตอบเฉพาะเจาะจง ยกตัวอย่างเช่น ผู้วิจัยจะถามท่านว่าในกรณีที่ท่านเคยลักทรัพย์ตามเคหาสถานกับผู้อื่น ท่านมีความสัมพันธ์แบบใดกับผู้ร่วมกระทำผิดของท่าน ผู้วิจัยไม่ได้ต้องการถามท่านถึงข้อมูลเฉพาะเจาะจงของบุคคลนั้น เช่น ชื่อหรือที่อยู่ของบุคคลนั้น เป็นต้น

### **การสัมภาษณ์นี้จะมีการบันทึกเสียงหรือไม่ และเสียงบันทึกจะถูกนำไปใช้อย่างไร**

ใช่, การสัมภาษณ์ครั้งนี้จะมีการบันทึกเสียงเพื่อประโยชน์ต่อการแปลบทสัมภาษณ์ที่จะนำไปใช้ในการเขียน เสียงบันทึกสัมภาษณ์จะนำไปใช้เพื่อผลประโยชน์การแปลผลการศึกษาเท่านั้น และจะถูกลบทันทีที่มีการแปลบทสัมภาษณ์เสร็จสิ้น ทั้งนี้ มีเพียงผู้วิจัยคนเดียวเท่านั้นที่จะสามารถเข้าถึงข้อมูลเสียงบันทึกเทปต้นฉบับ ในส่วนของการแปลผลการศึกษา บทสนทนาของท่านอาจจะถูกนำมาแปลเป็นข้อความผลการศึกษา อย่างไรก็ตามข้อความเหล่านั้นจะไม่มีเปิดเผยหรืออ้างอิงชื่อของท่าน

### **โครงการวิจัยนี้มีประโยชน์อะไรต่อตัวข้าพเจ้าบ้าง?**

การเข้าร่วมโครงการศึกษาวิจัยนี้ ท่านจะไม่ได้รับผลประโยชน์โดยตรงใดๆ ถึงแม้ว่าจะไม่มีผลประโยชน์ใดๆ โดยตรงต่อตัวท่านในการเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัยครั้งนี้ แต่ข้อมูลที่ท่านให้กับเราสามารถช่วยให้เกิดความรู้ความเข้าใจเกี่ยวกับการศึกษาเกี่ยวกับการตัดสินใจกระทำผิดของผู้กระทำผิด โดยเฉพาะผู้กระทำผิดลักทรัพย์ตามเคหาสถานในประเทศไทย

### **โครงการวิจัยนี้มีความเสี่ยงอะไรบ้างหรือไม่?**

ความเสี่ยงที่อาจจะเกิดขึ้นเมื่อเข้าร่วมการวิจัย ท่านอาจรู้สึกอึดอัดหรืออาจรู้สึกไม่สบายใจอยู่บ้างกับบางคำถามท่านอาจจะรู้สึกไม่สบายใจอยู่บ้างกับการตอบคำถาม แต่การตอบคำถามเหล่านี้จะไม่ก่อให้เกิดปัญหาหรือความเสี่ยงต่อตัวท่าน ทั้งนี้โปรดทราบว่า:

- ท่านมีสิทธิถอนตัวออกจากโครงการนี้เมื่อใดก็ได้ โดยไม่ต้องแจ้งให้ทราบล่วงหน้า
- ท่านมีสิทธิที่จะไม่ตอบคำถามที่ท่านไม่ประสงค์จะตอบคำถามนั้น
- ชื่อและข้อมูลส่วนตัวของท่านจะถูกลบออกและไม่เปิดเผยต่อสาธารณะเป็นรายบุคคล
- หากท่านประสบปัญหาความอึดอัดไม่สบายใจใดๆ ท่านสามารถติดต่อหน่วยพัฒนาสถานโรงพยาบาลราชทัณฑ์ กรมราชทัณฑ์ที่เบอร์โทรศัพท์ 02-953-3999

