

**A Comparative Analysis of Recidivism with specific reference to
Crimino-Victimogenic variables, Offence Analysis and
Programme Participation**

by

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Summary

Recidivism research is an important area of study within the field of Criminology as it can provide valuable insight into the effectiveness of current sentencing practices and correctional interventions alike. An understanding of the factors associated with the continued involvement in offending behaviour after the completion of a formal correctional sentence is essential, not only from an intervention perspective but also in terms of policy development and legislation. Despite this importance, there is however a distinct dearth of both theoretical and empirical understandings of recidivism and its associated factors. It is for this reason that the current study aimed to develop an understanding of the criminogenic and victimogenic factors associated with recidivism in South Africa including the effect of programme participation and offence type.

The lack of existing frameworks focused on recidivism made it necessary to utilise research strategies that were of an exploratory, descriptive and explanatory nature. Primary data needed to be collected and then tested on a larger scale to both identify and verify the factors associated with recidivism in the South African context. The study was furthermore underpinned theoretically by the cognitive-behavioural theory due to its proven effectiveness as an intervention approach in the correctional and clinical environment. A purposive sample of 252 total participants were drawn from the Western Cape, Limpopo, Mpumalanga and Gauteng provinces in South Africa to participate in either the qualitative (interviews and focus groups N=50) or quantitative (questionnaires N=202) phases of the study. The results from the qualitative phase of the study were used in conjunction with the theoretical and empirical perspectives to develop a quantitative measuring instrument to test the variables identified (cognitive-behavioural, victimogenic, social, environmental and other) on a larger scale. In addition to the factors associated with recidivism, programmatic and general variables were also included in the final measurement instrument. Inferential (chi-square and correlations) and descriptive (means, standard deviations and frequency distributions) statistical analyses were utilised to compare the participants' responses to the abovementioned factor domains and provide a general description of the characteristics of the sample respectively.

The results pertaining to the factors associated with recidivism indicated that participants had experienced low levels of victimisation both inside and outside of the correctional environment, but still had a significant fear of the correctional environment and preferred life outside of prison. Conventional social support structures (family and correctional staff) were present as well as a number of deviant peer associations despite reporting a significant lack of restorative justice and aftercare services. From a cognitive-behavioural perspective it was found that a significant number of participants had deviant decision making cognitive structures and showed significantly egocentric thought patterns. Participants also frequently engaged in both illicit drug and alcohol use and were unable to find employment despite actively searching. Significant differences were also found between offenders from the various offending categories. Sexual offenders were found to be more inclined to have deviant cognitive structures than any other offending categories. Justifying offending behaviour was also found to be associated with narcotic offenders. Aggressive offenders were significantly more likely to be involved in gangsterism and were also found to engage in drug usage more frequently than other types of offenders. Economic and “other” offenders were also highly influenced by deviant social and cognitive factors. Serendipitously it was furthermore found that economic offences were significantly more commonly committed by the sample. The results pertaining to the achievement of programme outcomes indicated that a significant number of participants had in many cases achieved the prescribed programme outcomes and provided evidence for decidedly non-criminogenic cognitive feedback structures. These results indicate that a significant number of participants had an awareness of conventional, anti-criminogenic belief systems but that these beliefs did not necessarily translate into accompanying behaviour. This would indicate that recidivists are not simply driven by anti-social or pathological thinking patterns but may have an elaborate cognitive structure that allows them to participate in crime whilst maintaining a positive self-view.

Recommendations formulated for future research included the need for a longitudinal research design and further exploration of offence type and individual factors. Additional stakeholders should also be included in future research to provide a more holistic understanding of recidivism and the incorporation of contextual data through the use of qualitative interviews for the establishment of perspectives grounded in the African context.

Key Terms

Recidivism, repeat offending behaviour, cognitive-behavioural theory, offender victimisation, correctional intervention programmes, criminogenic variables

Chapter 1

General Orientation and Problem Formulation

In order to fully understand recidivism through an exploration of criminogenic and victimogenic factors, the effect of treatment programmes and potential differences in types of offenders, it is imperative to begin the study with a basic orientation to these key concepts. Definitions of various important terms are presented and operationalised for the purposes of this study, followed by a historical overview of developments in the understanding of recidivism, which serve as a contextual background for the problem formulation. The rationale for the study is thereafter presented with reference to the specific aims of the study, followed by a concise conclusion of this introductory chapter.

1.1 Introduction

Recidivism as a phenomenon has thus far been particularly challenging for researchers to study, owing to it being plagued by a number of issues, *inter alia*, the wide variety of definitions employed in its conceptualisation, the methodologies employed in its exploration and understanding as well as the accurate tracking and detection of repeat offenders. Recidivism is often defined in terms of behavioural markers, usually beginning with an initial offence. However, the markers associated with the re-offence are where the definitions begin to differ, as researchers on the topic seldom find consensus on whether or not to define individuals as recidivists at the point when they have reoffended (whether they have been caught or not), when they are arrested, or when they have been found guilty and sentenced (Dissel, 2012:6; Gould, 2010:14; Maltz, 2001:5).

In addition, these definitions are influenced by the purpose of the research, a factor that dictates the methodology employed. Questions associated with the types of offences are also considered, such as: Should technical violations such as violation of parole conditions be considered? Should offenses less serious than the initial offense be considered? Should different offenses be considered? (Magoro & Louw, 2010:8). The decision regarding what type of offences to include in the definition are often linked to the research purpose, which (and is often the case in recidivism research) may include an assessment of intervention programmes. The reason for this is that even though an offender has recommitted a crime, if

the offence is different to, or less serious than, the initial offence for which the individual was treated, the intervention can still be considered a success (Soothill, 2010:33).

With reference to previous research conducted by the author and others, this very specific conceptualisation of recidivism, which includes only specific types of offences and ignores the individual narratives of the participants, has been found to be too limiting in its ability to holistically understand the phenomenon and its related factors (Cronje, 2012:4; McAree, 2011:9). The nature of recidivism as a phenomenon can be said to be as complex as the individuals themselves who reoffend, thus if the purpose of a study was to create a more multidimensional understanding of this phenomenon, the definitions employed would need to be equally as encompassing. With that said, the section to follow outlines the key concepts to be used in the current study.

1.2 Conceptualisation

For the purpose of this basic orientation to the topic, as well as to provide the context in which concepts are used, an introduction to the following terms is necessary:

1.2.1 Recidivism

Derived from the Latin word *recidiv* or *recidere* meaning “to fall back” or “to relapse”, one of the earliest recorded uses of the word “recidivism” in the English language dates back to 1884 in an article in the *London Times* in reference to the development of the French Recidivist’s Bill (Peirson, 2015:1-2; *The Times*, 1884:5). The Bill, which formed part of the reformation of French prisons, where they were described in the article as “desirable refuges in which recruits are enlisted and fresh crimes planned”, aimed to make incarceration less desirable. The rationale was that transportation of criminals to New Caledonia off the coast of Australia would be the most effective way of immediately stemming the rise of recidivism, and was referred to by the British as a type of penal colony “experiment” (*The Times*, 1884:5).

The empirical conceptualisation of recidivism is, however, regarded as a highly contested factor in the research, predominantly because of the varying capacities in which it has been

used in studies with differing aims and purposes (see 1.1). The common, legalistic understanding of recidivism is the commission of a criminal offence after having served a sentence for a previous offence (Bartol & Bartol, 2008:200). Though this may be an accurate definition, there are a number of concerns related to:

- a) criminal offenses committed that may have gone undetected;
- b) the length of the follow up period (an individual's probability of reoffending is highest shortly after release and decreases with time but never reaches zero);
- c) the nature of the repeated offense (failure to comply with bail conditions or re-commission of a new offense); and
- d) issues related to availability of proper identification resources and abilities (Clear, 2010:2-4; Muntingh, 2001:13).

The precise cause of recidivism has not been isolated, but because of the variety of different studies, it has been related, with varying degrees, to numerous personal, environmental and historical factors (Gendreau, Little & Goggin, 1996:575). Michael D. Maltz (2001), in his award-winning book titled *Recidivism*, defines recidivism as a series of interconnected "failures" namely:

Failure of the individual to live up to society's expectations – or failure of society to provide for the individual; a consequent failure of the individual to stay out of trouble; failure of the individual, as an offender, to escape arrest and conviction; failure of the individual as an inmate of a correctional institution to take advantage of correctional programs – or failure of the institution to provide programs that rehabilitate; and additional failures by the individual in continuing in a criminal career after release (Maltz, 2001:1).

Another inherent assumption that is contained in definitions of recidivism is that the criminal justice system is without flaws. Whether the definition alludes to re-arrest or resentencing as the point at which reoffending is officially present, the assumption is that either during the initial offence or those subsequent, the law enforcement organs or the court officials have acted in a completely just and fair manner (Maltz, 2001:57). A further assumption is the existence of single offenders. Recidivists as a group cannot be defined differently to offenders if all offenders commit (and are convicted of) more than one offence. Though this

may be a “logical” deduction, owing to the lack of official statistics on recidivism, it cannot be empirically concluded beyond anecdotal experiences. Clear (2010) additionally states that it can also be accepted that any individual who has offended once will remain a potential recidivist for the rest of his or her natural life, thereby making it unscientific to conclude that certain individuals are not recidivists at the end of a study with a given time frame. Such recognition would lead one to acknowledge that recidivism cannot simply be viewed as a single event but rather a process. However, it has also been found that in terms of risk, reoffending is most likely in the period immediately after release and diminishes as time progresses (Clear, 2010:2). It therefore becomes important during the process of conceptualisation to acknowledge the potential challenges of each definition, and attempt as far as possible to control for them – or at the very least to be clear about the potential for their influence in relation to the purpose of the study. Doing so will allow for an analysis of data that is clear, structured and duplicable (Maltz, 2001:55).

Therefore, in order to understand recidivism more completely, it has been decided to include instances where individuals have committed offences that are different to the initial offence as well as those that the participants have not yet been convicted for after having served an official sentence. This approach allows for the study to benefit from the strengths of both the legalistic and philosophical definitions of recidivism. The former definition includes the notion of procedural justice (whereby one is always innocent until proven guilty before the law) whereas the latter acknowledges that law enforcement is not always certain and swift, making it possible that some repeat offenders exist without having been detected by the formal criminal justice system. Therefore, the terms “recidivist”, “repeat offender” and “re-offender”, which implicitly allude to the same concept, will in the context of the current study refer to: An individual who has engaged in further criminal activity (regardless of the type of crime) after having been convicted of at least one previous offence. This definition ensures that participants have been exposed to an official realisation that their behaviour is considered problematic by the greater society in which they live and despite this have continued to engage in this problematic behaviour. The ethical implications in using this definition are discussed in section 4.9.

1.2.2 Criminogenic Variables

When attempting to understand repeat offending behaviour, researchers often analyse the factors present in the participants' lives that contribute to the continuation of their deviant behaviour. These factors, referred to as risk factors, are categorised as either static or dynamic, and can be differentiated according to the degree to which they can be altered. Static risk factors are unchanging, often historical, factors that include variables such as age of first offence, family composition, childhood abuse, offending history and exposure to poverty, to name a few (Dissel, 2012:9; Gendreau et al., 1996:575; Olver, Stockdale & Wormith, 2011:8). Though these factors cannot be changed in the treatment environment, they can provide a wealth of information about the individual's context and thereby assist in the process of understanding their current frame of mind as well as development of a treatment plan.

The dynamic risk factors, also known as criminogenic factors, are in contrast mutable, and include psychological, social, environmental, cognitive and/or emotional factors associated with an increased likelihood of involvement in deviant or criminal behaviour as well as the continuation thereof. It is the ability to change that often makes these factors the target of treatment programmes aimed at reducing recidivism (Dissel, 2012:9; Taxman, 2006:17; Ward & Stewart, 2003:127). The criminogenic variables most commonly identified to be associated with repeat offending include; substance abuse, impulsive behaviour, deviant peer associations, feelings of anger/hostility, deviant cognitions, pro-criminal attitudes, familial conflict, and perceptions of social and economic inequality (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:49; Barkan, 2012:9; Cronje, 2012:46; Olver et al., 2011:8; Ward & Stewart, 2003:127).

Although these factors are naturally housed in a biological organism and it is this organism that interacts with the surrounding environment and society, biological factors are not included under criminogenic variables as they are not considered to be dynamic risk factors and are therefore unable to be changed through traditional correctional interventions. The current study thus focusses on exploring and identifying the dynamic criminogenic factors present in the individuals' lives that maintain their involvement in criminal activities upon release. The exact nature of these factors related to a group of repeat offenders in South Africa is identified through a further exploration of the theoretical and empirical literature as well as the first (qualitative) phase of data collection to be outlined in the fourth chapter.

1.2.3 Victimogenic Variables

Much like the criminogenic variables, victimogenic variables refer to factors that increase the likelihood of victimisation or victimisation risk. It is important to consider victimogenic variables when discussing recidivism owing to the frequency of victimisation experiences present in the lives of offenders. According to Jennings, Piquero and Reingle (2012:16), victimisation is one of the most highly correlated yet least recognised factors associated with offending behaviour. It is a commonly accepted understanding in the field of criminology that various types of offending, particularly sexual offending and serial murder, are strongly associated with early experiences of childhood victimisation (FBI, 2005:11; Hesselink-Louw & Schoeman, 2003:165; Mitchell & Aamodt, 2005:44; Turvey, 2009:640). However, additional research conducted on this relationship has shown that the presence of victimisation in the lives of individuals in conflict with the law is not solely limited to those involved in the previously mentioned offences.

In the work by Jennings et al. (2012), comprising a literary review of 37 studies exploring the relationship between victimisation and offending, spanning over a period of 50 years between 1958 and 2011, the findings strongly supported the view that in the majority of cases, an overlap between experiences of victimisation and offending behaviour was evident. Although the reviewed studies were predominantly conducted in the United States of America, a number of studies from the Netherlands, Colombia, South Korea and the United Kingdom were also included, all with corroborating results. However, despite the high number of correlations between victims and offenders, there were a number of differentiating sub-findings worth mentioning. Homicide victims were found to be most likely to have a history of offending behaviour, with one study indicating that only 5% of homicide offenders did not have a history of victimisation. A study out of the Netherlands found an additional linkage between types of offences and the nature of victimisation, stating that perpetrators of violent offences and vandalism were more likely to have been victims of similar offences, with property crimes showing a far smaller correlation (Jennings et al., 2012:22).

These findings are not by any means unique to the study presented above. Numerous other victimological texts and research papers have identified – and continue to do so – linkages between victims and offenders through their shared experiences, geographical similarities, associations and lifestyle choices. Research has shown that offenders are at greater risk than

non-offenders to be victimised, and marginal groups are often found to have the highest rates of offending as well as victimisation within their communities (Dissel, 2013:275; Ezell & Tanner-Smith, 2009:147; Fattah, 2010:53; Peacock, 2013:7). Referred to as the victim-offender sequence in the victimological literature, the understanding that a number of offenders, in a variety of offending categories, have been victimised at some point in their lives as well as the high level of marginalisation experienced by offenders upon release from corrections makes it necessary to explore this variable when studying repeat offending behaviour (Chang, Chen & Brownson, 2003:279; Schneider, 2001:542).

Thus, to reiterate the previously mentioned sentiment, the exploration of victimisation experiences and identification of factors that increase the potential for further victimisation upon release of repeat offenders is imperative to the multidimensional understanding of the phenomenon, as well as to contribute to the growing body of knowledge around victim-offender sequences. The exact nature of these variables is identified through a further exploration of the theoretical and empirical literature in the second and third chapters respectively, as well as the first (qualitative) phase of data collection outlined in the fourth chapter.

1.2.4 Criminal Behaviour

The term criminal behaviour is one that if unpacked to its core reveals a definition that is multidimensional, in-depth and complex. The definition of the word “criminal” has numerous sociological implications and this behaviour can be seen from as many different perspectives. From a psychosocial perspective, criminal behaviour can refer to actions that have not been formally judged by any organs of the criminal justice system as illegal. This definition would then refer to anti-social or deviant behaviour that is present, although undetected, by law enforcement. However, because of its increased potential to eventually develop into behaviour that is considered criminal in a legal sense, it can be considered a defining aspect when conceptualising criminal behaviour (Bartol & Bartol, 2008:35).

A legalistic approach would require the detection of such behaviour by law enforcement agencies and the participation of the offending individual in court proceedings, leading to the imposition of a sentence by criminal justice officials (Morrison, 2005:7). This perspective is challenged by the field of critical criminology, including the abolitionist approach of Louk

Hulsman (1986), which questions the traditional legalistic approach to defining and attending to crime and criminality. Hulsman (1986:71) views the common legal definition of crime as something that is imposed onto individuals instead of agreed upon, owing to it being the product of criminal policy as opposed to the object. Crime, from this perspective, should be seen as a “problematic situation” that in some way negatively deviates “from the order in which we see and feel our lives rooted” (Hulsman, 1986:72). In light of this perspective, one would be naïve to exclude the socially constructed nature of behaviour classified as criminal as a characteristic feature of its definition.

Though there are a number of different definitions of crime and therefore descriptions of the accompanying behaviour, the importance of these views in a study of this nature becomes most apparent during the interpretation of findings. A broader understanding of the concept of crime – both in its context as well as in a more general sense – is one of the fundamental elements of criminology as a discipline (Morrison, 2005:11). The purpose of the conceptualisation of criminal behaviour in the current study is to identify and define a characteristic of the target population, providing the reader with an understanding of the parameters in which the current study includes or excludes certain individuals. In so doing, one should also acknowledge and be sensitive to the contextual and practical implications of including certain variables, in order to be as relevant as possible in the deductions of one’s findings.

Furthermore, because of the high level of interrelation between criminal behaviour and the phenomenon under study (i.e. recidivism), it is believed that a level of consistency should exist on a conceptual basis. Therefore, a more socio-legalistic definition is utilised, and criminal behaviour for that reason and for the sake of measurability refers to physical actions that have been judged in a court of law to be in contravention of the criminal code of the specific country in which such behaviour took place. The perspectives mentioned earlier, in addition to others, allow for a deeper level of understanding regarding the findings of the study, and assist in interpreting the results in light of relevant psychological, criminological, social and philosophical perspectives.

1.2.5 Intervention Programmes

Much like the names given to the buildings or structures in which offenders are housed for the duration of their custodial sentences, the way in which the programmes provided are referred to tend to reflect the philosophical underpinnings and intentions or mandates of these institutions. The term “treatment programme” was frequently used, particularly in the United States of America during the 1900s, as a result of the increasing perception of offenders as clients who required psychological assistance (M, 2001:6). Because of this perception, programmes became more therapeutic in nature and followed a more medical model of intervention, leading to the development of what was to be known as the “rehabilitation ideal” during this time. The term “rehabilitation” became a popular means of describing these programmes, literally referring to the restoration of something to its proper condition (Heseltine, Day & Sarre, 2011:2). However, as with any state-driven initiative, certain terms became synonymous with certain paradigms or approaches (and even political parties) and, as a result of the perceived inability of the “rehabilitative ideal” to effect any substantive change in crime and reoffending rates in the United States of America in the 1970s, rehabilitation became somewhat of a “dirty word” in reference to correctional programmes (Phelps, 2011:35). A more encompassing discussion of the historical development of correctional practices in relation to the recidivism is discussed later in the chapter.

However, although the effectiveness of numerous rehabilitation or intervention programmes continues to be questioned, programmes run under sound conditions, addressing dynamic risk factors and taking a cognitive therapy approach have been found to have a positive effect on successful reintegration and decrease the possibility of continued offending (Clear, 2010:7; Dissel, 2008:157; Sarkin, 2008:28). The South African White Paper on Corrections drafted in 1998 and adopted in 2005 also acknowledges the need for a multidisciplinary approach to correctional programmes. With the increase in empirical evidence for the factors associated with general offending behaviour and the growing body of knowledge in the Social Sciences on motivators of recidivism (and without getting lost in the murky waters of political semantics), correctional intervention measures in South Africa are defined as corrective or rehabilitative. These approaches are geared towards providing offenders with the correct skills and resources (cognitive, emotional, social and psychological) with the aim of reintegrating them back into society, where they could become contributing members and refrain from re-entering into a criminal lifestyle (DCS, 2005:14; Muntingh, 2005:38).

Therefore, for the purpose of this study, intervention programmes refer to structured programmes offered by the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) or its approved affiliates aimed at providing appropriate skills for the purpose of rehabilitation, reintegration and prevention of future re-offences.

1.3 Historical Perspective

Though the purpose of this study is not to provide an in-depth analysis of the history of the understanding of recidivism or even general offending behaviour, it is important to understand the process in which knowledge about crime and punishment influences and often shapes our understanding of and reaction to those central to its existence (i.e. offenders and societal deviants). Indeed, often it is this knowledge that shapes the criminal justice system as well as the perceptions society has of these individuals. Evidence of effect can be seen throughout human history, where the perception of offenders has changed from “demon possessed” individuals and “charlatans” to products of genetic defect, or diseased individuals in need of treatment (Barkan, 2012:114). It is only through the growth in scientific exploration and understanding of human behaviour that social scientists have come to realise that there is very often more to understanding deviance than simple uncontrollable or unchangeable defects. Rather, all individuals are products of a complex combination of genetics and environment, which can either increase or decrease the potential for deviance. It is this combination that needs to be understood if we are to provide viable options of behavioural change to curb and potentially prevent future deviant behaviour. This section therefore provides a brief historical context of the development of the understanding of repeat offending behaviour. As the term recidivism was only used in the English literature in the late nineteenth century (Peirson, 2015:1-2; *The Times*, 1884:5), the development and emergence of the concept is traced throughout history in relation to the evolution of the reaction to crime and the formation of the formal criminal justice system.

1.3.1 Recidivism in History

Recidivism as we understand it and as it has been conceptualised in the preceding section is a relatively recent notion when compared to the long history of formal and informal inquiry into crime and criminal justice. One of the earliest literary accounts of the term recidivist can

be found in the work by L. F. Sutherland in his book *Recidivism*, published in 1908, nearly a century and a half after Cesare Beccaria's pioneering work *Dei Delitti e Delle Pene* (*On Crimes and Punishments*), which would play a vital part in the development of the Classical School of Criminology (Barkan, 2012:116; Bolt, 1960:223). However, the concept of the recidivist, or repeat offender in its most basic form, is one that had existed for hundreds of years prior to these works, but the individual was simply seen and treated as a habitual deviant. It is at this point that the linkage between societies' understanding of appropriate forms of punishment and definitions of offenders or deviants should briefly be explored, as it is a relationship that still exists.

1.3.2 The Evolution of Punishment

Taking the definition of recidivism as an individual's involvement in criminal activity (regardless of the type of offense) after having been convicted of a previous offense (see 1.2.1) into account, it stands to reason that as soon as the human race had official sanctions against deviant or criminal behaviour, it would then also have created the potential for the official recognition of recidivists. This perspective is in line with the socio-legal definition of criminal behaviour outlined in section 1.2.4, as it recognises the role of the criminal justice system in assisting to determine which individuals are considered recidivists and which are not. This official (and sometimes public) recognition of individuals as offenders is explored in the study, and discussed in more detail in the second and third chapters. It is therefore necessary that a brief history of punishment be presented in order to describe the evolution of societies' reaction to crime and the development of formal criminal justice systems around the world.

1.3.2.1 Ancient Times

Potentially the earliest organised civilization to develop a formal legal code was the ancient Mesopotamian culture of Ur in 2050 BC. Founded by Ur-Nammu, this legal code was based predominantly on a model of financial compensation, whereby silver Mina would have to be paid for wrong doings. The death penalty was also present but particularly reserved for cases of murder (Lyons, 2003:1). Three hundred years later in Babylon, the Kingdom of Hammurabi developed the first public buildings including the first tax and postal services. The overarching legal code of Hammurabi was known as Talio and involved the amputation

or mutilation of the limbs or body parts believed to have been involved in the criminal offence. In this legal system, as with that of Ur-Nammu, there were distinctions made between the laws governing the upper and lower classes of society. However, under Hammurabi, the death penalty was more readily used as a form of punishment for everything from theft and possession of stolen items, to even the sale of drink. The legal Code of Hammurabi would go on to form the basis of the Biblical Code of the Hebrews as well as the Islamic Sharia Law (Lyons, 2003:1).

The underlying principle of these formal legal systems can be referred to as what would much later be known as absolute deterrence. The concept of absolute deterrence refers to the differing effects of the presence or absence of legal punishment on offending behaviour. Advocates for the formalised criminal justice system are of the opinion that without a formal criminal justice system, the incidence of crime would be much higher than if there were no formal system (Barkan, 2012:123). This perspective is, however, challenged by critical criminologists, who view crime as inevitable and therefore advocate for a system that assists individuals in dealing with these problematic situations in ways that allow them to develop and grow from the experience without being ostracised. The classist segregation of punishments (still evident in the 21st century) also provides additional evidence to support the social constructivist stance of critical criminologists and their argument in favour of the abolition of the formal criminal justice system (Hulsman, 1986:73).

As with most other explanations of human behaviour in the Ancient Times and well into the Middle Ages, deviant behaviour was explained as a result of divine influence, either through the work of God or demonic forces, with the accompanying punishments being torture, death and compensation in the earlier years, or incarceration later on. Early forms of punishment largely followed the retributive *lex talionis*, or “an eye for an eye” principle, which continued to be the norm throughout the Middle Ages (Barkan, 2012:114; Jones & Johnstone, 2012:43). With criminal justice systems of the time favouring such permanent forms of deterrence for an array of offences from economic to violent, it would stand to reason that the presence of repeat offenders was in many cases quite rare.

1.3.2.2 Middle Ages

During this time in many parts of the world, the gaps seen earlier between the religious and governmental bodies began to narrow, and many of the penal codes and forms of punishment were justified as being appropriate under religious law. However, the implementation of certain punishment was still regulated at a more local level, with clan leaders deciding the fate of perpetrators of intra-familial offences. Early clans and family groups were usually careful in avoiding an escalation of violence of the retributive action, as behaviour resulting in death or injury more severe than the initial offence could start an extended violent discourse between the family groups, known as a “blood feud”, resulting in unnecessary and disproportionate losses on both sides. This form of retribution would later include the Anglo-Saxon tradition of *wergild*, a form of financial compensation for the harm caused by the perpetrator (Barkan, 2012:114; Jones & Johnstone, 2012:43).

As the major civilizations conquered more land, new forms of society and formal social control were introduced throughout the world. An acknowledgment of the extent of the damage and often lack of final resolution of the private feuds grew, and with it the role of those in power to preside over matters of dispute. Between the first and eighth centuries, a number of civilisations from the Romans to the powers of the East (China, Arabia and India) developed their own formal criminal codes and documented legal systems that, although having developed separately, had a number of similarities, most importantly the role of those in power as the keepers and distributors of the laws and punishments (Lyons, 2003:2-4).

Moreover, with regards to the current study, mention must also be made of the treatment of repeated or habitual offenders during this time. As one would deduce, with the popularity and wide spread use of executions and mutilations, once an offender or deviant had been caught (particularly for a serious crime) and the death penalty applied either by the community leaders or through those wronged by the action, it would be impossible for that individual to continue offending. Hence recidivism as defined in this study would be a far less common phenomenon during this period than in the 21st century. Examples of discriminate treatment practiced on repeat offenders included imprisonment, which was reserved for individuals who had offended more than twice under Jewish Law in the early Middle Ages, and gruesome flagellation carried out on repeat offenders – particularly for those who it was deemed that gentler punishment would have no effect – under the Indian Laws of Manu up until the

second century (Lyons, 2003:1-3). However, as the world entered into the scientific age and empirical investigation and understanding started to evolve, so too did the understanding of offending behaviour and how to change it, with the latter taking a substantially longer time to change than the former.

1.3.2.3 Age of Enlightenment

In the Age of Enlightenment, it was the turn of the philosophers to make sense of the world and all those in it. With the presence of key documents in the Western world such as the Magna Carta – which influenced people to view themselves as having rights, and by these rights, measure some form of value and access to justice – as well as the establishment of formal legal systems and codes, the philosophers were able to expand narrow perceptions of the motivating factors of human thought and behaviour (Barkan, 2012:115; Roth, 2011:35). Over the next 400 years, from the 1600s to the 21st century, substantial progress was made in the fields of philosophy, psychology and criminology in terms of understanding the influence of biological, psychological and sociological factors on human perception and behaviour.

However, as mentioned previously, despite such developments in understanding, the criminal justice system was and continues to be traditionally slow to respond to this thought progression in terms of the available forms of punishment. Though sentencing procedures were seen to be evolving in terms of access to justice and “objective” measures of determining guilt or innocence (excluding the presence of social class biases), forms of punishment were still very brutal and did not serve to change the offenders, but rather rid society of them, either permanently through torture and the death penalty, or temporarily through incarceration. Forms of punishment including amputations, public shaming and corporal punishment were commonplace throughout the 18th century, and a number of these practices have continued to be practiced in whole and in part up until today in various parts of the world, although sometimes to a lesser degree (Lyons, 2003:5). One could thus argue that the increase in empirical understanding of people, the awareness and acceptance of human rights and the inherent value of human lives brought about by the Magna Carta, and the influence of new philosophical understandings marked the end of the centuries-old forms of harsh capital punishment. Evidence for such an argument lies in the rapid shift over the next century in thinking about penology, criminal justice and the implementation of related practices. Yet as it was not until the turn of the 20th century that empirical studies into

recidivism emerged, it is difficult to conclusively determine the nature of the phenomenon before this time.

1.3.2.4 Twentieth Century

The birth of criminology and related fields of study had a major impact on the understanding of offending behaviour, and it was through this that the scientific community was able to provide support for arguments upholding basic human rights and treating those going through the criminal justice system with respect and dignity. One could argue that it was this newfound perspective of inherent human value that influenced societies to place pressure on those in power to search for alternative forms of punishment – those more fitting to the preservation of this ideal. The utilitarian approach of the Classical School influenced by the work of Beccaria and Bentham in the late 1700s and early 1800s paved the way for more progressive perspectives, which began to acknowledge the role of biology, psychology and sociology in shaping and maintaining deviant behaviour (Williams & McShane, 2010:15).

The Positivist School departed from the Classical School by substituting the philosophical exploration of justice systems and governments with a more scientific and empirical approach to understanding human behaviour. Inspired by the works of scientists like Charles Darwin, the Positivist School was of the perspective that human behaviour was not due to rational, free thinking as was previously thought, but rather the product of each individual's own biology and strongly influenced by external factors (Brown, Esbensen & Geis, 1998:223). The emphasis of this school of thought shifted from the offence to the offender, and purported that deviant individuals were simply the products of their faulty biology. It is on these grounds that Lombroso's Atavistic perspective was developed. For Lombroso, criminals were born or considered the products of biological faults developed later in life. It was then that one of Lombroso's students, Enrico Ferri, who, whilst being an avid supporter of this perspective, also alluded to the role of social influences on criminal behaviour (Barkan, 2012:136).

The effect of society and environmental factors would be the cornerstone on which the Chicago School of Thought built its foundations. Identified as a more sociological perspective, the Chicago School's explanation of deviant behaviour centred on environmental – and not purely biological – factors. These factors or interactions include cultural influences

and the presence of conflict variables or environmental factors that challenge individuals' group norms and values, thereby making them more or less likely to behave in a manner deemed to be deviant (Williams & McShane, 2010:46).

These varied understandings allowed societies at the time to understand that deviant behaviour was no longer a result of "demon possession" or psychological illness, but could be shaped through interactions with deviant individuals and groups, or even occur as a direct result of how certain societal institutions are structured. These new understandings helped inform the shift to rehabilitative sentencing options, which were adopted in the United States from around the beginning of the 20th century. Emphasis was placed on the individualisation of prison sentences, and lengthier sentences were used as a means to provide adequate time for rehabilitation away from the negative effects of the often crime-ridden environments from which these individuals came. Offenders were also viewed as patients that required psychological assistance (Mackenzie, 2001:6).

It was at this point that recidivism as a concept began to develop (as mentioned earlier in this section), as the effectiveness of these interventions became important to measure. It is, however, also at this point that the way in which recidivism was viewed in the criminal justice system can be said to have changed. No longer an individual classification of an offender with unique circumstances, recidivism was the outcome of failed attempts to rehabilitate offenders. Recidivism very quickly became a measuring stick for programme effectiveness, a variable defined by the purpose of the study and associated methodology.

Towards the end of the 20th century, with a growing distrust in the American government and its departments, the "rehabilitative ideal" began to come into question, with a number of interest groups calling for a return to the "law and order" approach. This movement was fuelled by an assessment study by Robert Martinson, which concluded that in terms of rehabilitation, "nothing works" in changing offending behaviour (Mackenzie, 2001:8). This phrase became the mantra of those proposing a "war on crime" approach to be implemented, despite critics of Martinson's report highlighting his methodological limitations and the omission of certain factors negatively influencing effective rehabilitation, such as poor prison conditions, poor programme implementation and a lack of funding, to name a few.

In South Africa, the end of the 20th century was defined by substantial change in the country's political outlook, and with it, a change in the approach to corrections. The year 1990 marked the official end of the practices of Apartheid and the start of negotiations that culminated in the first free and fair elections in 1994. For four decades earlier, the Apartheid government ruled through nationwide practices of inequality and prejudice on a social and institutional level. Naturally, the prison system was no different, reflecting the political ideals of the time. Indeed, prior to 1990, the South African prison system was characterised by high levels of overcrowding, strict racial segregation and a definite presence of militaristic ideals. Rehabilitation was practically non-existent, and the detention of political prisoners common practice (DCS, nd; Oppler, 1998:1). An analysis of the available South African literature of this time period reveals a particular dearth of research focusing on recidivism. This discovery, in conjunction with reports of the poor state of prisons and inhumane conditions in which offenders were housed, could be used as evidence of the underlying punitive philosophy and the lack of regard for the rehabilitation of inmates on an institutional level. Schoeman (2002:10) makes mention of two early studies of recidivism rates, one by Venter from 1950 and the other by Prinsloo in 1995. The trend in Prinsloo's study (1995), as well as one conducted by Verwey and Louw (1989), is to use recidivism as a descriptive factor, with both studies placing more attention on the types of crimes participants were committing as opposed to why they were reoffending.

Further perusal of the available literature revealed an article by Van Zyl Smit (1989) that sheds some light on the nature of some of the research conducted during this time, highlighting the extent of the effect of political ideologies on criminological research. In reference to Venter's research on recidivism, Van Zyl Smit (1989:244) mentions that the sample population from which Venter drew his conclusions consisted of only white males. A study using such a sample in a country in which the white population only comprises approximately 10% of the population cannot be considered to be representative. To demonstrate the lack of acknowledgment for the needs and context of black offenders in this research, Van Zyl Smit (1989:244) includes a quote from Venter's work, where he responds to American criminologists who attempted to speak about black and white offenders in South Africa as a singular concept by saying that the two groups are incomparable based on their differing levels of "civilization" and "development" as well as mentioning "personal, social, economic, cultural and other circumstances". Though the latter factors may have the potential to hold more academic validity, the insinuation that black South Africans were less civilised

or developed can be seen as evidence of the racist ideologies of the ruling government permeating beyond society into academia as well.

Even more concerning is that Van Zyl Smit (1989:243) writes that Venter and others who shared his ideals became prominent figures in the development of criminology courses at major universities in South Africa with training ties to the then “Prisons Department”, where they were allowed to train the prison officials. This observation provides further evidence of the pervasive nature of the Apartheid system as well as the important role research and empirical understandings of phenomena play in shaping the public and governmental perceptions, as well as the corresponding reactions to these phenomena.

However, after the elections in 1994, a new democratic government came onto power. The new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (No. 108 of 1996) was drafted to institutionalise the democratic values and freedoms outlined in the preamble, in order to:

Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;

Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law;

Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and

Build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations.

These rights were to be afforded to all South African citizens, including those who were incarcerated. In order for this change to be realised in corrections, legislative change had to be made, and it was for this reason that the White Paper on Corrections was drafted in 1994. This document, in conjunction with the Correctional Services Act (No. 111 of 1998), was to change the entire ethos of the prison system by shifting the focus from punitive outcomes to those of rehabilitation and restoration (Dissel, 2008:162; Muntingh, 2012:13). It was a shift that would need to recognise the inmates as individuals with unique historical and circumstantial factors that have led to their current situation, rather than as simply criminals. Prisons were also referred to as correctional centres, emphasising again the aims of these facilities, i.e. to address the deviant tendencies of these individuals and provide adequate

rehabilitative treatment options. These treatment options were furthermore geared towards providing offenders with the correct skills and resources with the aim of reintegrating them back into society, where they could become contributing members and refrain from re-entering into a criminal lifestyle (DCS, 2005:17; Muntingh, 2005). Though the White Paper was not officially adopted until 2005, the need for research in post-Apartheid South Africa into the effectiveness of existing correctional intervention programmes became evident.

1.3.2.5 Twenty-First Century

With the amount of negativity related to its legitimacy as an effective and necessary part of dealing with offenders in the United States, one would have thought that rehabilitation in corrections would have lost a great deal of traction as a viable sentencing option. Fortunately, a lot was also learned from corrections in the United States in the late 20th century, particularly about the factors affecting rehabilitation and the associated levels of effectiveness. Such findings include (but are not limited to) the negative role of poor prison conditions, the quality of programme providers, the importance of empirically based intervention programmes, and the potential for alternatives to imprisonment (Dissel, 2008:157; Olver et al., 2011:7; Schoeman, 2002:11). The rehabilitative approach to corrections seems to have become standard practice in a number of countries around the world, with research on its effectiveness and associated variables coming from almost every continent.

However, this shift in ideology and essentially core function has not been as easy on a practical level. Changing legislation from encouraging a punitive response to offending behaviour to a rehabilitative response is an important and necessary first step, but requires substantially more time to change the mind sets of the people tasked with implementing it. As this section has shown, the punitive response to crime has been common practice in formal criminal justice systems for centuries. It is thus understandable that this way of thinking has embedded itself in the institutional culture of corrections. Indeed, not only has it affected the managerial culture, but the inmate culture as well. It is for this reason that the ideological transition that is currently underway has and will continue to encounter a number of challenges in the process of finding the correct balance between protecting public safety (or the perception thereof) and offender rehabilitation (Gatoho, Omulema & Nassiuma, 2011:263).

Studies by Moon and Maxwell (2004) as well as Zhang, Liang, Zhou and Brame (2009) conducted in South Korean and Chinese correctional centres respectively make mention of the challenges associated with the changing roles of prison officials as a result of this shift in ideology. Officials, who had traditionally played a custodial role, are now expected to be more service-oriented in order to manage or facilitate certain rehabilitative programmes. This expectation creates a level of uncertainty in terms of the roles the officials are required to perform in certain circumstances, which then also affects their ability to effectively fulfil the requirements of their new functions. In terms of the inmate culture, the previous (and in many cases present) general disregard for human rights and lack of treatment conducive to healthy human development have created in many instances a culture of violence and pro-criminal attitudes – both of which are factors that have been highly correlated with repeated offending behaviour (Dissel, 2008:157; Olver et al, 2011:7). This sentiment is emphasised by perceptions of prisons as “universities of crime”, or as training grounds for hardened criminals (Gatocho et al., 2011:264). These perceptions have essentially created a situation in which there is a vast disconnect between the approach required by new legislation and the availability of appropriate resources and structures at an implementation level.

This discrepancy between legislation and implementation is unfortunately no different in South Africa. Despite the public declaration in 1994 of the changes that were to come in terms of corrections in South Africa, there have been a number of challenges facing the transition process. As Hoffman (2005) insightfully states, citing the increased crime rate of 25% between 1994 and 2002 and her experience of the rate of recidivism, during this period rehabilitative attempts had not been effective, or in her words were “failing”. The insight comes from her experience as a psychologist in the DCS, and she states that the reason for the failure of rehabilitation attempts is the conflicting nature of policy documents. Hoffman (2005) argues that the unnecessary power imbalances, which stem from the old authoritarian and separatist approach, are still in many ways present in the same documents that now attempt to promote human rights and democracy. This “old” approach has not only influenced the services available to inmates but also the whole culture of the prison.

One may argue that Hoffman’s criticism of the “new” correctional system may have been slightly premature, coming just 10 years after democratisation during which numerous policy changes were still underway and the country was finding its way through the transition. Assumedly, noticing the rising crime rate and high recidivism rate, the DCS, between the

years 2000 and 2003, placed particular emphasis on the strategic realignment of the Department to achieve the new policy direction for the successful delivery of rehabilitative services and the prevention of repeat offending. It was concluded that among other aspects related to legislative amendment, managerial and operational changes, it was also imperative to emphasise rehabilitation as the core focus of the department. Related factors included awareness of rehabilitative services, individualised needs-based interventions, partnerships with civil service organisations and the promotion of restorative justice practices (DCS, nd; Shabangu, 2006:35).

However, if one is to consider the literature published in recent years commenting on the state of corrections in South Africa, it seems that not a great deal has changed since Hoffman's deductions in 2005. Research shows that despite the shift to a more informed rehabilitative approach, there are still no official recidivism statistics, overcrowding is still a major issue and very little is known about the South African recidivist (Law & Padayachee, 2012:4; Schoeman, 2002:14; Shabangu, 2006:14). The South African Police Service crime statistics, however, tell an interesting story. If one is to look at the statistics from 2005 to 2015, the following can be seen: "contact crimes" and "contact related crimes" are down 17.79% and 15.59% respectively; however, the categories related to economic offences, namely "property related crimes" and "other serious crimes", are only down 2.27% and 7.64% respectively. The most prevalent statistic is the 87.48% increase in offences classified as "subcategories of aggravated robbery", which include robbery at residential and non-residential premises, carjacking and truck hijacking as well as cash in transit and bank robbery (SAPS, 2015). These statistics indicate that financial gain could be considered one of the most prominent motivating factors for offending behaviour in South Africa. This sentiment is further discussed in the third chapter.

Though official crime statistics should always be viewed critically for a number of reasons involving dark figures, crime classifications and political agendas, to name a few, they can be used as a guide for obtaining a general insight into the patterns of crime prevalence in a country (Dixon, 2004:xxi). The general state of recidivism literature also tends to still be very focused on the implementation of rehabilitative interventions and their level of effectiveness, with very few studies actually exploring the understanding of recidivism as a whole (Schoeman, 2002:14). Conferences have been hosted by the DCS as well as non-governmental groups on the topic, with much discussion on the same arguments about

definition and lack of infrastructure and capacity to track recidivism. Despite insightful conclusions being drawn about the current status quo, any implementation and extending discussions for alternatives to imprisonment are still lacking.

The need for alternatives has also become glaringly obvious owing to the lack of implementation of the rehabilitative policies, thus South Africa, along with many other countries, has begun to explore implementing community corrections, diversion programmes as well as restorative justice decisions as part of its sentencing options. The reason most often given by government for this lack of implementation is a deficiency of resources and capacity and therefore the onus has largely fallen on the non-governmental (NGO) and civil service (CSO) sectors to carry out the correctional mandate (Shabangu, 2006:34). Research thus far has shown favourable results for intervention programmes targeting specific criminogenic needs, being implemented in environments conducive to behavioural change and those based on cognitive-behavioural principles (Lipsey, Landenberger & Wilson, 2007:22; Olver et al., 2011:7; Schoeman, 2002:11; Ward & Stewart, 2003:127).

This presentation of the emergence and development of the concept of recidivism throughout history in relation to the evolution of the reaction to crime and the formation of the formal criminal justice system provides one with a thorough understanding of the origin of some of the issues facing recidivism research today. The importance of theoretically sound intervention measures that take into account the specific contextual factors on a micro and macro level cannot be ignored when addressing such a complex phenomenon. These findings provide further support for a sentiment expressed in an earlier study, which asserts that with the current high rate of crime in South Africa, a thorough theoretical understanding of recidivism as a phenomenon based on extensive empirical research is essential for the development of effective correctional interventions (Cronje, 2012:9).

1.4 Problem Formulation

After gaining an operational and historical understanding of the key conceptual elements, it becomes important to expand on this contextual foundation of the current state of the body of knowledge associated with recidivism. The following section outlines specific challenges

related to the field of recidivism research, thus developing a rationale grounded in the available research and demonstrating why further research of this nature is necessary.

1.4.1 The State of Criminological Theory on Recidivism

Within the historical overview, mention was made of the high recidivism rate in South Africa. This assumption is derived from a number of studies citing that South Africa has an estimated recidivism rate of between 85 and 94% (Ballington, 1998:57; Cilliers & Smith, 2007; Hoffman, 2005; Masiloane & Marais, 2009:400; Muntingh, 2001:6; Ngabonziza & Singh, 2012:87). These statistics are not, however, grounded in empirical research, and have not been scientifically validated since their entry into South African media through the newspaper *The Star* on the 24th of May 1996 (Schoeman, 2002:36). However, as mentioned above, research conducted on the rates of recidivism (by white offenders) in 1950 by Venter claims that at the time, an estimated 36.8% of offenders were recidivists. A study conducted by Prinsloo in 1995 based on data from South Africa's Criminal Records Centre found that 55.3% of offenders continued to commit crime after release (Schoeman, 2002:10). More recently, Law and Padayachee (2012:1) mention a 47% estimation of recidivism; however, no indication of the source of this number is provided. Despite the inconsistent and often scientifically questionable findings, South Africa does have a high crime rate and overcrowding, human rights violations, inadequate services and scarce resources have been found to be associated with recidivism.

There is a plethora of research and theoretical understanding around why individuals become involved in crime, and it would stand to reason that many of those characteristics associated with these individuals would be shared by repeat offenders. However, if one is to adhere to the assumption provided in section 1.2.1 regarding the conceptualisation of recidivism (i.e. that recidivists must in some way be inherently different to general offenders for them to be classified into different categories), it becomes important to focus on these individuals' state and quality of being after release to explore the criminally persistent nature of repeat offenders and their resistance to interventions. Few empirically sound evaluations have been conducted on rehabilitation programmes in South Africa, and consequently there is a dearth of knowledge and valuable insights into what factors, if targeted by interventions, have an effect on decreasing reoffending behaviour in this context (Dissel, 2012:4; Gould, 2010:15).

This issue is further exacerbated by the fact that there is no specific theory of repeat offending behaviour, which one could deduce is largely a result of a lack of unified research efforts in the field, both in South Africa and internationally. The variety of definitions, research methodologies and purposes of the available studies make it difficult to establish a general theoretical orientation from which further studies can orientate themselves and work (Cronje, 2012:56). A scholarly search of the available research on recidivism in the past 10 years shows that the focus areas of this research predominantly include the effect of interventions on recidivism rates (Chen & Shapiro, 2007; McNiel & Binder, 2007), the effect of legislative instruments on recidivism rates (Hoffman, 2005; James, 2015; Muntingh, 2012) and risk assessments of individuals with various psychological disorders or offence types (Cronje, 2012; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2009; Mann, Hanson & Thornton, 2010).

Mention should also be made of two earlier meta-analytical studies on recidivism by Gendreau et al. (1996) and Redondo, Sanchez-Meca and Garrido (1999) focusing respectively on the predictors of adult recidivism and the influence of treatment programmes on recidivism in Europe. On one hand, the study by Gendreau et al. (1996) thoroughly analyses and critiques the available research at the time and comments on the various problems facing recidivism research, many of which are still present today and were mentioned earlier on in this section. Redondo et al. (1999), on the other hand, provide compelling support for the effectiveness of cognitive-behavioural therapy, an approach to offender intervention that forms the basis of the theoretical underpinning of the current study and is discussed in detail in the chapter to follow. The ability of the cognitive-behavioural approach to provide a more complete understanding of human behaviour can in part be attributed to its integrated theoretical nature. Theoretical integration allows for the inclusion of an approach that acknowledges the complexity of human behaviour and is equipped to explore this phenomenon in its complexity without having to compromise on the basis of theoretical limitations.

Proponents of the integrated theoretical approach suggest that as long as there is a level of compatibility, it is not necessary for different theories to be viewed as competing perspectives, but rather should be seen as different perspectives contributing to a multidimensional understanding of a given phenomenon. The task therefore is to decide how the varying perspectives may be coherently organised to contribute to a deeper understanding (Short, 1998; Williams, 1984; Williams & McShane, 2010:217). The practice of theoretical

integration in criminology dates back to 1942, when Shaw and McKay combined social disorganisation theory with social learning perspectives in their studies on male delinquency in Chicago in the early half of the 1900s. However, it was not until the 1970s and advances in statistical techniques that the practice of theoretical integration began to command substantial interest in the social sciences (Brown, Esbensen & Geis, 2010:358).

According to Krohn and Eassey (2014:3), integrated theories tend to fall into one of two types, namely propositional or conceptual. As the name suggests, conceptual integration involves the integration of theories with similar concepts, i.e. concepts that may have different labels but are operationalised to have the same meaning or refer to the same factor. For example, the notion of differential reinforcement and its effect on behaviour found in social learning theory is conceptually similar to certainty and severity of formal sanctions mentioned in deterrence theory (Krohn & Eassey, 2014:4). Propositional integration, however, is slightly more complex and comprises different methods of integration. These methods refer to the manner in which the new perspectives are structured, and include end-to-end (sequential) integration, up-and-down (deductive) integration and side-by-side (parallel or horizontal) integration (Hirschi, 1979:34-37; Liska, Krohn & Messner, 1989:5).

The end-to-end approach suggests beginning one's understanding with macro-level theories, followed by mid-level or bridging theories, and finally including micro-level perspectives. This approach can also be seen as a chronological ordering, whereby the dependent variable in one theory becomes the independent variable in another (Liska et al., 1989:5). In this tradition, a researcher may find that a general breakdown in societal norms and values (anomie) may lead to a disruption in group relationships based on the uneven distribution of resources (differential association), which in turn may have a negative effect on the level of appropriate socialisation of children (self-concept theories) and result in an increase in general crime and delinquency (Williams & McShane, 2010:217).

Up-and-down integration is a method seldom used in the Social Sciences because of its association with deductive techniques, and therefore its tendency to make potentially inaccurate generalisations through its assumed connections to factors found between theories. This approach either utilises a method of theoretical reduction or theoretical synthesis. The former refers to the practice of accommodating specific parts of one theory within the general structure of another, whereas the latter looks to synthesise the specific aspects of two theories

and then make more general deductions forming a new, third theory (Hirschi, 1979:36; Krohn & Eassey, 2014:3).

Side-by-side integration is defined by its use of categories of typologies. This method involves categorising the subject matter and applying theories that are most suited to explain the nature of those variables. For example, in an attempt to understand different forms of homicide, rational choice theory may be less applicable than general strain theory in explaining intimate partner murder or gang-related murders (Hirschi, 1979:35; Liska et al., 1989:5). The side-by-side approach could therefore be said to develop as a result of research findings. This integrative approach can be used inductively to explain various research findings upon obtaining the results of a study in a field of research not yet thoroughly explored (Williams & McShane, 2010:218). This approach allows the data gained from the research participants to dictate the direction of the study instead of using an overarching theory that may have limited applicability in a given context, thereby simultaneously increasing the validity and reliability of the results.

According to Hirschi (1979:37), all three of these approaches to theoretical integration were used to some degree in a study by Elliot, Ageton and Canter (1979) titled “An Integrated Perspective on Delinquent Behaviour”. Though theoretical integration in criminology had been present in practice for nearly 40 years before this publication, some would argue that it was this contribution that sparked the interest in and debate regarding the development of theories capable of providing more thorough explanations of phenomena under study. The details and findings of this study are discussed in the chapter to follow.

Liska et al. (1989:13) also provide an explanation of what they refer to as cross-level integration. This approach is said to be similar to the end-to-end approach, with a specific emphasis on combining micro- and macro-level theories. This approach in the Social Sciences supports the integration of cross-disciplinary perspectives, which in the context of the current study of recidivism seems imperative in order to understand the interrelationship between individual and social factors in maintaining offending behaviour. Examples of this approach include work by Agnew (1999), in his conceptualisation of macro general strain theory; Akers’ (1998) cross-level version of social learning theory; as well as Sampson and Laub’s (1993) expansion on social bonding theory (Muftić, 2009:55) – all of which are included in the discussion in the following chapter.

A number of prominent criminological perspectives are based on the integrated approach, including peacemaking criminology, life-course theories, numerous postmodern perspectives, cultural criminology and metatheories. These perspectives are sensitive to the complex nature of human existence and offer explanations that reflect the changing nature of circumstances, opportunities and contexts in which individuals find themselves on a daily basis. Proponents of these perspectives furthermore acknowledge the composite nature of different offences, the role of relationships and communication in society, and the accompanying motivations for adopting certain (deviant) behaviours. All these factors can be considered important when studying recidivism (Brown et al., 2010; Sampson & Laub, 1990; Williams & McShane, 2010).

In terms of understanding recidivism, research is predominantly interested in the prediction of continued criminal behaviour after the completion of a correctional sentence as well as the associated factors, circumstances and/or processes that maintain and facilitate this behaviour. Being able to predict reoffending behaviour serves a reactive function in the criminal justice system, as recidivism prediction requires the presence of at least one offence and is therefore most frequently used to inform treatment and intervention programmes as well as policies and procedures influencing incarceration and sentencing. One such intervention approach that has gained particular favour in the therapeutic environment and contributed to the understanding of various problematic behaviours owing to its cross-cultural and multi-environmental applicability is cognitive-behavioural therapy. It is for this reason that it forms the theoretical framework of the current study (Nurius & Macy, 2008:101; Palmer, Caulfield & Hollin, 2007:102).

The impression that one gets from perusing the recent areas of focus in recidivism research is that recidivism is often viewed as a measurement outcome instead of a problematic phenomenon in itself – a behavioural outcome defined by a complex interplay of static and dynamic risk factors. Results also indicate the relevance of cognitive-behavioural based therapies in dealing with repeated offending behaviour. Cognitive-behavioural theory is the theoretical framework that underpins cognitive-behavioural therapy. It is an integrated theory that takes into account and reflects the progressive perspectives of both behaviourism and cognitive psychology, notably that behaviour is not simply a response to outside stimuli, but rather the outcome of a much more complex system of abstract thoughts, emotions and

images of the world, developed through continuous interactive processes of meaning making and social construction (Nurius & Macy, 2008:102).

Cognitive-behavioural therapy is widely acknowledged as one of the more effective intervention strategies utilised when dealing with both criminally problematic behaviour as well as various forms of psychological dysfunction (Nurius & Macy, 2008:101; Palmer et al., 2007:102; Redondo et al., 1999). The underlying theory understands the interaction between thoughts, emotions and behaviours as non-linear and reciprocal in nature, stating that thoughts or cognitions about the self, the world, the future and the relationships between these factors influence emotional states and behaviours. In turn, an individual's emotions and behaviours influence thought patterns, which can be viewed as an on-going cognitive-affective-behavioural reciprocal feedback loop. This perspective is therefore viewed as both a process theory as well as a content theory that aims to understand the flow of information and the actual meaning attached by the individual to the various stimuli, and thereby determine its associated effect, whether it be cognitive, affective or behavioural. The process element of this theory allows for a wide range of applicability across human experiences, situations and contexts, and insight into the content allows for individual-level understanding (Nurius & Macy, 2008:102). Results from research of this nature can assist in counteracting ignorance and prejudice demonstrated both in society as well as by authorities that are vested with powers of custodial care (Gaum, Hoffman & Venter, 2006:421).

1.4.2 Criminal Justice Problem Formulation

In the South African context, many of the challenges mentioned are furthermore complicated by the difficulties associated with tracking and identifying repeat offenders. The reality that there is no singular biometric system currently being used by the DCS across the country as well as the fact that many offenders do not have adequate or official identity documents make it increasingly easier for offenders to enter the criminal justice system under alternate names in an attempt to benefit from certain leniencies in sentencing, bail and conditions of incarceration afforded to "first time offenders" (Magoro & Louw, 2010:8). Repeat offending legislation is in itself quite questionable and, from a re-integrative perspective, quite illogical. Though the legalistic definition of recidivism as outlined in section 1.2.1 is quite encompassing, the associated legislation is illogical (in relation to the sentiments put forward in the White Paper on Corrections), in the sense that it purports that repeat or habitual

offending behaviour be viewed as an aggravating factor during sentencing and therefore comes with a minimum mandatory sentence.

The Criminal Procedures Act (No.51 of 1977) states that any person classified as a habitual offender should serve a mandatory minimum sentence of 15 years imprisonment, with the possibility for parole only after seven years. This means that the state is of the view that the best way to manage recidivists is to sentence them to spend additional time in an institution that has on previous occasions proven to be ineffective in changing this individual into a law abiding and contributing citizen. Following this line of logic, one can deduce that an alternate form of sentencing should rather be imposed on repeat offenders, due to the inability of the current forms of sentencing to dissuade the individual from this behaviour and, in some cases, even increase their probability of recidivism. In addition, studies have also shown that the use of alternate forms of sentencing such as restorative justice, diversion and community corrections in which victims play a role in the rehabilitation process have a positive effect on recidivism rates (Anderson, 2003:8; Burgess & Regehr, 2010:55; Muntingh, 2008:6; Naude, Prinsloo & Ladikos, 2003:14; Van Ness, 2005:13).

As mentioned in section 1.3, the relationships between academic understandings, societal perceptions and political ideologies cannot be viewed as mutually exclusive or static in nature. The perception society has of crime and criminality is very often shaped by its understanding thereof, which is developed by empirical research and utilised by politics (either accurately or inaccurately) to further individual or group ideals. This understanding furthermore assists the criminal justice system in determining appropriate forms of punishment or sentencing for individuals deemed as deviant or who act in opposition to its statutes. However, the availability of knowledge, be it empirical or not, is not enough to change the status quo of a given criminal justice system, and therefore empirical evidence needs to inform social interest. The law should be seen to act in the best interest of society, and if society wants to see offenders leaving the criminal justice system as changed, law abiding, positively contributing citizens, it is the role of the social scientist to provide a means for this change to occur. Though there has been evidence of this evolution in understanding and practice in the past, there are a number of practices that despite contradictory evidence still remain today. The information presented above has demonstrated that increased prison sentences, poor prison conditions, punitive correctional practices and legislations as well as the lack of theoretically based interventions have not shown favourable

results in terms of offender reform yet are still present in a number of correctional practices throughout the world.

1.4.3 Victimological Problem

The high rate and often violent nature of crime also contributes to an overly negative perception of offenders and very punitive attitude within society, decreasing the general level of acceptance for ex-offenders back into their communities, and thus decreasing the number of possible opportunities to become contributing citizens and increasing their probability of reoffending (Cronje, 2012:67). The existence of the false, victim-offender dichotomy and the lack of acknowledgement of the severity of the effects of victim-offender sequences mentioned in section 1.2.3 contribute to society's negative perceptions of recidivists and further institutional victimisation. The continuous exiting and re-entering of the repeat offender into the correctional environment may influence the community's perception and those of potential employers of the individual's capacity to change, entrenching the negative stereotypes into the community members' minds. These continuous negative social reactions and deviant labels may lead to feelings of resentment towards community members responsible for the continued stigmatisation as well as feelings of hopelessness at ever becoming contributing citizens, but not a cessation in deviant behaviour. This continuous interplay between deviant behaviour and negative social reaction eventually results in the internalising of deviant stigmas and acceptance of the associated label as a core identity (Brown et al., 1998:348; Williams & McShane, 2010:115).

Criminal labelling, which is discussed at length in the second chapter, has been identified in a number of studies as a potential contributing factor for recidivism. Cid (2009) uses labelling theory in the explanation of his research comparing the recidivism rates of custodial and non-custodial offenders in a Spanish cohort. His results show that offenders who were given suspended sentences were in all cases less likely to reoffend, regardless of their risk levels. It should, however, be noted that despite lower levels of recidivism for non-custodial participants, there was still a general increase in recidivism rates as risk factors increased, thus indicating that "type of incarceration" could not be considered an overarching factor influencing recidivism, but is rather a contributing factor (Cid, 2009:473). Research conducted in the Netherlands found no difference in recidivism rates between non-custodial and short-term sentences. However, it was found that labelling theory was most applicable to

first-time offenders experiencing custodial sentences. That is to say, first time custodial experiences will have a more negative impact on the chances of recidivism than first time non-custodial sentences (Aarten, Denkers, Borgers & van der Laan, 2014:705). These findings do however seem to predominantly view labelling as an individual process in the sense that very little attention is given to the role of society in maintaining and confirming those individual beliefs.

Previous research by the author assessing the degree of self-esteem of repeat offenders also showed a link between these factors and the labelling theory. It was found that recidivists who had been incarcerated multiple times demonstrated a decreasing trend in their levels of self-esteem, indicating the effect that repeated exposure to different environments with different (and often opposing) norms and values has on the individual's level of personal regard (Cronje, 2012:110). These studies show the need for further understanding of repeat offenders as victims too in order to acknowledge and attend to the impact of victimisation experienced by offenders – not only in terms of reintegration, but also in terms of the effects it has on their self-concepts and thus capacity to affect personal change and hopefully desist from offending behaviour.

One of the most commonly cited factors present in numerous recidivism studies associated with repeat offending is early involvement in crime (Benda, 2001:713; Bender, 2010:468; Dissel, 2012:9; Gendreau, Little & Goggin, 1996:575; Law & Padayachee, 2012:2; Polaschek, 2012:3). When viewed in conjunction with additional research on childhood victimisation of offenders, a number of correlations begin to emerge, namely (as mentioned in section 1.2.3) victims and offenders are often found to share similar geographical spaces, social interests, lifestyle choices and routine activities, and can as a result be frequently defined as a homogenous group (Dissel, 2013:275; Ezell & Tanner-Smith, 2009:147; Fattah, 2010:53; Peacock, 2013:336). In understanding these socio-psychological similarities, it stands to reason that a number of studies have shown that a large portion of offenders tend to have experienced childhood victimisation, both in general and when compared to non-offending populations (Gantana, 2014:22; Jennings et al., 2012; Marshall & Fernandez, 2004:449; Schneider, 2001:542).

The lack of acknowledgement of offenders' or deviants' experiences of victimisation is not only counterproductive for effective rehabilitation but can become problematic for

individuals involved in crime. As indicated above, entrenchment in the criminal lifestyle and the presence of criminogenic variables have been found to increase the probability of victimisation due to high-risk lifestyles and deviant associations (Ezell & Tanner-Smith, 2009:147). Though this risk is more likely regarding offender-on-offender violence, it is also necessary to take into account the potential for community-on-offender violence in the form of mob justice in the country. This form of community-led justice is often particularly violent and can in some instances (such as those on suspicion of witchcraft) be carried out for non-criminal offences. As these acts are not legally sanctioned under either tradition or formal law, they can be viewed as a gross violation of the individual's human rights, which under the South African Constitution (No. 108 of 1996) include the right to dignity, life and a fair trial.

However, the presence of such brutal forms of justice are in themselves indicative of a more deep-seated issue, and academics in the field have cited community frustration with ineffective policing as a predominant motivator for this behaviour (Minnaar, 2010:191; Petrus, 2011:6). Community members, particularly those of lower socio-economic standing, feel abandoned by the criminal justice system and therefore feel the need to take matters into their own hands, thereby violating the rights of suspected criminal individuals and in turn progressing in their own victim-offender sequence from victims of poor service delivery and institutional victimisation to offenders (Masiloane, 2007:334; Super, 2014:8). To reiterate the point of Gaum et al. (2006:421), results from research of this nature can assist in counteracting ignorance and prejudice about repeat offenders both in society as well as in authorities that are vested with powers of custodial care.

1.4.4 Dearth of Research

If one is to consider the information presented above, one of the predominant themes present in a number of aspects of the field of recidivism is the lack of research into various aspects of the phenomenon as well as a dearth of theoretical integration (Dissel, 2012:4; Magoro & Louw, 2010:10; Padayachee, 2008:23). Though the international literature does seem to cover a wider range of topics related to recidivism than that which is available on the South African context, one area of importance that has been found wanting is theoretical development. The reason for this could be linked to the factors mentioned earlier in the introductory section (see section 1.1) as well as by Muftić (2009). To briefly recapitulate, these factors include the wide variety of definitions employed in the conceptualisation of recidivism, the

methodologies employed in its exploration and understanding, and the accurate tracking and detection of repeat offenders. Moreover, the lack of empirically based national statistics both of repeat offences as well as single offences add to the level of difficulty in making categorical statements about recidivism. As indicated in section 1.2.1, one of the assumptions of recidivism research is that single offenders exist. Though this may be a logical deduction, there are no statistics to support this assertion and therefore anecdotal and experiential evidence need to be relied on.

With that being said, it is suggested that a more unified approach to recidivism research is required in South Africa if there is to be any conclusive progress. A deeper understanding of recidivism and the associated approach required to curb it would contribute to the underlying philosophical approach and thereby inform the development of intervention praxis. Praxis intervention – the notion that social work practices need to be more critical and informed – requires a move away from the problem-solving orientation to a more participatory model between social worker and client (Madhu, 2005:16). This inclusive approach allows for the realisation of the praxis potential of both the social worker and the client through collective dialogue about the social, historical and ecological context in which the challenge exists. This intervention method “rests primacy of understanding, articulating and intervening the lifeworld of the clientele with the clients themselves” (Madhu, 2005:17).

1.4.5 Intervention Measures

Intervention programmes have become an integral part of the DCS’s mandate since the adoption of the White Paper on Corrections in 2005. As mentioned earlier (see 1.3.2.4), this document was to change the entire ethos of the prison system by shifting the focus from punitive outcomes to those of rehabilitation and restoration (Dissel, 2008:162; Peacock, 2006:1). It was a shift that saw the beginnings of the recognition of the inmates as individuals with unique historical and circumstantial factors that lead to their current situation, rather than being simply criminals. Prisons were also referred to as correctional centres, emphasising again the aims of these facilities to address the deviant tendencies of these individuals, provide adequate rehabilitative treatment options geared towards providing offenders with the correct skills and resources, and reintegrate them back into society where they could become contributing members and refrain from re-entering into a criminal lifestyle (DCS, 2005:17; Muntingh, 2005).

The provision of such services is a sizeable and important task that requires dedicated service providers capable of focusing on the specific needs of offenders in order to carry out the correctional mandate of the DCS. The DCS has therefore acknowledged the necessary involvement of accredited and capable civil society organisations (such as CSOs and NGOs) to carry out its rehabilitative and corrective mandate, which also includes diversion, community reintegration, supervision and follow-up procedures (DCS, 2005:18).

However, owing to the apparent high crime rate in South Africa, treatment programmes have been criticised in terms of their level of effectiveness – probably owing to a number of indicators such as the increasing levels of economically motivated contact crimes, the high level of overcrowding in correctional centres or the definition of success when evaluating the programmes (Clear, 2010:5; SAPS, 2015; Shabangu, 2006:137; Soothill, 2010:33). Yet despite this perceived lack of success, research has found that programmes run under sound conditions, that address dynamic risk factors and take a cognitive therapy approach have been found to have a positive effect on the prevalence of continued offending (Clear, 2010:7; Dissel, 2008:157; Lipsey et al., 2007:22; Olver et al., 2011:7; Sarkin, 2008:28; Schoeman, 2002:11; Ward & Stewart, 2003:127).

1.5 Research Aims

In considering the abovementioned problems, it should be evident that there is a need for research pertaining to a multidimensional understanding of repeat offending behaviour, especially in the South African context. In order to adequately address these problems and draw informed conclusions, the following, measurable aims have been developed:

- i. Identify and understand criminogenic and victimogenic variables associated with repeat offending behaviour.
- ii. Compare the dynamic risk factors between individuals who have committed different types of offences.
- iii. Explore the effect of programme participation on recidivism.

1.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, one can deduce that although there is a large body of knowledge contributing to understanding recidivism, there is very little synergy between the studies both internationally and in South Africa, making comparative deductions challenging. The current chapter provided a conceptualisation of key terms, opting for a broad definition of recidivism over the more specific approaches favoured in some studies in order to provide capacity for the study to achieve its overarching aim of a more multidimensional understanding of recidivism as a phenomenon (Bartol & Bartol, 2008:200; Gendreau et al., 1996:575; Maltz, 2001:1). The historical section then provided an overview of the emergence and evolution of the concept of recidivism, in conjunction with the development of the formal criminal justice system, thus demonstrating the interconnected nature between society, government and science in the perceptions of crime and associated reactions.

This information laid the foundation for the identification of the challenges facing recidivism researchers and the need for more multidimensional and collective efforts in the field. A number of these ideas are expanded on in the chapters to follow. The theoretical positioning of the current study is discussed in the next chapter (Chapter 2), followed by an exploration of the available empirical literature (Chapter 3). These chapters assist to contextualise the study, determine the methodology (Chapter 4) and, along with the first phase of qualitative data collection, identify factors associated with repeat offending that are relevant to the South African recidivist (Chapters 5 and 6).

Chapter 2

The Cognitive-Behavioural Framework: An Integrated Theoretical Perspective

As a result of the lack of agreement around various factors associated with recidivism research, it is somewhat unsurprising that a universally accepted theory of repeated offending behaviour has not yet been developed. Researchers in the field have therefore often relied on theories of general criminality to explain the myriad of outcomes associated with their findings (Ackerman & Sacks, 2012; Cid, 2009; Lynch, 2006; Payne, 2007; Schoeman, 2002). Though this approach may have adequate empirical value, the author suggests that a distinction should be made between repeat offenders and single offenders based on their resilience to intervention measures and reaction to social circumstances. This distinction then points to a need to supplement current criminological perspectives with more individually orientated perspectives in order to understand why recidivists do not desist from anti-social cognitions that result in continued deviant behaviour. This inclusion could expand on the current body of knowledge about recidivism, as such perspectives allow for the complete understanding of the correlation between the individual and the environment and its influence on repeat offending behaviour (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:41). Relying on a single theory to explain a phenomenon as multifaceted as recidivism would undermine the complexity of human existence and the effect various experiences, interactions and processes (both internal and external) have on the individual. This current study therefore proposes using an integrated theoretical approach to explain the findings (Williams & McShane, 2010:212).

In integrating the abundance of theoretical perspectives into a purpose driven and logical sequence in order to develop a multidimensional understanding of a phenomenon as complex as recidivism, it is important to present the various applicable theories as part of a structured framework. The theoretical framework in which the current study is grounded is the cognitive-behavioural approach. This perspective underpins the intervention method that is widely acknowledged as being one of the most effective behaviour change intervention strategies utilised when dealing with both criminally problematic behaviour as well as various forms of psychological dysfunction (Nurius & Macy, 2008:101; Palmer et al., 2007:102).

The chapter therefore begins with an introduction to the emergence of the cognitive-behavioural approach in order to trace its theoretical origins in the behavioural and cognitive perspectives and thereby gain a full understanding of this integrated approach to apprehending human cognition and its associated influence on behaviour. Thereafter, the core tenets of the cognitive-behavioural approach are detailed, and other relevant theoretical perspectives are integrated. In closing, empirical evaluative research pertaining to the effectiveness of cognitive-behavioural therapy as a correctional intervention measure in both the South African correctional environment as well as internationally is presented.

2.1 Emergence of Cognitive-Behaviourism

The notion of a cognitive-behavioural approach in psychology is one that prior to the 1960s would have been considered theoretically oxymoronic, especially by the then very dominant behaviourist camp, who vehemently questioned the scientific validity of attempts to study the impact of unobservable or covert factors in the understanding of human behaviour (Ingram & Siegle, 2010:76). This section presents an introduction to the emergence of cognitive-behaviourism as a robust and integrated approach to psychological interventions, providing insight into the relationship between external experiences and internal processes, and its resulting effect on behaviour.

2.1.1 The Cognitive Revolution

The 1960s were a time of revolution in the social sciences, which brought with it a shift in intervention practices from the popular behaviourist perspective to including essential aspects of cognitive psychology in therapy. As mentioned in section 1.2.5 above, cognitive perspectives have found substantial support, particularly in the treatment environment, with numerous studies demonstrating that the use of cognitive based interventions show a decrease in recidivism by addressing “faulty” cognitions that can be linked to pro-criminal attitudes and beliefs (Clear, 2010:7; Dissel, 2008:157; Palmer et al., 2007:102; Sarkin, 2008:28; Williams & Fouche, 2008:159). Cognitive development theories, such as those of Jean Piaget and Lawrence Kohlberg, provide detailed descriptions of how such antisocial cognitions are created. Piaget focuses on the process of how children acquire knowledge and how that knowledge develops and becomes more complex over the lifespan. Knowledge of the world

is said to be broken up into schemata, which are defined as the building blocks of intelligence and consist of basic patterns of behaviour and thought that allow individuals to adapt to their environment. As individuals gain more experience, these schemata can either be assimilated if the experience bears similarity to a past experience, or accommodated if the experience is new (Bernstein, Penner, Clarke-Stewart & Roy, 2006:460; Friedman & Schustack, 2012:219). Hence on a more advanced level of development, individuals are able to differentiate between different contexts and behave in manners appropriate for each. Kohlberg focuses more on the development of moral reasoning, characterised by the increasing capacity to incorporate and comprehend abstract ideas of goodness and justice (Bernstein et al., 2006:491).

Both theorists purport that cognitive development occurs in stages, with the early stages being characterised by egocentric and sensory motivations. As the individual in Piaget's theory ages and schemata evolve and become more complex, he/she begins to develop abstract thought, logical understanding and the capacity to reflect and evaluate ideas. Kohlberg specifically highlights the development of an awareness of others, his/her experiences in relation to the self as well as his/her evaluations of the self. Offending behaviour can thus be linked to stagnation in the development of moral reasoning, where behavioural motivators are not advanced enough to include utilitarian concepts of universality and collective good but are rather defined by a comparatively primitive dependence on social approval and hedonistic motivators (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:235; Bernstein et al., 2006:460). Furthermore, cognitive theories also offer insight into the process of problem solving and decision making, providing various strategies individuals can use in order to make pro-social decisions and effectively solve problems in a manner that reflects a utilitarian belief and positive outcomes (Bernstein et al., 2006:291-302).

The revolution of the 1960s and the emergence of the cognitive-behavioural approach can arguably have been put into motion by the work of individuals such as Albert Ellis and Aaron Beck, who were originally well-known names in psychoanalysis, later joined the development of cognitive-behaviourism by behaviourists such as Meichenbaum and Mahoney more than a decade later (Ingram & Siegle, 2010:76). Beck played a significant role in the introduction of cognitive techniques into intervention praxis. Using the theoretical underpinnings of the cognitive approach, Beck created an intervention technique that was originally aimed at the management of depression. His approach encourages individuals to

replace negative world appraisals with more positive and adaptive ones through a process of evaluation of thoughts, emotions and events (Dobson & Dozois, 2010:14). Happening at a similar time and considered to be one of the first applications of the cognitive-behaviourist rationale, Ellis' rational emotive behaviour therapy (REBT) was developed in the early 1960s in response to questionable levels of effectiveness and efficiency Ellis had experienced with psychoanalytic techniques. Ellis therefore developed an approach that took a more practical approach to solving life problems through the exploration of emotional disturbance (Dobson & Dozois, 2010:12).

The core assumption of REBT is that thinking and emotions are highly interrelated, and it is from this understanding that Ellis developed the ABC model, which states that (A) *activating* events or experiences (B) can create irrational *belief systems* that create (C) symptoms of emotional disturbance as *consequence*. Therefore, the goal of the intervention is to think about one's thinking and to identify and challenge the irrational belief system (Dobson & Dozois, 2010:12) – a core tenet of modern cognitive-behavioural thinking that is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. The acceptance of these approaches in the intervention domain was a revolutionary adjustment in thinking about intervention practices, and 10 years later additional researchers would begin to make their contributions, promoting the acceptance of cognitive-behavioural perspectives and allowing the use of such practices to accelerate.

The lengthy nature of this revolution can arguably have been owing to the dominance of behaviourism in the clinical setting. Nevertheless, this new approach was born out of a growing dissatisfaction with behaviourism's inability to account for more complex behavioural issues, both from a treatment as well as a causal perspective. It was only in the late 1960s with the inclusion of vicarious learning processes and covert behaviours through Albert Bandura's social learning theory that the cognitive perspective had the opportunity to express itself in behavioural terms. This development made it more "palatable" for followers of a perspective that previously had difficulty acknowledging the empirical validity of attempts to investigate the effect of such unobservable factors (Dobson & Dozois, 2010:8; Ingram & Siegle, 2010:76).

The popularity of this new theoretically integrated approach to behavioural change also resulted in the development of a number of new intervention techniques. These techniques as

well as their accompanying research findings and ideas were given a dedicated platform through the establishment of *Cognitive Therapy and Research* in 1977, with Michael Mahoney as the inaugural editor. Publications of this nature can be said to have contributed to the current extensive base of empirical support available for the cognitive-behavioural approach to behavioural change (Dobson & Dozois, 2010:10). Nearly 40 years later, this support has grown to include the correctional environment, with cognitive-behavioural approaches being cited as the favoured method in correctional intervention (Clear, 2010:7; Dissel, 2008:157; Gendreau et al., 1996; Lipsey et al., 2007:22; Redondo et al., 1999; Sarkin, 2008:28; Schoeman, 2002:11; Ward & Stewart, 2003:127). As indicated in Chapter 1, the South African White Paper along with numerous other studies on factors that contribute to the maintenance of deviant behaviour after release emphasise the importance of attending to deviant cognitions and anti-social attitudes when attempting to address repeat offending behaviour (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:49; Barkan, 2012:9; Cronje, 2012:46; DCS, 2005:14; Dissel, 2012:9; Muntingh, 2005:38; Olver et al., 2011:8; Taxman, 2006:17; Ward & Stewart, 2003:127).

2.1.2 An Integrated Theoretical Approach

When looking at the development of cognitive-behavioural theory and its associated intervention techniques, it is evident that the practice of theoretical integration holds potential for the development of revolutionary new perspectives in the search to understand human behaviour in unique contexts. This is also true for the integration of perspectives from different disciplines. As mentioned in the previous chapter (see 1.4.1), theoretical integration has arguably become the norm in modern day criminology. Krohn and Eassey (2014:1) state that most “new” perspectives of understanding crime and criminality can be said to be integrated approaches, including perspectives both from within criminology as well as sociology and psychology. The inclusion of perspectives from multiple disciplines and schools of thought allows for a more multidimensional understanding of the phenomenon. This approach does not necessarily detract from the ideas previously proposed, but rather attempts to elaborate on them and compensate for their shortcomings.

For instance, the positivist school of thought has for a long time been a popular approach to understanding criminality. Its scientific rigour and measurability have allowed for the understanding of the effects of factors outside of the individual’s rational control on deviant

behaviour (Brown et al., 2010:25). Yet though this approach has provided invaluable insight into the causal factors of crime and a scientific means of investigation within the social sciences, there are a number of shortcomings, which are often cited. Positivism has come under scrutiny from the critical school of criminology regarding its deterministic approach to explaining human behaviour as well as its unquestioning acceptance of the institutional definition of crime. These assumptions paint the picture of criminality with broad brush strokes and, to a large degree, ignore the more nuanced factors associated with criminality (Barkan, 2012:118). Positivism fails to include the role of societal power dynamics between the state and the people in the development of definitions of crime and how these dynamics tend to favour those in power. The (false) dichotomy suggested by the positivist school between offenders and non-offenders is also particularly misleading, as it fails to account for non-offenders who share certain biological and social characteristics with offenders. Additionally, the denial of free will or any discussion about how free will is defined, developed or manifested within individuals further supports the deterministic nature of this perspective (Barkan, 2012:119). The inclusion of perspectives such as cognitive-behaviourism will thus assist in further understanding the individual realities of repeat offenders within their contexts and the “facts” on which they base their decisions to continue in a criminal lifestyle.

However, as far as can be determined, there have been no integrated perspectives developed focusing specifically on recidivism. It is thus here that the current study would attempt to make a unique contribution to the field of criminology. The current chapter aims to present the cognitive-behavioural approach in relation to existing criminological and victimological perspectives as well as relevant psychological and sociological perspectives for the purpose of understanding repeat offending behaviour.

2.2 Core Tenets of Cognitive-Behavioural Theory

A number of factors about cognitive-behaviour theory have been explored in the first part of this chapter, including the conceptual origin of the theory; the key contributors in its development; cognitive-behavioural theory as the theoretical framework that underpins cognitive-behavioural therapy; and the integrated nature of this perspective. These factors have been derived from the vast array of knowledge and research in the fields of cognitive

and behavioural psychology that take into account and reflect the progressive perspectives of both behaviourism and cognitive psychology. Importantly, the cognitive-behavioural approach purports that behaviour is not simply a response to outside stimuli, but rather the outcome of a much more complex system of abstract thoughts, emotions and images of the world, developed through continuous interactive processes of meaning-making and social-construction (Nurius & Macy, 2008:102). With this understanding established, it is now necessary to delve into the explanatory mechanisms of cognitive-behavioural theory in order to further explore its applicability in understanding repeat offending behaviour.

2.2.1 The Cognitive-Affective-Behavioural Feedback Loop

Cognitive-behavioural theory recognises that the interaction between thoughts, emotions and behaviours is non-linear and reciprocal in nature, and thoughts or cognitions about the self, the world, the future and the relationships between these factors influence emotional states and behaviours. In turn, an individual's emotions and behaviours influence thought patterns. This relationship can be viewed as an on-going cognitive-affective-behavioural reciprocal feedback loop. Cognitive-behavioural theory in turn can be understood both as a process theory and as a content theory, aiming to understand the flow of information as well as the actual meaning of the various stimuli to the individual and thereby determine the associated effect, whether it be cognitive, affective or behavioural. The process element of cognitive-behavioural theory allows for a wide range of applicability across human experiences, situations and contexts, and an understanding of the content allows for individual-level understanding (Nurius & Macy, 2008:102). This understanding becomes relevant if one is to approach the phenomenon from a psychology of criminal conduct perspective, as it would stand to reason that if the purpose of one's research is to understand individual criminal behaviour, it is important to utilise theoretical perspectives that explain individual criminal behaviour. The specific perspectives recommended for this purpose include general personality theories as well as perspectives of cognitive social learning, owing to their high level of integration with social, structural and cultural perspectives, their identification of predictive variables of criminal and non-criminal alternative behaviour, and their widely applicable and effective intervention strategies (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:53). This approach would furthermore set the foundation for cross-level theoretical integration, allowing for the effects of both micro- and macro-level factors on recidivism to be accounted for (Liska et al., 1989:13).

According to cognitive-behavioural theory, healthy functioning is characterised by the ability of an individual to take in information from his or her surroundings, process and manage that information and use it to influence or direct emotions and behaviours towards achieving certain goals and satisfying needs that are conducive to healthy adaptation, efficient processing and functionality (Nurius & Macy, 2008:103). Affective and behavioural outcomes that are not conducive to the attainment of constructive goals and satisfaction of needs (such as anger towards a certain group of people and continued involvement in offending behaviour) can be determined by the existence of problematic cognitions (such as pro-criminal or anti-social attitudes) (Clear, 2010:7; Dissel, 2008:157; Palmer et al., 2007:102; Sarkin, 2008:28; Williams & Fouche, 2008:159). These cognitions may lead to feelings of distress and anxiety, which perpetuate the negative content of the feedback loop as it is then allowed to influence the way personal experiences, social experiences and thoughts of the future are interpreted. This process of ascribing meaning to experiences, which in effect influences the way individuals feel and respond, is known as cognitive mediation, and it forms one of the key tenets of cognitive-behavioural theory (Nurius & Macy, 2008:103). This process is also an illustration of the philosophical grounding of the cognitive-behavioural perspective known as the constructivist approach (Ingram & Siegle, 2010:79).

Constructivism refers to the creation of knowledge (reality) through active interaction with one's environment. These interactions are seen to be of a very personal nature, and the experiences are given meaning, thus creating a subjective truth (Van Niekerk, 2005:61). This notion of truth being subjective has been extended to include the impact of general societal perceptions of what is real and the influence of society and culture on the creation of individual realities. Social constructionism allows for this interaction to be included in the development of individual perceptions of reality (Van Niekerk, 2005:63). As a meta-theory popularised by Berger and Luckmann (1966) in their work, *The Social Construction of Reality*, social constructionism can be applied to any socially occurring phenomenon or perspective in either an explanatory or causal capacity, as it allows for an understanding of how certain "facts" are obtained and personal perspectives are shaped (Barkhuizen, 2007:41; Ritzer, 2008:637). It would therefore stand to reason that the social constructionists are opposed to the notion that individuals are independent from their societies, thus viewing people and their unique social contexts as integrated factors and dismissing any claims of universal truths, rather taking a more relativist stance to understanding society (Blood, 2005:29; Ritzer, 2008:637; Rogers, 2006:95).

It is essential to highlight and acknowledge this subjective process when attempting to understand cognitive-behaviourism for a number of reasons. Firstly, because of its conception within the intervention field, cognitive-behaviourism is a theory that aims to understand the cognitive-affective-behavioural loop of an individual in the present. It is not concerned with how that structure was formed, but rather how it affects the individual's capacity to behave in a goal directed, constructive manner. This approach is in line with current recidivism research trends, which tend to focus on the prediction of future offending behaviour and therefore serve a reactive function in the criminal justice system (see 1.4.1). Secondly, the purpose of cognitive-behaviourism, as mentioned in the beginning of this paragraph, is to assist in the achievement of goals and satisfaction of needs. This purpose relies on the subjective nature of the individual's experience, and requires an acknowledgment of the need for change (Nurius & Macy, 2008:103). In the correctional environment, this change can be defined as the cessation of criminal behaviour, a construct that in itself is socially constructed and determined by the social and political elite (see 1.2.4).

The histories of societies or people also play a large role in shaping the individual's present reality. This effect is largely seen in the socialisation process, whereby children are taught by their immediate family, and later on in life their peers, to behave in a manner that is considered proper, reflecting the norms and values of their society (Barkhuizen, 2007:45; Blood, 2005:29). These norms and values are passed down from generation to generation and only change with the inclusion of new experiences. These experiences are what shape peoples' perceptions of reality and can be brought about by exposure to new advancements within their society, and often other societies as well (Rogers, 2006:95). It can therefore be said that according to the social construction theory, reality is that which is considered to be real to a specific society at a specific time. The attainment of knowledge is also very deterministic in nature, owing to its emphasis on external and historical factors and the role they play in shaping public perceptions and realities. Thus, social construction as an informal process can be largely viewed as the product of individual familial and peer influences (Fitzgerald & Cox, 2002:7). Taking South Africa's history of segregation into account, it stands to reason that the reality for many black South Africans is one defined by a lack of opportunity, substandard living conditions, poor treatment socially and institutionally, as well as instances of relative deprivation, either historically or at present. These factors may shape the individual's perceptions of both their present situations as well as their future prospects in a negative light, potentially increasing their possible involvement in criminal behaviour.

However, cognitive-behavioural theory does not afford this negative cognitive-affective-behavioural state any necessary form of permanency in the human psyche, owing to the presence of what Beck (1996) terms metacognition. Metacognition essentially refers to the ability of humans to “think about thinking”, and plays a substantial role in the intervention environment, where individuals are encouraged to think about their cognitive activity and identify the negative thoughts, beliefs and perceptions that are adversely impacting on their emotional and behavioural states and change them to reflect more positive and empowering cognitive circumstances (Nurius & Macy, 2008:105).

The information provided above demonstrates the process nature of cognitive-behavioural theory. In terms of understanding personal cognition, it is important to identify each individual’s cognitive content as well, because of the view that it is the content of the cognitions that create the unique circumstances for each individual’s thinking as well as allow the observer to predict future behaviour more accurately. Cognitive-behavioural theory does not focus on the explanation of how the content is created, but rather how it is used by the individual to make sense of the world around them.

The next section includes accompanying psychological, sociological, victimological and criminological perspectives that explain the content development more in-depth. Nurius and Macy (2008) have identified a number of principles that underpin cognitive-behavioural theory, including the mediational model, information processing, self-regulation, effect of the environment and cognitive errors. This framework is utilised in the sections to follow to present the core tenets of cognitive-behavioural theory as well as related theoretical perspectives that may influence how the content of the given cognitions are developed.

2.2.2 Mediational Model

According to cognitive-behavioural theory, stimuli do not directly influence behavioural or affective states but rather undergo a process of cognitive “filtering”, whereby the information passes through the cognitive system where it is prescribed meaning. This interpretation of the stimuli is what has an effect on the behavioural outcome. These cognitive filters are referred to as core beliefs or schemata and are maintained or reinforced by automatic thoughts and underlying rules or assumptions. Automatic thoughts refer to cognitions that tend to appear in one’s consciousness as a result of any given stimulus (Nurius & Macy, 2008:107). Negative

automatic thoughts include those that are experienced involuntarily during times of emotional distress (and can eventually become the default response), and therefore may be difficult to avoid. Underlying assumptions and rules, in contrast, tend to be more conscious and reflect and reinforce an individual's core beliefs. For example, a young man might believe that *if* he wants to find a suitable partner, *then* he must be respected (underlying assumption), and because he believes that violent men are respected (rule), he must be violent (core belief). This phenomenon could be a potential explanation for the persistent nature of offending behaviour seen in recidivists. An exploration of repeat offenders' core beliefs may thus assist in understanding the factors associated with their persistent offending behaviour and provide support for the findings proposing a link between pro-criminal attitudes and recidivism (Clear, 2010:7; Dissel, 2008:157; Palmer et al., 2007:102; Sarkin, 2008:28; Williams & Fouche, 2008:159).

Referring to these core beliefs as schemata is evidence of the influence of cognitive psychology perspectives in cognitive-behavioural theory. According to cognitive psychology perspectives, knowledge of the world is said to be broken up into schemata, which are defined as the building blocks of intelligence and consist of basic patterns of behaviour and thought that allow individuals to adapt to their environment. As individuals gain more experience, these schemata can either be assimilated if the experience bears similarity to a past experience, or accommodated if the experience is new (Bernstein et al., 2006:460; Friedman & Schustack, 2012:219). Hence, on a more advanced level of development, individuals are able to differentiate between different contexts and behave in manners appropriate for each. This understanding of how human beings "process information" has contributed to cognitive perspectives finding substantial support (particularly in the intervention environment), with numerous studies demonstrating that the use of cognitive-based interventions show a decrease in recidivism by addressing "faulty" cognitions that can be indicative of pro-criminal attitudes and beliefs (Clear, 2010:7; Dissel, 2008:157; Palmer et al., 2007:102; Sarkin, 2008:28; Williams & Fouche, 2008:159).