### **ข้อมูลที่ข้าพเจ้าให้ไปจะถูกนำไปใช้อย่างไรบ้าง?**

ข้อมูลส่วนตัวของท่านจะถูกเก็บรักษาไว้ ไม่เปิดเผยต่อสาธารณะเป็นรายบุคคล และไม่มี การแสดงชื่อหรือที่อยู่ของท่านแต่อย่างใด ชื่อของท่านจะปรากฏอยู่แค่ในเอกสารหนังสือแสดงเจตนา ยินยอมเข้าร่วมการวิจัยโดยไม่ได้รับการบอกกล่าวและเต็มใจเท่านั้น และจะถูกจัดเก็บแยกกับข้อมูลวิจัยที่ ท่านให้สัมภาษณ์ ซึ่งหมายถึง จะไม่มีผู้ใดทราบว่าคุณวิจัยที่ท่านให้กับผู้วิจัยเป็นข้อมูลที่มาจากท่าน ทั้งนี้จะไม่มีการเปิดเผยข้อมูลส่วนตัวต่างๆ รวมทั้ง ข้อมูลเกี่ยวกับการกระทำความผิดที่ไม่ได้ถูกดำเนินคดีของ ท่าน ต่อหน่วยงานหรือเจ้าหน้าที่ตำรวจ คุณประพฤติ ราชทัณฑ์ หรือเจ้าหน้าที่ของรัฐหรือบุคคลอื่นใด

แต่อย่างไรก็ดี ในกรณีที่ท่านได้เปิดเผยข้อมูลที่จะมีผลร้ายหรือมีความเสี่ยงต่อชีวิตและ ทรัพย์สินของตัวท่านเองหรือผู้อื่นและในกรณีที่ท่านเปิดเผยข้อมูลที่จะก่อให้เกิดความเสี่ยงต่อความ มั่นคงและปลอดภัยของเรือนจำและทัณฑสถาน ผู้วิจัยอาจจะต้องแจ้งเจ้าหน้าที่เรือนจำผู้รับผิดชอบเพื่อ หาทางแก้ไขและป้องกันต่อไป

### **ผลการศึกษาวินิจฉัยจะถูกนำไปใช้อย่างไรบ้าง?**

ข้อมูลทุกอย่างที่ท่านให้กับผู้วิจัยและข้อมูลการวิเคราะห์ผลการศึกษาก็จะถูกเก็บรักษาไว้ใน รูปแบบไม่เปิดเผยต่อสาธารณะเป็นรายบุคคล ในฐานะข้อมูลคอมพิวเตอร์ของผู้วิจัย ผลการศึกษาก็จะถูก นำไปใช้ประโยชน์ในรูปแบบดังต่อไปนี้

วิทยานิพนธ์ระดับปริญญาเอก, บทความทางวิชาการเพื่อเผยแพร่ในวารสารทางวิชาการ และ การนำเสนอผลการศึกษาในการประชุมทางวิชาการทั้งในและต่างประเทศ อย่างไรก็ตามชื่อของท่านจะ ไม่ปรากฏในรายงานหรือเอกสารใดๆ ทั้งนี้ถ้าท่านสนใจในผลการศึกษาดังกล่าว ท่านสามารถติดต่อ ขอรับสำเนารายงานผลการศึกษาจากผู้วิจัยได้

### **ใครเป็นผู้ตรวจสอบโครงการศึกษาวินิจฉัยบ้าง?**

โครงการวิจัยนี้ได้รับการพิจารณารับรองจากคณะกรรมการจริยธรรมการวิจัยในคนจาก มหาวิทยาลัย เท็กซัส สเตท ยูนิเวอร์ซิตี ตามเอกสารที่รับรองหมายเลข 2015O9528 ลงวันที่ 08/04/2015 และคณะกรรมการวิจัยในคนของมหาวิทยาลัยมหิดล ตามเอกสารที่รับรองหมายเลข 2015/318.0810 ลงวันที่ 10/08/2015 หากท่านมีข้อข้องใจหรือได้รับการปฏิบัติไม่ตรงตามที่ระบุไว้ ข้าพเจ้าสามารถติดต่อประธานคณะกรรมการจริยธรรมหรือผู้แทน จากหน่วยงานดังต่อไปนี้

1. คณะกรรมการจริยธรรมการวิจัยในคนจากมหาวิทยาลัย เท็กซัส สเตท ยูนิเวอร์ซิตี – ซาน  
มาร์กอส (TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY – San Marcos) ประเทศสหรัฐอเมริกา

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(2) คุณ เบ็คกี นอร์ทคัท (Becky Northcut) ผู้อำนวยการส่วนดำเนินการวิจัยและร้องเรียน เบอร์โทรศัพท์  
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2. คณะกรรมการจริยธรรมการวิจัยในคนสาขาสังคมศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยมิดเดิล ซึ่งมีสำนักงานอยู่ที่  
คณะสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์ มหาวิทยาลัยมิดเดิล ถนนพุททมนทล สาย 4 ตำบลศาลายา อำเภอท  
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### **ข้อมูลติดต่อกรณีต้องการข้อมูลเพิ่มเติม**