Cognitive development theories, such as those of Piaget and Kohlberg, provide detailed descriptions of how such anti-social cognitions or schemata are created. Piaget focuses on the process of how children acquire knowledge and how that knowledge develops and becomes more complex over their lifespan, whereas Kohlberg's focus lies more on the development of moral reasoning characterised by the increasing capacity to incorporate and comprehend

abstract ideas of goodness and justice (Bernstein et al., 2006:491; Cronje, 2012:24). Both theorists purport that cognitive development occurs in stages, with the early stages being characterised by egocentric and sensory motivations. Kohlberg's stages are not as strictly linked to age as Piaget's stages, and are not always completed. For Piaget, as the individual ages and schemata develop and become more complex, the individual begins to develop abstract thought, logical understanding and the capacity to reflect on and evaluate ideas. Kohlberg specifically highlights the development of an awareness of others, their experiences in relation to the self as well as their evaluations of the self.

Taking these two perspectives into consideration, offending behaviour can be linked to stagnation in the development of moral reasoning, where behavioural motivators are not advanced enough to include utilitarian concepts of universality and collective good but are rather defined by a comparatively primitive dependence on social approval and hedonistic motivators (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:235; Bernstein et al., 2006:460). Furthermore, cognitive theories offer insight into the processes of problem solving and decision making, providing descriptions of various strategies individuals may use in order to make pro-social decisions and effectively solve problems in a manner that reflects utilitarian belief and positive outcomes (Bernstein et al., 2006:291-302).

The understanding of schemata has also provided useful insight into victimological phenomena, particularly the increased probability of repeated victimisation of individuals with a history of maltreatment. Research on social learning and attachment perspectives has found that early experiences of victimisation between individuals and their caregivers can potentially increase future victimisation vulnerability, owing to the creation of relationship schemata characterised by power abusive, victim-victimiser dynamics (Wekerle, MacMillan, Leung & Jamieson, 2008:877). In the same way that adolescents are said to be more likely to enter into romantic relationships that maintain these kinds of distressed relationship dynamics, it can be argued that the presence of relationship schemata characterised by a lack of love and positive affection may also contribute to the individual's attraction to deviant peer relationships. Such relationships may be defined by high risk behaviour and violence or a disregard for the presence of such negative factors in light of a relationship that provides any form of love or attention not otherwise experienced.

Principles of motivation are also addressed in theories of cognition, providing an understanding of the processes and influencing factors related to the motivation for certain behaviour, such as “instinctual” behaviour (which is potentially linked to automatic thoughts) as well as the avoidance of behaviour that could potentially lead to a disequilibrium of one’s psychological state (Bernstein et al., 2006:399). This disequilibrium or incongruence can be referred to as “cognitive dissonance”, a term coined by Leon Festinger in 1957 to refer to the psychological discomfort experienced by an individual as a result of disequilibrium between one’s beliefs or knowledge of a situation and the actual reality of that situation. Cognitive dissonance then results in a need to reduce the discomfort to maintain psychological well-being (Festinger, 1962:93; Theissen, 1997). Thus, if an individual who generally subscribes to the norms and values of a society behaves in a manner that contradicts those values, cognitive dissonance is said to occur.

In summation, the mediational model posits that problematic or deviant behaviour as well as negative emotional states are indications of problematic thoughts and negative beliefs (Nurius & Macy, 2008:108). This perspective leads to the next core principle of cognitive-behavioural theory: how information obtained from external stimuli is processed.

2.2.3 Information Processing

Human beings are constantly being exposed to various stimuli within their immediate environments. These stimuli are often very complex and require the use of most, if not all, of one’s senses in order to fully comprehend them. As it would be impossible to constantly provide every stimulus with specific attention, human beings require an elaborate system of automatic filters that are able to ignore unnecessary or unimportant information and only allow entrance into consciousness that which is deemed relevant or necessary in meeting one’s needs and goals (Nurius & Macy, 2008:109). This system of filters may seem familiar as it refers to the cognitive schemata mentioned in the previous section. As part of the mediational model, schemata were discussed in terms of their role in identifying what meaning individuals place on certain stimuli and the development of these schemata. This section focuses specifically on how that information is processed and the path that it travels toward having meaning ascribed.

The information processing principle states that there is a natural bias toward information that is self-confirmatory or perceived as being in line with the individuals' ideas of themselves. The conservative nature of this mechanism is purported to be necessary for the maintenance of a level of stability and consistency (Nurius & Macy, 2008:109). This largely automatic process of selective attention to self-confirming information is similar to what Rogers (1951:507) terms "subception" in his self-concept theory. Subception refers to the ability of humans to identify stimuli that do not fit into their self-concept without allowing it into conscious awareness. Allowing such stimuli into conscious awareness would result in the individual experiencing a state of incongruence, whereby certain experiences cannot be internalised due to their opposing nature with the self-concept (Maddi, 1980:92; Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 1997:482; Rogers, 1959:199). Both self-concept as well as cognitive behavioural perspectives propose conscious and purposeful processes of psychological maintenance, but these are discussed in the next section.

As information processing is a constantly occurring phenomenon that is essential for every aspect of human functioning, it stands to reason that some processes eventually become comparatively automatic in nature, such as driving a car. This semi-automation allows one's mind to conserve energy during menial tasks and provide more attention and focus to tasks that have a higher cognitive demand (Nurius & Macy, 2008:110). Interestingly, if one is to consider the definition of personality as "the psychological qualities that contribute to an individual's enduring and distinctive patterns of feeling, thinking and behaving" (Cervone & Pervin, 2008:8), and one understands that the field of personality psychology is a field of study that strives to understand "all aspects of persons" (Cervone & Pervin, 2008:9), one could make an interesting argument about cognitive-behavioural theory. Namely, with its focus on the cognitive-affective-behavioural feedback loop, cognitive-behavioural theory could be used to understand the cognitive mechanisms associated with all aspects of human behaviour and, in terms of personality psychology, the automatic (enduring and distinctive) processes related to cognitive (thinking), affective (feeling) and behavioural (behaving) factors.

Personality factors are also said to be associated with offending behaviour by potentially increasing one's susceptibility to high risk behaviour and deviance. Increased levels of extroversion and neuroticism can all relate to increased risk-taking behaviour, impulsiveness, anger and poor self-control (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:193; Williams & McShane, 2010:40).

These two factors are similarly identified by Eysenck (1996) as well as McCrae and Costa (1994) to be associated with deviance. Personality traits are simply labels used to describe a specific combination of thoughts, behaviours and feelings (see cognitive-behavioural linkage). These personal factors (aggression, anxiety, assertiveness and depression) are often related to offending behaviour through the effect they have on individual levels of control and thus ability to adhere to an external set of rules or laws that define deviant conduct (Cronje, 2012:48; Maddi, 1996:121). Therefore, the cognitive-behaviourist approach provides an explanation of the cognitive process that maintains the personality structures mentioned below and uses personality theories to assist in identifying behavioural outcomes associated with certain personality traits of repeat offenders.

The increased tendency of repeat offenders to continue their involvement in offending behaviour could thus be related to a subconscious or automatic filter, partial to information that confirms the individual's criminogenic lifestyle and denies any affirmative or pro-social feedback that may indicate a realistic capacity for the individual to desist from criminality. The pro-criminal cognitive-affective-behavioural feedback loop would then become a part of that individual's identity. However, it is important to highlight that, as previously stated, the processes or tasks that become nearly automatic are those that are continuously required or fully integrated into the individual's sense of self (mention is made of menial tasks in the earlier example). This phenomenon occurs for the purpose of conservation of cognitive energy for phases of increased attention and focus.

2.2.4 Self-Regulation

With reference to the metacognitive ability mentioned above, the self-regulation principle is one that views the individual as an active participant or agent in the maintenance and development of his or her cognitive state. Unlike the automatic processes mentioned in the previous section, self-regulation is purposeful and conscious. It is for this reason that this principle is considered an essential enabler in the process of cognitive-behavioural therapy, as it allows individuals to identify the cognitions (both conscious and unconscious) that hamper successful goal attainment. The presence of negative cognitions also has far reaching effects on the self-regulation process, where the individual will actively engage with their environment to illicit the response associated with his or her own view of the self, the environment and prospects for the future (Nurius & Macy, 2008:111). With regard to repeat

offending behaviour, this process may explain the resistance to opportunities to participate in pro-social activities. Once the criminogenic cognitive-affect-behaviour feedback loop has been internalised, the individual will actively attempt to maintain the status quo until such a time that there is an alteration in his or her future goals. Thus, in the presence of maladaptive cognitive-affective structures, individuals will consciously deny themselves access to information that may challenge this structure. Though these structures are not easily changed, due to their necessary “change-resistant” nature (which promotes stability and consistency), cognitive-behavioural theory does not prescribe any compulsory permanency to this cognitive orientation. More specifically then, the self-regulation principle refers to one’s capacity to recognise and reflect on one’s thoughts as well as the ability to organise one’s cognitive-affective-behavioural structures to meet one’s needs and goals most effectively (Nurius & Macy, 2008:111).

This perspective could be linked to the self-fulfilling prophecy aspect of the labelling theory. Though this theory may not explain the initial criminal event, it may provide an accurate explanation for the possible motivations for repeat offending. The labelling theory is said to have its foundation in the ideas of the symbolic interactionist perspectives of sociologists Charles Horton Cooley and George Herbert Mead, emphasising the role of society as a reference point for how individuals view themselves (Brown et al., 1998:345; Haralambos & Holborn, 2004:962). In the criminological literature, the crux of labelling theory can be traced back to the work of Frank Tannenbaum, who uses the “dramatization of evil” to refer to the process through which society places certain labels on individuals found to be involved in deviant behaviour. Society is thus seen to treat these individuals not according to their natural or inherent qualities, but in accordance with the label that they have been assigned (Williams & McShane, 2010:111).

In the case of deviant or problematic acts, a label could be assigned to an individual after only behaving in such a manner on a single occasion. This label then has the ability to evoke certain reactions from members of the society that are based on stereotypes. After repeated exposure to evaluations based on the label, the individual may internalise the label and the accompanying characteristics as a part of his or her own self-concept, thereby altering his or her behaviour to manifest associated traits and actions more consistently, such as in the case of recidivism (Williams & McShane, 2010:113). Similarly, through the process of self-

regulation, the content derived from the social experiences that lead to the deviant label would be maintained in the absence of potential alternatives.

With reference to repeated offending behaviour, Edwin Lemert's argument of secondary deviation can also be considered. Lemert argues that labelling does not happen after just one single instance of deviance, but is rather the result of a continuous interplay between deviant behaviour and societal response. Secondary deviance is described in a process of the following eight actions and reactions (Brown et al., 1998:348): initially, there is the primary deviant act followed by a negative social reaction. Thereafter, the deviant behaviour continues, resulting in stronger reactions from society. Such reactions may lead to feelings of resentment towards those responsible for the continued punishment, but not a cessation in deviant behaviour. This continuous interplay between deviant behaviour and negative social reaction eventually results in the internalisation of deviant stigmas and acceptance of the associated label as a core identity (Brown et al., 1998:348; Williams & McShane, 2010:115).

The similarity here can be seen in the role of societal perception as an influencing factor of behaviour. The labelling theory maintains that the individual will begin to behave in a manner that is in accordance with the label that society had ascribed to him or her. Therefore, if individuals continuously enter and exit a correctional facility for survival theft, uninformed community members may treat them like any other offenders, reinforcing the notion that despite their desperate situation they are now viewed as people who do not abide by society's legal conventions. The acceptance of this view as real will create a self-regulatory process that denies opportunities for legitimate means of survival. Information or stimuli that contradict this belief may result in anxiety of stress, and actively be avoided.

This state of stress or psychological turmoil, not unlike Festinger's cognitive dissonance, creates a psychological environment in which certain neutralisation techniques or defence mechanisms are required to maintain a homeostatic state between one's perception of appropriate behaviour and one's actual behaviour. In the cognitive-behavioural field, these are known as coping mechanisms or strategies, and can be either adaptive (directed at achieving one's goals) or maladaptive (detrimental to goal achievement) (D'Zurilla & Nezu, 2010:203). The nature of these strategies are manifested through the self-regulation mechanism and depend on the nature of the individual's goals and associated schemata. The field of psychology also points to similar defensive mechanisms.

Sigmund Freud outlines six different defence mechanisms, namely denial, projection, isolation, rationalisation, reaction formation, sublimation and repression (Kring, Johnson, Davidson & Neale, 2010:18). Freud's denial defence involves complete and utter denial of facts without further justification, regardless of evidentiary support. Denial is considered as one of Freud's more primitive defence mechanisms (Cervone & Pervin, 2008:88-89; Kring et al., 2010:18). Other Freudian defence mechanisms include rationalisation, sublimation and reaction formation. Rationalisation is the process in which the problematic behaviour is not ignored, as in denial, but acknowledged. However, the underlying motivation of the behaviour is manipulated in a manner so that it becomes expressed differently to reflect reason and acceptability. Sublimation alters the expression of deviant thoughts and feelings in a manner that reflect goals that command high standing in society, and reaction formation only allows the individual to express behaviour that is the opposite of their seemingly inappropriate impulses, owing to their inability to accept the presence of such impulses (Cervone & Pervin, 2008:91; Kring et al., 2010:18). These defence mechanisms all require the individual to alter certain experiences to make them more acceptable or appropriate to fit into their self-concept.

Carl Rogers (1951) provides a different solution to prevent contradictory information from entering the conscious mind. He identifies two defensive mechanisms that assist the individual in maintaining their congruent sense of self, namely denial and distortion. Distortion is present when dealing with both conscious and unconscious incongruence. Conscious distortion involves the process of providing alternate explanations for the experience by discrediting the source of the experience or rendering it nonsensical with the provision of justifications and excuses (Rogers, 1951:500). Unconscious distortion occurs when an experience is in contradiction with the individual's self-concept but cannot be brought to consciousness. This type of distortion is more often seen when an individual has been requested or has a desire to elicit certain behaviour such as the completion of a task or the expression of an emotion. If the required or desired experience is inconsistent with the self-concept, it may not be allowed into consciousness, which can cause the individual to perceive a serious fault with the execution of the request or even develop a physiological ailment rendering them incapable of interacting with the experience (Rogers, 1951:508). An example would be of a child brought up in a very authoritarian household, experiencing severe headaches every time he or she is requested to perform a task, which could be as a result of the denial of feelings of rebellion against the rules his or her parents have enforced

and so strictly maintained. One can therefore view conscious distortion as a reaction to incongruence, whereas unconscious distortion would be more proactive in nature, avoiding the possibility of exposing the incongruity.

Denial involves the complete blocking of the incongruent experience from consciousness, such as an accused individual not arriving for his or her court date owing to complete disbelief in the need for him or her to be there (Rogers, 1951:505). The avoidance of such incongruent experiences has far-reaching effects for the individual's psychological functioning as well as behavioural expressions. The act of denying or distorting the experience does not eradicate its presence but merely decreases the accompanying level of anxiety and thus its perceived threat to the individual. Denial could result in an increase in criminality, as the lack of self- condemnation and thereby decreased self-control could result in repeated use of these defences, allowing the motivation to manifest into a purposive goal.

Other techniques of neutralisation, suggested by Sykes and Matza, are not identified as defensive mechanisms, but essentially serve the same purpose as reactive cognitive mechanisms with the distinct purpose of maintaining psychological equilibrium. There are five such techniques proposed by Sykes and Matza, which, like Freud's defensive mechanisms, tend to be quite elaborate and complex. Similarly, these techniques emphasise the role of society as the source of the information needed to make the neutralisations effective. The five techniques include denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of the victim, condemnation of the condemners and appeal to higher loyalties (Sykes & Matza, 1957:667-669). The element of denial is common in most of the neutralisation techniques proposed by Sykes and Matza, although it is of a more complex nature. Neutralisation techniques base the denial of responsibility, victim and injury on evidence derived from personal experience, or perception at the very least. This phenomenon is evident in all of the neutralisation techniques, as the behaviour is justified in a manner that makes it acceptable within the context in which it occurs. Additional neutralisation techniques include condemnation of the condemners and appeal to higher loyalties, which both involve the shifting of responsibility from the individual to an external entity, thus distancing the actor from the action (Sykes & Matza, 1957:668).

Rogers views the succumbing to conditions of worth and thus the need for the use of defensive techniques as destructive for the attainment of one's full potential. Freud as well as

Sykes and Matza, however, view defensive techniques as necessary for normal functioning (Maddi, 1980:100). This argument is similar to the cognitive-behavioural approach as it views coping strategies as necessary to maintain goal-orientated behaviour through the assertion of stability and consistency. Hence, one of the aims of cognitive-behavioural interventions is the alteration of the adaptability of the coping strategy to promote a cognitive-affective-behavioural state that is conducive to positive goal achievement. Therefore, in the corrective environment, after the identification of problematic cognitions, the cognitive-behavioural approach aims to develop coping strategies, problem-solving skills and cognitive restructuring geared towards the attainment of pro-social adaptive outcomes and a desistance from a criminogenic lifestyle.

2.2.5 The Role of the Environment

The link between behaviourism and the cognitive-behavioural theoretical perspective becomes most apparent in this key principle, the role of the environment, which emphasises the influence of the environment or factors external to the individual on the content of the cognitive-affective-behavioural structure. Understanding an individual's environmental circumstances allows for an understanding of how these circumstances are interpreted and thus how they affect the individual's perception of the world around them and their own ability to successfully or unsuccessfully navigate it. Healthy individual functioning is seen here as a constructive reciprocal relationship between the individual and their environment (Nurius & Macy, 2008:112). As an intervention technique, it is necessary to address both the individual's internal environment as well as their external environment, as it is from their surroundings that individuals will inevitably develop and shape the content of their cognitive-affective-behavioural systems. The external environment, both socially and structurally, also determines the opportunities available to individuals to develop capacity to create or consider alternatives in thinking, feeling and behaving (Berlin, 2002:235; Neenan & Dryden, 2004:9). It is therefore important that individuals are made aware of both the stressors as well as the resources available to them within their environment in order to ensure healthy adaptation.

One can neither refer to social learning theory nor cognitive-behavioural theory without mentioning the work of Albert Bandura. Bandura is said to be one of the first behavioural theorists who began to consider the effect of the mind of his patients and hypothesised that along with the influence of external factors, there was a definite development of internal

processes that helped shape and guide the individual's behaviour. Bandura furthermore explains three pathways through which appropriate behaviour is learned – direct, vicarious and self-reinforcement. This perspective views individuals as active participants in the learning process with the ability to choose and differentiate between what is internalised and what is not (Friedman & Schustack, 2012:193; Meyer et al., 1997:337). This approach acknowledges the active, rather than simply passive, role of individuals in their development. The direct and vicarious learning processes refer to the process of gaining knowledge about socially acceptable behaviour through receiving or witnessing someone else receive some form of reinforcement from an external source. Self-reinforcement, in contrast, can be linked to self-regard or self-esteem as it relates to the reward or punishment of the self by the self after a personal evaluation of certain behaviour (Cervone & Pervin, 2008:467; Meyer et al., 1997:337). This perspective aligns with cognitive-behavioural theory's constructionist grounding, which acknowledges the role of individuals' perceptions of their environment in shaping their understandings thereof.

The influence of society and environment on behaviour is an area to which criminologists have paid a particular amount of attention. Just as cognitive-behaviourism cannot justifiably detach its understanding of behaviour from the external environment, so too does criminology affirm the importance of its consideration in understanding deviance. Another perspective that utilises the social learning process in its explanation of problematic behaviour is that of the differential opportunity theory developed by Cloward and Ohlins. This integrated theory contains elements of both Merton's anomie theory and Sutherland's differential association perspective regarding crime and deviance. However, these theorists added that in addition to the legitimate means of achieving socially accepted goals, illegitimate means are often also present. Moreover, the illegitimate means are equally as limited as legitimate means, and require involvement in deviant social groups to gain access (Williams & McShane, 2010:95). The social learning aspect of this theory comes into effect by considering the "apprenticeship" phase of many young individuals who watch and learn from the older individuals in the criminal subgroups, and may even get involved to a small degree. However, this perspective does require an integrated society in which both criminal and non-criminal entities share social spaces and goals, but also where the means to achieving those goals differ. These societies are characterised by low levels of intergroup violence, and the offending behaviour is based around economic gains (Williams & McShane, 2010:96).

The concept of peer influence and the adoption of attitudes and beliefs consistent with those of the social environment is present in a number of criminological and psychological theories and can be considered a prominent factor when researching recidivism. This notion is presented in the writings of Sutherland, Cohen and Hirschi, as they all emphasise the influence of different social relations on self-perceptions, and thus behaviour. Rooted in the tenets of the social learning perspective, Sutherland's differential association theory also views deviance or maladjusted behaviour as a result of the discrepancy between value systems. The role of significant others and the importance the individual places on the norms and values of these others are also key in this perspective. It is purported that problematic behaviour manifests when individuals behave in a manner that is viewed as accepted by a deviant social group or "significant others" whilst being in contradiction with the norms and values of larger society (Bartol & Bartol, 2008:4; Williams & McShane, 2010:68).

Another perspective that was influenced by Sutherland's work and therefore has a number of similarities is the subculture theory of Cohen. In this theory, it is accepted that criminal behaviour is motivated by frustration and competition born out of the inability of individuals from lower social class backgrounds to achieve the high social status as prescribed by the dominant middle class. It is then due to this perceived discrepancy between dominant middle-class values and the ability to achieve them that an opposing mentality can occur and create a subculture in which similar values that are contradictory to the dominant system are respected. Once internalised, the new values of the subculture are said to motivate behaviour against the dominant culture, which can therefore often be classified as deviant or criminal (Williams & McShane, 2010:93).

Furthermore, the role of attachment to, and investment in, significant others and the associated value systems is closely investigated by Hirschi from a social control or, more accurately, a social bonding perspective. Hirschi states that individuals are driven by a desire for approval, conscience and the influential nature of an internalised value system to behave in a conventional manner. From this perspective, criminal behaviour is viewed in terms of weak bonds to the conventional norms and value system and will thus depend on the amount of time, emotion and belief the individual has invested in these values to build up such bonds (Williams & McShane, 2010:155).

When social bonds are weak and there is a lack of regard for fellow citizens, communities can be said to be in a state of social disorganisation. Merton's anomie theory states that when society places emphasis on certain goals, it often also prescribes the acceptable means for achieving them. A potentially difficult situation is thus created, as the goals and acceptable means are often generalised throughout society regardless of individual circumstance. These goals are then considered the ideal outcome for peoples' lives but the acceptable means are not always provided, resulting in individuals having to find their own means to achieve them. Although this behaviour is not necessarily criminal, Merton states that owing to its difference to what is considered the norm, such behaviour is often considered deviant (Bartol & Bartol, 2008:3; Williams & McShane, 2010:79). Merton illustrates the role of society in prescribing to its inhabitants that which is considered good or ideal as well as the behavioural implications associated with the inability to achieve this ideal state.

Conflict theories are of particular relevance in societies in which there are people from different cultures living in close proximity to one another. This seemingly contradictory perspective is found in the writings of Thorsten Sellin, which refers to the culture conflict perspective originally proposed by the Chicago School. Sellin argued that the cultural backgrounds of the primary caregivers influence the norms and values taught during the socialisation process and may therefore vary between different cultures (Williams & McShane, 2010:53). The "conduct norms" of the dominant culture are what determine appropriate behaviour within the given society and influence law making. Therefore, the differences in norms and values between individuals of different cultures living in the same space can lead to conflict, and the interpretation of different culturally "normal" behaviour as criminal (Williams & McShane, 2010:53).

This perspective has been further developed to include political agendas and the use of power in society. It is argued that those in higher standing in society are able, due to an abundance of resources, to enforce their ideals and interests in general society, thus creating what Richard Quinney terms a "social reality of crime". Here, the legitimate authority figures in society determine what types of behaviour are to be considered deviant, and are often criminalised (Williams & McShane, 2010:132). The environment and the nature of available resources to which individuals have access tend to be a major contributing factor in the individual's capacity to consider and create alternatives for themselves in order to cope with

various stressors and factors that hamper constructive development (Nurius & Macy, 2008:113).

2.2.6 Cognitive Errors

Cognitive errors refer specifically to the nature and content of the negative cognitions and the associated affect they have on individual functioning. As indicated throughout the chapter, owing to their interrelated nature, negative or problematic thoughts have a permeating effect on affective and behavioural functioning. Cognitive errors or problematic thinking can occur both as surface-level or automatic cognitions, or at the deeper core belief level, both of which have a varying level of effect on the individual's perception of themselves, the world and their future. In the case of repeat offenders, this effect may be characterised by a lack of belief in a positive outcome brought about by labelling as well as socialisation processes. These perceptions are also perceived to be absolute, and become the basis for how individuals perceive themselves in relation to the world around them (Nurius & Macy, 2008:115).

Examples of cognitive errors include the following: magnifying problems, jumping to conclusions, discounting positives, over generalisation, mind reading, all-or-nothing thinking, fortune telling, emotional reasoning, labelling and inappropriate blaming. All of these errors in thinking are characterised by a state in which the individual does not pay adequate attention or give appropriate value to positive occurrences or circumstances in his or her life (Nurius & Macy, 2008:116-117). Owing to the negative schemata about themselves and the world, individuals who use cognitive errors can be said to view the world through tainted lenses and only accept negative information or interpret all information negatively. This understanding links to the mediational model and biased information processing principle discussed above, and is indicative of an individual who has not consciously attempted to engage in self-regulation.

With an understanding of the core principles of cognitive-behavioural theory now in place, it becomes necessary to explore its application in the therapeutic setting. The following section draws on the abovementioned theoretical underpinnings and explains their practical applications in a corrective environment, as well as presents an evaluation of this approach as an effective means of intervention for repeat offending behaviour.

2.3 An Evaluation of the Cognitive-Behavioural Perspective

As it can be deduced from the information presented throughout the chapter, cognitive-behaviourism is not a theory of development and does therefore not make any inherent value propositions. That is, it does not purport that individuals are constantly striving towards a particular state of being or achievement of any advanced state of consciousness. Cognitive-behaviourism is an approach to understanding how an individual's internal cognitive-affective-behavioural processes influence goal-directed behaviour and how to create awareness of this internal process for the purpose of eliciting effective goal achievement.

Said to be one of the preferred methods of treatment for a number of psychological issues, cognitive-behavioural interventions currently command a substantive space in the clinical environment as one of the most empirically supported forms of treatment (Epp & Dobson, 2010:39; Hoffman, Asnaani, Vonk, Sawyer & Fang, 2012:436; Tolin, 2010:718). Though initially having started out as a treatment option for depression under the development and guidance of Aaron Beck in 1967, cognitive-behavioural therapy has grown into a widely used primary and adjunctive therapeutic option for a variety of mood disorders, anxiety disorders, eating disorders as well as schizophrenia, and as a treatment option for aggressive and sexual offenders, to name a few (Dobson & Dozois, 2010:13; Epp & Dobson, 2010:55; Hoffman et al., 2012:428). Owing to the general applicability of the underlying theoretical underpinnings, different forms of cognitive-behavioural therapies have been developed to focus on varying target areas. For example, Kazdin's "cognitive behavioural modification" is a treatment approach that aims to "change overt behaviour by altering thoughts, interpretations, assumptions, and strategies of responding" (Dobson & Dozois, 2010:4). These aims are nearly indistinguishable to those of cognitive-behavioural theory and would thus fall under the umbrella of cognitive-behavioural therapies, as would other approaches such as problem-solving therapy, REBT as well as mindfulness and acceptance interventions, to name a few. Where these approaches tend to differ is usually in terms of their specific focus and outcome variables.

This section outlines the core tenets of cognitive-behaviourism as an intervention approach, followed by an evaluation of cognitive-behavioural interventions in the correctional environment. Owing to the wide application across contexts, age groups and forms of

psychological distress or purpose, it was decided to limit such evaluations to the correctional environment for the sake of applicability and relevance.

2.3.1 Overview of Cognitive-Behavioural Interventions

As may have been evident in the underlying theoretical principles presented earlier in the chapter, the cognitive-behavioural approach is a particularly systematic and practical approach to understanding individual thinking, feeling and behaving. It is thus often described as an approach that provides more symptomatic relief than an improvement in overall functioning. This, according to Tolin (2010:718) is a perspective that despite being potentially true is yet to be empirically supported, stating that cognitive-behavioural interventions have consistently shown superior results over a range of outcome variables. However, it is also added that additional comparative research using a greater variety of outcome variables is still required to make categorical conclusions.

If, from an intervention perspective, the aim is to predict or adjust an individual's behaviour in a certain situation, it would be recommended to first understand the way in which the individual perceives the situation and what affective relationship he or she may have with the given situation. Understanding the way someone perceives a certain stimulus as well as the associated emotional response that stimulus elicits makes it a more effective method to predict and adjust the behavioural outcome. Cognitive-behavioural intervention sessions are highly structured in comparison to the free-talking method synonymous with psychoanalysis, and both client and therapist are seen to play an equally important part in treatment success (Nurius & Macy, 2008:122). Individuals are required to tell the facilitator what it is that they struggle with and the facilitator assists the individuals in identifying the maladaptive thought processes associated with the issue. The role of the facilitator is mainly to assist the individuals in becoming more mindful of their thought processes through the self-regulatory and metacognitive practices indicated above. "Homework" and diaries are often important in cognitive-behavioural interventions, owing to the automatic nature of many maladaptive thoughts. It requires concerted, purposeful effort to identify negative cognitions that need to be remembered, discussed and challenged.

Cognitive-behavioural interventions also focus largely on creating independence in the participant instead of a dependence on the facilitator. Participants are taught to become more

aware of their own cognitive-affective-behavioural feedback loop and challenge or alter the maladaptive thoughts. It is important that the participants know what they are working towards throughout the intervention process, and be able to identify which specific behaviours or areas of their lives are hampering them from achieving whatever constructive goal it is they are trying to achieve. It is a problem-solving approach to psychotherapy (Nurius & Macy, 2008:123). Within the correctional environment it becomes more specific, with multidisciplinary personnel predominantly focusing on the cognitions and mind-sets that facilitate or assist in maintaining deviance or criminal behaviour.

2.3.2 Cognitive-Behavioural Therapy in the Correctional Environment

As one of the most empirically supported forms of psychotherapy used in the general clinical environment, it stands to reason that cognitive-behavioural therapy has also become a popular option in the correctional environment when developing programmes aimed at creating pro-social change in individuals and curbing offending behaviour. Studies have shown the use of cognitive-behavioural-based interventions to decrease levels of recidivism, with some citing decreases ranging from between 20% to 55% (Hoffman et al., 2012:432; Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005:451; Pearson, Lipton, Cleland & Yee, 2002:490). As with numerous assessment studies, evaluating effectiveness of a specific intervention can often be difficult due to the presence of an increased number of factors used to determine programmatic success or failure, as well as the conceptualisation of moderator variables. However, in their meta-analysis of 58 studies comparing the effect of cognitive-behavioural therapy on recidivism, Landenberger and Lipsey (2005:470) found that after conducting a regression analysis on the individual moderator variables to establish the strength of their independent relationships to the effect sizes, the three main variables independently related to the effect sizes were (a) the risk level of participants, (b) quality of treatment implementation and (c) the inclusion of anger control and interpersonal problem-solving components. It should also be noted that whilst the inclusion of anger control and interpersonal problem-solving components increased the effectiveness of cognitive-behavioural therapy in decreasing recidivism, the inclusion of victim impact (activities aimed at getting the offenders to consider the impact of their behaviours on their victims) and behaviour modification (behavioural contracts and/or reward and penalty schemes designed to reinforce appropriate behaviour) was shown to decrease this overall efficacy. The risk level of participants was also a finding consistent with existing treatment research, supporting the view that higher risk offenders tend to respond better to

more intensive treatment targeting criminogenic needs such as criminal cognitions. Most importantly (and significantly related), is the correlation between programme implementation and effectiveness in decreasing recidivism. This factor includes close monitoring of the programme implementation and correct training of the programme facilitators, highlighting again the importance of the service providers in the effectiveness of programme implementation (Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005:471).

An important finding from Landberger and Lipsey (2005:471) was that in their study it was found that the differences in effectiveness between different forms of cognitive-behavioural therapy were not significant. This is a general indication that it is the core tenets of cognitive-behavioural theory and not the additional specifics of the various forms that attest to the effectiveness of this approach to decreasing repeated offending behaviour.

From a victimological perspective, Strang and her colleagues found some interesting correlations between cognitive-behavioural therapy and the underlying theoretical orientations of restorative justice practices (Strang et al., 2006). In proposing a theoretical orientation that predicts the effectiveness of restorative justice practices for assisting victims of crime, the authors offer an explanation based on the theoretical underpinnings of cognitive-behavioural approaches. Studies are cited that demonstrate the effectiveness of approaches that include exposing victims of crimes to the fear-provoking stimuli in a safe environment, such as in victim-offender mediations or family conferences. From a cognitive-behavioural theory perspective, this experience could assist the individual in deconstructing the maladaptive cognitions they may have about the experience and associated variables and replacing them with more constructive cognitions. The restorative justice conferencing setting and preparation process allow the victim to consciously think about the cognitive-affective structure associated with the traumatic event and alter that to elicit a more adaptive behavioural outcome (Strang et al., 2006:285). Linking this perspective to the understanding of victim-offender sequences mentioned in the first chapter, one could argue that an approach of this nature may have the potential to play a proactive role in preventing individuals who have been victimised from precipitating their own cycle of violence and turning their victimisation experience into a catalyst for future offending behaviour.

2.4 Conclusion

In terms of intervention options and effectiveness, the cognitive-behavioural approach with its theoretical underpinnings grounded in the cognitive and behavioural perspectives and growing body of empirical evidence is a suitable theoretical framework in which to construct the understanding of repeat offending behaviour. The process theory nature as well the underlying constructionist philosophy also allow for further theoretical integration, which could aid in increasing the generalisability of the resulting explanations without compromising the important contextual factors required to explain the findings of the current study (Ingram & Siegle, 2010:79; Nurius & Macy, 2008:102). As an intervention option, the cognitive-behavioural approach has been shown to not only be an effective intervention option for general psychological ailments, but also for correctional interventions developed to decrease recidivism through the alteration of maladaptive pro-criminal cognitions (Hoffman et al., 2012:432; Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005:451; Pearson et al., 2002:490). The following chapter aims to further the exploration of factors associated with recidivism and therefore presents a comprehensive analysis of the available literature.

Chapter 3

Empirical Perspective – Factors Associated with Recidivism and an Evaluation of Intervention Effectiveness

In this chapter, the available empirical literature in the existing body of knowledge pertaining to repeat offending behaviour is explored. The relationship between theory and research can be defined as a mutual dynamic, as theory is inclined to encourage and direct research and research can be used to validate or create theory, or inspire further research (Wu & Volker, 2009:2720). This approach may allow for a better understanding of the factors associated with repeat offending behaviour, which may in turn have practical applications within the correctional environment. Theories related to criminology and criminal justice that have been validated by sound, empirical research can be used as a basis for the effective execution of the functions of the criminal justice system, ranging from arrest and sentencing decisions through to offender rehabilitation (Dantzker & Hunter, 2006:8). Therefore, this chapter builds on the theoretical chapter by presenting research conducted primarily in the correctional environment, addressing previous undertakings by researchers to identify and assess factors related to recidivism, as well as their effectiveness as intervention measures in corrections. Evaluations of the various theoretical explanations are then provided in light of the research findings considered, along with alternate perspectives on repeat offending behaviour.

It is difficult to place the approach of the current study solely within a deductive or inductive framework. Deductive reasoning is a form of theory testing in which hypotheses are developed from existing theoretical perspectives and empirical findings, and data collection is conducted for the purpose of obtaining information from the field that will either support or oppose the developed hypotheses. In contrast, inductive reasoning is known as theory building and is grounded in the data collected in the field. This process begins with the collection of facts or data, and then an attempt is made to place these facts into some form of order (Radwan, 2009:6). The field of recidivism studies is potentially unique in this regard for a number of reasons. As indicated in the opening paragraph of the previous chapter, there is no unified theory of recidivism. The responsibility for understanding the phenomenon tends to be solely undertaken within the scope of general theories of criminality (see Chapter 2). It was therefore decided that an integrated theoretical approach would be used in order to present a theoretical framework drawing from the pool of knowledge provided by

criminology, sociology as well as psychology to provide multidimensional explanations of the study's findings. This approach is taken despite the plethora of available research on repeat offending behaviour (predominantly conducted outside of South Africa). Indeed, owing to the variety of definitions, purposes, methodologies and conceptualisations of the studies on recidivism (see section 1.2.1), very few generalisable conclusions have been made. Therefore, an exposition of the available research is presented for the purpose of guidance rather than deduction, so that this current study can benefit from the strengths and weaknesses of previous studies, with the purpose of developing relevant and contextually rich understandings of recidivism within the South African landscape.

3.1 A General Overview of Recidivism Research

Arguably, one of the most frequently cited studies on recidivism is the work of Gendreau et al. (1996), who performed a meta-analysis of factors associated with recidivism. Their research often forms the empirical basis for a number of other studies on understanding recidivism, including a previous study by the author, which included a thorough analysis of the available empirical literature on the factors associated with recidivism (Cronje, 2012). Gendreau et al.'s (1996) article provides data on both the static and dynamic risk factors associated with recidivism, and takes a meta-analytical look at recidivism literature with the intent of identifying factors most commonly attributed as predictors or risk factors of recidivism. The varying and often contradictory nature of the results of numerous studies were identified as core issues in establishing the validity of the findings in recidivism research (Gendreau et al., 1996:576). As mentioned in Chapter 1, the static factors include variables that are immutable and therefore unable to change, such as age, sex, criminal history and parental involvement in crime, which act as indicators of future offending behaviour (Benda, 2001:713). Conversely, the dynamic or needs assessment factors include those that are more susceptible to change and are therefore often the targets of treatment programmes. Such factors include, for example, substance abuse, deviant associations, unemployment and numerous psychological factors such as personality traits and personal values and beliefs (Gendreau et al., 1996:576). Though the current study focuses on the latter variables, it is important to understand and acknowledge the impact of static factors in the development of the cognitive content of the individuals that assist in the maintenance of repeated offending behaviour.

3.1.1 Demographic Variables

The least disputed risk factors of future offending behaviour are demographic variables that are static in nature because of their inability to be changed. Age of first involvement in crime has been cited in recidivism literature as one of the most prominent factors to consider when assessing individual risk of future reoffending (Benda, Corwyn & Toombs, 2001:604; Gendreau et al., 1996:588; Katsiyannis & Archwamety, 1997:49). Comparative research between offending and non-offending youth populations has produced results that show an earlier introduction to criminal behaviour by offenders who are recidivists than non-recidivists (Benda, 2001:723). A possible explanation for this finding may be provided by taking into account the role of societal and environmental factors in the development of the cognitive schemata individuals use to make sense of their world, as purported by Piaget from a cognitive psychology perspective (see section 2.1.1), or the development of the self from a more humanistic approach, as purported by Rogers (1951:499).

These perspectives essentially propose that at this early stage in their lifetime, individuals are beginning to gain awareness of or knowledge about their environment and integrate this knowledge into their understanding thereof. This early interaction with the correctional facilities could result in the young individuals forming significant relationships with other offenders and incorporating the norms and values of the correctional environment into their own self-concept and cognitive structures. Entrenchment into a system characterised by a lack of independence, poor conditions and deviant peers could lead to the acceptance of this reality as normal or appropriate. Gender differences have also been studied in terms of offending and reoffending behaviour with a far larger portion of the research being dedicated to male offenders (Benda et al., 2001:604; Gendreau et al., 1996:588). This gender-based discrepancy of the representation of research into understanding male offending behaviour as opposed to female offending behaviour has been said to be attributed to a lack of representation of female samples in corrections research as well as the comparatively large difference in terms of representation in general offender populations (Hubbard, 2007:40; Oser, 2006:345).

3.1.1.1 Family Composition

Unlike other demographic variables, findings regarding factors such as marital status, family size and number of children have been varied across studies and in relation to different

offences. These factors are most commonly used as descriptive factors of the sample (Foster, 2011:10; Williams & Fouche, 2008:151). Information gathered during a study previously conducted by the researcher (Cronje, 2012) is included here to address the nature of these variables within the South African context. Though having a relatively small number of participants (N=73), it is one of the few studies focusing specifically on this population in South Africa and can therefore be used as a starting point when attempting to understand individuals who repeatedly engage in crime.

In terms of marital status, a large majority (94.4%) of the participants were classified as single, with only 2.7% being married and 1.4% of participants being divorced or widowed. As the legal (customary and common law) classifications of various marital statuses were utilised, the “single” category included individuals who had girlfriends or long-term partners (Cronje, 2012:91). The most common frequencies for the number of own children were the “no children”, “one child” and “two children” categories, with these categories collectively accounting for 64.3% of the total population. Individually, 20.5% of the population had no children, and participants with one or two children each contributed to 21.9% of the sample respectively. The numbers of this factor ranged between zero and 13, with zero being the smallest number of children and 13 being the highest number of children recorded for a single participant (Cronje, 2012:92). Furthermore, the participants were found to generally come from relatively large families, with the highest percentage of participants having between four and six siblings. The highest percentage of participants had six siblings (13.7%), followed closely by participants with four and five siblings (both groups contributed to 12.3% of the total). Furthermore, the range of this factor was broad, with the lowest score being zero and the highest number of siblings reaching 15. It was furthermore established that 45.2% of participants were also middle children in terms of birth order, with 23.3% being the youngest and 26% being the oldest. The high number of middle child classifications could be attributed to the large number of siblings, as those who were not classified as either oldest or youngest were clustered together into this category (Cronje, 2012:94).

3.1.1.2 Level of Education

The participants’ level of education has also been found to be an important risk factor to repeat offending for both practical and cognitive reasons. A common view, evident in some research dating back to 1920s, has asserted that there is a link between intelligence quotient

(IQ) scores and criminal behaviour. Continued research has repeatedly shown similar results (Gendreau et al., 1996:577). Cronje (2012:94) found that in terms of level of schooling completed by his sample of 73 South African recidivists, the highest number of participants had either completed up to grades five, six or seven (23.3%), or grades eight or nine (21.9%). Only 4.1% of the participants had no schooling at all and 11% had completed grade 12. A further 5.5% of participants had continued their educational training beyond grade 12, with trade certifications.

However, caution must be taken in the interpretation of such results as evidence of this nature could be attributed to the lack of education rather than an inherent lack of intelligence. Repeated exposure to the correctional facilities from a young age could result in the disruption of formal education programmes. This phenomenon is evident in information gathered from adult prison populations that indicates generally low levels of education and formal school attendance (Dissel, 2008:158). A deficit in vocational and educational training can be linked to the difficulty experienced by offenders in finding sustainable employment upon release and thus resorting to survival crime (Dissel, 2012:30). These variables can also be considered when classifying the individuals' socioeconomic statuses.

3.1.2 Socioeconomic Variables

Variables related to socioeconomic status (SES) might be influential as behavioural motivators and can be separated into family background variables as well as personal variables. Family background variables are collectively referred to in some literature as "social class of origin", and often include factors such as parental occupation and education. Personal variables relate more directly to the individual, such as personal employment (Gendreau et al., 1996:577). As a predictor of offending behaviour and recidivism, SES has however been met with varied empirical support (Gendreau et al., 1996:577). In the correctional literature, it has been found that a large number of offenders were unemployed at the time of incarceration. However, for those who were employed, imprisonment inevitably resulted in the forfeiture of these positions thus making it more difficult, if not impossible, to reintegrate into the workforce upon release because of their criminal record (Dissel, 2008:158; Dissel, 2012:30). Socioeconomic variables can thus be considered as factors that directly or indirectly attribute to level of income and social standing, and influence SES within the community.

The apparent relation between SES, social location and the availability of opportunities has provided support for the link between SES and offending behaviour in Merton's anomie theory, Sutherland's differential association theory and Cohen's subculture theory (see section 2.2.5). However, researchers such as Tittle and Meier (1990:294) are sceptical of the nature of the relationship and recommend erring on the side of caution when inferring directly causal relationships between SES and delinquency. Their investigation of 21 research studies established that 18 of these studies found at least one condition or factor that yielded a significant relationship between SES and delinquency. Though this finding may be viewed as significant evidence, the authors indicated that none of the results were adequately comparable between the studies, largely owing to conceptual differences and varying levels of relation. Tittle and Meier's (1990) argument is therefore grounded in critical perspectives pertaining to the definition and conceptualisation of SES throughout the studies and the lack of consideration for related factors such as relative subjective deprivation as opposed to SES directly.