หากท่านมีความประสงค์จะเข้าร่วมโครงการวิจัย ต้องการรายละเอียดหรือสอบถามเกี่ยวกับ  
โครงการวิจัยเพิ่มเติม กรุณาเขียนจดหมายมายัง นางสาวทิตติตา ธิติธรรมพฤกษ์ ที่อยู่ 24 ซอยนนทบุรี  
35 ต.ท่าทราย อ.เมือง จ.นนทบุรี 11000 หรือติดต่อทางโทรศัพท์ที่ 081-925-0747 หรืออีเมลที่  
[dt1184@txstate.edu](mailto:dt1184@txstate.edu) หรือท่านสามารถแจ้งยังเจ้าหน้าที่ผู้มอบเอกสารนี้แก่ท่านเพื่อทางผู้วิจัยจะได้  
ติดต่อท่านกลับไป



## ข้อความยืนยันของผู้เข้าร่วมการวิจัย

ข้าพเจ้าขอยืนยันว่า

- ข้าพเจ้าได้รับทราบรายละเอียดเกี่ยวกับที่มาและจุดมุ่งหมายในการทำวิจัยรายละเอียดขั้นตอนต่างๆที่จะต้องปฏิบัติหรือได้รับการปฏิบัติ ประโยชน์ที่คาดว่าจะได้รับของการวิจัยและความเสี่ยงที่อาจเกิดขึ้นจากการเข้าร่วมการวิจัยรวมทั้งแนวทางป้องกันและแก้ไขหากเกิดอันตราย รวมถึงค่าตอบแทนและค่าใช้จ่ายต่างๆ
- ข้าพเจ้าโดยได้อ่านข้อความที่มีรายละเอียดอยู่ในเอกสารชี้แจงผู้เข้าร่วมการวิจัย หรือได้รับการชี้แจงอธิบาย
- ข้าพเจ้าได้รับโอกาสในการถามคำถามเกี่ยวกับโครงการนี้ และข้าพเจ้าได้รับคำตอบที่น่าพอใจต่อคำถามทั้งหมดเกี่ยวกับโครงการวิจัย รวมถึงสิทธิของข้าพเจ้าในการเข้าร่วมโครงการ
- ข้าพเจ้าได้ทราบถึงสิทธิที่ข้าพเจ้าจะได้รับข้อมูลเพิ่มเติมทั้งทางด้านประโยชน์และโทษจากการเข้าร่วมการวิจัยและสามารถถอนตัวหรือคงเข้าร่วมการวิจัยได้ทุกเมื่อ โดยจะไม่มีผลกระทบใดๆต่อข้าพเจ้าที่จะได้รับในอนาคตหากข้าพเจ้าเปลี่ยนใจไม่ยอมเข้าร่วมโครงการแล้ว
- ข้าพเจ้ายินยอมให้ผู้วิจัยใช้ข้อมูลส่วนตัวของข้าพเจ้าที่ได้รับจากการวิจัยเพื่อประโยชน์ในการศึกษาวิจัยเท่านั้น
- ข้าพเจ้ายินยอมให้ผู้วิจัยเปิดเผยข้อมูลใดๆที่ข้าพเจ้าบอกกับผู้วิจัยหากข้อมูลเหล่านั้นเกี่ยวข้องกับผลร้ายหรือมีความเสี่ยงต่อชีวิตและทรัพย์สินของตัวข้าพเจ้าเองหรือผู้อื่นและในกรณีที่ก่อให้เกิดความเสี่ยงต่อความมั่นคงและปลอดภัยของเรือนจำและทัณฑสถาน

ข้าพเจ้าสมัครใจเข้าร่วมในโครงการวิจัยเรื่อง การตัดสินใจกระทำผิดของผู้กระทำผิด  
ลักทรัพย์ตามเคสสถาน: กรณีศึกษาผู้ต้องขังคดีลักทรัพย์ตามเคสสถานในประเทศไทย

ข้าพเจ้าเข้าใจข้อความในเอกสารชี้แจงผู้เข้าร่วมการวิจัย และหนังสือแสดงเจตนายินยอมนี้โดยตลอดแล้ว จึงลงลายมือชื่อไว้

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ชื่อผู้เข้าร่วมวิจัย

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วันที่

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ลายเซ็น

### ข้อความยืนยันของนักวิจัย

ข้าพเจ้าขอยืนยันว่าข้าพเจ้าได้อธิบายรายละเอียดเกี่ยวกับวัตถุประสงค์ รวมทั้งประโยชน์และความเสี่ยงต่างๆที่สำคัญของโครงการศึกษาวิจัยนี้ให้กับผู้เข้าร่วมวิจัยได้ทราบโดยละเอียด

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ชื่อนักวิจัยหรือผู้ให้ข้อมูล

วันที่

ลายเซ็น

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