3.1.3 Psychosocial Variables

The effects of social and peer groups on reoffending behaviour are often cited in research as a significant contributing factor of repeat offending behaviour, as recidivists are commonly found to associate more frequently with deviant peers and are easily influenced by them (Benda, 2001:723; Katsiyannis & Archwamety, 1997:49; Walters, 2016:1160; Watt, Howells & Delfabbro, 2004:146). This relationship is broadly explained through social learning processes, whereby individuals receive positive reinforcement from their social group for participation in deviant actions, thereby perpetuating behaviour of this nature (Watt et al., 2004:146). Alternatively, Walters (2016:1161) provides evidence using the same psychological mechanism to explain law-abiding behaviour in juveniles. Reference is made to earlier research that found an increased likelihood of pro-social behaviour in juveniles who had better parent-child attachment. The presence of this strong attachment together with negative attitudes towards deviance also increased the young person's ability to resist deviance promoted by peers.

Taking into consideration the role of the community in the reintegration of offenders as well as its facilitating influence on the labelling process (see section 2.2.4), the importance of including the community in criminal justice proceedings cannot be ignored. It has been found

that including the victim and community members in the criminal justice process has a positive effect on offender reintegration and is therefore necessary as it can decrease recidivism if it is executed correctly (Goodey, 2000, as cited in Norton, 2007:64). The direct family unit also plays a crucial role in preventing recidivism. Depending on the nature of the offence and the availability of resources to the family, numerous individuals become alienated from their families upon incarceration. The bond between the offender and his or her family becomes strained, either because of personal factors related to forgiveness for the offence or for logistical and financial reasons prohibiting the family from making visits (Dissel, 2008:158). This strain has been shown to leave the inmate with no support structure to rely on upon release whilst the individual attempts to find the means to become a contributing member of society.

3.1.4 Criminological Variables

Much like the early influences of friends and family, criminal history has also been found to be a significant predictor of recidivism (Benda et al., 2001:604; Gendreau et al., 1996:588). Criminal history could itself be attributed to factors related to age of first involvement with criminality and the process of deviant labelling by society (see section 2.2.4). This deviant label may, after repeated exposure, become so internalised that the individual becomes incapable of behaving in a pro-social manner, often as a result of high levels of stigmatisation leading to marginalisation and lack of community support. In considering the available research, it can be argued that certain offence types, particularly sexual and violent offences, tend to create a higher risk of recidivism than others owing to the large amount of representation these types of offences have in the literature (Davies, 2007:98; Hollway, Mawhinney & Sheehy, 2007:110; Williams & Fouche, 2008:151). However, the articles cited use samples from economically developed countries such as the United States and would therefore more appropriately explain crime in that context. When considering the South African context, it can be argued that sexual and violent offending are not the highest reoffending crime categories – economic offending is.

As there is no official reoffending data (see Chapter 1), this assertion cannot be empirically proven. However, looking at the most recent crime statistics in conjunction with the generally high level of unemployment, it appears that economic offenders have the highest probability of reoffending. The reason behind this could be the high level of survival crime. Looking at

some of the offence-specific findings from Cronje (2012), a similar pattern emerges based on the findings associated with the nature of the participant's most recent offences. The study found that 75% of the participants were incarcerated for economic offences at the time of the study despite having histories of aggressive, narcotic and offences classified as "other", as well as previous economic offences (Cronje, 2012:109). This finding provides support for the view that offenders of all crime categories in South Africa struggle to find employment upon release and therefore turn to economic crimes to survive. The available research can also be said to reflect the offences that illicit higher levels of social concern rather than those with the highest recidivism rates. Furthermore, the criminogenic needs of recidivists may be the most appropriate target areas for treatment, owing to their causal influences in terms of reoffending behaviour. These factors are further elaborated on later in the chapter (see section 3.2).

In terms of offense-specific variables, Mann et al., (2010) conducted research on factors associated with recidivism of sex offenders. Offense-specific research in the field of recidivism is often directed at sex offenders, owing to the level of public outcry it commands, reflecting the sentiment mentioned above. Sexual recidivism is also often found in the international literature to be one of the offence types that is the most difficult to address, because of the deep-seated psychological factors present in the offenders. The risk factors identified in the study by Mann et al. (2010) are broken down into empirically supported risk factors, promising risk factors, unsupported but with interesting exceptions and not risk factors. These factors are categorised according to their level of empirical support within the existing research field. In addition, these authors argue that further research should be conducted to explore possible additional factors that have not already been included.

Factors that fell into the first category and were therefore highly correlated to sexual recidivism included sexual preoccupation (abnormally intense sexual interest to the point of negatively affecting daily functioning, synonymous with hyper sexuality or sexual addictions), sexual preference for prepubescent or pubescent children, sexualised violence (sadism or preference for coercive sexual interactions over those of a consensual nature), multiple paraphilia (many socially deviant or unusual sexual interests), offense-supportive attitudes (beliefs and attitudes that support or justify sexual offending), emotional congruence with children and lack of emotionally intimate relationships with adults (finding more emotional satisfaction in relationships with children), lifestyle impulsiveness (high levels of instability in general daily functioning, employment, self-control), lack of problem-solving

skills (cognitive difficulties with identifying and implementing constructive solutions to challenges faced in daily activities), resistance to rules and supervision, grievance/hostility (directed at the world around them due to their perception of having been unfairly treated or that other people are the cause of their problems) and negative social influences (association with other individuals involved in criminal activity) (Mann et al., 2010:9). These factors as well as a number of the others considered “promising” reflect the variables covered in cognitive-behavioural theory and provide support for the importance of considering how individuals process information in their environment as well as the development of their cognitive content.

From a South African perspective, Schoeman (2002) identifies seven characteristics of recidivists in South Africa. The first characteristic refers to the level of integration with social structures and development. The author states that incomplete developmental tasks such as the absence of formal education can be seen as developmental stumbling blocks that often exclude the individuals from normal social participation such as employment, and may be a factor increasing risk of offending. The second characteristic is linked to the first in the sense that it focuses on the level of idleness experienced by many recidivists owing to a lack of employment or constructive activities. The third characteristic is the recidivist’s lack of ability to integrate emotionally with supportive social structures, often because of the unrealistic perceptions of the nature of the relationships with these support systems and experiences of stigmatisation and labelling (Schoeman, 2002:255). The fourth characteristic is an overemphasis of positive aspects of social functioning at the expense of recognition of the negative aspects. Doing so creates a growing perception of overly positive interpretations of functioning whilst ignoring the negative aspects, therefore limiting the individual’s ability to recognise a potential need for change. This feature emphasises the unrealistic nature of repeat offender’s self-evaluations.

The fifth characteristic speaks to more cognitive factors of constructive problem solving, in that recidivists lack adequate problem-solving skills and tend to overemphasise common daily challenges as stressful and overwhelming. Their general model of problem solving tends to be defined by anti-social and deviant options (Schoeman, 2002:256). The sixth and seventh characteristics continue within the framework of social dysfunction and include an external locus of control and involvement in substance abuse respectively. An external locus of control is said to hamper the ability of individuals to take responsibility for their actions

and therefore view their behaviour and the subsequent consequences as beyond their control. Substance abuse can be seen as a way in which many recidivists cope with feelings of anxiety and incompetence, stemming from experiences of social inadequacy. This type of coping strategy can be linked to the explanation provided in the previous chapter (see section 2.2.4) and may furthermore contribute towards an increased prevalence of anti-social behaviour (Schoeman, 2002:257).

One aspect that may be symptomatic rather than causal is idleness owing to unemployment. For the relationship to be causal, there would need to be a direct link between unemployment and crime. However, the first challenge with this assumption is that the unemployed population in South Africa cannot be considered a homogenous group, and if one is to look at the unemployment statistics in comparison to the incarceration percentage, one would find a vast difference, indicating that there is a larger population of individuals who are unemployed but who do not participate in crime. This distinction is important not only from an empirical perspective, but also in terms of the creation of stereotypes fuelling the perception of people living in poverty as criminals. Mention has been made of the influence of labelling in the previous chapter (see section 2.2.4), and in changing the current negative perception of people living in poverty as offenders, society could also change the reaction to both people labelled as “poor” or “criminal” and thereby become more constructive in their approach when attempting to engage with either issue.

3.1.5 Psychological Variables

This disparity between perception and actual nature of the unemployed population highlights the need to also focus on more individual-orientated psychological variables. Hence, in an attempt to understand offending behaviour, researchers in the social sciences have included psychological concepts into their studies, as they provide insight into the development and influence of individual behavioural motivations. If one is to consider the emphasis placed on targeting psychological factors in treatment programmes, it can be assumed that these variables have been acknowledged and are believed to be influencing factors of offending behaviour. However, researchers such as Andrews, Bonta and Hoge (cited in Gendreau et al., 1996:577) are of the opinion that these personal distress variables are not significant risk factors and therefore not suitable targets for treatment. Support for this perspective is limited, and does not seem to be reflected in the correctional environment because of the large amount of emphasis placed on dealing with variables such as anxiety, depression and self-

esteem. Furthermore, the literature on the psychological explanations of offending behaviour predominantly focuses on general offending and not necessarily recidivism alone. These two factors can nevertheless be closely linked if one is to consider the variables previously mentioned such as criminal history, substance use and deviant peer associations, all of which contain psychological explanations and have been associated with recidivism. Recidivism is also more often used as a measure of success for treatment programmes than an outcome variable on its own.

In terms of personality factors associated with recidivism, Rydén-Lodi, Burk, Stattin and af Klinteberg (2008) compare the personality correlates between recidivists and non-criminal groups in a Swedish cohort. The study's findings show that the recidivism group tended to score more highly on measures of non-conformity and lower on levels of socialisation, indicating that the non-criminal group was more likely to be well socialised and willing to conform to social expectations of appropriate behaviour. The non-criminal group was also found to score significantly less in sensation-seeking aspects of the study, indicating that the individuals comprising this group were more comfortable with dealing with the repetitive aspects of everyday life considered to be mundane by the recidivists (Rydén-Lodi et al., 2008:91). Repeat offenders were furthermore found to score more highly on measures of impulsivity, experience seeking, monotony avoidance and egocentricity. This group was also found to be less trusting in people around them, showing signs of irritability, suspicion and aggression (Rydén-Lodi et al., 2008:91).

There is no scarcity of studies available exploring the psychological aspects of inmates in the prison research literature. Research from the United Kingdom has established the prevalence rate of mental health issues in correctional centres to range from 25% to 81%. These psychological issues are furthermore said to include conditions ranging from stress-related disorders to more serious personality and conduct disorders (Dissel, 2008:168). These issues could, however, be created or exacerbated by the poor living conditions and overwhelming level of institutionalisation, stress and trauma many inmates experience inside the prison. The South African context does not provide a better picture, with its high levels of overcrowding and conditions that do not preserve human dignity, the details of which are discussed later in this chapter (see section 3.2.1). The effect of institutionalisation can also hinder the inmate's ability for independent thought and action, making it difficult to reintegrate into society upon release (Dissel, 2008:158).

Other variables, such as a predominantly external locus of control, have been found to be significant factors related to treatment effectiveness and thereby recidivism. The concept of locus of control refers to the level of control individuals feel they have over their own behaviour (Fisher, Beech & Browne, 1998:2). In an article focusing on the related factors of locus of control and sexual offenders Fisher et al. (1998) refer to research that states that a variety of offenders including violent and sexual offenders have an external locus of control, meaning that the offenders perceived life-events as being out of their control, and due to “chance, fate, luck or powerful others” (Fisher et al., 1998:2). This perception of behavioural control has also been linked to increased levels of impulsiveness, a factor associated with violent or aggressive behaviour (Deming & Lochman, 2008; Fisher et al., 1998:2). This link may be explained by considering the relationship between internal or external locus of control and level of self-control, whereby individuals with an external locus of control are more inclined to displays of aggression following anger arousal due to a lower sense of self-control and increased impulsivity than those with an internal locus of control (Deming & Lochman, 2008). Fisher et al. (1998:7) additionally establish that self-esteem was also correlated positively to treatment success, as individuals with higher self-esteem scores were also found to be more receptive to treatment (Fisher et al., 1998:7).

Self-esteem has appeared as a variable in numerous studies with varying results. Based on the findings of past research that claimed that a majority of adolescents committed minor criminal acts that would largely go undetected but for which they could have been imprisoned, Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson (2004:71) conducted a study on students at a college and at a university in Iceland to discover what factors influenced their deviant behaviour. The results directly related to self-esteem only showed a correlation between self-esteem scores and financial or excitement motives. This finding indicates that individuals with lower self-esteem were more likely to commit criminal acts for monetary gain or for enjoyment and pleasure (Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 2004:78). Another relevant result is that 73% of the participants were in the company of their peers during the commission of their most serious offences, perhaps indicating the effect of peer pressure for the individual to be perceived as conforming to behaviour evaluated positively by the peer group, thereby increasing self-esteem (Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 2004:79). This finding can be related to a perspective found in the research of Peacock (2006:49), which establishes that negative peer relations could hinder personal development if a fear of peer group rejection exists.

However, a number of studies exist that refute self-esteem as a predictor of recidivism and argue instead that factors related to anti-social personality disorder provide a better explanation. This perspective may not be as contradictory to the self-esteem explanation as first perceived, as factors related to anti-social personality disorder are also associated with grandiose feelings, neuroticism, depression and anxiety (Thornton, Beech & Marshall, 2004:590). This one-dimensional approach to the analysis of the relationship between self-esteem and repeat offending behaviour is considered a general shortcoming of self-esteem research. The conceptualisation of self-esteem as a test variable also differs between studies, thereby affecting the possibility of cross study comparisons (Baumeister et al., 1996:5; Bonta & Gendreau, 1990:348). Owing to the complex nature of human behaviour, acknowledgement of the possible role of additional variables should be included in the interpretation of research findings, as these variables may outweigh the normally positive effect of a stable self-esteem (Thornton et al., 2004:596).

In their study on self-control, Tangney, Baumeister and Boone (2004:299) show a significant correlation between high self-esteem and high levels of self-control. In their study, they also assess the stability of self-esteem, which was found to correlate positively with self-control as well. In a study on boot-camp graduates in the United States, Benda (2001:723) found that non-recidivists had a higher level of self-esteem and self-efficacy than recidivists. Thornton et al. (2004:596) found in a sample of sexual recidivists that self-esteem prior to treatment was inversely linked to number of re-offences. The results of their study indicated that an increase in self-esteem was correlated to a decrease in re-offending. It was also found that the entire sample of re-offenders still had a lower level of self-esteem than the normative data for non-offenders, therefore indicating that as self-esteem approached normative levels, the number of re-offences approached zero.

Parker, Morton, Lingefelt and Johnson (2005:414) found in a study of violent and non-violent youth offenders that low self-esteem along with a number of other personality characteristics such as unstable emotionality and increased anxiety predicted future violent re-offending, whereas number of previous criminal offences predicted future non-violent offending. Findings of this nature illustrate the view that research including psychological variables produce mixed results as predictors of recidivism, and therefore may benefit from a more inclusive approach in terms of acknowledging the possible role of additional variables when analysing data and developing explanations.

When considering the South African and international research presented and that which is to follow, one could find evidence to support the notion that a low level of self-esteem is related to offending behaviour. This perspective is the most commonly accepted one, but has been challenged by Baumeister et al. (1996), who link an unstable high self-esteem to an increase in aggression and therewith the likelihood of deviant behaviour (Oser, 2006:344). Popular understandings of the relationship between offending behaviour and self-esteem purport that individual displays of aggression act as a means to enhance self-esteem, owing to the individuals' perceptions that aggression is a socially desirable response, and thus increase their perceived social standing. It is here where the relationship to deviant subcultures becomes apparent, where traditional ideologies of socially desirable behaviour are replaced with those of a smaller non-conforming or deviant subgroup (Jordan & O'Hare, 2007:126; Kernis, Grannemann & Barclay, 1989:1013; Oser, 2006:347; Parker et al., 2005:414).

The contrasting explanation is that the aggressive response is because of an over-inflated self-esteem. Support for this perspective in the South African context can be found in the results of the study conducted by Cronje (2012), where one of the findings was that repeat offenders who had committed aggressive offences had a significantly higher level of self-esteem than all other offending categories, and that self-esteem scores also increased as length of time in the correctional facility increased. The explanation provided is largely similar to Rogers' state of incongruence, as it views aggression as a response to external appraisals of the self that are in contrast with the individual's highly exaggerated and thus unrealistic positive self-perception (Oser, 2006:347). Baumeister et al. (1996:8) refer to "threatened egotism" as the cause of this aggressive reaction and state that if a positive view of the self is to be maintained in light of a negative appraisal, the negative response needs to be diverted away from the self and toward the source of the evaluation. However, internalising the negative appraisal would result in a decrease in self-evaluation and may thus prompt a withdrawn reaction. Similar explanations and interpretations of this perspective refer to "defensive (narcissistic) self-esteem" (Salmivalli, 2001:390), "unstable high self-esteem" (Kernis et al., 1989:1019) or a "disguised low self-esteem" (Bruce, 2006:34).

However, in order to avoid simply duplicating previous research and rather to further develop the understanding of the South African recidivist (see section 1.5), the information presented below focuses more specifically on the literature exploring the victimogenic and criminogenic factors associated with recidivism as defined in the first chapter (see sections

1.2.2 and 1.2.3), whilst explicitly highlighting any offence-specific nuances (a consideration traditionally mute within the current body of research). This approach also falls in line with the study's focus on reactive factors that influence reoffending, including circumstances, events or conditions present after the completion of an initial sentence that drive the individual back into a criminal lifestyle. After exploring the findings of the available research on these factors, literature outlining and evaluating the programmes offered to offenders is explored, with specific focus on their capacity to curb repeat offending behaviour. The studies and approaches highlighted are critically evaluated in accordance with praxis in section 3.4 below.

3.2 Criminogenic Factors Related to Recidivism

As mentioned in section 1.2.2, criminogenic variables refer to dynamic risk factors present in individuals' lives that contribute to the continuation of deviant behaviour. These variables are mutable and include psychological, social, environmental, cognitive and/or emotional factors associated with an increased likelihood of involvement in deviant or criminal behaviour as well as the maintenance thereof. It is the propensity to change that often makes these factors the target of treatment programmes aimed at reducing recidivism (Dissel, 2012:9; Taxman, 2006:17; Ward & Stewart, 2003:127). Different studies place different value on various criminogenic factors depending on the purpose and scope of the study, thus providing varying support for a number of different factors. Some criminogenic variables commonly identified to be associated with repeat offending include substance abuse, impulsive behaviour, deviant peer associations, anger/hostility feelings, deviant cognitions, pro-criminal attitudes, familial conflict and perceptions of social and economic inequality (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:49; Barkan, 2012:9; Cronje, 2012:46; Olver et al., 2011:8; Ward & Stewart, 2003:127). The section to follow presents the findings of some of these studies and group the variables according to the theoretical approaches discussed in Chapter 2. In keeping with the multidimensional approach to understanding recidivism and its related factors, the criminogenic factors presented are classified as either environmental, social, cognitive or other (a category that focuses predominantly on substance abuse).

3.2.1 Environmental Criminogenic Needs

The environment has been shown to have an extensive effect on human development. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, according to the cognitive-behavioural perspective, the environment also contributes to the activation of certain schemata, as the activating stimuli tend to be contained within the natural environment and it is these stimuli to which the individual ascribes certain emotions that shape his or her cognitive-affective-behavioural structure. The experience of incarceration and its effects on recidivism is an area that has garnered a prominent position in the criminal justice research. With the implementation of mass incarceration policies, research has become imperative to prove that this approach is not only effective but necessary. As with much of the incarceration literature, recidivism is often used as the measuring stick of “effectiveness”, yielding an array of studies on the relationship between these variables. The pool of information seems to follow the general pattern of results and criticism of the broader recidivism research, namely that there is a large amount of variability owing to the differing methodological approaches (Mears, Cochran & Cullen, 2015:692).

Mears et al. (2015), in their review of incarceration literature, cite studies that have found positive, negative and null effects of incarceration on recidivism, and argue that the effects of incarceration are simply too dependent on individual factors such as risk profile, mental health status, demographics and conditions of the communities into which they are returned. The general argument is then that the effects of incarceration on recidivism are not uniform across offending populations but rather form part of a more complex narrative and depend on the availability of other internal and external resources. The variability found here could be a contributing factor to the lack of certain theoretical understandings of recidivism, in that the contributing factors are just too varied to make generalisable conclusions. This argument provides further support for the need for more process-orientated theories such as cognitive-behavioural theory that focus on how information is experienced and how this experience is interpreted and allowed to affect behaviour. The content related to this process would need to be understood on an individual basis and can therefore not be as broadly generalised, owing to its context-specific nature. Additionally, studies have shown that punishment-orientated approaches to corrections with no rehabilitative elements may actually increase the probability of recidivism (Gatotoh, Omulema & Nassiuma, 2011:263).

This sentiment is echoed in a briefing paper compiled as an outcome document of a round table discussion on recidivism between the Catholic Parliamentary Liaison Office, The National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Reintegration of Offenders (NICRO) and the Prison Care and Support Network (Law & Padayachee, 2012). The South African prison system is described in this paper as a retributive institution with poor living conditions characterised by overcrowding, gangsterism, violence and communicable diseases – all factors that can be seen to undermine the rehabilitative ideal and in fact “sow the seeds of recidivism” (Law & Padayachee, 2012:2). Cilliers and Smit (2007:86) support this argument, stating that until correction facilities improve their conditions to a level that is consistent with human dignity, rehabilitation will not be able to take place.

3.2.2 Cognitive Criminogenic Needs

In the previous chapter, mention was made of the process of schema development and how the content of these schemata affect the way in which individuals experience the world, the emotions attached to those experiences and the resulting behaviour. Further mention was made of the role of coping mechanisms individuals often use to maintain a level of consistency in their self-schemata and thereby navigate their environment in a manner conducive to adaptive goal-directed behaviour. It is therefore the *content* of the individual’s cognitive-affective-behavioural system that, according to cognitive-behavioural theory, is the underlying structure that maintains psychological states through core beliefs, cognitive errors and automatic thoughts.

In this regard, Smit and Padayachee (2012) identify specific cognitive mechanisms that serve to maintain offending behaviour. They present the cognitive-behavioural position that postulates that offenders have a cognitive structure comprising criminogenic schemata that have been developed through their experiences of problematic social and environmental conditions. The authors posit that young people who experience frequent negative events, traumas and struggles will continue to do so for the duration of their lives. The complexity of these problematic events could lead to the development of maladaptive schemata and thus psychological and emotional distress in later life (Smit & Padayachee, 2012:10). Five emotional needs were identified that, if not met, increase the probability of maladaptive schemata developing. These needs include:

- a) secure attachments to others, which includes aspects of safety, stability, nurturance and acceptance;

- b) autonomy, competence and sense of identity;
- c) freedom to express valid needs and emotions;
- d) spontaneity and play; and
- e) realistic limits and self-control (Young, Klosko & Weishaar, 2003:10).

A lack of these needs is however not the only way in which maladaptive cognitions can develop. In addition to traumatic and abusive experiences, some experiences that are commonly perceived to be more positive, such as overprotection, that are repeatedly experienced can create maladaptive schemata. This perspective can assist in providing an explanation for the varying backgrounds of offenders and expand on the popular view that offenders only come from poverty (Smit & Padayachee, 2012:10). Essentially, the experience of extremes can be said to create schemata that are not representative of general realities, rendering societal experiences problematic to integrate and understand, thus leading to psychological strain.

Cognitive factors are also present in a number of the “big four” risk factors of criminal behaviour that have been incorporated into the “central eight” factors used in the development of the risk-needs-responsivity model of intervention development (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:55). This list of factors includes both static and dynamic factors that have been found to be most highly correlated with an increased risk of offending behaviour, including history of anti-social behaviour, anti-social personality pattern, anti-social cognitions, anti-social associates (big four) as well as family/marital circumstances, school/work, leisure/recreation and substance abuse (moderate four). In a study conducted by Oleson, Van Benschoten, Robinson, Lowenkamp and Holsinger (2012), who identify factors most highly rated by federal probation officers to be associated with recidivism, a number of the central eight were identified but given different levels of importance. Substance abuse and criminal peers were given higher priority as targets for intervention than criminal attitudes and marital status as well as leisure or recreational activities. The explanation of these findings is in itself rather interesting, as it may shed some light onto the possible effects of assessment procedures on the perception of importance of certain criminogenic variables as targets of intervention measures. Oleson et al. (2012:246) propose that the importance placed on substance abuse and criminal peers over criminal attitudes could be owing to the emphasis of assessment protocols within their departments, meaning that the officials were more likely to focus on factors that can be more clearly measured than those of a more abstract nature such as cognitive or attitude change.

This explanation may raise questions about the influence of assessment tools on perceptions of factors that influence repeat offending and the gap that the cognitive-behavioural approach may be able to fill. If the emphasis of assessment tools and protocols tend to have a more traditional behaviouristic approach in the sense that they favour more observable outcomes as measures of intervention effectiveness as Oleson et al. (2012) are proposing, then the more cognitive elements of cognitive-behavioural theory may be able to assist in providing mechanisms to identify and thereby assess changes in thinking and attitude, which are currently being ignored because of their abstract or non-observable nature. It could then be argued that the inclusion of cognitive-behavioural perspectives will allow for an increase in the acknowledgement of the impact of mental and cognitive processes and thereby an emphasis, from an implementation perspective, on more holistic interventions.

3.2.3 Social Criminogenic Needs

Another frequently mentioned factor in criminological research is the effect of negative peer and social influences on offending behaviour. This factor may play a dual role as peer groups may either play an important role in the shaping of cognitive content and experiences, thereby being perceived as a source of comfort and security, or a source of strain in instances of social rejection. Social isolation is often seen as a factor contributing to potential delinquent behaviour. However, evidence also suggests that active rejection can also result in increased aggression (Jones, 2013:21; Muntingh & Gould, 2010:16).

A study conducted by Kubrin and Stewart (2006) focuses on the effects of neighbourhood factors associated with recidivism whilst controlling for individual level factors. They did so on the premise that most research into recidivism tends to focus on the individual factors and ignore the context. The said study included 4630 participants from 156 neighbourhoods in the Multnomah County in Oregon, United States, and found that individuals who returned to disadvantaged neighbourhoods were more likely to reoffend than those who returned to more affluent neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods were defined by the level of economic standing of its inhabitants and availability of resources. Further findings also showed that parolees were more likely to re-offend than probationers (Kubrin & Stewart, 2006:182), which could be linked to lower levels of exposure to the correctional environment and therefore a lesser need to be “re-integrated”. This study focused predominantly on the socio-economic characteristics of the neighbourhoods into which the offenders were returning and

therefore only provided theoretical explanations of other potential factors that could have contributed to their findings. These explanations included links to pro-criminal social circles and social disorganisation.

A claim has also been made in three articles written before 1990 (Bursik, 1988; Kornhauser, 1978; Sampson & Groves, 1989) that racial heterogeneity (traditionally coupled with residential instability) could contribute to an increase in criminality owing to the inability to form “strong social bonds around common values, such as crime prevention” (Kubrin & Stewart, 2006:187). This assumption is troubling, as it reflects the notion that individuals from different ethnic or racial groups cannot, on an ideological level, agree about concepts of crime prevention. In a vastly globalised world and especially in a country as diverse as South Africa, such deductions should be carefully considered owing to their potential ability to promote racial and ethnic homogeneity in terms of neighbourhood development and compositions. Indeed, this concept shows striking similarities to ideas of separate development, which as seen in South Africa’s Apartheid past do not contribute to sustainable nation building and holistic crime reduction.

3.2.4 Other Criminogenic Needs

Substance use and potential abuse is one factor that despite its mixed association to recidivism often tends to be included in research. Studies previously mentioned have found little evidence to support a causative relationship between substance abuse and recidivism; however, risk factor research frequently mentions it as an indicator associated with an increased probability of criminality (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:283; Benda et al., 2001:604; Gendreau et al., 1996:588). Comparative research has shown that recidivists tend to become involved in drug use at an earlier age than non-recidivists (Benda, 2001:723). A study by the Social Exclusion Unit in the United Kingdom similarly found that 60% to 70% of the offenders in their centres had been drug users prior to incarceration (Dissel, 2008:158).

The relationship between substance use and self-esteem in the literature has also shown mixed results, with research demonstrating that individuals with low self-esteem are more likely to engage in substance use to cope with various anxiety-related issues. Individuals may also partake in substance use if they feel the behaviour is considered normal within their social groups and may boost their social standing (Hubbard, 2007:42; Leary, Schreindorfer &

Haupt, 1995:297). A literature review of both South African and international research was conducted by Muntingh and Gould (2010) on factors associated with violent recidivism and substance abuse is particularly emphasised, yet the authors cautioned not to view substance abuse in isolation. The *type* of substance needs to be taken into account as well as further sociological and familial factors. For example, some research shows a high level of correlation between alcohol usage and violent as well as sexual offending. Moreover, offenders who used other substances such as benzodiazepines were associated with a decreased risk of violence. Familial linkages were also found, indicating that individuals who came from homes where one of the parents were alcoholics were more likely to display similar behaviour (Muntingh & Gould, 2010:7).

The use of illegal substances also predisposes one to associate with deviant individuals. The act of using drugs is in some countries illegal, therefore these practices need to be conducted in a secretive manner, often in high-risk situations. These actions again increase the individual's risk of victimisation, as mentioned in the first chapter (see 1.4.3). This practice could also be symptomatic of certain instances of economic disparity. Research shows that involvement in the sale of drugs is often a more viable and lucrative means to make large amounts of money in a relatively short amount of time for individuals from lower socio-economic areas (Jones, 2013:19).

The relationship between drug use and deviance is one that in recent years has become increasingly evident in the empirical literature, with policy approaches such as the “war on drugs” showing a concerted effort from a governmental level to stem the prevalence of illegal substances in communities through harsher sentencing practices. Despite being an empirically dated approach, these policies are based on the deterrence model of criminal justice, which assumes that if the perception of certainty and severity of punishment exists regarding a given action, that action will be less likely to manifest (Spohn & Holleran, 2002:331). This approach also assumes that individuals always act in a rational and logical manner when becoming involved in criminal activities, a sentiment that when placed into the context of drug use becomes potentially paradoxical. The study conducted by Spohn and Holleran (2002:350) on the effects of imprisonment on recidivism specifically in relation to drug involvement found that drug involvement did increase the probability of reoffending in comparison to non-drug using offenders. The study also found that individuals who were sentenced to a correctional sentence as opposed to probation were not only more likely to

reoffend, but would also do so in a much shorter period of time. This finding provides further support for the sentiments presented in section 3.2.1. The study concludes that incarceration should be considered a criminogenic variable, and when accompanied by continued drug use exponentially increases the probability of recidivism (Spohn & Holleran, 2002:351).

The criminogenic nature of imprisonment can furthermore be linked to the decrease in familial support it creates, especially in the South African context. Aside from the commonly acknowledged effect of labelling, lack of familial support owing to financial difficulties is something that has also been mentioned in the literature. These difficulties may be because of the removal of the breadwinner or a reflection of the level of poverty in which the family usually resides (Khwela, 2014:146). This experience of isolation can lead to feelings of anxiety and negative self-worth (as mentioned in section 3.1.4), which may furthermore increase the probability of new or continued substance use as a means of coping with this new reality (Schoeman, 2002:248).

3.3 Victimogenic Factors Related to Recidivism

Throughout the conceptualisation section and the theoretical chapter, mention has been made and information presented on the importance and prevalence of victimisation experiences in the lives of individuals in conflict with the law. In the conceptualisation section, victimogenic variables were said to refer to factors that increase the likelihood of victimisation or victimisation risk. It was furthermore stated that it is important to consider victimogenic variables when discussing recidivism, due to the frequency of victimisation experiences present in the lives of offenders. Research conducted by Jennings et al. (2012:16) was cited that stated that victimisation is one of the most highly correlated yet least recognised factors associated with offending behaviour. This section provides additional information on research into the prevalence of victim-offender overlap as well as the impact of vicarious experiences of victimisation on human cognition.

3.3.1 Victim-Offender Overlap

In a study on the effects of victimisation on adolescent recidivism Chan et al. (2003) found a significant relationship between repeat victimisation and delinquent recidivism. Data from 17 000 high school seniors were used and it was found that repeat victimisation was significantly

correlated with the initiation of delinquent behaviour. The study furthermore found that the strength of the relationship increased as offending behaviour increased, thus it was also found that recidivists were more likely to experience repeat victimisation. Interestingly, in terms of additional characteristics, another finding was that seniors who were more prone to repeat victimisation were mainly male, black, drug users who skipped school, had poor grades or undertook risky behaviours. These factors were equally as common in those who were found to be involved in repeated delinquent behaviour, providing evidence for the sentiment (discussed in section 1.2.3) regarding empirical studies that consistently find evidence to oppose the common perception of victim-offender dichotomies (Dissel, 2013:275; Ezell & Tanner-Smith, 2009:147; Fattah, 2010:53; Peacock, 2013:7).

Chan et al. (2003) do however mention a few limitations and provide some suggestions for future research. Firstly, their study did not differentiate between the types of victimisation and therefore the severity could not be measured, hence it was not possible to deduce any correlations between the level of the severity of victimisation and its resulting effect on recidivism. As it was a cross-sectional study, the authors were also unable to provide any causal relationships between the factors, but rather only establish their correlation. One conclusion that could, however, be drawn from the study was that the focus of crime prevention cannot only be on individuals with histories of anti-social or deviant behaviour, but that attention should also be given to individuals who experience victimisation, and these individuals' needs must be met in order to proactively prevent potential involvement in delinquency (Chan et al., 2003:289).

Bender (2010) also published research exploring the relationship between youth delinquency and victimisation. This paper provides a deeper exposition of the differences between male and female offenders in terms of the effect of victimisation on their offending behaviour. Females are said to report a far higher degree of victimisation prior to their involvement in crime, and the nature of these victimisations are considered to be more severe than that of their male counterparts (Bender, 2010:467). Bender (2010) explores the effect of five mediating outcomes of maltreatment and their eventual linkage to offending behaviour. These outcomes are running away, school disengagement, mental health problems, substance abuse problems and deviant peer networks, and may vary in their manifestation and effect between male and female youths. Bender argues that the relationship between these factors is of a particularly complex nature and that further research is required.

Despite this complexity, preliminary findings did indicate that the maltreatment itself as well as deviant peer relations were more pronounced in terms of their relationship to deviance for males, whereas mental health, substance abuse and academic problems were important to females. Running away from home was found to be equally as important to both gender groups (Bender, 2010:470). Explanations for the linkage between maltreatment and delinquency are usually offered from criminological perspectives in the form of general strain theory (negative emotional states), life course theory (disruption of social bonds), general theory of crime (lack of self-control), and social learning theory (learned aggressive behaviour). The predominant limitation of the study is that it is purely based on literature. Though it provides a great insight into the relationship between victimisation and offending behaviour, owing to the lack of actual participants, the author is unable to further investigate issues of dark figures and perceptions of victimisations. The effect of gender-based societal expectations around openness to sharing experiences of victimisation and its effects on people could also not be explored.

In their meta-analysis of empirical evidence of victim-offender overlap, Jennings et al. (2012) reviewed 37 studies spanning 50 years that assess the phenomenon. Their search established an overwhelming support for the existence of strong relations between victimisation and offending behaviour. Studies are cited that have found that in some cases up to 50% of homicide victims had experienced prior arrests and were between four and 10 times more likely to be arrested again. It was also found in one study that being arrested increased individual chances of being murdered 1.4 to 5.6 times (Jennings et al., 2012:22). Jennings et al. (2012:24) acknowledge the complexity of this relationship and state that it is not as linear as it may seem. The nature of the relationship is also said to be different under varying circumstances such as type of offence, as the relationship seems stronger for more violent crimes than property-related offences. Routine activity and general theories of crime are also cited as the dominant theories in understanding this relationship. However, these approaches are critiqued for their inability to explain causal linkages between the said factors.

3.3.2 Fear of Retaliation and the Impact of Vicarious Victimisation

Victimisation does not always have to be directly experienced in order for it to affect the individual. Research conducted by Kort-Butler (2010) concurs that both direct and vicarious

experiences of victimisation or trauma can contribute to future offending behaviour and that the relationship between these two variables can be influenced positively by level of social support and self-esteem. The effects of exposure to violence are mentioned in the study and reference is made to research that established that being directly victimised *and* witnessing violent victimisation have the potential ability to cause anxiety, depression and anger reactions. Even the anticipation of being victimised was shown to have similar adverse psychological effects and was also found to be linked to substance abuse (Kort-Butler, 2010:497).

Kort-Butler's (2010) study favours the explanations provided by Robert Agnew in his general strain theory that builds on Merton's anomie theory (see section 2.2.5) by presenting a micro-level perspective that emphasises the inability of individuals to avoid certain stressful circumstances. The theory states that negative relationships between family, peers, community or neighbours may cause strain and negative emotional responses such as anger and frustration that could lead to an increased propensity for deviance (Williams & McShane, 2010:204). Using the database from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health in the United States, a sample of 10 404 adolescents was included in the study. The results show that individuals who experienced victimisation, those who witnessed victimisation and those who felt their neighbourhoods were unsafe were more likely to get involved in delinquent activities. High levels of self-esteem and social support were found to relate to a general decrease in delinquency. However, witnessing violence was found to predict delinquency in both the high and low self-esteem groups (Kort-Butler, 2010:501).

This finding provides insight into the influence of environmental factors purported by the cognitive-behavioural perspective on behaviour (see section 2.2.5). This principle draws predominantly from the behaviourist element of the theory and purports that the content of the cognitive-affective-behavioural feedback loop is developed from both personal and vicarious experiences. These experiences shape individuals' schemata hence the way in which they interpret stimuli in their environment, which in turn determines their behaviour (Friedman & Schustack, 2012:193; Meyer et al., 1997:337; Nurius & Macy, 2008:112). Therefore, witnessing victimisation creates the schemata of "victims" and "offenders", and if the ideas associated with the "offender" schema are not met with negative reactions or punishment but rather fear, respect or power, the associations become more attractive. Additional results show a negative relationship between delinquency and level of household

education, whereas previous delinquency and peer delinquency were positively correlated to future violent delinquency (Kort-Butler, 2010:501).

However, when an individual experiences abuse from a significant other, the dynamic may change. The source of comfort and care can become a source of pain and fear and, instead of feeling loved and worthy of affection, the individual may begin to feel worthless and undeserving of love. This incongruent situation can result in an individual who is emotionally unstable, socially dysfunctional, highly influenced by cognitive distortions and who may respond poorly to stress later in life (Wade, 2009:175). This phenomenon is indicative of the various perspectives mentioned in the second chapter purporting the use of defence mechanisms, whereby individuals distort or deny their experiences in order to maintain psychological equilibrium. Peacock (2006:56) mentions a similar influence when discussing the effect of degradation on adolescent offenders within correctional facilities. He states that the conditions within the correctional centres such as a lack of privacy, basic nutritional provisions and basic ablutions may have an extensive effect on feelings of self-worth, making the individuals feel devalued and unworthy of respect. These experiences and related feelings may negatively affect the individual's ability to develop or maintain a positive sense of self, leading to the manifestation of aggressive behaviour owing to the frustration associated with this sense of incongruity. Thus, experiences of victimisation or trauma could be said to contribute to the development of maladaptive schemata as argued by Smit and Padayachee (2012:10) (see section 3.2.2).

3.4 Assessment of Intervention Programmes

In the information presented in the preceding sections of this chapter, the complex nature of human behaviour, with particular reference to the factors associated with repeat offending behaviour, is made clear. The studies mentioned have highlighted the impact of both personal criminogenic and victimogenic factors as well as those predominantly linked to the environment. As previously stated, the current study, in acknowledging the impact these micro- and macro-level factors make on an individual's life and behaviour, has been theoretically grounded in the cognitive-behavioural perspective. In light of the information provided throughout Chapter 2, it can be concluded that the cognitive-behavioural approach is one that has found particular favour in the correctional environment owing to its general

applicability across environmental circumstances (see section 2.3.2). This section therefore expands on the information already presented by exploring some of the available research that has allowed for this conclusion to be reached by specifically looking at the effectiveness of various cognitive-behavioural interventions within the correctional environment. This section also highlights some of the challenges faced by researchers when assessing correctional intervention programmes as well as the current state of this field of study in the South African context.

3.4.1 International Perspectives

The challenges facing researchers when it comes to assessing correctional intervention programmes has been discussed in the first chapter of this study, and ranged from issues about conceptualisation and tracking of offenders to the point of consideration as a recidivist and the definition of programme “success” (Dissel, 2012:6; Gould, 2010:14; Magoro & Louw, 2010:8; Maltz, 2001:5). Despite the large body of assessments on the effectiveness of cognitive-behavioural approaches to general psychological issues, there does seem to be a dearth of research assessing effectiveness within the correctional environment utilising factors beyond recidivism rates. Research findings are therefore understandably varied.

Cognitive-behavioural interventions have been identified as one of the better intervention strategies in terms of behavioural change available to individuals within the correctional environment, especially in its ability to positively affect recidivism rates (Hofmann, Asnaani, Vonk, Sawyer & Fang, 2012; Lipsey et al. 2007; Milkman & Wanberg, 2007:59). In the meta-analysis by Lipsey et al. (2007), which included studies from the United Kingdom, United States, Canada and New Zealand, it was found that cognitive-behavioural interventions that were implemented correctly were found to have a positive effect on recidivism, regardless of the intervention environment. Programmes run in correctional facilities were found to be equally effective to those conducted in community corrections (Lipsey et al., 2007:23). Additional moderator variables were also identified to have an impact on the overall effect size. Programmes that included anger control and interpersonal problem-solving elements were found to have a larger effect size than interventions that included aspects of victim impact and behaviour modification (Lipsey et al., 2007:22).

In a meta-analysis of the relationship between treatment attrition and recidivism, Olver et al. (2011) identify cognitive-behavioural interventions as the preferred approach in the correctional environment. The research included 114 studies on intervention attrition of violent, sexual and general offenders. The findings indicated that individuals who were most likely to terminate participation of their intervention programmes were young males from an ethnic minority group, who were unemployed or had a low income, limited formal education and a history of previous offences (Olver et al., 2011:14). In terms of behaviours, it was found that attrition was directly correlated with poor engagement and disruptive behaviour as well as various factors associated with negative treatment attitudes. However, the authors do issue a word of caution in the interpretation of the results, stating that the offenders' contribution to their attrition should not be viewed in isolation. It is also important to consider the role of the correctional officials in their ability to handle the abovementioned behavioural and cognitive variables. Facilitators who are unable to attend constructively to difficult participants may opt to rather expel them from the programme instead of providing additional support to cater for their needs (Olver et al., 2011:16). One of the predominant strengths of cognitive-behavioural interventions is their ability to provide consistent effective outcomes regardless of the intervention environment, which includes correctional centres, community sentences, conditional releases (parole and correctional supervision) and residential settings as well as high- and low-risk offenders (Clark, 2010:23; Lipsey et al., 2007:23).

3.4.2 South African Perspectives

The nature of the studies conducted by South African researchers tends to be predominantly literature reviews relying heavily on research conducted outside of the country. At first, one may be inclined to believe that South Africans are not doing research into the effectiveness of programmes and are relying heavily on the international literature to guide intervention strategies. Though this may be true in some instances, the experience with working with an NGO that implements programmes of this nature paints a different picture and has offered insight into the perception of a lack of research on programme effectiveness. If one were to look at the funding requirements of most organisations that operate on the funded model, the major emphasis on the ability to prove effectiveness or impact would indicate that some form of research must be done. Looking beyond the surface of this phenomenon, one would find that it is not necessarily the lack of availability of research but simply the lack of publication of these findings. Regarding the nature of the articles referenced above, those that are

published are the literature reviews and the meta analyses that postulate possible reasons for effectiveness based on research conducted outside of the country. However, if one looks at some of the unpublished research in the form of dissertations and impact reports, one finds that there might be some available data with which to work.

This issue also raises a few more questions related to the growth of this field of research in South Africa, which may include anything from potential bureaucratic factors relating to the publication of these findings to concerns around quality and validity of findings. At this point, one can only speculate about the reasons the editors of local journals are not willing or not allowed to publish such findings – whether it be because of the quality of the work, the implications for certain organisations that are maybe underperforming or potential red tape by government organisations. Certain stakeholders may furthermore be hesitant to have researchers infer accountability or provide empirical evidence to support the current views about poor service delivery and poor conditions of correctional centres. Though this is not the aim of the current study, it may be an important area for future research to consider. Some of the South African research into correctional interventions will hereby be explored.

A study conducted by Mathe (2007) on the responsiveness of sexual offenders to a therapeutic group work programme in the Westville Medium B prison was one of the only studies found on a cognitive-behavioural programme that contained both pre and post assessments of its participants as well as a control group. Each group comprised nine sexual offenders who were assessed in terms of their attitudes towards women, cognition and self-concept. The study concludes by stating that the cognitive-behavioural approach to offender intervention showed improvements on all of the above measures and that all the required objectives were successfully achieved (Mathe, 2007:404). However, the information presented in support of this view raises a few concerns; for example, the researcher was also the programme implementer and, although it was indicated that this should not affect the validity of the findings, further exploration of the evidence may bring this claim into question. The study presents the findings in “before and after” graphs for each group without any inferential statistics to indicate statistically significant difference. The control group results also show an increase in scores in some instances that are not discussed, which, based on looking at the available information, may indicate the presence of other variables independent of the intervention that could be increasing the participants’ scores. Though the study has many methodological strengths, specifically in terms of using control and

experimental groups, the interpretation of the results does not seem to account for the potential of extraneous variables.

Another study on the perceptions of health care providers on sex offender treatments also found positive results in favour of the cognitive-behavioural approach. Utilising a sample of seven participants, all of which were practicing as intervention service providers, Procter (2015:30) conducted in-depth interviews exploring factors associated with perceptions of efficacy, factors associated with efficacy, ideal location of treatment and the curative factors to be included in the treatment of rapists. The study concluded that person-centred and cognitive-behavioural approaches were viewed to be the most useful theoretical frameworks for interventions. Other factors from the study that have been mentioned in the international literature and some new but important factors from the local context include the importance of empathy training, a concern about the negative effect of the poor conditions in correctional centres, the need for individual assessment-based treatment and the need for participants to experience empathy from the service provider. Further concerns that are highlighted are commonly shared amongst non-governmental service providers, and include a lack of funding for interventions of this nature, the lack of adequate policies and procedures, and the prevalence of social factors maintaining “rape culture” in South Africa (Procter, 2015:72-74).

To conclude this section, the work of Butler, Chapman, Forman and Beck (2006), Epp and Dobson (2010), Hofmann et al. (2012), Jules-Macquet (2015) and a number of additional researchers who provide evidence from individual studies and meta analyses of the effect of cognitive-behavioural approaches on several different types of problematic behaviours is considered. In terms of criminal behaviours, the general consensus across the board is that cognitive-behavioural interventions have a positive effect on recidivism rates. Serin, Lloyd, Helmus, Derkzen and Luong (2013) accurately summarise the state of evaluative research on the effect of cognitive-behavioural interventions on recidivism. They state that it has been established that these intervention approaches “work” (in terms of reducing recidivism); however, the available information does not provide any insight into why these interventions work or how. Thus, it is also not known why these interventions work for some but not for others, and therefore an assessment of the intervention praxis is required to establish the level of effectiveness in attending to factors outlined in the theoretical frameworks of these interventions (Serin et al., 2013:51).

3.5 Conclusion

If one is to compare the information presented in this chapter with the previous chapters, a pattern begins to emerge. The emergent pattern is one that creates more questions than the answers it provides and paints a potential ominous picture for researchers looking for linear relationships or binary causality. The difficulties facing researchers in finding the generalisable core causal variables of recidivism are embedded in the inherent nature of the phenomenon, its conceptualisation, its manifestation, its analysis and its interpretation. This realisation, though daunting for some, is a testament to the complexity of human behaviour and the importance of understanding individuals as entities part of greater systems. In light of the information presented, one cannot justifiably promote or strive for one-dimensional explanations of such complex phenomena. Focus cannot fall solely on environmental factors or on individual-level factors when attempting to understand human behaviour and, in the particular case of this study, repeat offending behaviour. It is for this reason that the study employs both qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques in order to ground the data as accurately as possible in the realities of South African repeat offenders. The details of the research approach and methodology are discussed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4

Research Design

Considering the information presented thus far, a number of factors associated with recidivism as a phenomenon and its related empirical content should be quite apparent. These factors include, but are not limited to, the practical difficulties in accurately identifying recidivists, the challenges in comparing results between different studies, the emphasis on certain types of recidivists, and, in the South African context, the general lack of multidimensional understanding pertaining to the nature of the individuals and the factors that contribute to their continued offending behaviour. It is because of this lack of multidimensional understanding that it was decided to include both qualitative data collection techniques (including primary data obtained directly from recidivists and secondary data from the available empirical body of work) as well as quantitative techniques (which would be used to test the identified factors on a larger scale). Therefore, this chapter on research design, which includes the findings of the qualitative phase used for the development of the final recidivism questionnaire, is presented before the research hypotheses chapter (Chapter 5).

The design of a research study outlines the framework in which the study is to be carried out in the field, and therefore influences the procedures, sample and necessary statistical techniques required to satisfy the aims and test the hypotheses of the study. A good research design therefore both adheres to the rules of scientific investigation, as well as has a level of creativity that allows the researcher to be flexible within the context of the study (Bayens & Roberson, 2011:24; Gravetter & Forzano, 2006:165). In order to test the hypotheses presented in the next chapter and thereby fulfil the aims of the study, with the overall goal of developing a more multidimensional understanding of individuals who repeatedly offend and inform potential intervention practices, it was imperative to select appropriate methodological procedures and statistical techniques. This chapter begins with an outline of the research methodology, in which the “phase approach” is explained, followed by an overview of the data collection procedure and description of the sample. Thereafter, the measuring instrument is discussed. This discussion includes an exposition of the first phase results and how, in conjunction with the available empirical data and chosen theoretical perspective, the quantitative instrument was developed. Then, the statistical techniques used to analyse the final dataset is presented and explained, together with the factors affecting measures of

reliability and validity. Lastly, the ethical considerations relevant to the study are addressed.

4.1 Methodology

This study employed research strategies that were of an exploratory, descriptive and explanatory nature. This multidimensional approach was necessary, owing to the dearth of specialised knowledge about recidivism, both empirically as well as theoretically, and thus it was necessary to obtain and test relevant primary data in conjunction with the existing perspectives in the South African context. Bayens and Roberson (2011:28) define descriptive research as the search for information related to a relatively unknown population or phenomenon for the sake of providing a representative description thereof. The information is often represented in terms of means and frequencies, which are used to identify patterns in the data and can also be used as the basis of future comparative research. Explanatory research indicates a progression in the investigative process as it attempts to explain causal relationships between key variables (Babbie, 2007:90; Bayens & Roberson, 2011:29). In the context of this study, an explanatory approach allows for conclusions to be drawn about the identified and tested variables associated with repeat offending.

For the sake of fulfilling the aims of the study while maintaining research design coherence, it was decided to implement the study in two phases. In the first phase, a foundation of information was developed through the qualitative exploration of factors associated with recidivism. In the second phase, the information was then quantitatively tested on a broader scale in the South African context. The qualitative findings of the first phase can be considered to be pioneering, particularly in the South African context, and contributed to the study's exploratory and descriptive nature. In the second phase, the explanatory nature of the study became apparent through the use of quantitative questionnaires and inferential statistical analyses. Both descriptive and inferential statistical techniques in the form of means, frequencies and chi-square tests were used, allowing for relational analysis to be conducted to determine significant factors associated with repeat offenders in the sample (Babbie, 2007:89-90). These statistical techniques are discussed in detail at a later stage in this chapter (see section 4.6), while the section to follow provides an explanation of the data collection techniques utilised in each phase.

4.2 Data Collection

The study took place with the assistance of Khulisa Social Solutions (KSS) and TAURSRAC Foundation, independent organisations that run various institutional and community-based projects. KSS is active in five provinces in South Africa – Gauteng, North West, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga and the Western Cape. TAURSRAC is a local NGO based in Orlando and Kliptown in Soweto, Gauteng. Access was granted to all KSS and TAURSRAC offices and staff able to assist with the study, including area managers, programme facilitators and associates. The aim and purpose of the study was communicated to these individuals and arrangements were made with the assistance of the respective organisations in order to identify, contact and recruit to the study known recidivists. KSS and TAURSRAC staff assisted in the data collection procedures and with translation where necessary, as well as further explanation of questions or factors where required. All participants were briefed on the purpose of the study, and were assured of the voluntary nature of participation. Not all of the individuals who participated successfully completed, and some participants only revealed that they were not actually repeat offenders once they had completed the questionnaires. These questionnaires were then excluded from the final data set.

4.2.1 Phase One (Qualitative Data Collection)

The first phase of the research was qualitative in nature and consisted of gathering “life stories” through one-on-one narrative interviews with known recidivists around the Gauteng region. This approach allowed for further probing after the participants had been given the opportunity to speak of their life narratives and identify the variables that contributed to their own recidivism (see Appendix 1 for the interview schedule associated with this stage of the research). The interviews were audio recorded with the consent of the participants (see Appendix 2) which was obtained prior to commencement of the interviews after explaining the purpose and procedure of the study (Appendix 3). On average the interviews lasted 40 minutes and 30 seconds with a range of between 10 minutes and 20 seconds as the shortest interview and one hour 13 minutes and 21 seconds as the longest.

The recordings were used to conduct a thematic analysis to identify shared themes and variables, the process of which is outlined in Appendix 4. Thematic analysis requires a high

level of familiarity with the data, which is used to identify, categorise and code themes for the purpose of further analysis. When conducting thematic analysis, it is important to note one's own theoretical orientation. This form of analysis requires an extent of expert judgement when identifying themes and patterns, as this approach is not bound to detailed theory (Braun & Clarke, 2006:15). Thematic analysis therefore differs from the realist paradigm, which would propose that themes reside in the data and only require diligent investigation in order to emerge. In the current approach however, it is proposed that themes also reside in the mind of the researcher and emerge through linking data as the researcher understands it. Unlike content analysis, the units of analysis identified through the process of thematic analysis are themes, rather than specific micro-level words or phrases (Braun & Clarke, 2006:29). Once completed, the data identified through thematic analysis can be used to give an indication of nature, incidence and prevalence (Braun & Clarke, 2006:7).

Upon completion of this process, a list of variables identified by the participants that contributed to their repeated involvement in an offending lifestyle was compiled. Thereafter, multiple focus group interviews were held in order to discuss and verify the relevance of these variables and, where necessary, expand on the original list (see section 4.3 for a full sample description of this portion of the qualitative phase of the research). This verification process continued until the data saturation point was reached. Focus groups are traditionally used for a number of reasons, for example, as a stand-alone process to establish group norms; in a multi-method approach to collecting group language and stories for later use in the study; to clarify and extend, qualify or challenge data collected through other methods; and to report back to groups after the research (Gill, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick, 2008:293). The current study used the third purpose listed here, i.e. to validate the information gathered during the qualitative phase.

Collecting data in different ways is known as data triangulation, which refers to a process in research that increases the reliability and validity of the data. The term "triangulation" refers to the practice of combining certain aspects of the research process for the sake of accommodating for any weaknesses either method may inherently possess (Olsen, 2004:3). Triangulation can be performed on a number of levels, from data collection and analysis, to the application of theoretical perspectives and research methodology. Stewart and Shamdasani (2015:42) refer to the confirmatory purpose that focus groups may have, where information collected in a smaller capacity is tested on a large group for the purpose of

having it evaluated and accepted as relevant. Caution was therefore taken not to “over-direct” the group discussions, ensuring a free flow of information in as natural a setting as possible. The variables identified as a result of this phase, those that were altered owing to the discussions in the various groups, and the factorial grouping process are presented under the measuring instrument development section (see section 4.5).

4.2.2 Phase Two (Quantitative Questionnaires)

Once the final list of factors associated with recidivism had been identified, they were quantified and utilised in conjunction with the theoretical and empirical frameworks (refer to Chapters 2 and 3) to develop hypotheses. Quantification involved assigning numerical values to items that were representative of the themes identified, allowing for the statistical analysis of data that had been qualitatively collected (Babbie, 2007:23). The practice of quantification can be viewed as a trial and error process of constant re-evaluation of the categories in order to identify each theme clearly and sufficiently.

The hypotheses developed were then tested quantitatively through the administration of the repeat offending questionnaire (see section 4.5 for the development of this instrument). The use of questionnaires allowed for uniformity in data collection across the sample population as well as maximisation of sample size in order to gather sufficient data to draw accurate conclusions and increase the applicability of the findings to the population under study (Babbie, 2007:276). To ensure procedural uniformity and completion of the questionnaire, it was important for trained personnel to be present during the orientation and explanation phase of the research process.

Phase two focused on the assessment aspect of the study and allowed the researcher to quantitatively test the factors identified in phase one with a bigger sample. This phase facilitated additional insight into the data collected during the first phase. The data captured in this phase was also more detailed in terms of demographic and programme participation factors, thus providing additional scope to compare the data across various factorial lines.

Phase two also utilised a combination of the realist evaluation approach as well as the retrospective pre-test in order to determine programme effectiveness and satisfy the aims of the study, which refer to obtaining a more multidimensional understanding of recidivism in

South Africa. The realist evaluation approach should not be confused with the realist paradigm in philosophy that refers to the view that certain entities (both abstract and concrete) have an objective reality, completely independent of perception and therefore only require diligent investigation to “emerge” (Braun & Clarke, 2006:7). Rather, realist evaluation is an evaluative procedure that emerged from the tradition of programmatic evaluation, which assesses programmes according to their underlying theoretical outcomes. Intervention programmes are viewed as hypotheses of “social betterment” and are therefore the product of human imagination grounded in theory. The aim(s) of the intervention should then reflect the proposed outcomes of the underlying theory, which in turn become the outcome variables of the assessment (Pawson & Tilley, 2004:2). The variables under study therefore do not exist independently of human perception as proposed by the realist philosophical perspective, but rather reflect the tenets of the theory on which it was built.

The purpose of this form of evaluation is to inform the development of policy and practice while also testing the theoretical perspectives in which it is grounded (Tilley, 2000:2). Realist evaluation focuses on evaluating the entire programme within the context in which it is implemented, exploring the relationship between the conditions in which the programme is administered and the expected outcomes. Therefore, unlike other forms of evaluation, realist evaluation does not attempt to answer the questions “Does it work?” or “What works?”, but rather examines, “What works, for whom in what circumstances?” (Tilley, 2000:4). Modelled on the basic elements of natural scientific analysis, which uses observable patterns or outcomes to extrapolate information about underlying causal mechanisms (e.g. measuring the speed at which different objects fall to produce an account of the effect of gravity on different objects), realist evaluation achieves this form of inquiry by investigating the intended mechanisms responsible for eliciting the expected outcome or regularity, as it is known. In other words, the effectiveness of a programme is determined by its ability to illicit an expected behavioural response or cognitive change (regularity) based on the tenets of the underlying theory (mechanism). In the case of the current study, the expected outcome would be the alteration of deviant behaviour by addressing the underlying cognitive-affective-behavioural structure within the participants’ contexts. Understanding the nature and purpose of the mechanisms used requires prior knowledge of the theoretical basis of that mechanism, thus the realist evaluation procedure is a form of theory-driven evaluation.

The retrospective pre-test is used in studies when the traditional pre-test is not possible or may provide an inaccurate account of the changing nature of the variables being assessed. Examples of such instances may include: studies involving the assessment of interventions that had been completed prior to the initiation of the study; where the concepts taught in an intervention or programme are unknown to the participants beforehand; or when no pre-test had been performed by the original programme implementers (Lamb, 2005:18). This approach is not simply a contingency plan to attempt to mitigate a lack of pre-test, but also has a number of strengths that can improve the validity of the results. One such strength comes from the practice of allowing the participants to reflect on their behaviour or mind-set before the intervention in the context of the new information learned (Allen & Nimon, 2007:29). Indeed, the retrospective pre-test requires individuals to recall and describe their behaviour prior to the intervention in question. This approach has a particular advantage in that it allows individuals to evaluate their prior behaviour, using the knowledge gained from participating in the intervention, thus giving participants the ability to conduct a more informed investigation of their previous state. As stated by Allen and Nimon (2007:29), “individuals did not know what they did not know”. Essentially, combining the realist evaluation and retrospective pre-test allowed for the assessment of programmes according to the outcomes for interventions provided in the White Paper on Corrections (DCS, 2005). Furthermore, this approach retrospectively allowed for the participants to provide an exposition of their own behavioural change as a result of this participation, which in turn satisfied the aim of the current study associated with programme evaluation.

With regards to the detailed sampling procedures, the inclusion of organisations such as KSS and TAURSRAC allowed for access to a diverse sampling frame of repeat offenders. KSS has an operational footprint that spans throughout South Africa, while TAURSRAC is based in the community that it services. Together, they provided access to recidivists from different social, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. A full exposition of the sampling procedure is presented in the section below, followed by the sample description.

4.3 Sampling Procedures

The current study utilised two separate samples, one for the qualitative phase (N=50) and another for the quantitative phase (N=202) and at its conclusion, included a total of 252

repeat offenders. Different participants were involved in the two data collection phases of the study (qualitative recidivism data collection: interviews n=22 and focus groups n=28; and quantitative data testing: questionnaires N=202). As the aim of the study was to understand the dynamic factors associated with repeat offending behaviour in general, it was decided to keep the inclusion criteria as broad as possible. Therefore, the only requirements for inclusion in either phase of the study were that the participants had to be repeat offenders (see section 1.2.1 for the conceptualisation) and over the age of 18 years (the rationale for the age criteria is discussed later in this section). The sampling frame therefore comprised adult male and female repeat offenders from various communities who were clients of KSS as well as adult male and female repeat offenders who had either worked with or were known by the members of TAURSRAC.

Purposive sampling was utilised in the selection of repeat offenders from the *universum* of the study for both the first and second phases. This form of sampling is categorised as a non-probability sampling technique, and allows for the selection of a sample based on the knowledge of the aims of the research (Babbie, 2007:184). In other words, purposive sampling involves identifying and selecting individuals or groups based on their level of knowledge or experience in relation to a specific phenomenon (Davoudi, Nayeri, Raiesifar, Poortaghi & Ahmadian, 2016:6). Thus, participants were selected based on their suitability to the purpose and topic of the study, which was to explore and understand the factors associated with repeat offending in South Africa. The terms “purposive” or “purposeful” sampling are often used synonymously with theoretical sampling. However, there are a number of authors who claim that doing so is inaccurate, based on the view that theoretical sampling should be reserved strictly for the development of grounded theory.

Davoudi and colleagues (2016) present these views along with others in an article on the “Issues of Theoretical Sampling”. Coyne (1997) is cited as saying that theoretical sampling is a more fluid form of sampling that allows the researcher to change the sampling criteria and sample size as the study progresses and new data patterns emerge. Doing so would assist in the development or refinement of the new perspective (Davoudi et al., 2016:6). Similarly, Breckenridge and Jones (2009:118) provide the following quote from Glaser (1978): “theoretical sampling cannot know in advance precisely what to sample for and where it will lead”. Taking these perspectives into account, one may be given the impression that the purpose of theoretical sampling is to find data that supports an existing or emerging

theoretical framework. As there is no definitive theoretical framework of repeat offending to guide the data collection of the current study, and bearing in mind that the purpose of the current study is to gain an understanding of the factors associated with recidivism, purposive sampling was considered a more appropriate approach. To sum up this discussion on the relationship between theoretical and purposive sampling, the following quote from Hood (2007:158) is applicable: “all theoretical sampling is purposeful, but not all purposeful sampling is theoretical”.

Owing to the narrative and introspective nature of the data collection techniques required for the qualitative phase, it was decided that adult participants as opposed to youth offenders would be used. Adults may have a better understanding of the circumstances that influenced their offending behaviour because of the stabilisation of their self-perceptions and the advantage of hindsight. Additional time-related factors also played a large role in the decision to assess adults instead of youth offenders. These factors pertain to the statement made in the first chapter that once an individual has offended once, they can be considered a potential repeat offender for the rest of their natural lives (see 1.2.1). As time after their sentence increases, their probability of reoffending may decrease, but it will never reach zero (Clear, 2010:2-4; Muntingh, 2001:13).

As previously mentioned, the samples for both the qualitative (interviews and focus groups N=50) and quantitative (questionnaires N=202) phases of the study were collected using purposive sampling techniques. Participants were sourced from the client databases of the various KSS offices nationwide and the client and associate databases of TAURSRAC. Twenty-five participants were interviewed during the one-on-one narrative interview process until the data collection reached saturation point. It was revealed during the interviews that three participants were actually not recidivists and were subsequently excluded from the sample. During the process of contacting potential participants for the second phase, the challenges associated with researching recidivism became increasingly apparent. Although the organisations had provided services to a number of offenders over the years, owing to the current focus on diversion services from governmental departments, there were no major NGOs funded to provide services to repeat offenders (repeat offenders would not qualify for diversion services because the focus is on the prevention of initial exposure to the correctional environment, and therefore such services are more accommodating for first-time offenders with less serious offences). It thus became necessary for the approach to vary

slightly and rely more on the organisations' relationships with former clients and partner organisations within their communities than the official client listings.

Field workers were trained to administer the quantitative recidivism questionnaire (Appendix 5), which included an explanation of each item on the instrument, including the instruction page (Appendix 3) and consent form (Appendix 2), as well as facilitate a practical session with a group of participants. The process of having the questionnaires administered by someone with whom the participants could immediately relate versus an outside researcher also yielded some significant observations, which are discussed in Chapter 7. Questionnaires were conducted either in groups in community centres close to the participants' places of residents, or at their homes on an individual basis, at times convenient to them. After approximately three months of data collection, questionnaires (N=202) were collected and analysed from the Western Cape, Limpopo, Mpumalanga and Gauteng provinces (see Appendix 6 for the geographical scope of the study).

When deciding on a sample size in quantitative research, there are a number of strategies that can be used. Yet instead of exploring all of these potential strategies only to eliminate a large portion of them, it was decided that the factors that affect sample size decisions would be considered instead, and an appropriate strategy would then be identified. Arguably, one of the most important goals of sampling is to select a representative sample. Representativeness refers to the characteristic similarity that the sample has in comparison to the population that it is meant to symbolise and from where it is drawn (Babbie, 2017:201). It is accepted in empirical practice that because it is often impossible to include an entire population in research or draw a sample that is perfectly representative, the size of an eventual sample would be an approximation (Gogtay, 2010:517). This factor is particularly important in the case of the current study, as the total repeat offender population in South Africa is not known (see section 1.4.1).

It was also important to ensure that each individual in the sample met the inclusion criteria and the assumptions of the statistical tests that would be used to analyse them. As a broad definition of recidivism (see section 1.2.1) has been used, the inclusion criteria were not overly prescriptive, and only required participants to be adults (i.e. over the age of 18) repeat offenders (i.e. individuals who had committed an offence after having been convicted at least once) living in South Africa. From a data collection perspective, the two phases had

distinctive purposes and therefore required the collection and recording of different information from each of the subsamples (see section 4.4). In terms of the statistical assumptions, a full presentation of the statistical techniques used is presented in section 4.7. However, for the purpose of providing a full rationale for the sample size, a brief overview of the assumptions of the chi-square test is presented here.

As the chi-square test can be used to analyse categorical data, it does not require the data to be normally distributed, because categorical data is not continuous and can therefore not be normally distributed (Field, 2009:691). The first assumption of the chi-square test is the independence of data. Independence refers to the need for each participant to contribute to only one possible association on the contingency table. This assumption also makes it inappropriate to use the chi-square test to compare data from a repeated-measures design. The second assumption refers to the minimum value of expected frequencies required for the test to be valid. In short, the expected frequencies are generated to represent the value against which the null hypothesis is tested. Thus, the closer the observed value gets to the expected value, the more likely one is to obtain a non-significant result. Such a result indicates that there is no association between the variables being tested. The minimum acceptable value of expected frequencies for chi-square tests is five, as a lower figure would result in a loss of statistical power. Low statistical power decreases the ability of the test to detect a genuine effect (Field, 2009:692).

In terms of language fluency, the instrument and instructions were presented in English. In cases where participants were unable to speak English or were illiterate, a trained facilitator from KSS or TAURSRAC was present to assist with the translation and completion of the measuring instrument. A more complete exposition of the demographic diversity of the sample is presented in the section to follow.

4.4 Sample Descriptions

With an understanding of the sampling procedures in place, it is necessary to provide a description of the participants that constituted the final sample of 252 repeat offenders (Rudestam & Newton, 2007:89). The sample description section is included in studies to demonstrate the relevance and suitability of the participants in answering the research question and generalising the findings. As the two data collection phases had different aims,

the sample descriptions presented below are separated into the qualitative and quantitative phases in order to present the information necessary to the purpose of each phase (Pickering, 2017:580; Rudestam & Newton, 2007:107).

4.4.1 Qualitative Sample Description

According to Harris (2012:26), information that is relevant to the purpose of the study (or, in the current instance, relevant to the phase) should be included in the sample description. Hence, because the purpose of the first phase was simply to explore and verify factors regarding repeat offending, the description is not as comprehensive as for the quantitative phase. All of the participants accepted for inclusion in both the interview (n=22) and focus group (n=28) subsamples were adult male repeat offenders based in the Gauteng region, and therefore met the inclusion criteria.

4.4.2 Quantitative Sample Description

This section outlines a general description of the characteristics of the sample population for the second phase of the study, which was used to test the factors identified from the first phase on a larger scale. Understanding a sample population is essential when conducting research, as it plays an important role in establishing the generalisability of the findings. As the purpose of the second phase was to test the hypotheses, which included testing the variables along a number of factorial lines, it was necessary to record a more thorough list of variables. Figure 1 illustrates the chronological age distribution of the sample.

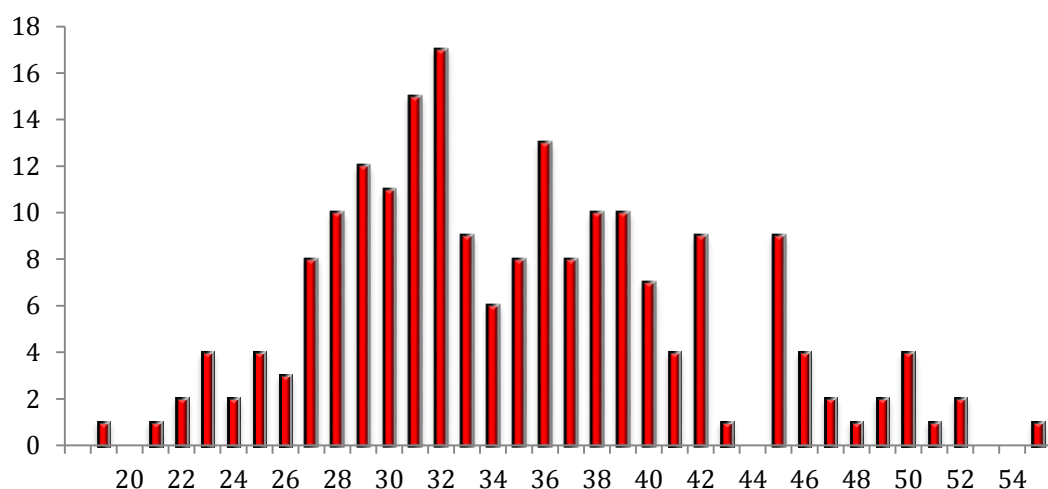


Figure 1. *Age Distribution*

As one can deduct from the above figure, the majority of the participants were between the ages of 27 and 39 at the time of the interviews, with 32.3% aged between 28 and 33 years old. The average age of the sample was 34.85 years old, with a standard deviation of 7.03. The sum (Σ) of the sample ages is 7004, and the range is 36 years, with the youngest being 19 years of age and the oldest participant being 55 years. One person did not record their age when completing the scale.

Table 1 presents the gender distribution of the participants.

Table 1

Gender Distribution

Gender	N	%
Male	161	79.7
Female	41	20.3

N=202

The majority of the participants were male (161) in comparison to female (41). This finding concurs with both national and international research that shows a higher ratio of male offenders to females (Codd, 2013:3; DCS, 2016:30). In addition to gender differences, information about marital status was also collected, and the findings presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2

Marital Status Distribution

Marital Status	N	%
Single	145	71.8
Married	6	3
Traditionally Married	11	5.4
Long-Term Partner	30	14.9
Divorced	2	0.9
Widowed	8	4

N=202

The largest percentage of participants were single (71.8%) with the next highest category being those in a relationship with a long-term partner (14.9%). Figure 2 provides the ethnic distribution of the sample, with the language and cultural distributions following in Figures 3 and 4 respectively.

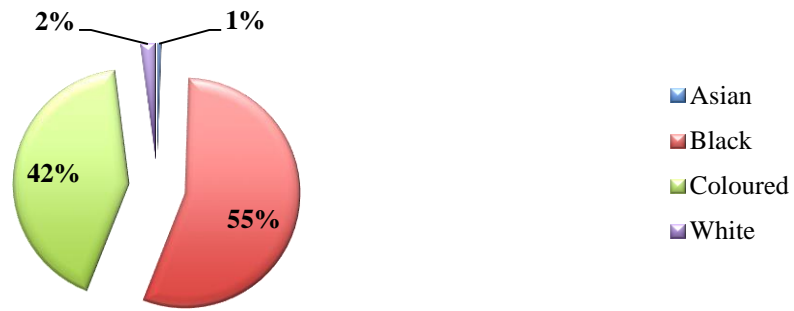


Figure 2. *Frequency Distribution of Ethnic Group Representation*

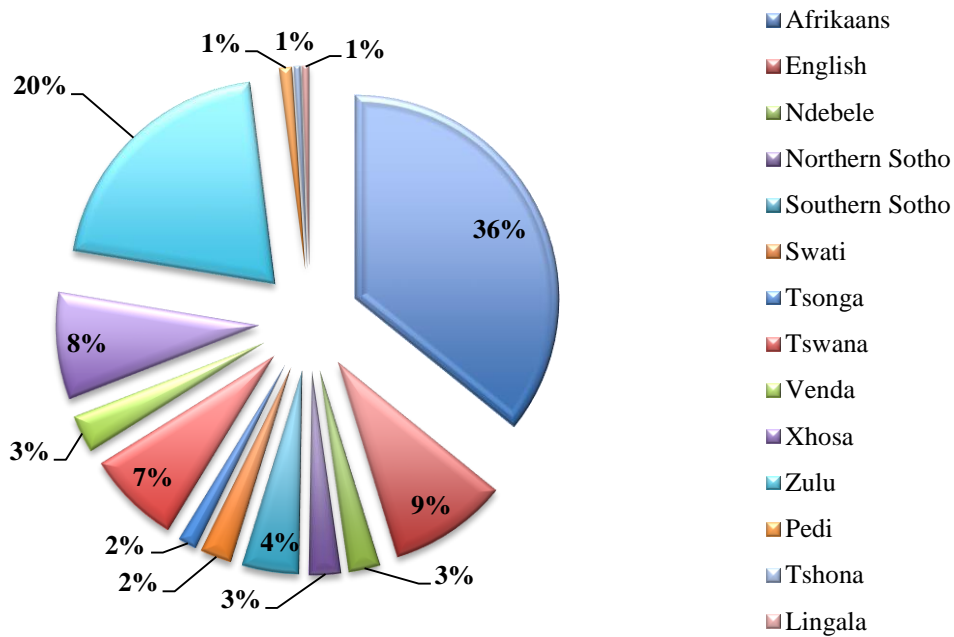


Figure 3. *Frequency Distribution of Home Language*

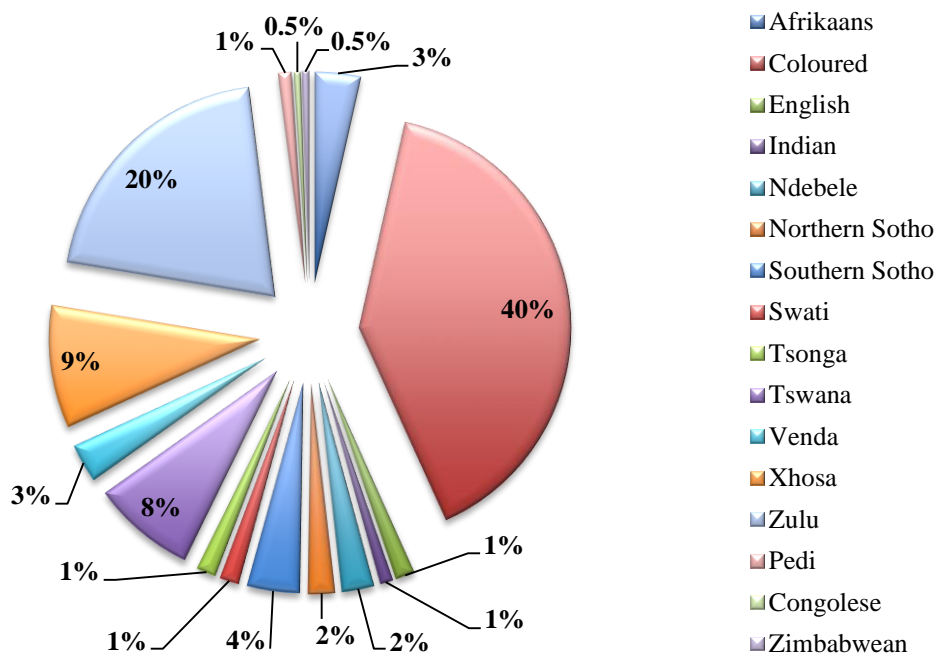


Figure 4. *Frequency Distribution of Cultural Identity*

The highest ethnic representation was of black participants at 55.5%, followed by Coloured participants at 42.1%. Language and culture followed a similar pattern if one is to consider that the multiple cultural identities and languages in South Africa are associated with people who would ethnically identify as black. Only one person did not record language and culture. Individually, the most commonly used language was Afrikaans (35.8%), followed by Zulu (20.2%), English (9.5%), Xhosa (8.5%) and Tswana (7.5%). The rest of the remaining seven language categories collectively made up 18.5% of this factor. Participants who identified as “other” included one who spoke Lingala, two who spoke Pedi and one who spoke Tshona. Culturally, the majority of participants identified as Coloured (39.8%), followed by Zulu (20.3%), Xhosa (9.4%) and Tswana (8%). One Congolese participant, one Zimbabwean participant and two Pedi participants represented participants who selected the “other” option. Table 3 contains the information about the types of communities in which the participants lived.

Table 3

Nature of Community

Community	N	%
CBD	1	0.5
Suburban	65	32.2
Township	122	60.4
Rural	13	6.4
Homeless	1	0.5

N=202

In terms of community type, the majority of participants lived in townships (60.4%), and nearly a third lived in suburbs (32.2%). The remaining 7.4% lived in the CBD (0.5%), rural areas (6.4%) and one participant was homeless (0.5%). The structure of a number of residential areas in South Africa, especially those previously classified as “non-white” settlements during Apartheid, such as Soweto, are unique in a social sense. These communities are characterised by built up housing infrastructure resembling the suburban communities in more affluent areas but are interspersed with informal housing, such as zinc houses known as “shacks”. This means that individuals from these vastly different living conditions are often found to share various community spaces and resources, increasing their likelihood of interaction. The highest level of education obtained is presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4

Highest Level of Education Obtained

Education	N	%
Grades 1 to 7	24	12.3
Grade 8	16	8
Grade 9	26	13
Grade 10	54	27
Grade 11	31	15.6
Grade 12	24	12.1
Diploma/Trade	22	11
No Schooling	2	1

N=199

The majority of participants had completed up to grade 10 (27%), followed by grades 11 (15.6%) and 9 (13%). The reason for the high number of grade 10 school leavers could be a result of the South African education policies that allow learners to decide to leave school or not after grade 10. Three participants did not provide any information about their level of education, 12.1% of the participants completed their matric and only 1% of participants had no schooling at all.

The following three tables show the participants' offence information, which includes their total number of convictions (Table 5), the total time they have actually spent in corrections (Table 6), their offence history (Table 7) and the nature of their most recent offence (Table 8).

Table 5

Total Number of Convictions

Convictions	N	%
One	33	16.3
Two	85	42
Three	45	22.3
Four	23	11.4
Five or More	16	8

N=202

The largest proportion of participants from the current study had been convicted twice. This was the most commonly provided answer at 42% followed by three and one convictions contributing to 22.3% and 16.3% respectively. After the “two conviction” category, the data shows a downward trajectory with a decrease in participants through each category until “seven convictions” is reached, representing 1% of the participants.

Table 6 contains the descriptive information of the actual amount of time participants had spent in corrections as opposed to the length of their convictions. The reason for this distinction is that there are a number of parole conditions that may result in a substantial difference between the lengths of the sentence prescribed by the court and the actual time spend in the correctional facility.

Table 6

Actual Amount of Time Spent Incarcerated

Time	N	%
0 to 12 Months	12	6.1
13 Months to 3 Years	25	12.6
3 Years 1 Month to 5 Years	33	16.7
5 Years 1 Month to 7 Years	25	12.6
7 Years 1 Month to 10 Years	36	18.2
10 Years 1 Month to 15 Years	45	22.7
More than 15 Years	22	11.1

N=198

Four participants did not indicate the total length of all their sentences. The largest group, 22.7% of the participants, had spent between 10 years and 15 years in total in corrections, followed closely by 18.2%, who had spent seven to 10 years in corrections and 16.7% who had spent three to five years in corrections.

The information outlined in Tables 7 and 8 pertains to the types of offences participants had committed throughout their criminal careers. Table 7 includes the offences the participants had committed prior to their last offence and Table 8 outlines the most recent offence. A cross-tabulation of these offences is presented in Chapter 6 (see section 6.1.3).

Table 7

Type of Past Offence

Offence	N	%
Economic	112	55.4
Sexual	28	13.9
Narcotic	37	18.3
Aggressive	111	55
Other	58	28.7

The results show that the most commonly recorded past offences are economic (55.4%) and aggressive (55%) crimes, with just 0.4% difference. The percentage total does not equal 100% as some offenders had multiple past offences. Offences classified as “other” made up 28.7% of the sample. This category includes offences such as malicious damage to property, possession of an unlicensed firearm, possession of stolen property, parole break, pointing a firearm, escape from jail, child neglect, contempt of court, kidnapping, drunk driving and arson. Narcotic and sexual offences made up 18.3% and 13.9% of the past crimes committed respectively. These results may be considered an indication of the prevalence of these types of offences as well as the willingness of the courts to sentence economic and aggressive offenders.

Attempting to compare these proportions to official statistics highlighted an additional challenge in criminological research in South Africa, as the most recent indication of the offender population by offence category is the 2014/2015 DCS Annual Report. The 2015/2016 Annual Report does not contain any information of this nature. The 2014/2015 report furthermore allows the offenders to be represented in only one offence category, despite housing individuals who may have been sentenced for multiple offences (DCS, 2015:30). The reports from the office of the inspecting judge were similarly unable to provide insight into the nature of the offences for which offenders were sentenced. These reports tend to focus on the conditions of the correctional centres and the treatment of the inmates. Table 8 outlines the most recent offences that participants had committed.

Table 8

Type of Last Offence

Offence	N	%
Economic	85	42.1
Sexual	9	4.5
Narcotic	17	8.4
Aggressive	78	38.6
Other	13	6.4

N=202

The last offences committed by the participants show a similar pattern to the list of past offences, with the exception of the narcotic offences ranking higher than the “other” offence category. The table shows that economic offences constituted 42.1% of the most recent offences committed, followed by aggressive offences at 38.6%, narcotic offences at 8.4%, “other” offences at 6.4% and sexual offences at 4.5%.

4.5 Measuring Instrument

The results from the qualitative phase of the study were used in conjunction with the theoretical and empirical perspectives to develop a quantitative measuring instrument (Appendix 5). This instrument was then administered to a sample of repeat offenders, described in the section above, in order to test the variables identified on a larger scale. The initial variables were identified from the one-on-one narrative interviews with repeat offenders and further discussed amongst the focus groups. Owing to the nature of the study and the decision to focus specifically on dynamic factors associated with repeated offending behaviour, all static factors mentioned in the initial stages of the first phase were excluded from the final list. The final list of dynamic recidivism factors comprised 21 variables that were then categorised into five factor domains, namely cognitive-behavioural, victimogenic, social, environmental and other (comprising employment and substance abuse). Section A of the measuring instrument focused on identifying the demographic information of the participants whereas section B assessed the prevalence and nature of the recidivism factors outlined in tables 9.1 to 9.5 in the section to follow. Lastly, section C focussed on variables associated with programme participation which are discussed in section 4.5.2.

4.5.1 Recidivism Factors

Criminogenic factors were not specifically identified as a domain label owing to the application of the definition presented in the first chapter, which defines any factor contributing to an increase in deviant behaviour as criminogenic (see section 1.2.2 for the full conceptualisation). Thus, all of the abovementioned factor domains, including the variables listed under the victimogenic factor domain (as explained in section 3.3), could be categorised under this broad definition. Involvement in crime was also another constant that could be assumed, as all participants were repeat offenders. As a number of the variables identified may also be present in the lives of individuals who do not commit crime, it is appropriate to view the commission of crime as a criminogenic variable in the context of recidivism research. Tables 9.1 to 9.5 below provide a full presentation of the variables identified together with their descriptions and domain categorisations:

Table 9.1

Descriptors of Cognitive-Behavioural Variables Associated with Recidivism

Variable	Description
Selfish/egocentric	Egocentric thought with low regard for others
Relative deprivation	A perceived lack of resources in comparison to others
Deviant decision-making/ problem-solving skills	An increased probability of selecting deviant or criminal options when attempting to solve problems linked to a predominant presence of deviant cognitive schema
Anger and aggression	Increased levels of anger and aggressive responses to external stimuli due to historical or current experiences
Immediate satisfaction	Inability to practice delayed satisfaction as a result of increased impulsivity and a lack of forethought
External locus of control	Belief that decisions and events are controlled by external factors
No regard for victims	Low levels of consideration for the individuals affected by their criminal behaviour
Use of psychological defences	Increased incidences of denial or other psychological defences that enable the individual to continue with deviant behaviour despite the awareness of its negative effects

The variables presented in the table above were grouped under the cognitive-behavioural factor domain, as they provide an indication of the structure of the participants' cognitive-affective-behavioural feedback loop. The variables relate to decision-making processes, perceptions, motivations and psychological defences that are criminogenic in nature. According to the cognitive-behavioural theory, the presence of such processes would increase the probability of an individual engaging in offending behaviour (Nurius & Macy, 2008:111).

All of the abovementioned variables were confirmed to be relevant by the focus groups conducted during the second half of the qualitative phase. The nature of the anger or aggression variable was discussed at length in the focus groups. It became evident that a number of participants harboured feelings of animosity, which manifested as anger or aggression. This observation points to the affective part of the cognitive structure, and was initially linked to the experiences of racial discrimination that were mentioned in the interviews. However, when this assumption was put to the focus groups, it became clear that there were a number of reasons for the participants' anger beyond being racially motivated, including absent parents, their economic situations and community treatment.

The focus groups also elaborated on the nature of the relative deprivation experienced by repeat offenders. The initial description of relative deprivation provided by the interview sample focused predominantly on comparisons between the recidivists and other community members. It was said in the focus groups that comparisons to other offenders living in their communities had a prominent impact on offending behaviour. The reason provided was that it created the perception that the only way to achieve the status of those individuals was to become involved in crime. This perception was linked to variables categorised under the environmental and social factor domains that are discussed after Tables 9.2 and 9.3 respectively. The items in the recidivism questionnaire relevant to these variables included a mixture of bivariate (yes or no) questions, multiple choice items as well as scenario-type questions in order to assess the participant's use of deviant decision-making processes. Some of these items (such as the anger/aggression item) were accompanied by open-ended questions for participants to elaborate or explain the reasoning behind their answer.

Table 9.2

Descriptors of Environmental Variables Associated with Recidivism

Variable	Description
Same environment	Perception of one's environment as no different and therefore containing the same criminogenic variables that are perceived to be unavoidable
Idle mind	A general lack of constructive or positive vocational or recreational activities

The environmental factor domain consisted of the variables “same environment” and “idle mind”. These variables highlight the characteristics of the participants’ communities that promote involvement in offending behaviour. A lack of recreational infrastructure and high rates of unemployment are common in lower socio-economic areas in South Africa. This combination of factors creates a context that encourages alternative (and often deviant) means of occupying time. As indicated above, exposure to individuals who are involved in crime was considered a way of life for a number of the participants in the qualitative phase. Some participants went as far as to say that because of the high crime rates and exposure to offenders in their communities, involvement in crime was not only considered to be inevitable but expected. The items in the recidivism questionnaire associated with these variables included an open-ended question asking the participants to describe what they did in their free time and a multiple choice question in which participants were required to indicate whether or not there was any change in their environment after having completed their sentence.

Table 9.3 provides a description of the variables categorised under the social factor domain. Variables clustered under the social factor domain include those related to the human interactions in the participants’ environments, such as both the availability of support from various sources as well as the reaction of community members to the participants’ involvement in crime.

Table 9.3

Descriptors of Social Variables Associated with Recidivism

Variable	Description
Support structures	Absence of support structures to assist with survival and reintegration as well as lack of community support
Positive social status of crime	Increased levels of social regard owing to involvement in criminal activities
Entrenched in criminal lifestyle	High degree of synthesis between aspects of personal, social and criminal life, resulting in an increased inability to avoid association
Negative peer associations/role models	Presence of and frequent involvement with deviant peers and sources of guidance and inspiration
Lack of positive role models/mentors	Absence of people to positively influence their lives or assist them with positive coping skills in stressful times

The interconnected nature of the variables should at this point start to become more apparent, as some of the social variables have already been alluded to in the discussions about the cognitive-behavioural and environmental factors. In terms of role models, discussions took place regarding the lack of positive influences in the participants' lives, as well as the presence of negative influences, as mentioned in the previous section. It was therefore decided to include both as separate variables as there was no clear consensus about whether or not the presence of negative influences had more effect than the absence of positive influences in terms of promoting offending behaviour.

The prevalence of crime also played a role in the perception of people involved in deviant or criminal activities. Participants confirmed that in some social groups, the involvement in criminal activities gave them an elevated social status both in terms of their peers as well as potential romantic interests. Serving a prison sentence was also viewed as a "rite of passage" for the participants, emphasising the perception of correctional centres as "universities of

crime” (Gatoho et al., 2011:264). Additional evidence of the influence of social variables linked to this factor domain includes the practice of nicknaming. During the focus group discussions, it became increasingly evident that the names given to the participants by their peer group and broader community very often became a self-fulfilling prophecy. Participants mentioned the need to have to live up to their nicknames (which predominantly had criminogenic associations) and how this very often became their core identity (a sentiment discussed at length in section 2.2.4 in the context of the self-regulation process of cognitive-behavioural theory and the labelling perspective).

Items associated with these variables in the recidivism questionnaire predominantly included bivariate (yes or no) and Likert scale items. The bivariate items requested the participants to provide an indication of the presence or absence of support structures with the opportunity to elaborate on the nature of the relationship with these individuals. Participants could also indicate whether or not they had any personal gang involvement or were associated with any peers that did. The Likert scale items provided the participants with the opportunity to rate the level of support they felt they received from their community in order to reintegrate as well as their level of involvement in a criminogenic lifestyle. The next descriptive table includes the variables categorised under the victimogenic factor domain.

Table 9.4

Descriptors of Victimogenic Variables Associated with Recidivism

Variable	Description
Not deterred by prison	Lack of deterrent effect of incarceration owing to familiarity with experience or conditions
Frustration owing to criminal labelling	Feelings of frustration because of the community’s inability to see past the criminal label
Tolerance to punishment	Increased exposure to generally poor environmental conditions resulting in an increased tolerance for negative experiences
Feelings of hopelessness/worthlessness	Emotional state stemming from personal or vicarious experiences of victimisation

As mentioned in section 3.3, victimogenic variables have been largely overlooked as contributing factors to offending behaviour (Jennings et al., 2012:16). Though the variables identified in Table 9.4 could be interpreted as being more cognitive-behavioural owing to their affective nature, it was decided to classify them as victimogenic because of their developmental origins. The variables identified all stem directly from experiences of victimisation that then contributed to these features of the participants' cognitive structures. Repeated exposure to the correctional environment was said to create a level of tolerance to the typically poor conditions and in turn decrease the deterrent effect that it initially may have had. Similarly, participants noted that the conditions inside prison were not notably different from their experience of conditions outside, and that the main deterrent element was the lack of freedom and the perception that they were wasting their time being incarcerated. The general sentiments about incarceration were therefore not necessarily positive, but the familiarity with the system and the people tended to neutralise a number of the fears that they had when first entering the centres.

Participants also mentioned the impact of labelling and the frustration experienced with the lack of opportunities the "offender" label created. This observation links both to the aggression and labelling variables discussed above as well as the employment variable that is discussed in the table below. In terms of the emotional variables, a number of participants mentioned feeling as if they had no future outside of crime and that they knew they would not live long lives because of the level of violence they tended to experience. This mind set along with varied mentions of suicidal thoughts led participants to engage in these high risk criminogenic lifestyles.

The questionnaire items for these variables consisted of bivariate (yes or no) items as well as multiple choice items. Most of the victimogenic items included a section in which participants were requested to elaborate on their answers in order to gain a sense of their interpretation of victimisation. For example, victimisation could imply a multitude of interpretations, from abandonment to overly strict rules or serious physical harm, and it is therefore necessary to provide the participants with the opportunity to explain the manifestation certain experiences had taken in their lives. Table 9.5 is the final table outlining the variables categorised under the five recidivism factor domains, and includes the variables that were classified as "other".

Table 9.5

Descriptors of Other Variables Associated with Recidivism

Variable	Description
Employment	Difficulties finding employment that adequately satisfies needs. The negative effect of having a criminal record on job opportunities.
Substance abuse	The excessive use of illicit substances

The final table of recidivism variables presented the “other” variables identified to be associated with recidivism. The variables included under this factor domain are employment and substance abuse, both of which generated interesting debate in the focus groups. One of the most commonly provided motivations for crime was a lack of employment. However, upon discussing the impact of unemployment on recidivism, an interesting alternative perspective to the usually linear relationship between these variables arose. It was suggested that simply being employed was not necessarily a sufficient motivation to desist from committing crime, because the type of employment to which the participants had access was seldom sufficient to cater for their needs (real or perceived). Hence, a number of participants said that they were still involved in crime despite having stable employment, whereas others mentioned they had no interest in formal employment as they were making enough money through crime.

Similarly, in the case of substance abuse, participants displayed variation in their perceptions about the role of drugs and alcohol in their continued involvement in criminal activity. Though there was general consensus that substance abuse is common amongst repeat offenders, the relationship to offending behaviour was not unanimously agreed upon. Participants mentioned that addiction might be associated with involvement in economic crimes to obtain money to purchase more drugs; however, that it is not necessarily the case for all recidivists. Substances were sometimes viewed as enablers of offending behaviour rather than core motivating variables. This sentiment supports the views of Muntingh and Gould (2010:7) presented in section 3.2.4, who believe that substance abuse should not be viewed in isolation when considering its role in repeat offending behaviour. The types of substances as well as the nature of various familial and societal variables need to be considered as well.

The interrelated nature of the variables provides insight into the complex nature of human existence. It supports the sentiment put forward in the opening paragraph of Chapter 2 that when conducting research on recidivism, it is essential to utilise a multidimensional approach in order to develop a complete understanding. From a methodological perspective, the interrelated nature of the variables also allows for the inclusion of verification items in the data collection instrument to corroborate the validity of the answers provided by the participants.

4.5.2 Programmatic Factors

In addition to the factors associated with recidivism, programmatic and general variables were also included in the final measurement instrument to provide data to achieve the aims of the study in their entirety. The programmatic factors were derived from the White Paper on Corrections (DCS, 2005), which is the policy document for all programmes developed and implemented in the South African correctional environment. Because of the potential variety of the programmes the participants may have experienced and taking into account the model outlined by the realist evaluation approach, it was decided to explore the effect of programme participation in accordance with the overarching outcomes required of all intervention programmes as opposed to those that were more programme specific in order to develop a tool that is as generally applicable as possible. Table 10 below outlines the variables categorised as programmatic variables.

Table 10

Descriptors of Programmatic Variables

Variable	Description
Dignity	Conditions should promote human dignity and fair treatment
Access	Access to social and psychological services
Skills	Provision of skills in line with departmental and national human resource needs
After care	Ensure successful reintegration, directed at inmate and relevant societal institutions
Correctional officials	Need to be positive role models for inmates
Restorative justice	Promotion of reconciliation with victims and community
Deterrence	Punishment must be seen as swift, effective and consistent
Offending behaviour	Address offending behaviour
Social responsibility	Promote social responsibility
Ethics and morals	Promote ethical and moral values
Lifestyle	Change of lifestyle (away from offending)
Development needs	Cater for inmate developmental needs
Employability	Improve inmate employability – market-related skills
Family relations	Promotion of healthy family relations – ensure contact between offenders and their families
Institutional discipline	Should not undermine the rehabilitative efforts and include the use of RJ
Correctional environment	Environment should be conducive to effective rehabilitation efforts
CBT effect	Presence of cognitive-behavioural mechanisms of change

The purpose of the White Paper (DCS, 2005) was to provide a guiding document for the transformation of the correctional environment from the once punitive system to one aligned with the transformational objectives of the country. The variables identified are derived from the objectives of corrections outlined throughout the document and are the key focus points in providing effective rehabilitative services to offenders. The general factors were predominantly derived from the available body of research on recidivism. These factors form the basis of the comparative element of the study in order to explore the sample population along more static lines such as offence type, geographical location, community type and various other demographic variables.

4.6 Pilot Study

Once the factors associated with recidivism had been identified and the data collection instrument developed, a pilot study/feasibility study was conducted. The purpose of conducting a pilot study is to test the feasibility of the research process and research techniques as well as to pre-empt any unforeseen challenges associated with the implementation of the questionnaires (Van Teijlingen & Hundley, 2001:1). As the items in the questionnaires were based on the outcomes of the first phase of the study and included a number of open-ended questions to allow for a broader range of input, the aim of the feasibility study was predominantly to assess the implementation procedure as opposed to the actual content of the instrument. In order to account for potential cultural- or region-specific challenges as well as the presence of the researcher, it was decided to conduct two feasibility studies, one in Gauteng with the researcher present and one in the Western Cape without the researcher present. In the latter instance, facilitators from the KSS offices in Cape Town who had been trained on the programme by the researcher were present.

Both studies provided valuable feedback with no challenges being faced by either of the implementation teams. Language and literacy levels were identified as notable factors that needed to be monitored when embarking on the full-scale project. Another factor that facilitators needed to be cognisant of was ensuring that the participants understood exactly to which period in their lives the questions in the different sections were related. The first section, which required general demographic information from the participants, pertained to the time that the recidivism questionnaire was completed. The second section, which included

items related to the recidivism factors, required the participants to reflect on the period between the end of their last official sentence and their last offence. For individuals who were still involved in crime, that period would refer to their current state at the time of completing the questionnaire. However, for those who did not commit another offence after their last (at least second) release, it would refer to the period between sentences. The third and final section related to their experience during their sentence and included information about their participation in any programmes. Participants who did not participate in any programmes were not required to complete all the items in this section. The data collected from the participants during the pilot study was deemed to be of high enough quality for inclusion in the final study and therefore formed part of the final quantitative sample (N=202).

4.7 Statistical Techniques

The statistical techniques used to analyse the data can be grouped into two broad categories, namely descriptive and inferential statistics. These techniques are used to provide an overview of the sample (see section 4.4) and determine the nature and magnitude of the relationship between the factors outlined in the hypotheses in the next chapter.

4.7.1 Descriptive Statistics

Owing to the relatively unique nature of the study within the South African context, statistical evidence of a descriptive nature was required. Descriptive statistics allow for all the raw data to be summarised and organised into smaller, simpler groupings representative of the actual factors under study (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2007:6). Through obtaining frequencies, means and standard deviations, the researcher is able to gain a better understanding of the nature of the sample as well as a preliminary overview of the similarities or differences between the individual participants as well as how much variability is present.

4.7.2 Inferential Statistics

To increase the understanding of the factors under study, it is necessary to explore the relationship between these factors in a statistical manner. Inferential statistics allow the researcher to assess the data obtained from a study in terms of whether or not there is a

statistically significant relationship. Statistical significance is an indication of how well the obtained data fits a statistical model representing the predicted nature of the relationship (Field, 2009:49). It allows for generalisations to be made, not only within the sample population, but also possibly of the greater repeat offending population of which they are representative (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2007:7). Owing to the nature of the aims of the study and the factors identified in the qualitative stage, the data collected was predominantly nominal or categorical. This type of data requires an appropriate test to determine the strength of the association between the variables being analysed. For this reason, it was necessary to utilise the chi-square test. This test as well as its post hoc tests are discussed in the section to follow:

4.7.2.1 Chi-Square Test

This statistical technique allows for the analysis of categorical data to determine the degree to which the data from one factor is independent from another. Whereas tests such as ANOVA and t-tests measure and compare means, standard deviations and proportions, the chi-square considers the relationship between whole distributions. A factor that has increased the use of chi-square tests is the low number of assumptions that are required to be met. These assumptions (discussed in section 4.3) relate to the need for data to be independent and for the sample size to be appropriate to ensure the necessary representation of each potential association. The standard procedure of the chi-square test is to assess the “observed” frequency against the null hypothesis, which in this case is represented numerically as the “expected” frequency. Thus, the closer the observed value gets to the expected value, the more likely one is to obtain a non-significant result, which would indicate that there is no association between the variables being tested (Field, 2009:692).

The chi-square can be used both between variables as well as within variables across different levels. For example, the chi-square test of independence can be used to construct a 2x2 matrix to measure the relationship between two variables such as economic offending and drug use, where each variable has two levels, such as yes and no to represent involvement in economic offending or drug use respectively. The output table would have four combinations, namely: participants who committed an economic offence and did drugs (EOxD); participants who committed an economic offence and did not do drugs (EOxND); participants who did not commit an economic offence and did drugs (NEOxD); participants who did not commit

an economic offence and did not do drugs (NEOxND). The frequencies derived from each of these pairs would then be compared to a set of expected frequencies derived from those same pairs to determine the level of association between the variables on both levels.

Chi-square can also assess the presence of a relationship between the various levels of a single domain such as employment, called the chi-square goodness of fit test. Testing a variable of this nature would require a 4x1 contingency table to be created, consisting, for example, of participants who are unemployed and not looking for employment (ExNLE); participants who are employed and satisfied (ExES); participants who are unemployed but actively looking for employment (ExLE); participants who are employed but unsatisfied (ExENS). The goodness of fit test would still utilise expected and observed frequencies to determine the association between the different levels of the variable. However, in this instance, the expected frequency is calculated by dividing the total frequency by the number of levels.

4.7.2.2 Post Hoc Tests

Much like the ANOVA, which can only identify the presence of a relationship between multiple sets of variables, the chi-square requires the use of an additional step in order to identify the exact two-way relationship(s) that is/are causing the significant result. For the 4x1 contingency, it is necessary to conduct a pairwise comparison between each potential pairing, which, in the case of the previous example, would yield six different pairs. Because several dependent or independent statistical tests are being run simultaneously on a single data set, one is required to apply a Bonferroni correction, which entails dividing the p value of each pairwise comparison by the total number of pairwise comparisons.

In terms of the 2x2 contingency, it is only possible to calculate the effect size of the interaction. The effect size is determined by conducting an odds ratio equation, where the odds of one factor are identified and divided by the odds of the second. Using the previous example, this would be achieved by dividing the number of participants who used drugs by the number who did not to obtain a drug ratio. Then, an economic offending ratio would be calculated by dividing the number of participants who were economic offenders by those who were not. The odds ratio is then the drug ratio divided by the economic offender ratio. If, for example, the odds ratio equals 7.5, it can be deduced that economic offenders are 7.5 times

more likely to be drug users (Field, 2009:700).

4.7.2.3 Correlations

The term correlation essentially describes the nature of the relationship between two factors. Unlike the t-test, correlational analysis identifies the presence of a linear relationship, the strength of that relationship as well as the direction in which the relationship moves. The variable that communicates this information is known as the correlation coefficient. The correlation coefficient will always be a number between -1 and +1, therefore the closer it gets to -1 or +1, the stronger the relationship between the two variables. A 0 value would however indicate no relationship at all. The “-” and “+” signs indicate the direction of the relationship and therefore a perfect negative relationship would imply that as one variable increases the other variable decreases whereas a perfect positive relationship would indicate that both variables increase simultaneously (Field, 2009:170-172). When performing a correlational analysis the nature of the data collected would dictate what type of statistical test is most appropriate to use. As the majority of data collected for the current study was non-parametric a Spearman’s correlation was utilised in order to find a monotonic relationship which refers to the consistent directionality of the relationship between the variables (Gravetter & Forzano, 2006:402).

4.7.2.4 Statistical Significance

The term statistical significance refers to the level of confidence with which a researcher can state that an effect or a relationship was present between variables during statistical analysis and that the observed effect was due to a true effect and not chance (Gravetter & Forzano, 2006:381). Conventionally an acceptable significance or *alpha* level is anything less than .05 ($p < .05$) indicating that the probability of making a false conclusion is restricted to 5%. Setting the alpha level to .05 would mean that if a significant result is established the researcher can be 95% confident that the result was not due to chance and may be therefore reject the null hypothesis which states that there will be no effect (Gravetter & Wallnau, 2007:240). For the purpose of this study a significance level of .05 was selected.

4.8 Measures to Enhance Reliability and Validity of the Study

At the core of credible research is the ability to produce results that are both accurate and consistent. The accuracy and consistency of a research project rely on the measures of reliability and validity that are entrenched in the entire process, from conceptualisation, through item identification on data collection instruments, to the interpretation of the results. The degree of validity that a study possesses refers to the ability of the measurement procedure to accurately measure what it claims to measure (Gravetter & Forzano, 2006:68). Construct validity refers to the ability of the factors selected to provide accurate insight into the phenomenon under study. In the case of the current study, construct validity was ensured through the inclusion of factors identified during the qualitative phase, which were further refined and confirmed in the focus groups. The recidivists that made up the focus groups can be considered information rich sources, because of their own personal experiences with the behaviour under study. The researcher was then able to include factors derived from a segment of the sample frame and not from studies conducted on samples that do not share similar demographic, socio-economic or cultural contexts with the South African recidivist population (Babbie, 2017:153). Internal validity refers to the degree of “logic” present in the reasoning of the study and represents the path of reason between the premises of the study and the eventual inferences. External validity refers to the degree of generalisability of the findings and how applicable the findings can be considered to the greater population outside of the sample (Terre Blanche & Durheim, 2002:313).

The level of reliability present in a study can be considered as the capacity of the methodology and techniques employed to yield consistent results (Quinlan, 2011:42). The phenomenological approach to the first phase of the study would therefore increase the study’s overall validity, as the items formulated through the qualitative data collected were drawn directly from repeat offenders in similar contexts. This approach allowed for the identification of research-based variables associated with repeat offending behaviour and not theoretical perspectives in the North American or European tradition, or variables derived from other international studies.

Beyond the psychometric properties of the assessment instruments used, the process during which data was collected and analysed could also aid in further increasing the overall

reliability and validity of a research study. As this study used a mixed method approach for collecting data, it can be assumed that where the qualitative data lacked empirical rigor and generalisability, the quantitative data compensated, bearing in mind that the aim of the current study is to develop the understanding of factors associated with recidivism in the South African context and not necessarily to generalise the findings to a broader population which, as mentioned in section 1.4.1 is currently unknown. Also, where the quantitative data techniques did not permit the collection of additional data with deeper meaning and personal nuances, the qualitative data collection techniques and procedures would complement the approach and ensure that such factors were not overlooked. The process of triangulation through the development of assessment instruments and data collection techniques ensured that the study had appropriate standards of validity and reliability.

4.9 Ethical Considerations

As with all research, the safeguarding of the integrity and humanity of the research participants is of the utmost importance. As the factors explored in the study were of a deep-seated psycho-criminological nature, maintaining a level of comfort and understanding of the participants was an integral part of the research process. It was important to emphasise that all participation was voluntary and that there was no material gain to be had in participating in the study. The participants were also allowed to cease participation at any time during the research process if they felt uncomfortable. Owing to the sensitive nature of the content of the study, confidentiality of the results and anonymity of the participants was strictly maintained and no names or identifiable variables were recorded on the questionnaires (Babbie, 2017:67). The questionnaires will also be securely stored for a period of five years, and thereafter destroyed. Electronic data will be stored on an access-controlled server and similarly deleted after the five-year period.

Though self-report research methodologies in criminological research have received a fair amount of criticism, there are a number of studies that have indicated the value and necessity of such practices if implemented in an appropriate manner characterised by the necessary procedures and measures of validity and reliability (Golub, Johnson, Taylor & Liberty, 2002; Junger-Tas & Marshall, 1999; Lynch & Addington, 2010; Piquero, Schubert & Brame, 2014; Webb, Katz & Decker, 2006). Furthermore, the participants were made aware of the aims and

purpose of the study to avoid any feelings of deceit or confusion. Informed consent in the form of a written agreement was explained in a language the participants understood, and the form was signed before the commencement of the research procedures.

A predominant ethical concern centred around the disclosure of continued criminal behaviour by the offenders and the requirement of the researcher to report such information to the relevant authorities. In order to uphold the participants' rights as well as those of the victims or potential victims, it was necessary to have a clear approach and procedure in place to deal with any such incidents. South African law states that the only criminal offences that are illegal not to report are corruption and child abuse. However, the field of criminology does not otherwise have standardised guidelines on the matter, such as the field of healthcare does, for example. Healthcare services in South Africa have very specific procedures in place to deal with individuals who are deemed to be a threat to themselves or those around them, particularly the guidelines set out in the South African Mental Health Care Act (no. 17 of 2002), where it states that individuals who fit the aforementioned criteria should be referred to a councillor and do not necessarily need to be reported to law enforcement. The lack of similar guidelines in criminology made it exponentially more crucial that all interviews be carried out with the presence of a facilitator associated with an organisation that conducts social crime prevention initiatives such as KSS and TAURSRAC, which would be able to provide support and intervention services to the participants who were still struggling to abstain from offending behaviour.

Lastly, ethical concerns should not be limited to the considerations regarding the participants but should extend to the entire research process. The potentially subjective nature of the quantification of the qualitative process as well as the quantitative interpretations of the research data required sound methodological practices and accurate reporting to produce research that complies with the universal ethical norms of the scientific community. In this regard, an application for ethical clearance was submitted to the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Research Ethics Committee, and full ethical clearance was granted before the commencement of the data collection process (see Appendix 7).

4.10 Conclusion

It is recommended that a distinction be made between repeat offenders and first offenders based on their resistance to interventions and reaction to various social circumstances. The use of triangulation in the development of a deeper understanding of recidivism is considered highly beneficial as it allows the researcher to utilise complimentary methodologies to provide a more complete understanding of the topic under study by approaching the phenomenon from different traditions of understanding and methods of observation (Peacock, 2002:43). The phenomenological nature of the first phase of the study allowed the researcher to gain a better understanding of the reality of the participants as they experienced it, thus emphasising the importance of direct interaction with the participants in understanding their experiences from their own perspectives (Babbie, 2007:295).

Chapter 5

Research Hypotheses

In the preceding chapters, the theoretical and empirical perspectives identifying factors associated with repeat offending behaviour and the role of cognitive-affective-behavioural processes were explored. The largest collection of research was found in the international literature with some support from the South African context. It is for this reason that the findings from the qualitative phase were required to identify factors associated with recidivism locally. These factors were used in conjunction with the information gathered from the empirical and theoretical chapters to develop the core hypotheses of the study. This chapter aims to present specific and testable hypotheses that will be utilised to fulfil the aims of the study outlined in Chapter 1 (see section 1.5) for the purpose of contributing to the existing body of knowledge on recidivism. The findings generated from the testing of the below hypotheses may provide further insight into understanding recidivism as well as validate the dynamic factors as appropriate targets of intervention measures in addressing repeat offending behaviour.

Owing to the pioneering nature of the study as well as the lack of research in the South African context, the variables being tested in the hypotheses were derived by including the information gathered from the qualitative phase with the aims of the current study in mind instead of solely relying on individual studies conducted outside of South Africa. Hypotheses will therefore be presented as either null (H_0) or alternate (H_1) hypotheses, depending on the expected nature of the association between the variables and recidivism. In the case of variables that have not found sufficient support or for which there is contrasting evidence, non-directional hypotheses will be utilised. Each hypothesis will be followed by a full rationale grounded in the theoretical and empirical perspectives presented in the preceding chapters.

Hypothesis 1: The data pertaining to the variables underlying the dynamic factor domains will produce a similar pattern of association for recidivists from different offence categories

- 1.1. The pattern of responses for the variables representing the cognitive-behavioural domain factor will be similar across different offence categories
- 1.2. The pattern of responses for the variables representing the environmental domain factor will be similar across different offence categories
- 1.3. The pattern of responses for the variables representing the victimogenic domain factor will be similar across different offence categories
- 1.4. The pattern of responses for the variables representing the social domain factor will be similar across different offence categories
- 1.5. The pattern of responses for the variables representing the other domain factor will be similar across different offence categories

As previously noted, recidivism research that specifically analyses different types of repeat offences tends to focus predominantly on the varying recidivism patterns of different offence types as opposed to an analysis of the differences in motivating factors that lead to the actual re-offence. The examples of such research provided throughout the third chapter (Davies, 2007:98; Hollway et al., 2007:110; Williams & Fouche, 2008:151) may create the impression that certain offence types are more common amongst repeat offenders. However, it was argued in section 3.1.4 that the presence of these types of offences might be more associated with the public perception of seriousness than actual statistical representation. The lack of comparative research between offence types also makes it impossible to assume that the variables found to be associated with the types of repeat offences commonly researched (namely sexual and aggressive offences) are not associated with other types of offenders.

Because the aim of the current study is to understand repeat offending in general, it is important that the hypotheses reflect as such. As there is little available research analysing the comparative motivating factors of different types of repeat offending behaviour, the additional sub-hypotheses have been postulated, which should provide insight into any potential differences between offending types that may exist. One proposition, for instance, is that of general relations between all repeat offending categories and both the victimogenic and cognitive-behavioural factors associated with recidivism. Research provided by Jennings

et al. (2012:24) acknowledges the complexity of the relationship between victimisation and reoffending, stating that it is not as linear as it may seem. The research mentions that the nature of the relationship is also said to be different under varying circumstances such as type of offence, as the relationship seems stronger for more violent crimes than property-related offences. If one is to apply a broader definition of victimisation, including the institutional and structural marginalisation faced by offenders, a strong argument could be made for the high levels of victimisation experienced by all offenders regardless of offence type. Similarly, the process theory nature as well as the underlying constructionist philosophy of cognitive-behavioural theory also allow for increased generalisability of the resulting explanations without compromising the important contextual factors required to explain the findings of the current study (Ingram & Siegle, 2010:79; Nurius & Macy, 2008:102). A thorough understanding of the unique content-related factors is thus necessary to differentiate (where possible) between offence categories.

Furthermore, in terms of offending patterns, very little is known about why these tend to change, but research does seem to suggest that there is a definite change, with offenders often opting to engage in economic crimes after the commission of their index crime (Correctional Services Canada, 2015; Cronje, 2012:107; National Institute of Justice, 2014). The explanation offered by Cronje (2012) is centred largely on the overrepresentation of economic offenders in the sample; however, in light of the results published by the two separate government departments cited above, one might be inclined to propose an alternative perspective. Taking into account the amount of stigmatisation and negative labelling numerous ex-offenders face when leaving the correctional setting, it may be possible that the inability to find employment owing to widespread employment policies associated with criminal records may be forcing ex-offenders to participate in economic offences to generate income. This sentiment is one that was often supported in the qualitative stage of the current study.

Hypothesis 2: Recidivism will be significantly related to the achievement of prescribed intervention objectives

2.1. Recidivism will be significantly related to the achievement of correctional intervention outcomes as a result of programme participation

2.2. Recidivism will be significantly associated with a criminogenic cognitive-affective-behavioural feedback structure

The South African White Paper on Corrections drafted in 1998 and adopted in 2005 acknowledges the need for a multidisciplinary approach to correctional programmes. Taking into account the increase in empirical evidence regarding the factors associated with general offending behaviour and the growing body of knowledge in the social sciences on motivators of recidivism (and without getting lost in the murky waters of political semantics), correctional intervention measures in South Africa can be defined as: the corrective or rehabilitative options geared towards providing offenders with the correct skills and resources (cognitive, emotional, social and psychological), with the aim of reintegrating them back into society where they could become contributing members and refrain from re-entering into a criminal lifestyle (DCS, 2005:14; Muntingh, 2005:38). A list of these goals and objectives, which will be measured throughout the course of this study, are provided in Chapter 4 in Table 10.

This document, in conjunction with the Correctional Services Act (No. 111 of 1998), changed the entire ethos of the prison system by shifting the focus from punitive outcomes to those of rehabilitation and restoration (Dissel, 2008:162; Muntingh, 2012:13). It was a shift that needed to recognise the inmates as individuals with unique historical and circumstantial factors that led to their current situation, rather than as simply criminals. Prisons were also referred to as correctional centres, emphasising again the aims of these facilities to address the deviant tendencies of these individuals and provide adequate rehabilitative treatment options geared towards providing offenders with the correct skills and resources, with the aim of reintegrating them into society where they could become contributing members and refrain from re-entering into a criminal lifestyle (DCS, 2005:17; Muntingh, 2005).

The outcomes specified in the preamble and fourth chapter of the White Paper and outlined in Table 10 in the previous chapter of this study include the following: the creation of conditions consistent with human dignity; access to social and psychological services; the provision of skills in line with departmental and national human resource needs; a focus on successful reintegration directed at inmate and relevant societal institutions; the need for correctional staff to be positive role models for inmates; the promotion of reconciliation with victims and community; and the view that punishment must be seen as swift, effective and

consistent. The interventions should also: address offending behaviour; promote social responsibility; promote ethical and moral values; encourage a change of lifestyle away from offending; cater for inmate developmental needs; improve inmate employability with market-related skills; and promote healthy family relations through ensuring contact between offenders and their families. Lastly, sentence conditions should not undermine the rehabilitative efforts and promote the use of restorative justice practices, and the environment should be conducive to effective rehabilitation efforts (DCS, 2005).

Furthermore, cognitive-behavioural interventions have been identified as being effective intervention strategies in terms of behavioural change within the correctional environment, especially because of their ability to positively affect recidivism rates (Hofmann et al., 2012; Lipsey et al., 2007; Milkman & Wanberg, 2007:59). Previous studies have found that cognitive-behavioural interventions that were implemented correctly had a positive effect on recidivism, regardless of the intervention environment. Programmes run in correctional facilities were also found to be as effective as those conducted in community corrections (Lipsey et al., 2007:23). Additional moderator variables were also identified to have an impact on the overall effect size. For instance, programmes that included anger control and interpersonal problem-solving elements were found to have a large effect size, whereas interventions that included aspects of victim impact and behaviour modification had less of an effect (Lipsey et al., 2007:22).

During the qualitative phase of this study, similar views were expressed in the participants' interview responses and in the focus group discussions. A number of participants mentioned that prison programmes were of little use for them on the outside, for reasons ranging from a lack of proper skills taught in the correctional centre to the creation of expectations that if the participants completed various vocational programmes, they would be able to be employed upon release. This experience made many participants reluctant to participate in programmes when they returned to the correctional centre. A lack of aftercare services was also highlighted as a major issue, with participants stating that washing police cars and doing menial labour did not assist with reintegration or further skills development. A number of cognitive-behavioural factors were also mentioned with regards to criminogenic thinking patterns, but these will be discussed in the explanation provided for hypothesis 6 below.

In a meta-analysis of the relationship between treatment attrition and recidivism, Olver et al. (2011) identify cognitive-behavioural interventions as the preferred approach in the correctional environment. Their article addressed 114 studies on intervention attrition of violent, sexual and general offenders. The findings indicated that individuals who were more likely to drop out of the intervention programmes were young males from an ethnic minority group, who were unemployed, and had low income, limited formal education and a history of previous offences (Olver et al., 2011:14). In terms of behaviours, it was found that attrition was directly correlated with poor engagement and disruptive behaviour as well as various factors associated with negative treatment attitudes. However, the authors do advise caution when interpreting the results, stating that the offenders' contribution to their attrition should not be viewed in isolation; it is also important to consider the role of the correctional officials in their ability to handle the abovementioned behavioural and cognitive variables. Facilitators who are unable to constructively attend to difficult participants may opt to rather expel them from the programme instead of providing additional support to cater for their needs (Olver et al., 2011:16). One of the strengths of cognitive-behavioural interventions is their ability to provide consistent effective outcomes regardless of intervention environment, namely correctional centres, community sentences, parole and residential settings as well as high- and low-risk offenders (Clark, 2010:23).

Hypothesis 3: Recidivism will be significantly related to variables associated with the victimogenic domain factor

- 3.1. Recidivists perceptions of victimogenic experiences in the correctional environment will be significantly similar
- 3.2. Recidivists will have significantly similar perceptions of personal ability and worth related to their experiences of victimisation

The effects that experiences of victimisation have on individuals have been discussed in-depth throughout the study. In terms of social learning and attachment perspectives, research has found that early experiences of victimisation between individuals and their caregivers can potentially increase future victimisation vulnerability owing to the creation of relationship schemata characterised by power abusive, victim-victimiser dimensions (Wekerle et al., 2008:877). Linking these experiences to dynamic risk factors (outlined in Chapter 2), owing to their interrelated nature, negative or problematic thoughts stemming from these

experiences have a permeating effect on affective and behavioural functioning. Cognitive errors or problematic thinking can occur both as surface-level or automatic cognitions, and at the deeper, core belief level, both of which have a varying degree of effect on the individuals' perceptions of themselves, the world and their future. In the case of repeat offenders, such perceptions may be characterised by a lack of belief in a positive outcome brought about by labelling, as well as socialisation processes. These perceptions are also perceived to be absolute, and become the basis for how individuals perceive themselves in relation to the world around them (Nurius & Macy, 2008:115).

Research conducted by Jennings et al. (2012:16), which was cited in the first chapter, states that victimisation is one of the most highly correlated yet least recognised factors associated with offending behaviour. In a study on the effects of victimisation of adolescent recidivism, Chan et al. (2003) found a significant relationship between repeat victimisation and delinquent recidivism. Data from 17 000 high school seniors was used and it was found that repeat victimisation was significantly correlated with the initiation of delinquent behaviour. The study also found that the strength of the relationship increased as offending behaviour increased, hence it was believed that recidivists were more likely to experience repeated victimisation. Interestingly in terms of additional characteristics, it was found that seniors who were more prone to repeated victimisation were black male drug users, who skipped school, had poor grades or undertook risky behaviours. These factors were as common as those used to describe individuals involved in repeated delinquent behaviour. Evidence is thus here provided for the view (see section 1.2.3) citing empirical studies that consistently find evidence to oppose the common perception of victim offender dichotomies (Dissel, 2013:275; Ezell & Tanner-Smith, 2009:147; Fattah, 2010:53; Peacock, 2013:7).

Participants of the qualitative phase had a similar outlook on victimogenic factors. Table 9.4 presents the factors categorised under the victimogenic domain, and include frustration due to criminal labelling; not being deterred by prison; tolerance to punishment; and feelings of hopelessness or worthlessness. Participants spoke of wanting to commit suicide for various reasons, ranging from fear for their own safety in and out of prison to not being able to cope with the belief that there was no way out of the criminal lifestyle and that they would never be able to avoid the stigma or live up to the expectations of their families and communities. The level of victimisation in the correctional centres also played a large role in many participants' interpretation of the world. Some participants stated that these experiences

caused an increased level of anger toward their victims or the people who they felt had put them in prison, hence making the reparation of relationships more difficult upon release (an association further explored in hypotheses 9 and 13). These experiences furthermore negatively impacted on the deterrent effect of incarceration. Despite many offenders being afraid of prison before entering for the first time and despite the poor conditions and treatments, some participants claimed that they eventually became used to the treatment and, for some, the access to certain resources like meals, running water and protection was better than what they were accustomed to on the outside. This point again highlights the structural and institutional victimisation a number of the participants faced that contributed to their repeated interaction with the criminal justice system.

Hypothesis 4: Recidivism will be significantly related to variables associated with community interaction

- 4.1. Recidivists will have significantly similar perceptions of fear associated with their communities
- 4.2. Recidivists will experience a significantly similar degree of assistance from their communities
- 4.3. Experiences of stigmatisation will be significantly associated with recidivism

Recidivism research predominantly describes the interaction between repeat offenders and their communities negatively, characterised by deviant labelling and stigmatisation (Brown et al., 1998:348; Khwela, 2014:146; Schoeman, 2002:255; Williams & McShane, 2010:111). It is said that this deviant labelling process may, after repeated exposure, become so internalised that the individual becomes incapable of behaving in a pro-social manner, often as a result of high levels of stigmatisation leading to marginalisation and lack of community support. One of the factors found to be characteristic of recidivism mentioned in Schoeman's (2002:255) research is the recidivist's lack of ability to integrate emotionally with supportive social structures, often because of the unrealistic perceptions of the nature of the relationships with these support systems and experiences of stigmatisation and labelling.

Focusing more specifically on experiences of maltreatment, Bender (2010) explores the effect of five mediating outcomes of maltreatment and their eventual linkage to offending behaviour in youths. These outcomes are running away, school disengagement, mental health problems,

substance abuse problems and deviant peer networks, and may vary in their manifestation and effect between male and female youths. Bender argues that the relationship between these factors is of a particularly complex nature but that despite this complexity, preliminary findings indicated that the maltreatment itself as well as deviant peer relations were more pronounced in terms of their relationship to deviance for males, whereas mental health, substance abuse and academic problems were important to females. Running away from home was found to be equally as important to both gender groups (Bender, 2010:470). Explanations for the linkage between maltreatment and delinquency are usually offered from criminological perspectives in the form of general strain theory (negative emotional states), life course theory (disruption of social bonds), general theory of crime (lack of self-control), and social learning theory (learned aggressive behaviour).

Hypothesis 5: Recidivism will be significantly related to employment status

Due to the generally high unemployment rate in South Africa, the relationship between recidivism and employment is complex. The availability of income does not necessarily mean that the individual's basic needs are being met and unemployment is not always due to a lack of willingness but also as a result of decreased employment opportunities. Research has shown that variables related to SES might be influential as behavioural motivators. However, as a predictor of offending behaviour and recidivism, SES has been met with varied support empirically (Gendreau et al., 1996:577). In the correctional literature, it has been found that a large number of offenders were unemployed at the time of incarceration. However, for those who were employed, imprisonment inevitably resulted in the forfeiture of these positions, thus making it more difficult, if not impossible, to reintegrate into the workforce upon release due to their criminal record (Dissel, 2008:158; Dissel, 2012:30).

Participants of the qualitative phase of the current study all mentioned both substance abuse as well as employment as contributing factors. However, these two variables also drew out particularly interesting discussions during the focus groups. Though many participants said these variables were strongly related to their repeated offending behaviour, a more detailed account and potentially more accurate explanation of the nature of the relationship was offered. The details related to substance abuse will be discussed under the rationale of the next hypothesis. The impact of employment on repeat offending behaviour raised debate, with some participants refuting the claim that poverty can cause crime. In the beginning of

the discussion, a number of the participants stated that they felt poverty definitely caused reoffending, and that if they were able to get any form of income, they would be able to leave the criminal lifestyle. Others disagreed, using examples of offenders who managed to get jobs but still continued with crime. Their argument was that offenders are able to get employment; however, it is often on a short-term contractual basis or simplistic low-income jobs referred to as “piece jobs”. Thus, the issue around employment relates more to the attainment of adequate income that can cover the individuals’ needs (both real and perceived) as opposed to simply having any income at all. Here again, the importance of viewing the individual factors holistically and not in isolation is emphasised, so that one can get a more accurate sense of how these factors combine to create causal clusters as opposed to just looking for a causal factor.

Hypothesis 6: There will be a significant relationship between recidivism and substance use

In terms of substance abuse, it was suggested that it was not the substances *per se* that increases the probability of offending behaviour, but rather that the use thereof increases the probability of developing an addiction that may increase the chances of engaging in criminal or deviant behaviour. Some participants believed that using drugs when committing crime would make them more successful (similar to *muti* practices), and therefore drugs were used as a tool to “be more successful” in their crimes rather than a cause to do crime in itself. Others looked at the relationship between poverty and substance abuse and stated that people who have money for drugs do not need to steal to get money for drugs, thus it is more an issue of poverty than one of substance abuse. These perspectives, although overly simplistic at first glance, not only provide some insight into the thought process of the participants but also shed light on the highly interconnected nature of repeat offending behaviour.

Substance use and potential abuse is one factor that despite its mixed association with recidivism often tends to be included in research. Some studies, which have been previously mentioned, have found little evidence to support a causative relationship between substance abuse and recidivism; however, risk factor research frequently mentions it as an indicator associated with an increased probability of criminality (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:283; Benda et al., 2001:604; Gendreau et al., 1996:588). Comparative research has shown that recidivists tend to get involved in drug use at an earlier age than non-recidivists (Benda, 2001:723). A

study by the Social Exclusion Unit in the United Kingdom similarly found that 60% to 70% of the offenders in their centres had been drug users prior to incarceration (Dissel, 2008:158). The relationship between substance use and self-esteem in the literature has also shown mixed results, with research purporting that individuals with low self-esteem are more likely to engage in substance use to cope with various anxiety-related issues. Individuals may also partake in substance use if they feel that the behaviour is considered normal within their social groups and may boost their social standing (Hubbard, 2007:42; Leary et al., 1995:297). Indeed, in research by Muntingh and Gould (2010) on factors associated with violent recidivism, with specific focus on substance abuse, the authors caution that one should not view substance abuse in isolation; rather, the type of substance needs to be taken into account as well as further sociological and familial factors.

Hypothesis 7: There will be a significant relationship between recidivism and criminogenic social associations

The effects of social and peer groups on reoffending behaviour are often cited in research as significant contributing factors of repeat offending behaviour, as recidivists are commonly found to associate more frequently with deviant peers and are more easily influenced by them (Benda, 2001:723; Katsiyannis & Archwamety, 1997:49). All participants in the first phase agreed with this perspective and stated that negative peer associations increased their probability of reoffending. Research conducted by Gudjonsson and Sigurdsson (2004) found (amongst other factors) that 73% of the participants in their study on students in tertiary institutions in Iceland were in the company of their peers during the commission of their most serious offences. This finding could indicate the effect of peer pressure for the individual to be perceived as conforming to behaviour evaluated positively by the peer group, thereby increasing his or her self-esteem (Gudjonsson & Sigurdsson, 2004:79). It can also be related to a claim made by Peacock (2006:49), who argues that negative peer relations could hinder personal development if a fear of peer group rejection exists. This factor may play a dual role, as peer groups are important in the shaping of cognitive content and experiences, thereby being perceived as a source of comfort and security, as well as be a source of strain in instances of social rejection. While social isolation is often seen as a factor contributing to potential delinquent behaviour, evidence also suggests that active rejection can also result in outward displays of aggression (Jones, 2013:21; Muntingh & Gould, 2010:16).

Hypothesis 8: Recidivists will have access to significantly similar types of conventional support structures

- 8.1. Recidivists will have significantly similar experiences of support from correctional staff and family members during incarceration
- 8.2. The support structures available to recidivists upon release will be significantly similar

Further factors classified under this social domain after the collection of the qualitative data include: lack of positive role models; being entrenched in criminal lifestyle; or role models; positive social status of crime; and the nature of the support structures. Crime was seen as a socially desirable act, and as a way to be respected and feared by the public and admired by close friends and romantic partners. Very few participants had someone outside of their family whom they respected and advised them to stay away from crime, hence there was a lack of positive role models. Support was variable, with some participants stating that they continued to commit crime despite having a supportive family, whereas others had absolutely nothing or no one to assist them with the reintegration process.

Although familial presence is often viewed positively in terms of reintegration, the dynamic in South Africa is slightly different. The way in which many (particularly male) offenders are treated by their families upon release can often increase their probability of engaging in crime again. It is a common understanding that adult males are expected to provide for their families, especially from a financial perspective. Though this may be perceived as a norm in many societies around the world, for a number of South Africans, this reality is overtly encouraged. Indeed, a number of the participants mentioned that this expectation had been discussed with them, both by their own families as well as those of their partners. This social pressure to provide was mentioned by a number of participants as the reason that they continued to commit crime.

Hypothesis 9: The similarity between the restorative justice and aftercare services received by recidivists upon release will be statistically significant

Taking into consideration the role of the community in the reintegration of offenders as well as its facilitating influence on the labelling process as mentioned in the rationale for hypothesis 4, the importance of including the community in criminal justice proceedings

cannot be ignored. It has been found that including the victim and community members in the criminal justice process has a positive effect on offender reintegration and is therefore necessary as it can decrease recidivism if it is executed correctly (Goodey, 2000, as cited in Norton, 2007:64). The direct family unit also plays a crucial role in preventing recidivism. Depending on the nature of the offence and the availability of resources to the family, numerous individuals become alienated from their families upon incarceration. The bond between the offender and his or her family becomes strained, either because of personal factors related to forgiveness for the offence or for logistical and financial reasons prohibiting the family from making visits (Dissel, 2008:158). This strain has been shown to leave the inmate with no support structure to rely on upon release whilst the individual attempts to find the means to become a contributing member of society.

Hypothesis 10: Recidivists will demonstrate a significantly similar tendency to use a pro-criminal decision-making cognitive process

Research conducted by Mann et al. (2010:9) identified a number of factors found to be significantly correlated with sexual recidivism, two of which included offense-supportive attitudes (beliefs and attitudes that support or justify sexual offending) and lack of problem-solving skills (cognitive difficulties with identifying and implementing constructive solutions to challenges faced in daily activities). These factors as well as a number of the others considered “promising” reflect the variables covered in cognitive-behavioural theory and provide support for the importance of considering how individuals process information in their environment as well as the development of their cognitive content.

As mentioned in the second chapter, according to cognitive-behavioural theory, stimuli do not directly influence behavioural or affective states but rather undergo a process of cognitive “filtering”, whereby the information passes through the cognitive system where it is prescribed meaning. This interpretation of the stimuli is what has an effect on the behavioural outcome. These cognitive filters are referred to as core beliefs or schemata and are maintained or reinforced by automatic thoughts and underlying rules or assumptions. Automatic thoughts refer to cognitions that tend to appear in one’s consciousness as a result of any given stimulus (Nurius & Macy, 2008:107). Negative automatic thoughts include those that are experienced involuntarily during times of emotional distress (and can eventually become the default response) and therefore tend to be difficult to avoid.

Underlying assumptions and rules, in contrast, tend to be more conscious and reflect and reinforce an individual's core beliefs. Core beliefs could offer a potential explanation for the persistent nature of offending behaviour seen in recidivists, and an exploration of thereof may assist in understanding the factors associated with these individuals' persistent offending behaviour and provide support for the findings proposing a link between pro-criminal attitudes and recidivism (Clear, 2010:7; Dissel, 2008:157; Palmer et al., 2007:102; Sarkin, 2008:28; Williams & Fouche, 2008:159).

This example echoes some of the views shared by the group of participants during the qualitative phase that were mentioned in the explanation of the previous hypothesis, i.e. that the norms shared by community members and often by close friends tend to be expressly criminogenic. Moreover, these norms and beliefs often support the narrative that people from certain lower socio-economic areas will never be able to change their situation and are destined for a life of crime. This narrative provides a base for the numerous pro-criminal sentiments, shared by young and old people alike that create the notion that incarceration should be seen as a rite of passage to becoming a respected and feared member of the community. This issue also ties in with the factors identified under the cognitive-behavioural domain in the factor list in Table 9.1, which include deviant decision-making, the need for immediate satisfaction (see hypothesis 16) and an external locus of control (see hypothesis 14). These factors in this context act as sequential factors with the pro-criminal narrative as a base, playing a role in the development of deviant decision-making schemata and the belief that because of the perceived lack of positive future outcomes, long-term planning has no relevance. These factors encourage the belief that there is nothing individuals can do about their future, thus they develop a strong external locus of control.

Hypothesis 11: There will be a significant relationship between recidivism and egocentric behaviour

In terms of personality factors associated with recidivism, Rydén-Lodi et al. (2008) compare the personality correlates between recidivists and non-criminal groups in a Swedish cohort. The study's findings show that the recidivism group tended to score more highly on measures of non-conformity and lower on levels of socialisation, indicating that the non-criminal group was more likely to be well socialised and willing to conform to social expectations of appropriate behaviour. The non-criminal group was also found to score significantly less in

sensation-seeking aspects of the study, indicating that the individuals comprising this group were more comfortable with dealing with the repetitive aspects of everyday life considered to be mundane by the recidivists (Rydén-Lodi et al., 2008:91). Repeat offenders were furthermore found to score more highly on measures of impulsivity (see hypothesis 16), experience seeking, monotony avoidance and egocentricity. This group was also found to be less trusting in people around them, showing signs of irritability, suspicion and aggression (Rydén-Lodi et al., 2008:91).

Baumeister et al. (1996:8) refer to “threatened egotism” as the cause of aggressive reactions and state that if a positive view of the self is to be maintained in light of a negative appraisal, the negative response needs to be diverted away from the self and toward the source of the evaluation. However, internalising the negative appraisal would result in a decrease in self-evaluation and may thus prompt a withdrawn reaction.

Hypothesis 12: Recidivists will show a significantly similar pattern of response in relation to their views of other people

12.1. Experiences of relative deprivation will be significantly similar between recidivists

12.2. Recidivists will have a significantly similar perspective on the need to assist other people

The way in which recidivists view others, especially in comparison to themselves is said to be a dominant factor contributing to interpretations of personal value. One such example is the apparent relation between socio-economic status (SES), social location and the availability of opportunities which has provided support for the link between SES and offending behaviour in Merton’s anomie theory, Sutherland’s differential association theory and Cohen’s subculture theory (see section 2.2.5). However, researchers such as Tittle and Meier (1990:294) are sceptical of the nature of the relationship and recommend erring on the side of caution when inferring directly causal relationships between SES and delinquency. Their investigation of 21 research studies established that 18 of these studies found at least one condition or factor that yielded a significant relationship between SES and delinquency. Though this finding may be viewed as significant evidence, the authors indicated that none of the results were adequately comparable between the studies, largely owing to conceptual differences and varying levels of relation. Tittle and Meier’s (1990) argument is therefore

grounded in critical perspectives pertaining to the definition and conceptualisation of SES throughout the studies and the lack of consideration for related factors such as relative subjective deprivation as opposed to SES directly.

Taking South Africa's history of segregation into account, it stands to reason that the reality for many black South Africans is one defined by a lack of opportunity, substandard living conditions, poor treatment socially and institutionally, as well as instances of relative deprivation, either historically or at present. These factors may shape the individual's perceptions of both their present situations as well as their future prospects in a negative light, potentially increasing their possible involvement in criminal behaviour.

Hypothesis 13: Recidivists will experience significant levels of anger

As previously mentioned in a number of the rationale for previous hypotheses, anger and feelings of aggression are frequently cited in the recidivism literature both as a motivating and outcome variable. Studies have found that social isolation is often seen as a factor contributing to potential delinquent behaviour and outward displays of aggression (Jones, 2013:21; Muntingh & Gould, 2010:16). Explanations for the linkage between maltreatment and delinquency are usually offered from criminological perspectives in the form of general strain theory (negative emotional states), life course theory (disruption of social bonds), general theory of crime (lack of self-control), and social learning theory (learned aggressive behaviour). Rydén-Lodi et al. (2008:91) found evidence to suggest that recidivists tend to be less trusting in people around them, showing signs of irritability, suspicion and aggression and Baumeister et al. (1996:8) refer to "threatened egotism" as the cause of aggressive reactions when individuals' self-concepts are perceived to be threatened.

Different studies place different value on various criminogenic factors depending on the purpose and scope of the study, thus providing varying support for a number of different factors. One criminogenic variable commonly identified to be associated with repeat offending includes anger/hostility feelings. This variable is often accompanied by substance abuse, impulsive behaviour, deviant peer associations, deviant cognitions, pro-criminal attitudes, familial conflict and perceptions of social and economic inequality (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:49; Barkan, 2012:9; Cronje, 2012:46; Olver et al., 2011:8; Ward & Stewart,

2003:127) – all of which have been included in a number of hypotheses throughout this chapter.

Kort-Butler's (2010) study favours the explanations provided by Robert Agnew in his general strain theory that builds on Merton's anomie theory (see section 2.2.5) by presenting a micro-level perspective that emphasises the inability of individuals to avoid certain stressful circumstances. The theory states that negative relationships between family, peers, community or neighbours may cause strain and negative emotional responses such as anger and frustration that could lead to an increased propensity for deviance (Williams & McShane, 2010:204). Using the database from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health in the United States, a sample of 10 404 adolescents was included in the study. The results show that individuals who experienced victimisation, those who witnessed victimisation and those who felt their neighbourhoods were unsafe were more likely to get involved in delinquent activities (Kort-Butler, 2010:501).

Hypothesis 14: Recidivism will be significantly related to an external locus of control

A predominantly external locus of control, has been found to be significantly related to treatment effectiveness and thereby recidivism. The concept of locus of control refers to the level of control individuals feel they have over their own behaviour (Fisher et al., 1998:2). In a study focusing on the related factors of locus of control and sexual offenders Fisher et al. (1998) refer to research that states that a variety of offenders including violent and sexual offenders tend to have an external locus of control, meaning that the offenders perceived life-events as being out of their control, and due to "chance, fate, luck or powerful others" (Fisher et al., 1998:2). This perception of behavioural control has also been linked to increased levels of impulsiveness (see hypothesis 16), a factor associated with violent or aggressive behaviour (as discussed in the rationale for hypothesis 13) (Deming & Lochman, 2008; Fisher et al., 1998:2). This link may be explained by considering the relationship between internal or external locus of control and level of self-control, whereby individuals with an external locus of control are more inclined to displays of aggression following anger arousal due to a lower sense of self-control and increased impulsivity than those with an internal locus of control (Deming & Lochman, 2008). Fisher et al. (1998:7) additionally establish that self-esteem was also correlated positively to treatment success, as individuals with higher self-esteem scores were also found to be more receptive to treatment (Fisher et al., 1998:7).

Hypothesis 15: Recidivism will be significantly related to the use of psychological defences

15.1. Recidivists will have significantly similar perspectives about victimisation

15.2. Recidivists will display a significantly similar tendency to justify their offending behaviour

Psychological defences distort or deny general experiences in order to maintain psychological equilibrium. One such defence, present in a number of theoretical explanations is denial and involves the complete blocking of the incongruent experience from consciousness (Rogers, 1951:505). The avoidance of such incongruent experiences has far-reaching effects for the individual's psychological functioning as well as behavioural expressions. Moreover, the act of denying or distorting the experience does not eradicate its presence but merely decreases the accompanying level of anxiety and thus its perceived threat to the individual. The effect could be an increase in criminality, as the lack of self-condemnation and thereby decreased self-control could result in repeated use of these defences, allowing the motivation to manifest into a purposive goal.

Other examples of such processes known as techniques of neutralisation are proposed by Sykes and Matza, and although are not identified as defensive mechanisms, they essentially serve the same purpose, i.e. that of reactive cognitive mechanisms, with a distinct purpose of maintaining psychological equilibrium. There are five such techniques proposed by Sykes and Matza, which, like Freud's defensive mechanisms (discussed in section 2.2.4), tend to be quite elaborate and complex. Similarly, these techniques emphasise the role of society as the source of the information needed to make the neutralisations effective. These techniques are: denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of the victim, condemnation of the condemners and appeal to higher loyalties (Sykes & Matza, 1957:667-669). The element of denial is common in most of the neutralisation techniques purported by Sykes and Matza, although it is of a complex nature. Neutralisation techniques base the denial of responsibility, victim and injury on evidence derived from personal experience – or at very least from perception. Such denial is evident in all of the neutralisation techniques, as the behaviour is justified in a manner that makes it acceptable within the context in which it occurs. Additional neutralisation techniques including condemnation of the condemners and appeal

to higher loyalties, which both involve the shifting of responsibility from the individual to an external entity, thus distancing the actor from the action (Sykes & Matza, 1957:668).

Hypothesis 16: Recidivism will be significantly associated with a need for immediate satisfaction

As mentioned in the rationales for a number of previously stated hypotheses, repeat offending has been found to be highly associated with measures of impulsivity or a need for immediate satisfaction (Deming & Lochman, 2008; Fisher et al., 1998:2; Rydén-Lodi et al., 2008:91). The explanations provided for the incidence of this variable include high levels of environmental instability (Mann et al., 2010:9), decreased emotional control (Fisher et al., 1998:2) and a predominantly external locus of control (Deming & Lochman, 2008). From a theoretical perspective, cognitive-behavioural theory explains high levels of impulsivity as a lack of effective self-regulation processes associated with the absence or nature of long term goals (Nurius & Macy, 2008:111). Taking South Africa's history of segregation into account, the reality for many black South Africans is one defined by a lack of opportunity, substandard living conditions, poor treatment socially and institutionally, as well as instances of relative deprivation, either historically or at present. These factors may shape the individual's perceptions of both their present situations as well as their future prospects in a negative light, potentially increasing their possible involvement in criminal behaviour.

Hypothesis 17: There will be a significant relationship between recidivism and idle mindedness

The first characteristic identified in Schoeman's study on recidivism (2002:255) refers to the level of integration with social structures and development. The author states that incomplete developmental tasks such as the absence of formal education can be seen as developmental stumbling blocks that often exclude the individuals from normal social participation such as employment, and may be a factor increasing risk of offending. The second characteristic is linked to the first in the sense that it focuses on the level of idleness experienced by many recidivists owing to a lack of employment or constructive activities (Schoeman, 2002:255).

A similar sentiment was found in the interviews and focus groups, in which a number of participants mentioned the large amount of time they would spend with no constructive past

time to keep them occupied and away from criminogenic activities. This factor resulted in their committing crime upon return from corrections. When coupled with the impression that nothing had changed in their environment (discussed in the rationale for hypothesis 18), or potentially had gotten worse, spending time with a group of idle friends with criminogenic options can be seen as the best option to help them feel as if life is back to normal again.

Hypothesis 18: Recidivists will have significantly similar evaluations of the degree of change in their communities upon release from corrections

A study conducted by Kubrin and Stewart (2006) focussed on the effect of neighbourhood factors associated with recidivism whilst controlling for individual level factors. They did so on the premise that most research into recidivism tends to focus on the individual factors and ignore the context. This study, conducted using 4630 participants from 156 neighbourhoods in the Multnomah County in Oregon, United States found that individuals who returned to disadvantaged neighbourhoods were more likely to reoffend than those who returned to more affluent neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods were defined by the level of economic standing of their inhabitants and availability of resources. Further findings also showed that parolees were more likely to reoffend than probationers (Kubrin & Stewart, 2006:182). This phenomenon could be linked to lower levels of exposure to the correctional environment and therefore a decreased need to be “integrated”. This study focused predominantly on the socio-economic characteristics of the neighbourhoods into which the offenders were returning and therefore only provided theoretical explanations of other potential factors that could have contributed to their findings. These explanations included links to pro-criminal social circles and social disorganisation.

In conclusion of this chapter, it can be seen from the information presented above that the application of a single approach or the consideration of variables in isolation will not provide sufficient insight into understanding recidivism. For example, Mears et al. (2015), in their review of incarceration literature, cite studies that have found positive, negative and null effects of incarceration on recidivism, and argue that the effects of incarceration are simply too dependent on individual factors such as risk profile, mental health status, demographics and conditions of the communities into which they are returned. The general argument is then that the effects of incarceration on recidivism are not uniform across offending populations but rather form part of a more complex narrative and depend on the availability of other

internal and external resources. The variability found here could be a contributing factor to the lack of certain theoretical understandings of recidivism, in that the contributing factors are just too varied to make generalisable conclusions. This argument provides further support for the need for more process-orientated theories such as cognitive-behavioural theory that focus on how information is experienced and how this experience is interpreted and allowed to affect behaviour (Gatotoh et al., 2011:263).

Chapter 6

Interpretation of Results

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the study. It does so in relation to the hypotheses formulated for the purpose of fulfilling the aims of the study in order to gain an understanding of the factors associated with repeat offending in South Africa.

6.1. Recidivism Factors across Offence Categories

In order to fulfil the overall aims of the study (see section 1.5), it is important to begin with an exploration of potential differences among different types of offenders. Criminological research abounds with motivating factors associated with various types of offending behaviour but sheds very little light on these factors in the context of repeat offending behaviour. An exploration of the numerous recidivism factors identified in the qualitative and quantitative phases of the current study across different offence categories could therefore provide new insight, thereby making an original contribution to the existing body of recidivism knowledge.

6.1.1. Descriptive Data

Table 11 contains the frequencies and percentage distributions of the total offence categories represented in the second phase of the study. In order to analyse the recidivism factors associated with offenders from each offence category, it was decided that the historical and most recent offence information would be combined into one data set. The descriptive data pertaining to the previous and most recent offence categories respectively are presented in section 4.4 (see Tables 7 and 8).

Table 11

Combined Offence Categories

Offence	N	%
Economic	137	67.8
Sexual	31	15.3
Narcotic	43	21.3
Aggressive	132	65.3
Other	65	32.2

The sum of the percentages exceeds 100% because a number of participants had committed different types of offences and were therefore represented in more than one of the offence categories. Similar to the results presented in the previous offence tables, the offence category with the highest number of participants was economic (67.8%), followed by aggressive offences (65.3%) and offences classified as “other”. The two least represented offence types were narcotic (21.3%) and sexual (15.3%) offences.

6.1.2. Hypothesis 1, 1.1 to 1.5

Hypothesis 1 states that the data pertaining to the variables underlying the dynamic factor domains will produce a similar pattern of association for recidivists from different offence categories. This hypothesis was based on the finding that the factors identified from the first phase of the study were not specifically associated with one form of repeat offending. In addition, and as indicated in the rationale for this hypothesis, the available literature has yet to confirm any factors exclusively associated with a specific type of repeat offending. As 21 recidivism factors were identified and categorised into five relevant factor domains, it was decided that the sub-hypotheses should be constructed according to these domains, using the associated variables (see Tables 9.1 to 9.5) to test them. Sub-hypothesis 1.1 postulates that the pattern of responses for the variables representing the cognitive-behavioural domain factor will be similar across different offence categories. Tables 12.1 to 12.5 present the results for the chi-square test of independence, and are followed by a summative interpretation of these findings.

Table 12.1

Chi-square Test for Ego Benefit Variables by Offence Category

	Economic		Sexual		Narcotic		Aggressive		Other	
	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>P</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>
Self	2.30	.13	2.01	.16	1.11	.29	.00	.99	.00	.97
Co-offender	.01	.92	.50	.48	2.46	.12	.00	.96	.25	.62
Family	.01	.94	.02	.89	.10	.76	1.05	.31	.01	.94
Friends	.35	.56 [#]	.09	.77 [#]	.01	.94 [#]	.07	.80 [#]	.35	.56 [#]
No-one	1.83	.18	1.19	.28 [#]	.03	.87	.36	.55	.00	.98

N= 202, df =1

[#]More than 20% of cells have an expected frequency < 5

Table 12.1 presents the findings associated with the ego benefit variable. This variable, determined by asking the participants who was most likely to benefit from their offending behaviour, provides an indication of the level of egocentricity participants tend to demonstrate in their motivations to commit crime. The non-significant results indicate that the patterns of responses are similar across the offence categories. The association between the offence types and the ego benefit “friends” variable could not be established, because more than 20% of the expected frequencies were less than 5.

In order to maintain coherence with the requirements of chi-square data analysis (see section 4.7.2.1) the frequency distributions for all of the chi-square tables included in this chapter have been presented in Appendix 8. Thus, in terms of the direction of the response patterns it was found that for all offence categories more than 60% of participants indicated that they personally benefitted from their crimes. This is in contrast to all the other beneficiary categories (co-offender, family, friends and no-one) that had a maximum frequency of 25% and in some instances as low as 1.5%. As the focus of hypothesis 1 is on identifying significant differences between offence types, the exploration of the significance between these frequencies for the whole sample and the possible explanations thereof will be presented in the discussion section of hypothesis 11 (see section 6.11).

Table 12.2 presents the results for the chi-square test for the problem-solving variables associated with repeat offending behaviour. Participants were asked if they would engage in crime in order to solve a problem, provide food for themselves, provide for their family and if the opportunity presented itself. They were then required to rate each of these statements on a

Likert scale, indicating their level of agreement with the statement as 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Not sure, 4 = Disagree and 5 = Strongly disagree. The chi-square results are presented below.

Table 12.2

Chi-square Test for Problem Solve Variables by Offence Category

	Economic		Sexual		Narcotic		Aggressive		Other	
	χ^2	p	χ^2	p	χ^2	p	χ^2	p	χ^2	p
Problem	13.14	.02 [#]	15.71	.00 [#]	2.90	.72 [#]	7.02	.22 [#]	4.13	.53 [#]
Hunger	3.27	.51	5.98	.20	3.13	.54	5.78	.22	2.41	.66
Opportunity	16.25	.01 [#]	8.27	.14 [#]	3.93	.56 [#]	1.64	.90 [#]	9.27	.10 [#]
Family	8.65	.07 [#]	6.74	.15 [#]	5.64	.23 [#]	6.87	.14 [#]	5.86	.21 [#]

N = 202, df = 4

[#]More than 20% of cells have an expected frequency < 5

As the results indicate, because more than 20% of the expected frequencies for the problem, opportunity and family variables are less than 5, the chance of failing to detect a genuine effect is decreased and must therefore be excluded. However, upon further investigation of the contingency tables, it was found that for all of these variables, the frequencies tend to cluster towards the lower end of the scale (i.e. around the “Strongly agree” and “Agree” responses). As Likert scale data of this nature can be classified as ordinal data, a Pearson’s correlation was performed to determine the significance of the observed pattern. The results for the Pearson’s correlation indicated that sexual offences ($r_p = -0.193$, $p = 0.006$, two tailed), economic offences ($r_p = -0.219$, $p = 0.002$, two tailed) and other offences ($r_p = -0.147$, $p = 0.036$, two tailed) significantly correlated with the problem-solving factors. These results indicate that economic and sexual offenders are significantly more likely to rely on pro-criminal problem-solving processes when faced with a challenge or decision in their lives. However, as the Pearson’s correlation test does not compare between offending categories, these results are considered to be serendipitous in the current context.

Cognitive behavioural theory provides an explanation for this finding in relation to the mediational model principle (see section 2.2.2). This principle refers to the process of cognitive “filtering”, whereby the information passes through the cognitive system where it is prescribed meaning. This interpretation of the stimuli is what has an effect on the behavioural

outcome. These cognitive filters are referred to as core beliefs or schemata and are maintained or reinforced by automatic thoughts and underlying rules or assumptions. Automatic thoughts refer to cognitions that tend to appear in one's consciousness as a result of any given stimulus (Nurius & Macy, 2008:107). The degree of consciousness of this process can already negate any explanations associated with impulsive or uncontrolled behaviour often associated with a number of aggressive offences. Economic and some offences classified as "other" (such as parole breaking, escape, kidnapping, arson and possession of unlicensed firearms or stolen property) can be said to be more conscious and less impulsive due to the degree of planning often required and in the case of sexual offences the need for offence justifying schema denotes an element of conscious processing of the behaviour. This line of thought can also be supported by cognitive development perspectives in terms of a stagnation in the development of moral reasoning, where behavioural motivators are not advanced enough to include utilitarian concepts of universality and collective good but are rather defined by a comparatively primitive dependence on social approval and hedonistic motivators (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:235; Bernstein et al., 2006:460). This linkage between hedonistic or egocentric motivations and offence justifying schema will be discussed further in section 6.15 in the discussion section of hypothesis 15. Table 12.3 presents the results for the ego assist, relative deprivation, anger and crime reason variables.

Table 12.3

Chi-square Tests for Ego Assist, Relative Deprivation, Anger and Crime Reason Variables by Offence Category

	Economic		Sexual		Narcotic		Aggressive		Other	
	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>P</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>
Ego assist ^a	2.50	.48	15.69	.00**	7.77	.05	5.52	.14	2.92	.40
Relative Deprivation ^b	4.41	.22	2.37	.50 [#]	2.31	.51 [#]	2.56	.47	1.29	.73
Anger ^c	.01	.92	.60	.44	.44	.51	6.55	.01**	1.76	.18
Crime Reason ^d	17.50	.00**	6.84	.03*	7.68	.02*	5.52	.06	2.31	.31

[#]More than 20% of cells have an expected frequency < 5

^aN = 198, df = 3; ^bN = 201, df = 3; ^cN = 202, df = 1; ^dN = 200, df = 2

**p* < 0.05

***p* < 0.01

Ego assist was also associated with the participants' level of egocentricity, and aimed to determine their willingness to assist others. The relative deprivation and anger variables indicated the degree to which the participants felt that they compared themselves with others and viewed themselves as angry individuals respectively. The crime reason variable is associated with psychological defences, and was determined by asking the participants whether or not they felt that they had a good reason for committing their offences.

The results presented in table 12.3 indicate a number of significant associations between the cognitive-behavioural variables represented and offence types. In terms of the importance participants place on assisting others, in comparison to the rest of the offending categories a significantly greater number (67.7%) of sexual offenders rated helping others as "Not important", $\chi^2(3) = 15.69, p = .001$. This finding indicates that sexual offenders tend to have less consideration for others and demonstrate more egocentric thought patterns. These cognitions could be considered supportive of the views of Mann et al. (2010:9) that specifically mention the difficulty in treating sexual offenders, due to the deep-seated nature of the psychological factors that influence their behaviour. In particular the offense-supportive attitudes that include beliefs and attitudes that support or justify sexual offending. Secondly, the patterns of responses were similar across the offence categories for the relative deprivation variable, and because more than 20% of the expected frequencies for sexual and narcotic offenders were below 5, the results for these associations cannot be considered for analysis.

The data from the anger variable produced one significant association between anger and aggressive offenders, $\chi^2(1) = 1.76, p = .010$. Furthermore, if one is to consider the frequencies presented in the contingency table, this finding is notable in that aggressive offenders constitute 72.2% of the total sample that consider themselves to be angry people. Participants were also asked to provide a reason for their anger, and in terms of the aggressive offenders, most participants cited strained familial relationships (30.1%), unresolved or negative cognitive issues (21.7% – such as negative self-perceptions and lack of self-control) and experiences of victimisation (21.7%) both inside and outside of prison as the causes for their anger. Research by Peacock (2006:56) as well as Smit and Padayachee (2012:10) provide an explanation for this finding by linking the conditions within the correctional centres such as a lack of privacy, basic nutritional provisions and basic ablutions

to feelings of self-worth and how it may have an extensive effect on making the individuals feel devalued and unworthy of respect. These experiences and related feelings may negatively affect the individual's ability to develop or maintain a positive sense of self, leading to the manifestation of aggressive behaviour owing to the frustration associated with this sense of incongruity. Thus, experiences of victimisation or trauma could be said to contribute to the development of maladaptive schemata both of the self and in relation to interactions with others.

The crime reason variable that pertains to the participants' feeling that their offending behaviour was justified, produced the highest number of significant associations as demonstrated in Table 12.3. This variable was significantly associated with economic, $\chi^2(2) = 17.50, p = .000$, sexual $\chi^2(2) = 6.84, p = .033$ and narcotic, $\chi^2(2) = 7.68, p = .021$ offenders. In terms of frequencies, all three offence categories showed a high number of participants expressing that they did have a good reason for committing their offences in the economic (59.1%), sexual (76.7%) and narcotic (47.6%) offence categories.

As mentioned in the explanation of findings under Table 12.2, economic and sexual offences tend to require more cognitive effort, not only to plan and execute the ideas but also to convince and justify oneself to complete the act. Narcotic offences could be viewed in a similar light especially with more organised offences such as trafficking which would require similar cognitive structuring. The explanation for this variable, as well as the perspectives participants had of their victims will be discussed under hypothesis 15 that focuses on the use of psychological defences by repeat offenders.

Table 12.4 presents the findings for the chi-square tests of variables associated with the participants' locus of control and their perceptions of their victims. The locus of control items specifically pertained to whether or not participants felt that they were always in control of their behaviour and whether or not they felt that other people achieved good things because they were lucky. In terms of victim perceptions, participants were asked if they felt that some people deserved to be victimised and if they ever thought about the effect their offences have on other people.

Table 12.4

Chi-square Tests for Locus of Control (LOC) Control, LOC Luck, Victim Deserve and Victim Affect Variables by Offence Category

	Economic		Sexual		Narcotic		Aggressive		Other	
	χ^2	<i>P</i>	χ^2	<i>P</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>
LOC control ^a	4.30	.37	10.74	.03*	2.58	.63	7.84	.10	3.91	.42
LOC luck ^b	1.92	.38	.55	.76	.06	.97	1.36	.51	.65	.72
Victim deserve ^b	1.41	.49	1.16	.56	.76	.68	1.36	.51	.15	.93
Victim affect ^c	.60	.74	1.78	.41	3.07	.22	2.50	.29	2.24	.33

^aN = 201, df = 4; ^bN = 200, df = 2; ^cN = 198, df = 2

**p* < 0.05

The results presented above show no significant associations between the victim perception variables and offence type. Similarly, the perception that other peoples' good fortune is based on luck and not personal effort was also found to be non-significant across all offence categories, indicating no association between this perception and type of offence. However, a significantly decreased sense of control was found to be associated with sexual offenders, $\chi^2(4) = 10.74$, *p* = .030, with 58.1% indicating that they "Always" feel as if they were not in control of their behaviour.

This finding could be viewed as a contradiction to earlier explanations, which purport that sexual offending tends to be more planned. Though one of the factors identified by Mann et al. (2010:9) to be associated with sexual recidivism is labelled "lifestyle impulsiveness", the definition of this variable (high levels of instability in general daily functioning, employment, self-control) does support the current finding. The definition refers to impulsiveness as a lack of control, similar to what was found in the current study. What Mann et al. (2010) doesn't indicate is the extent of the impulsive or uncontrolled behaviour. This could therefore be considered as a variable that could be explored in future research to understand the degree of impulsiveness displayed by sexual offenders and include an attempt to understand the extent of disparity between perceptions of a lack of control and the actual behavioural outcome.

Table 12.5 presents the chi-square results for the variables demonstrating delayed satisfaction. The items provide an indication of the participants' ability to plan ahead when receiving any form of income (fin. spend) as well as their perception of the importance of

saving money (fin. save). For the item in the questionnaire associated with the fin. spend variable, participants were allowed to select more than one of the options that were relevant to them.

Table 12.5

Chi-square Tests for Fin. Spend Quick, Basic, Family, Save and Fin. Save Variables by Offence Category

	Economic		Sexual		Narcotic		Aggressive		Other	
	χ^2	<i>P</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>P</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>
Quick ^a	6.51	.01*	1.41	.24	1.17	.28	.36	.55	1.87	.17
Basic ^a	.27	.61	5.97	.02*	3.95	.05*	2.35	.13	3.28	.07
Family ^a	4.95	.03*	.17	.68	.00	.97	1.15	.28	.74	.39
Save ^a	.04	.85	.82	.37	2.46	.12	.23	.63	.58	.45
Fin. save ^b	8.55	.01*	3.44	.18	.94	.62	3.96	.14	7.53	.02*

^aN = 202, df = 1; ^bN = 201, df = 2

**p* < 0.05

The results presented in Table 12.5 indicate that four out of the five variables produced at least one significant association. A significant association exists between the economic offence category and the fin. spend quick as well as fin. spend family variables. The contingency table also indicates that a high percentage of economic offenders (57.7%) stated that they tend to quickly spend any money that they receive, $\chi^2(1) = 6.51$, *p* = .011. Economic offenders were also found to be significantly less likely to spend their money on family than other types of offenders, $\chi^2(1) = 4.95$, *p* = .026, with only 14.6% indicating that they would do so. In terms of using income to purchase basic items for daily living, there was a significant association with sexual, $\chi^2(1) = 5.57$, *p* = .015 and narcotic, $\chi^2(1) = 3.95$, *p* = .047 offenders. Sexual offenders only comprise 6.3% of the total number of participants who spend their money on basic needs, while narcotic offenders comprise 29.7%. These significant results mean that there are significantly fewer participants from these offence categories than the other categories comprising the fin. spend basic variable.

In terms of the participants' perceptions of the importance of saving money, represented by the fin. save variable, the economic and "other" offence categories produced a significant association. The nature of the association between the fin. save variable and economic

offenders, $\chi^2(2) = 8.55, p = .014$, presented in the contingency table indicates that 59.6% of economic offenders never thought about saving money. Similarly, the relationship with “other” offenders, $\chi^2(2) = 7.53, p = .024$, showed that 48.4% never thought about saving money, rather than either perceiving it as “Important” or “Unimportant” (the other two options for this item in the questionnaire).

These findings support the view that certain types of recidivists tend to have a high need for immediate satisfaction and have a lower propensity to plan for the future (Deming & Lochman, 2008; Fisher et al., 1998:2; Nurius & Macy, 2008:111; Rydén-Lodi et al., 2008:91). The findings associated with economic reoffending can also provide insight into the motivation for this type of offending. The need for monetary gain would be higher for economic offenders than “other” offenders, owing to the direct linkage to the type of offence. Economic offenders would also be more likely involved in a lifestyle defined by more frequent access to finances and thereby have an increased propensity to spend it and less need to save.

Taking into account the findings presented above, and the number of significant associations between different types of offences and the cognitive-behavioural variables associated with repeat offending behaviour, sub-hypothesis 1.1 was not supported. The significant associations indicate that there are in fact differences between the cognitive-behavioural variables present in the lives of recidivists from different offence categories.

Sub-hypothesis 1.2 states that the pattern of responses for the variables representing the environmental domain factor will be similar across different offence categories. These variables include the answers provided to open-ended questions requesting the participants to explain what they did in their free time as well as their perception of change in their communities. In the latter question, participants were asked to indicate if the conditions in their communities that had previously contributed to their offending behaviour had either improved, deteriorated or remained the same on their return from corrections. Table 13 presents the results for the chi-square test of independence, and is followed by a summative interpretation of the findings for the environmental domain factor.

Table 13

Chi-square Tests for Free Time Variables and Environmental Change Variable by Offence Category

	Economic		Sexual		Narcotic		Aggressive		Other	
	χ^2	<i>P</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>
Loitering ^a	.43	.51 [#]	.34	.56 [#]	.01	.94 [#]	.01	.93 [#]	.01	.94 [#]
Sedentary ^a	.26	.61	.08	.77	.24	.62	1.37	.24	.82	.37
Creative arts ^a	3.32	.07 [#]	.05	.82 [#]	.02	.90 [#]	.46	.50 [#]	.45	.50 [#]
Criminogenic ^a	1.00	.31	1.86	.17 [#]	1.92	.17	.75	.39	.08	.77
Social neutral ^a	.23	.64 [#]	4.04	.05 [#]	.02	.90 [#]	1.03	.31	1.10	.30 [#]
Exercise ^a	.41	.52	1.11	.29 [#]	1.03	.31 [#]	.72	.40	1.44	.23
Employment ^a	3.76	.05	.00	.96 [#]	.73	.39	1.39	.24	.29	.59
Substance use ^a	1.38	.24	.25	.62	.78	.38	2.43	.12	.00	.97
Sexual ^a	2.93	.09 [#]	1.54	.22 [#]	.08	.78 [#]	.64	.42 [#]	.00	.95 [#]
Enviro. change ^b	3.32	.19	2.55	.28	.93	.63	2.79	.25	.60	.74

^aN = 202, df = 1; ^bN = 201, df = 2

[#]More than 20% of cells have an expected frequency < 5

The results presented in Table 13 indicate that no significant associations exist between the variables related to the recreational activities of the participants or their perceptions of change in their communities and the different offence categories. There were also a number of variables that could not be included into the analysis, because more than 20% of cells in the contingency table had an expected frequency less than 5. The results regarding participants who spent their free time working at places of employment can be said to be approaching a significant association with the economic offence category; however, as the significance level was .052 it does not equal or cross the .05 significance threshold. Sub-hypothesis 1.2 is therefore supported, as none of the variables representing the environmental domain factor were significantly associated with any offence category.

The large number of associations that need to be excluded from analysis due to poor representation in 20% of the cells on the contingency tables indicates a need for further research and potentially more closed ended questions in order to obtain more comparable results. The contingency table for the employment variable that approached significance indicated that 12.4% of economic offenders spent their free time in employment indicating

that in terms of representation, employment was one of the least likely ways that recidivists would spend their time. The explanation for the findings of this variable will be discussed in further detail under hypothesis 5.

Sub-hypothesis 1.3 states that the pattern of responses for the variables representing the victimogenic domain factor will be similar across different offence categories. Tables 14.1 and 14.2 present the results for the chi-square test of independence, and are followed by a summative interpretation of the findings for the victimogenic domain factor.

Table 14.1

Chi-square Tests for Victimization Experience Variables and Fear of Community and Prison Variables by Offence Category

	Economic		Sexual		Narcotic		Aggressive		Other	
	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>
Victim prison ^a	6.54	.09	3.62	.30	.83	.84	5.94	.11	3.12	.37
Victim release ^b	2.40	.49	6.21	.10 [#]	1.42	.70 [#]	5.21	.16	6.67	.08
Fear prison ^c	1.68	.20	.68	.41	.00	.97	.29	.59	2.58	.11
Fear comm. ^d	.11	.75	.25	.62	2.11	.15	.21	.65	.11	.75

^aN = 196, df = 3; ^bN = 201, df = 3; ^cN = 201, df = 1; ^dN = 202, df = 1

[#]More than 20% of cells have an expected frequency < 5

Table 14.1 presents the chi-square test results for variables pertaining to experiences of victimisation both inside prison and upon return to their communities. This table also contains the results for the fear of community and fear of the correctional environment variables. None of the variables presented in the table were found to be significantly associated with a specific offence type. As the responses associated with these items seem to show a high level of uniformity across offending categories, the possible explanations for these findings will be discussed in detail under hypotheses 3 and 4 respectively.

Table 14.2 presents the chi-square results for the variables representing the feelings of hopelessness and worthlessness factor, namely feelings of having a purpose and the belief in one's own ability to change the community. Variables associated with the participants' level of tolerance to the correctional environment as well as perceptions of their treatment by the community are also included in the table.

Table 14.2

Chi-square Tests for Change, Purpose, Tolerance and Community Treatment Variables by Offence Category

	Economic		Sexual		Narcotic		Aggressive		Other	
	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>
Purpose ^a	7.99	.01**	.79	.38	.12	.73	.13	.72	.91	.34
Change ^b	2.94	.09	3.80	.05	.36	.55	.38	.54	2.99	.08
Tolerance ^b	.28	.60	1.65	.20	1.40	.24	.85	.36	.28	.60
Comm. treat ^c	3.50	.06	1.55	.21	.23	.64	2.44	.12	2.94	.09

^aN = 201, df = 1; ^bN = 200, df = 1; ^cN = 190, df = 1

***p* < 0.01

The findings presented above demonstrate only one significant association, and that is between the purpose variable and the economic offence category, $\chi^2(1) = 7.99$, *p* = .005. The majority (71.3%) of economic offenders stated that they felt that they had a purpose in life. The association between sexual offenders and the change variable also approached significance, but with a *p*-value of .051 it did not cross the significance threshold.

Owing to the significant association found in Table 14.2, sub-hypothesis 1.3 is not supported, as it proposes that all variables associated with the victimogenic domain factor will share a similar pattern. However, the findings do provide some evidence of support, therefore the associations between the variables should be considered in their own capacities as well. This highlights the need for future research into these variables such as the nature of the purpose that economic offenders seem to feel more significantly than any other offending category as well as the uniform nature of the experiences offenders of different offending categories tend to demonstrate in terms of change variables, their experiences of the correctional environment and treatment by community members.

Sub-hypothesis 1.4 states that the pattern of responses for the variables representing the social domain factor will be similar across the different offence categories. Tables 15.1 and 15.2 present the results for the chi-square test of independence, and are followed by a summative interpretation of the findings for the social domain factor.

Table 15.1

Chi-square Tests for Gangsterism, Criminal Peers and Positive Perception of Crime Variables by Offence Category

	Economic		Sexual		Narcotic		Aggressive		Other	
	χ^2	<i>P</i>	χ^2	<i>P</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>
Gang friends	.57	.45	.11	.74	1.19	.28	6.62	.01**	2.55	.11
Gang self	.03	.86	.96	.33	.09	.76	4.65	.03*	3.24	.07
Crime friends	2.24	.14	1.38	.24	1.11	.29	2.50	.11	.95	.33
Crime positive	2.95	.09	2.63	.11	4.42	.04*	.01	.93	.73	.39

N = 201, df = 1

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

The variables representing the criminogenic lifestyle and peer association factors are presented in Table 15.1 above. It is evident that aggressive offenders are significantly associated with involvement in gangsterism, both personally, $\chi^2(1) = 4.65$, $p = .031$, as well as by having peers who are involved, $\chi^2(1) = 6.62$, $p = .010$. The nature of the associations for both variables with the aggressive offence category show a similar pattern, with the majority of aggressive offenders indicating that they were personally involved in gangsterism (58.8%) and had friends who were gangsters (67.2%). Additionally, narcotic offenders were significantly associated with the positive perceptions of crime factor. The data from the contingency table indicates that a significant number of narcotic offenders (81.4%) tend not to receive positive regard from their peer groups because of their involvement in crime.

The increased level of aggressive offenders involved in gangsterism could be indicative of the violent nature of many gangs. Associations between deviant peer groups and increased propensities for aggressive behaviour abound in the criminological and psychological literature. Sutherland, Cohen and Hirschi all mention the role of significant others in influencing personal belief and value systems, especially when these are in contravention of the views held by the broader conventional society (Bartol & Bartol, 2008:4; Williams & McShane, 2010:68). The cognitive-behavioural perspective and Rogers' self-concept theory also place emphasis on the social group and its ability to influence individual behaviour through the process of reciprocal feedback and conditions of worth respectively (Maddi, 1980:100; Nurius & Macy, 2008:112; Rogers, 1951:500).

Table 15.2 presents the variables associated with level of social support as well as the participants' beliefs about their ability to cease their involvement in crime.

Table 15.2

Chi-square Tests for Mentor, Criminal Lifestyle, Support and Community Assistance Variables by Offence Category

	Economic		Sexual		Narcotic		Aggressive		Other	
	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>
Mentor ^a	.01	.93	.08	.78	1.59	.21	.32	.57	1.23	.27
Stop crime ^b	11.67	.02*	11.56	.02 [#]	4.16	.38	8.61	.07	15.27	.00**
Support ^c	.00	.97	1.56	.21	1.96	.16	1.93	.17	.74	.39
Comm. help ^d	5.81	.21	12.71	.01 [#]	9.07	.06	3.49	.48	3.94	.42

^aN = 110, df = 1; ^bN = 201, df = 4; ^cN = 202, df = 1; ^dN = 202, df = 4

[#]More than 20% of cells have an expected frequency < 5

**p* < 0.05

***p* < 0.01

No significant associations were found between the mentor, support or community help variables and offence category. The significant association between community help and stop crime variables and sexual offenders could not be included in the analysis, because more than 20% of cells had an expected frequency lower than 5. However, the economic, $\chi^2(4) = 11.67$, *p* = .020, and “other”, $\chi^2(4) = 15.27$, *p* = .004, offence categories did have significant associations with the stop crime variable. Slightly more than half the number of “other” offenders (50.8%) stated that stopping their involvement in crime would be “Possible but difficult”, a response shared with the majority of economic offenders (58.1%). As the stop crime variable is an indicator of the level of entrenchment in a criminogenic lifestyle, it can be said that involvement in economic and some “other” repeat offending behaviours could be viewed as more than simply material gain. As the “other” offending category contains a number of different offences, further research would need to investigate the exact associations but economic offending could be seen as a normalised means of income generation, especially in the context of a country with a high unemployment rate (Dissel, 2012:30).

In terms of the results presented above, and the number of significant associations between different types of offences and the social variables associated with recidivism, it can be said that sub-hypothesis 1.4 is not supported. The significant associations indicate that there are indeed differences between the social variables present in the lives of recidivists from different offence categories and will be further elaborated on at the end of this section.

Sub-hypothesis 1.5 states that the pattern of responses for the variables representing the “other” domain factor will be similar across different offence categories. Table 16 presents the results for the chi-square test of independence, and is followed by a summative interpretation of the findings for the “other” domain factor.

Table 16

Chi-square Tests for Substance Use and Employment Variables by Offence Category

	Economic		Sexual		Narcotic		Aggressive		Other	
	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>	χ^2	<i>P</i>	χ^2	<i>p</i>
Alcohol ^a	.22	.64	1.21	.27	.00	.99	.32	.57	.04	.85
Drugs ^b	.62	.43	.92	.34	2.42	.12	6.20	.01*	.19	.67
Employment ^c	4.01	.67	6.08	.42 [#]	9.92	.13	8.73	.19	4.07	.67

^aN = 201, df = 1; ^bN = 202, df = 1; ^cN = 202, df = 6

**p* < 0.05

The variables related to the “other” domain factor include alcohol and illicit drug use as well as employment status. There were no significant associations between offence type and the alcohol use and employment variables. The drug use variable, however, was significantly associated with the aggressive offence category, $\chi^2 (1) = 6.20$, *p* = .013. A significant majority of aggressive offenders (82.6%) considered themselves to be drug users. Moreover, 71.1% of aggressive offenders stated that they used drugs daily. As there is a significant association between aggressive offenders and drug use, hypothesis 1.5 is not supported.

Considering the abovementioned findings in the context of the main hypothesis, hypothesis 1 was not supported, as there were in fact differences in the response patterns among offenders from different offending categories. As the main premise of hypothesis 1 was based on a lack of comparative literature as opposed to the presence of the position purported by the

hypothesis, the results can be said to provide a framework for further research into different types of repeat offending.

Though hypothesis 1 was not supported, there were a number of individual variables that produced similar results across the offending categories. To summarise these findings, in terms of cognitive-behavioural variables it was found that there was no significant difference between offence categories in terms of the responses provided for the questions related to egocentric motivations for crime, perceptions of relative deprivation, presence of an external locus of control, feelings around whether or not some people deserve to be victimised and awareness around the impact of their behaviour on others. All of the environmental variables, which included perceptions associated with a change in criminogenic environmental factors as well as the nature of recreational activities, were found not to differ across offending categories. The responses related to victimogenic variables associated with recidivism showed a similar pattern across all offending categories, with the exception of the purpose variable, which was significantly associated with economic offenders. In terms of social variables, it was found that all participants provided similar responses to items related to the presence of mentors and support structures, having friends involved in crime and their experiences of community assistance. Employment and alcohol use were also found to be similar across offence categories.

Significant results may indicate which of the abovementioned variables were found to be significantly associated with specific types of offending behaviour. In the case of the cognitive-behavioural variables, economic, sexual and “other” offenders were found to be associated with an increased usage of criminogenic problem-solving skills in comparison to the rest of the sample. Moreover, for sexual offenders, significant associations were found that indicate that for these offenders, assisting people was more likely to be viewed as unimportant and spending their income on basic needs was less likely to occur. They also felt that their behaviour is not within their control, and believe that they had a legitimate reason to commit their offence. These findings provide support for the findings purported by Mann et al. (2010:9) in a study that focused specifically on sexual recidivism. These authors found that sexual recidivists tend to demonstrate offense-supportive attitudes (beliefs and attitudes that support or justify sexual offending), lifestyle impulsiveness (high levels of instability in general daily functioning, employment, self-control), lack of problem-solving skills (cognitive difficulties with identifying and implementing constructive solutions to challenges

faced in daily activities), resistance to rules and supervision, grievance/hostility (directed at the world around them owing to their perception of having been unfairly treated or that other people are the cause of their problems) and negative social influences (association with other individuals involved in criminal activity).

In terms of the findings associated with sexual and aggressive offenders, the current study found few similarities between the two offence types, thus providing partial support for the perspective purported by Fisher, et al. (1998) – namely, that a variety of offenders, including violent and sexual offenders, have an external locus of control, meaning that the offenders perceive life-events as being out of their control, and due to “chance, fate, luck or powerful others” (Fisher et al., 1998:2). This view was more frequently found in the results pertaining to sexual offenders than those who engaged in more aggressive offending behaviour in the current sample. This perception of behavioural control has also been linked to increased levels of impulsiveness, a factor associated with violent or aggressive behaviour (Deming & Lochman, 2008:110; Fisher et al., 1998:2). This link may be explained by considering the relationship between internal or external locus of control and level of self-control, whereby individuals with an external locus of control are more inclined to displays of aggression following anger arousal owing to a sense of decreased self-control and increased impulsivity than those with an internal locus of control (Deming & Lochman, 2008:111).

Economic offenders were also shown to be more likely to spend their money quickly, least likely to spend their money on family, most likely not to think about saving money and feel justified in committing their offences. Justifying offending behaviour was also found to be associated with narcotic offenders, who at 29.7% were also more likely to spend their money on basic needs than expected. In addition to relying on criminogenic problem-solving skills, individuals from the “other” offending category “Never” thought about saving money.

In terms of the social variables, economic and “other” offenders were significantly more likely than other types of offenders to believe that it would be “Possible but difficult” to stop their involvement in criminal behaviour, while aggressive offenders were significantly more likely to be in gangs as well as have friends in gangs. Narcotic offenders were the least likely to have friends who viewed their offending behaviour in a positive light. Aggressive offenders were also found to engage in drug usage more frequently than other types of offenders, and often defined themselves as angry people – a finding that may be linked to the

research of Baumeister et al. (1996). The high levels of gang involvement and self-identified anger may be owing to what Baumeister et al. (1996:8) refer to as “threatened egotism”, stating that if a positive view of the self is to be maintained in light of a negative appraisal, the negative response needs to be diverted away from the self and toward the source of the evaluation. However, internalising the negative appraisal would result in a decrease in self-evaluation and thus may prompt a withdrawn reaction. This approach touches on both the developmental elements of the cognitive schema provided by the social psychological perspectives as well as the nature of the content associated with the cognitive-affective-behavioural feedback structure as purported by cognitive-behavioural theory.

The changing nature of the participants’ offence types should also be taken into consideration when analysing the results, as the same individuals may be included in a number of offending categories. The ideal situation would be to have offenders who only fit into one category and do not change their approach to offending. However, if one is to take the dynamics of the current sample into account, it can quickly be discerned that this ideal situation is not realistic.

6.1.3. Serendipitous Findings

In understanding the relationship between the different types of offences and the numerous variables associated with recidivism, it is important to explore the trajectory of the participants’ offending behaviour. Although this information is not considered a core focus of the study, it may provide additional valuable insight into understanding recidivism, and thus can be considered as serendipitous due to the explorative nature of the research. Table 17 presents a cross-tabulation between the participants’ previous offences and their most recent one.

Table 17

Cross Tabulation between Past and Current Offences Committed

Offence	Past Economic	Past Sexual	Past Narcotic	Past Aggressive	Past Other
Current Economic	61	12	15	36	21
Current Sexual	2	6	2	6	4
Current Narcotic	8	0	11	7	2
Current Aggressive	35	7	7	57	24
Current Other	6	3	2	5	7

Table 17 indicates that the highest number of participants (30.2%) who were previous economic offenders also had an economic offence as their most recent offence. Aggressive past and current offenders followed a similar pattern, and represented the second highest association (28.2%). Further consideration of the frequencies indicates that the participants with a history of sexual (5.9%) and narcotic (7.4%) offences were likely to commit an economic offence in the future, whereas past “other” (11.9%) offenders were more likely to commit aggressive offences.

Economic offences were also found to be the most frequently cited offences in the study in both the past (55.5%) and current (71.8%) categories. These findings support the notion presented in section 3.1.4 that if one is to consider the most recent crime statistics in conjunction with the generally high level of unemployment, it appears that economic offenders would have the highest probability of reoffending. The reason behind this phenomenon could be the deprivational nature of survival crime. Some of the offence-specific findings in Cronje (2012) demonstrate a similar pattern, based on the findings associated with the nature of the participants’ most recent offences. The study found that 75% of the participants were incarcerated for economic offences at the time of the study despite having histories of aggressive, narcotic and offences classified as “other”, as well as previous economic offences (Cronje, 2012:109). This finding provides support for the view that

offenders of all crime categories in South Africa struggle to find employment upon release and therefore turn to economic crimes to survive. These factors are further tested in the sections to follow.

6.2. Recidivism and Correctional Intervention Variables

Arguably, the core premise of all correctional interventions and rehabilitation programmes is the need to prevent reoffending. It can thus be inferred that recidivism may be associated with a lack of successful achievement of programme outcomes or a potential focus on the wrong factors. Preventing recidivism may be accomplished through a number of different intervention strategies that focus on different criminogenic variables, all with the main goal of correcting a given pattern of behaviours or underlying cognitions that can be said to increase or maintain the individual's involvement in offending behaviour. In terms of this perspective, it is important when developing an understanding of recidivism to also provide an analysis of the variables currently being targeted by interventions. This approach will allow for an assessment of the current focus areas in an attempt to present findings that go beyond simply understanding recidivism, but also contribute to the intervention environment.

6.2.1. Descriptive Data

Table 18 contains an overview of the number of participants who participated in correctional programmes while incarcerated as opposed to those who did not. The six participants who did not answer this question (and a variety of other programme-related questions) were categorised into the “No access” category for this variable. The reason for doing so refers to the very purpose of this hypothesis and the associated research aim (see aim number three in section 1.5). In order to explore the effect of programme participation on recidivism using the approach outlined by the retrospective pre-test (see section 4.2.2), it is necessary to exclude from this analysis all participants who did not participate in intervention programmes. However, as a number of these variables have been associated with repeat offending in general, they will be included in the analysis of other hypotheses presented later in this chapter. It was for this reason that participants who did not engage in intervention programmes were not required to complete questions related specifically to programme impact, as mentioned in the pilot study section in Chapter 4 (see section 4.6).

Table 18

Access to Intervention Programmes

Access	N	%
Yes	121	59.9
No	81	40.1
N = 202		

As shown in the table above, 59.9% of participants said that they had access to intervention programmes, whereas 40.1% did not. This finding in itself already begins to demonstrate the relationship between programme variables and recidivism, as one of the requirements outlined in the White Paper on Corrections (DCS, 2005) states that *all* inmates should have access to social and psychological services. The inferential statistics associated with this variable also indicate that this difference can be considered statistically significant, $\chi^2(1) = 7.92, p = .005$. The nature of the significant difference shows that recidivists are significantly more likely to have participated in correctional intervention programmes, highlighting the importance of exploring potential reasons for the inability of the programmes to prevent future reoffending behaviour. In addition, of the 121 participants who did engage in intervention programmes, 114 (94.2%) managed to complete them. As some participants engaged in multiple programmes, it was found that the sample completed 346 programmes in total, averaging 2.9 programmes per participant.

6.2.2. Hypothesis 2, 2.1 and 2.2

Hypothesis 2 states that recidivism will be significantly related to the achievement of prescribed intervention objectives. The nature of the relationship will be assessed in terms of the different programme variables associated with the participants who engaged in interventions. Based on the rationale for hypothesis 2 presented in the previous chapter, the initial assumption is that recidivism will be significantly related to the achievement of correctional intervention outcomes as a result of programme participation (sub-hypothesis 2.1). This assessment will be extended to include an analysis of theoretical outcomes in the intervention environment and will therefore also be significantly associated with a criminogenic cognitive-affective-behavioural feedback structure (sub-hypotheses 2.2). Table 19 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test for the findings associated with programme outcomes.

Table 19

Chi-square Tests for Programme Outcome Variables

Variable	χ^2	df	p	n
Dignity	34.13	1	.00**	120
Skills	71.73	1	.00**	118
Aftercare	31.95	2	.00**	121
Role model	48.08	1	.00**	117
Restorative justice	52.02	4	.00**	121
Deterrence	156.40	4	.00**	121
Stop crime	99.08	4	.00**	120
Employment	21.41	5	.00**	117
Visitors	33.92	1	.00**	117
Environment	44.68	2	.00**	115

** $p < 0.01$

The results presented in Table 19 show a significant association between recidivism and the programme variables. Sub-hypothesis 2.1 is therefore supported. Participants felt that they were treated fairly, significantly more often than not (76.7%), and that the skills learnt during the programmes were useful (89%) upon release. The most common reason provided for why the skills were perceived as useful was due to a higher sense of awareness of behaviour and consequence associated with criminogenic variables (29.9%). In terms of the aftercare variable, participants were asked if the aftercare services provided were adequate to assist them with reintegration upon return to their communities. As there were more than two possible responses, it was necessary to conduct a pairwise comparison to determine which options were significantly different. As the purpose of the chi-square goodness of fit test is only to detect the existence of a significant relationship between the different levels of a given variable, post hoc testing is required to identify exactly which bivariate combination (or pair) can be considered significantly different. This process is called a pairwise comparison and because it involves isolating certain pairs from the rest of the responses it becomes necessary to control for the increased probability of making a Type I error (falsely rejecting the null hypothesis) by correcting the level of significance obtained. This process is called a Bonferroni correction. The comparison showed that the “Did not receive any aftercare”

(50.4%) and “Yes” (39.7%) responses were not significantly different, but rather both were significantly greater than “No” (9.9%).

The significant result for the role model variable indicates that a significant number of participants (82.1%) were positively influenced by at least one correctional official. In terms of access to restorative justice services, a pairwise comparison showed that the “No, not offered” (41.3%), “Yes, it was a good experience” (24%) and “No, I did not want to” (22.3%) responses were not significantly different from each other but were significantly greater than “Yes, but it was a bad experience” (7.4%) and “No, the victim or community did not want to” (5%) responses. Participants were also significantly most likely to believe that their chances of being caught were “Very high” (64.5%) if they were to engage in criminal behaviour again. The variable associated with a criminogenic lifestyle was related to the participants’ perceptions of whether or not they thought they would be able to cease their involvement in criminal activities. A significant number of participants felt that stopping their involvement in crime would be “Possible but difficult” (55%).

The employment variables were also found to be significantly different. However, upon conducting the pairwise comparison, it was found that the responses were quite widely spread. The “No, I try often but nothing is available” (27.4%) response was selected significantly more often than the “Yes and it covers my needs” (9.4%) and “No, because I don’t want to work” (7.7%) options, but not significantly more than the “Yes but it does not cover my needs” (23.9%), “No, I have tried but no one wants to employ an ex-offender” (17.1%) or “No, I have not tried because I believe it will be a waste of time” (14.5%) options. Lastly, a significant number of participants’ friends and family members were able to visit them (77%) while they were incarcerated, and a further 62.6% indicated that the environmental conditions where the programmes were being implemented helped to make the programme more effective.

The results presented in Table 19 indicate that despite a) learning useful skills, b) being able to stay in contact with family members whilst incarcerated, c) experiencing meaningful interactions with correctional staff and d) believing that they would be caught if they continued committing crime, participants who completed correctional intervention programmes still continued to be involved in offending behaviour. This could be attributed to the lack of reintegration services experienced by a number of the participants or alternatively

with the cognitive structure that ceasing involvement in offending behaviour would not be an easy process. Future research could therefore benefit from exploring the interaction between these variables more thoroughly and to include a longitudinal element in order to determine the influence of time related factors on the constructive cognitions found above. This recommendation relates to the perspectives of Clear (2010:2-4) and Muntingh (2001:13) that state that an individual's probability of reoffending is highest shortly after release and decreases with time but never reaches zero. These results also demonstrate the need to include additional variables when assessing programme effectiveness and not to simply rely on recidivism as the sole indicator of programme success and acknowledge the complex nature of human behaviour and therefore the need for a multi-faceted approach to understanding recidivism.

Sub-hypothesis 2.2 states that recidivism will be significantly associated with indicators of a criminogenic cognitive-affective-behavioural feedback structure. Table 20 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test, and is followed by an interpretation of the findings for the criminogenic cognitive-behavioural variables.

Table 20

Chi-square Tests for Criminogenic Cognitive-Behavioural Programme Variables

Variable	χ^2	df	P	n
Awareness	114.00	2	.00**	117
Effect	91.84	2	.00**	111
Decide	143.23	2	.00**	117
Cognition	71.73	1	.00**	118
Behaviour	146.40	2	.00**	116
Goals	97.86	1	.00**	117

** $p < 0.01$

The results presented in Table 20 show a significant difference between the responses provided for all of the cognitive-behavioural programme variables. Sub-hypothesis 2.2 is therefore supported. All of the results and pairwise comparisons show that repeat offenders who participated in intervention programmes experienced positive cognitive-behavioural changes. The participants indicated that as a result of programme participation, they were more aware of how their behaviour influenced their own involvement in crime (79.5%), and

of the effect their behaviour had on others (75.7%). They were also able to make more positive decisions linked to a willingness to cease involvement in crime and the search for more pro-social activities when returning to their communities (85.5%), had learned new skills to help them deal with negative thoughts predominantly related to anger and aggression (89%), were more aware of how their thoughts effected their behaviour (86.2%) and were able to set positive goals for their future (95.7%).

The significant levels and positive direction of the associations derived from the descriptive tables indicate that the cognitive-behavioural variables associated with programme implementation were successfully achieved and were not criminogenic in nature. Taken into account with the results from sub-hypothesis 2.1 it can be concluded that hypothesis 2 is supported. As mentioned in the discussion for the results of sub-hypothesis 2.1, if one is to consider these findings from a perspective that relies on recidivism as the sole indicator of programme effectiveness it could be argued that the direction of the data is contradictory. However, from a more critical and multidimensional perspective it can be said that these results simply provide evidence for the potential presence of a multitude of background variables and provide a framework for further research into the variables associated with recidivism.

6.3. Recidivism and Victimogenic Variables

The following discussion focuses on assessing the variables representative of the victimogenic domain factor, which hypothesis 3 states will be significantly related to recidivism. This section begins with a presentation of the descriptive data along with the answers provided by the participants regarding their experiences of victimisation both inside and outside of the correctional centres. Thereafter, sub-hypotheses 3.1, which relates to the participants' perceptions of victimogenic experiences in the correctional environment and sub-hypothesis 3.2, which addresses personal perceptions of ability and worth related to experiences of victimisation, will be discussed in light of the results from the chi-square tests for goodness of fit.

6.3.1. Descriptive Data

Tables 21.1 and 21.2 outline the descriptive information for victimisation experienced by the participants both in the correctional centres as well as upon release into their communities. The items associated with these variables were participants being victimised in prison and participants being victimised upon release. The participants were asked to select an appropriate response from the options provided, which included, “Yes, I was personally victimised”; “I saw people being victimised”; “No, I was not victimised”; and “I don’t know”.

Table 21.1

Incidence of Victimization Experiences in Prison

Experience	N	%
Yes	45	23.0
Witnessed	40	20.4
No	101	51.5
Don’t know	10	5.1

N = 196

Table 21.2

Incidence of Victimization Experiences After Release

Experience	N	%
Yes	52	25.9
Witnessed	19	9.5
No	111	55.2
Don’t know	19	9.4

N = 201

The information provided above indicates that the highest number of participants for both conditions felt that they were not victimised, representing 51.5% of the prison victimisation condition and 55.2% of the release victimisation condition. The differences between the responses for both the after release, $\chi^2(2) = 71.62, p = .000$, and in prison, $\chi^2(1) = 37.00, p = .000$, groups were found to be significantly different. The post hoc tests indicated that participants were significantly unlikely to have been victimised both inside and outside of the

correctional setting. Six participants did not provide answers for victimisation in prison and one did not provide an answer for victimisation upon release. The numbers represented in the “I don’t know” response may initially seem peculiar, yet if one is to consider the information presented in the explanation below Table 9.4 in Chapter 4 regarding the fact that definitions of victimisation tend to vary between individuals, it would stand to reason that some participants would be unsure of their experiences qualifying as victimisation or not. This perspective can be further utilised to explain the low levels of victimisation presented in the tables above as it could be argued that due to the nature of the environments in which the participants tend to spend their time, experiences of victimisation may be considered “normal” and therefore not necessarily as something worth mentioning. These variables will be explored under the hypotheses to follow.

6.3.2. Hypothesis 3, 3.1 and 3.2

Sub-hypothesis 3.1 postulates that recidivists’ impressions of victimogenic experiences in the correctional environment will be significantly similar. Table 22 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test, and is followed by an interpretation of the findings for the deterrence variables associated with recidivism.

Table 22

Chi-square Tests for Correctional Environment Variables

Variable	χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	n
Fear Prison	25.08	1	.00**	201
Dignity	50.78	1	.00**	193
Tolerance	98.00	1	.00**	200

***p* < 0.01

The results presented in Table 22 above indicate a highly significant relationship between the participants responses to items associated with their perceptions of the correctional environment, thus providing support for sub-hypothesis 3.1. As indicated in the programme-specific hypotheses, the dignity variable refers to whether or not the participants felt that they were being treated fairly during their sentences. Though this variable has already been tested in the previous hypothesis, the current sub-hypothesis requires it to be tested using the entire sample and not just those individuals who had participated in interventions.

Post hoc testing was not necessary for any of the variables above as all items produced bivariate (yes or no) data. Taking into account the data from the contingency tables, it is evident that a significant number of participants felt that they were both treated fairly (75.7%) and had a fear of prison (67.7%). For the tolerance variable, a significant number of participants (85.0%) indicated that they preferred life outside of prison as opposed to inside. The findings that a significant number of participants had a fear of prison and preferred life outside could be indicative of the comparatively poor conditions of the correctional centres. Participants were therefore also asked to explain the reason for their answers to the fear of prison and tolerance variables. The most common reason for the fear of prison came from the group of offenders who were afraid of going back to prison, while the second most popular response came from those who were not afraid of returning to prison. The latter group explained that their lack of fear was a result of familiarity with the experience (20.8%), whereas the former group most frequently cited the generally bad conditions of prison (38.1%). Similarly, when asked to explain why they preferred life outside of prison, 28.4% of participants stated that prison was “generally bad” and 24.8% found the lack of freedom experienced inside the most difficult.

Taking into account, that despite these negative perspectives of the correctional environment, participants still continued to commit crime and risked returning to the correctional centres, one must conclude that there may be additional variables present that promote offending behaviour. A possible explanation could be to consider the social factors present in the participants’ lives upon release and the degree to which they may also play a mediating role. Taking Merton’s anomie theory into account, which states that when society places emphasis on certain goals, it frequently also prescribes the acceptable means for achieving them. A potentially difficult situation is thus created, as the goals and acceptable means are often generalised throughout society regardless of individual circumstance. These goals are then considered the ideal outcome for peoples’ lives but the acceptable means are not always provided, resulting in individuals having to find their own means to achieve them. Although this behaviour is not necessarily criminal, Merton states that owing to its difference to what is considered the norm, such behaviour is often considered deviant (Bartol & Bartol, 2008:3; Williams & McShane, 2010:79). Linking this notion to the findings of the study that the majority of participants felt that they were treated fairly it can be said that the participants do have an understanding of the deviant nature of their behaviour and thus have an awareness of the rules of conventional society but may lack the necessary resources or opportunities to

abide by them. The cognitive errors principle of cognitive behavioural theory (see section 2.2.6) can be used in conjunction with these explanations to provide evidence for the perspective mentioned in section 4.5.1 that identifies the commission of crime as a criminogenic variable in itself, a perspective that will be discussed in further detail under hypothesis 10. It is therefore important not to view the findings in isolation but rather identify the interconnected nature of the relationships between the numerous variables.

Sub-hypothesis 3.2 states that recidivists will have significantly similar perceptions of personal ability and worth related to their experiences of victimisation. Table 23 presents the results for the chi-square test, and is followed by an interpretation of the findings for the negative emotional response variables.

Table 23

Chi-square Tests for Affective Variables

Variable	χ^2	df	p	n
Purpose	59.12	1	.00**	201
Change	74.42	1	.00**	200

** $p < 0.01$

The results shown in Table 23 indicate a significant difference among the responses for each of the variables presented and thereby provide support for sub-hypothesis 3.2. The purpose and change variables were both bivariate, and upon considering the data from their contingency tables, it was determined that participants were significantly likely to believe that they had a purpose for their lives (77.1%) and that they were capable of changing their communities (80.5%). This positive view of personal ability to change and sense of purpose provides additional evidence for the view that recidivists do have access to pro-social and empowering cognitions. As mentioned in the previous section, it therefore becomes important to consider additional variables both cognitively as well as in the individuals' environment that hampers their ability to translate these cognitions into pro-social behaviour. Additional research could also further explore the perceptions of purpose and change held by recidivists by identifying exactly what they believe their purpose to be in life as well as how they feel they would be able to bring about positive change in their communities. Results of this nature could be used to develop empowerment programmes associated with ex-offenders' actual skills and interests. With the abovementioned findings taken into account it can be concluded

that hypothesis 3 which states that recidivism will be significantly related to variables associated with the victimogenic domain factor is supported.

6.4. Recidivism and Community Interaction

This section presents the findings for hypothesis 4, which explores the linkage between recidivism and community interaction variables. Recidivism research predominantly describes the interaction between repeat offenders and their communities negatively, characterised by deviant labelling and stigmatisation (Brown et al., 1998:348; Khwela, 2014:146; Schoeman, 2002:255; Williams & McShane, 2010:111). It is said that this deviant labelling process may, after repeated exposure, become so internalised that the individual becomes incapable of behaving in a pro-social manner, often as a result of high levels of stigmatisation leading to marginalisation and lack of community support. These notions will be tested using sub-hypotheses related to the participants' perceptions of fear towards their communities (sub-hypothesis 4.1), experiences of community assistance upon release from corrections (sub-hypothesis 4.2) and experiences of stigmatisation (sub-hypothesis 4.3).

6.4.1. Hypothesis 4, 4.1 to 4.3

Table 24 presents the results of the chi-square goodness of fit test, and is followed by an interpretation of the findings for community interaction variables.

Table 24

Chi-square Tests for Community Interaction Variables

Variable	χ^2	df	p	n
Fear of comm.	45.62	1	.00**	202
Comm. help	30.62	4	.00**	202
Comm. treatment	3.70	1	.05	197

** $p < 0.01$

The community fear variable was bivariate (yes or no), which means that the nature of the significant result could be interpreted by considering the results of the descriptive tables. It was therefore found that a significant number of participants stated that they were not afraid

of their communities (73.8%). The community help variable was determined using a Likert scale item in the questionnaire that allowed participants to rate the level of community help they received on a five-point scale, including: “Very helpful”, “Helpful”, “I don’t know”, “Unhelpful” and “Very unhelpful”. The pairwise analysis showed that the highest number of participants felt that their community was “Unhelpful” (32.2%). This answer was chosen significantly more often than all the other options except for the “I don’t know” option (25.7%). These findings support both sub-hypotheses 4.1 and 4.2.

Participants were also asked if they were stigmatised as criminals when they returned to their communities, and were required to answer either “Yes” or “No”. The participants who selected “Yes” represented 56.9% of the sample population, whereas those who selected “No” represented 43.1%. The difference between these percentages was not significant, indicating that participants were not significantly more or less likely to experience negative treatment from their communities and thereby not supporting sub-hypothesis 4.3.

In consideration of the abovementioned results hypothesis 4 was not supported due to the findings indicating that recidivists did not have significantly similar experiences with their communities in terms of being treated like criminals. Though not supporting hypothesis 4, the results associated with community interaction can be said to support the need for further research into this factor based on the significant findings for community fear and community support variables. Though recidivists were not afraid of their communities, they did perceive them as being unhelpful. Future research could benefit from exploring the linkage between recidivists’ expectations of community assistance and their actual experiences to provide deeper insight into the effect this interrelation may have.

6.5. Recidivism and Employment

The relationship between employment variables and recidivism will be analysed in the following discussion. Participants were asked if they were able to find stable employment upon release, and were given six potential options to select from. These options included: “Yes, and it covers my needs”; “Yes, but it does not cover my needs”; “No, I try often to find one but there is nothing available”; “No, I’ve tried but no one wants to employ an ex-offender”; “No, I haven’t tried because I don’t want to work”; or “No, I haven’t tried because I believe it will be a waste of time”. Table 25 presents the descriptive data for these variables.

6.5.1. Descriptive Data

The variables presented in the descriptive table below represent the responses to the question outlined above. These responses have been collapsed into three categories: the first represents positive answers; the second represents answers where attempts are present but unsuccessful; and the third represents answers where there was neither employment nor effort to try to find employment.

Table 25

Employment Status

Employment	n	%
Yes	59	30.6
Attempted	82	42.5
No	52	26.9

N = 193

As it is evident in the results presented above, the highest number of participants attempted to look for employment but were unsuccessful, because of either their offence history or a lack of available employment opportunities.

6.5.2. Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5 states that recidivism will be significantly related to employment status. Table 26 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test between the various employment variables.

Table 26

Chi-square Tests for Employment Status

Variable	χ^2	df	p	n
Employment	18.18	5	.00**	193

** $p < 0.01$

The results presented in Table 26 indicate a significant association between at least one level of the employment variable and recidivism, thereby providing support for hypothesis 5. Upon further exploration of the nature of the association, the pairwise analysis indicated that the significant difference existed between the responses indicating that participants were able to find employment that covered their basic needs (9.3%) and those who sought employment but found that there were no jobs available (24.4%). This pair had a *p*-value of .006, making it highly significant. This finding therefore shows that recidivism is least likely to be associated with employment that provides the participants with the ability to cover their basic needs.

These findings support the views presented in the correctional literature, where it has been found that a significant number of offenders were unemployed at the time of incarceration. However, for those who were employed, imprisonment inevitably resulted in the forfeiture of these positions, making it more difficult, if not impossible, to reintegrate into the workforce upon release because of their criminal record (Dissel, 2008:158; Dissel, 2012:30; Gendreau et al., 1996:577). Considering the serendipitous findings presented in section 6.1.3, i.e. that the highest percentage of participants, despite their offending history, engaged in economic offending as their most recent offence, it could be argued that the reason for the high level of economic re-offending is related to the inability to find stable and sustainable employment. However, this explanation should be further explored in future recidivism research within the context of general employment availability in South Africa, as this relationship is not as linear as many tend to believe due to the high level of discrepancy in representation between unemployed South Africans and those involved in crime as discussed in section 3.1.4.

6.6. Recidivism and Substance Use

A common variable associated with both offending and reoffending behaviour is illicit substance/drug use. This section discusses the findings of the chi square goodness of fit test to determine the presence of drug and alcohol use in the sample. Significant results will be explained in terms of the frequency of use and the type of drugs participants tend to use.

6.6.1. Descriptive Data

Table 27 includes the descriptive variables for drug and alcohol use. Participants were requested to indicate if they consumed alcohol or used drugs, and were then asked to provide an indication of frequency and type.

Table 27

Incidence of Substance Use

Substance		n	%
Alcohol ^a	Yes	140	69.7%
	No	61	30.3%
Drugs ^b	Yes	156	77.2%
	No	46	22.8%

^aN = 201; ^bN = 202

As shown in the table, participants were more likely to engage in drug (77.2%) and alcohol (69.7%) use than not. The significance of this association as well as the frequency of use is discussed in section 6.6.2 below.

6.6.2. Hypothesis 6

Hypothesis 6 states that recidivism will be significantly related to substance use. The data provided in the descriptive table provides initial support for this hypothesis. However, it is only through the chi-square test that this assumption can be statistically confirmed. Table 28 therefore provides the chi-square results for alcohol and drug use along with their relevant significance values.

Table 28

Chi-square Tests for Alcohol and Drug Use Variables

Variable	χ^2	df	p	n
Alcohol	31.05	1	.00**	201
Drugs	59.90	1	.00**	202

** $p < 0.01$

The results of the chi-square test confirm the significance of the initial relationship regarding substance use presented in the descriptive section above. Both variables were bivariate in nature, so the results from the descriptive table were used to provide insight into the nature of this relationship. As the majority of participants engaged in drug (77.2%) and alcohol (69.7%) use, it can be said that repeat offenders are significantly more likely to engage in substance use than not. Hypothesis 6 is therefore supported.

The frequency of this usage was also recorded, showing that participants who indicated that they did engage in alcohol consumption were most likely to do so less than three times per week (50.7%). Just over a third consumed alcohol daily (36.2%). Drug usage showed a more obvious association, with 83.7% of those who confirmed that they are drug users engaging in drug use on a daily basis. In terms of the type of drugs used, a number of participants mentioned using multiple types of drugs, but the most commonly mentioned drug was mandrax (29.0%), followed by cocaine variants (22.3%) and methamphetamines (19.7%). Participants also mentioned using cannabis (14.5%) and Nyaope (6.2%), with a smaller collective percentage engaging in ecstasy, heroine, LSD use and solvent abuse (8.3%).

These findings indicate a strong association between substance use and offending behaviour. However, much like the existing literature, the current study only indicates the significant presence of substance abuse with recidivism; it does not indicate any form of causality. The findings from the study conducted by Spohn and Holleran (2002:350) on the effects of imprisonment on recidivism specifically in relation to drug involvement does however provide some insight in terms of the associated variables and their collective effect on reoffending risk. This study found that drug involvement did increase the probability of reoffending in comparison to non-drug using offenders and concludes that incarceration should be considered a criminogenic variable, and when accompanied by continued drug use exponentially increases the probability of recidivism (Spohn & Holleran, 2002:351).

6.7. Recidivism and Social Associations

Hypothesis 7 states that there will be a significant relationship between recidivism and criminogenic social associations. The variables used to determine criminogenic social associations and provide insight into the participants' entrenchment into a criminogenic lifestyle include: association with peers who belong to gangs, peers who are involved in

crime and their perception of the possibility to cease personal involvement in crime. The findings regarding these variables are presented in the section to follow, providing insight into their respective relationships with reoffending behaviour.

6.7.1. Hypothesis 7

Table 29 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test, and is followed by an interpretation of the findings for the criminogenic social variables.

Table 29

Chi-square Tests for Criminogenic Social Association Variables

Variable	χ^2	Df	p	n
Gang. friends	9.20	1	.00**	201
Crime friends	23.69	1	.00**	201
Stop crime	138.88	4	.00**	201

** $p < 0.01$

Table 29 indicates that a significant difference exists between the responses to the stop crime, gang. friends and crime friends variables. As some of these variables are bivariate, the nature of the relationship can be determined by considering the frequencies in the respective descriptive tables. The distribution of frequencies show that a significantly high number of participants have friends in gangs (60.7%) and have friends involved in crime (67.2%). A pairwise comparison was conducted of the stop crime variable, and it was found that a significant majority (52.2%) of participants felt that it was “Possible but difficult” to cease their involvement in a criminal lifestyle. Thus, it can be argued that repeat offenders are significantly more likely than not to have friends in gangs and who are involved in crime, thus making it difficult for them to leave a criminogenic lifestyle, supporting the postulation outlined in hypothesis 7. Participants were also asked about their own involvement in gangsterism. Evidently the finding produced a non-significant result, indicating that there was no significant difference between those who were personally involved in gangsterism (53.2%) and those who were not (46.8%).

This result is noteworthy in the sense that it raises a number of questions with regards to deviant social interactions. Despite a significant majority of participants indicating that they

associated with gangsters and had friends involved in crime, participants were not found to be significantly involved in gangsterism personally. The reason for this finding can only be speculated before further research is conducted. However, it is possible to surmise that due to the level of status and access to resources associated with gang involvement both inside and outside of the correctional environment any form of association may be considered beneficial to individuals. Evidence of this can be drawn from discussions held with participants during the focus groups whereby participants mentioned that upon entering prison many of them were provided with protection from gang members without having to officially join based on their associations (either as friends from outside or as relatives of the gang members) with these individuals. However as mentioned, further research is required on the nature of gang membership both inside and outside of the correctional environment.

6.8. Recidivism and Social Support

Hypothesis 8 states that recidivists will have access to significantly similar types of conventional support structures. Sub-hypotheses were developed to specify the types of conventional support structures participants experienced during incarceration (sub-hypothesis 8.1) and upon release back into the community (sub-hypothesis 8.2). The presence of conventional support structures available to participants during incarceration were determined by requesting that the participants indicate whether or not they had at least one correctional official who positively influenced their lives or if they received visitations from their friends or family members while incarcerated. On the other hand, conventional support structures available to participants upon release were determined by requesting that the participants indicate whether or not they had a) anyone who could assist them to adjust and integrate back into the community when they were released from corrections, b) anyone who they could ask advice from when they needed it or c) had people in their lives who liked them more when they discovered that the participants were involved in crime.

6.8.1. Hypothesis 8, 8.1 and 8.2

Table 30 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test, and is followed by an explanation of the findings associated with conventional social support.

Table 30

Chi-square Test for Variables Associated with Conventional Social Support

Variable	χ^2	df	P	n
Prog. role model	62.68	1	.00**	166
Visit	43.56	1	.00**	162
Crime positive	26.51	1	.00**	201
Mentor	5.07	1	.02*	202
Support	.08	1	.78	202

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$

The results associated with correctional role models and the ability of family members or friends to visit the participants while they were incarcerated presented in Table 30 indicated a significant disposition. The descriptive data for the variables presented in Table 30 showed that 80.7% of participants stated that at least one correctional official positively influenced their lives and 75.9% said that their friends or family members were able to visit them in prison. These findings provide support for sub-hypothesis 8.1.

As mentioned the crime positive variable refers to the item in the measuring instrument that addressed whether the participants had people in their lives that liked them more when they discovered that the participants were involved in crime. The answer to this question provided an indication of the prevalence of social support factors for the participants' deviant behaviour. Table 30 indicates that a significant difference exists between the responses to the crime positive variable. As this variable is bivariate, the nature of the relationship was determined by considering the frequencies in the descriptive table. These frequencies showed that participants were significantly unlikely to associate with people who viewed their offending behaviour in a positive light (31.8%).

The results for the other social support variables presented above indicate a variety of differences among the answers provided by the participants. As the mentor and support variables were also bivariate in nature, their respective descriptive tables were analysed. There was no significant difference between the number of participants who indicated that they did (49%) or did not (51%) have someone to help them cope when they were released from corrections, whereas a significant number of participants (57.9%) mentioned that they

did have someone from whom they could ask advice when they needed it. With these findings considered it can be said that, hypothesis 8.2 was not supported. Overall, the similarity in numbers of participants who indicated that they did or did not have someone to help them cope when they were released from prison meant that hypothesis 8 was not supported.

Taking into account that a significant number of participants had access to mentors, were less likely to associate with people who liked them more because they were involved in crime, viewed at least one correctional official as a positive influence and received visitations during their time in prison, it can be said that the presence of conventional social support structures does not necessarily result in a decrease in recidivism. This provides support again for the perspective that states, that attempts to curb repeat offending behaviour need to consider a multitude of variables that increase recidivism risk and cannot be focused on one-dimensional approaches. The presence of conventional social support for the participants offending behaviour could also be seen as an indicator of the awareness and integration with conventional social norms. This could indicate that for a significant number of participants, involvement in offending behaviour is not fundamentally viewed as good or desirable but may be viewed as necessary or excusable within the given context. This notion will be further explored in the hypotheses related to cognitive-behavioural variables associated with recidivism.

Of relevance here, and providing a potential alternative explanation, is the perspective provided by Peacock (2006:49), who argues that negative peer relations could hinder personal development if a fear of peer group rejection exists. This factor may play a dual role, as peer groups are important in the shaping of cognitive content and experiences, thereby are perceived as a source of comfort and security. However, they may also be seen as a source of strain in instances of social rejection. While social isolation is often seen as a factor contributing to potential delinquent behaviour, evidence suggests that active rejection can also result in outward displays of aggression (Jones, 2013:21; Muntingh & Gould, 2010:16). The results from hypothesis 6.1 are important here, because despite the seemingly high levels of social support, participants were still significantly likely to associate with deviant peers, indicating that peer groups expectations could be more influential than those of the family unit or other potential pro-social sources.

Similar to the findings regarding the programme variables, an initial analysis of the findings would lead one to believe that the participants had a high level of social support, which should translate into a decrease in reoffending behaviour. The inherent assumption of this perspective is that mentors and family members would be more influential in the individuals' lives than their peer group, which is not necessarily the case because recidivists have been commonly found to associate more frequently with deviant peers and be easily influenced by them (Benda, 2001:723; Katsiyannis & Archwamety, 1997:49).

6.9. Recidivism and Reintegration

Level of reintegration is another variable that has been thoroughly explored in the existing recidivism literature with studies having found that including the victim and community members in the criminal justice process has a positive effect on decreasing recidivism if it is executed correctly (Goodey, 2000, as cited in Norton, 2007:64).

6.9.1. Hypothesis 9

Hypothesis 9 states that the similarity between the restorative justice and aftercare services received by recidivists upon release will be statistically significant. Table 31 presents the results for the chi-square test, and is followed by an explanation of the findings for these social support variables.

Table 31

Chi-square Tests for Reintegration Variables

Variable	χ^2	df	p	n
Aftercare	105.04	2	.00**	202
Restorative Justice	159.44	4	.00**	202

** $p < 0.01$

The results presented in Table 31 indicate the presence of a significantly similar pattern of responses for recidivists in terms of their experiences with reintegration services, specifically restorative justice and aftercare. Hypothesis 9 is therefore supported. As the variables were not bivariate, further pairwise analyses were conducted and showed that a significantly high

number of participants did not receive aftercare (65.4%), and the majority of participants were not offered restorative justice services (53%).

These findings furthermore emphasise the importance of providing multi-dimensional intervention services to offenders to assist with successful reintegration. As seen in the previous results, despite the amount of evidence indicating that programme outcomes were being achieved, the lack of reintegration services in the form of aftercare and restorative justice services is still an obvious challenge (see section 6.2.2). Results of this nature support the argument purported by Merton's anomie theory that although skills and personal development are important, they are only as effective as the opportunities that are afforded to individuals to utilise them, referring again to the perspective presented in section 6.3.2 that highlights the nature of the relationship between societal expectations and the availability of opportunities to achieve them. An example of this is the results from sub-hypothesis 2.2 that found that despite demonstrating evidence for pro-social cognitions, recidivists still engaged in offending behaviour, indicating the presence of additional background variables. It is for this reason that a variety of elements that make up the participants' cognitive-affective-behavioural structures need to be explored such as those presented in the hypotheses to follow.

6.10. Recidivism and Decision-Making Processes

Hypothesis 10 states that recidivists will demonstrate a significantly similar tendency to use a pro-criminal decision-making cognitive process. In order to provide a thorough analysis of this process, a number of variables focusing on different areas of the cognitive-affective-behavioural feedback structure were incorporated.

6.10.1. Hypothesis 10

As mentioned in the discussion for sub-hypothesis 1.1, the problem-solving variables were derived from scenario questions that required the participants to rate their likelihood of opting for more criminogenic solutions when faced with challenges. Table 32 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test, and is followed by an explanation of the findings.

Table 32

Chi-square Tests for Criminogenic Decision-Making Variables

Problem Solve	χ^2	df	p	N
Problem	137.98	4	.00**	201
Hunger	46.86	4	.00**	202
Opportunity	138.53	4	.00**	201
Family	155.33	4	.00**	202

** $p < 0.01$

As shown above, all of the problem-solving variables were found to contain significant differences in the pattern of answers provided. Hypothesis 10 is therefore supported. As each variable consisted of five possible responses, a pairwise comparison was conducted to determine the exact nature of the significant results. The pairwise comparison demonstrated that the answers provided for all of the decision-making scenarios tended to cluster significantly on the “Agree” or “Strongly agree” end of the scale. Most participants “Strongly agree[d]” that they would use crime to solve problems (45.8%), commit crime if the opportunity presented itself (45.8%) or commit crime to provide for their family (47.7%), and most participants “Agree[d]” to using crime to obtain food to avoid going hungry (35.6%).

These results reiterate the perspective presented in section 2.2.6, which discusses the role of cognitive errors and in turn, the permeating effects the content of these negative or problematic thoughts have on affective and behavioural functioning. As mentioned, cognitive errors can occur both as surface level or automatic cognitions, or at the deeper core belief level, both of which have a varying level of effect on the individual’s perception of themselves, the world and their future (Nurius & Macy, 2008:115). Within the context of the previous evidence related to pro-social cognitions and significant evidence of social support one could make the argument that it is due to the inability of these variables to influence the individuals criminogenic decision-making processes that results in continued involvement in offending behaviour indicating that the cognitive errors may be functioning at the core belief level making these ideas more entrenched in the participants’ psyche. In terms of the influence of criminogenic schemata and the view that decision making is an active, conscious process, these findings support the perspective presented in section 4.5.1 that identifies the commission of crime as a criminogenic variable in itself, due to its instrumental value as a means of problem solving. Additional variables that influence this criminogenic decision-making structure will be explored in the section to follow.

6.11. Recidivism and Egocentric Motivations

Hypothesis 11 states that there will be a significant relationship between recidivism and egocentric behaviour. This variable was explored in an indirect manner by asking the participants to identify who they believed benefitted from their offending behaviour, as well as to rate how important they felt it was to assist other people.

6.11.1. Hypothesis 11

Table 33 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test, and is followed by an explanation of the findings.

Table 33

Chi-square Tests for Egocentricity Variables

Egocentricity	χ^2	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>	n
Benefit self	13.39	1	.00**	202
Benefit co-offenders	86.26	1	.00**	202
Benefit family	71.29	1	.00**	202
Benefit friends	182.50	1	.00**	202
Benefit no-one	114.38	1	.00**	202

** $p < 0.01$

The chi-square goodness of fit test produced significant results for all of the abovementioned variables, providing support for hypothesis 11. As the ego benefit variables are bivariate in nature, characterised by participants stating whether their offending behaviour benefitted themselves, their co-offenders, families, friends or no-one, the information from the descriptive table was used to identify the nature of these findings. The only option that the participants significantly agreed with was related to personal benefit (62.9%), whereas participants were found to significantly disagree that any of the other groups benefitted from their offending behaviour (co-offenders – 82.7%, family – 79.7%, friends – 97.5%, no-one – 87.6%).

From an empirical perspective, the results concur with the findings of Rydén-Lodi et al. (2008:91) who found that repeat offenders were more likely to score highly on measures of impulsivity, experience seeking, monotony avoidance and egocentricity than non-offenders. This group was also found to be less trusting in people around them, showing signs of irritability, suspicion and aggression (Rydén-Lodi et al., 2008:91). Theoretically this high level of egocentricity can be explained as being due to a lack of cognitive development. Both Piaget and Kohlberg purport that cognitive development occurs in stages, with the early stages being characterised by egocentric and sensory motivations. As the individual in Piaget's theory ages and schemata evolve and become more complex, the individual begins to develop abstract thought, logical understanding and the capacity to reflect and evaluate ideas. Kohlberg specifically highlights the development of an awareness of others, their experiences in relation to the self as well as their evaluations of the self. Offending behaviour can thus be linked to stagnation in the development of moral reasoning, where behavioural motivators are not advanced enough to include utilitarian concepts of universality and collective good but are rather defined by a comparatively primitive dependence on social approval and hedonistic motivators (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:235; Bernstein et al., 2006:460). This lack of complexity of available schemata could furthermore limit the individuals' problem-solving capacity and create an over reliance on basic hedonistic responses to situations viewed as problematic or stressful. In the case of recidivists this response can be defined by criminal behaviour as shown by the results for hypothesis 10.

6.12. Recidivism and Consideration of Others

In order to provide insight into the tendency of recidivists to consider themselves in relation to those around them, participants were asked if they often compared themselves to other people and were given four options to choose from, including: "Yes, other people mostly had better things than me"; "Yes, I mostly had better things than other people"; "No"; and "I am not sure". Participants were also asked to indicate how important they believed it was to assist others and were allowed to select either "Not important", "Very important in general", "Important if its someone close to me" or "Important if I get something out of it".

6.12.1. Hypothesis 12, 12.1 and 12.2

Hypothesis 12 states that recidivists will show a significantly similar pattern of response in relation to their views of other people. Sub-hypothesis 12.1 states that experiences of relative deprivation will be significantly similar between recidivists whereas sub-hypothesis 12.2 postulates that recidivists will have a significantly similar perspective on the need to assist other people Table 34 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test, and is followed by an explanation of the findings.

Table 34

Chi-square Test for the Perception of Others Variables

Variable	χ^2	df	p	n
Relative Deprivation	89.21	3	.00**	201
Assist	23.82	3	.00**	198

** $p < 0.01$

A significant difference was found among the responses associated with the relative deprivation and assistance variables, indicating that both sub-hypotheses 12.1 and 12.2 were supported and therefore the overall hypothesis 12 was also supported. As there were six different response pairs for both the relative deprivation and assistance variables, a pairwise comparison was conducted. For the relative deprivation variable, the highest number of participants selected “Yes, other people mostly had better things than me” (44.3%), followed by “No” (38.8%). These options were selected significantly more often than the other options, but did not significantly differ from each other. In terms of the assist variable, the highest number of participants said that it was “Not important” (37.9%) to assist other people, while the second-most popular option was “Very important in general” (25.8%). After applying the Bonferroni correction, it was found that these frequencies were not significantly different. However, the “Not important” response was selected significantly more often than the “Important if it’s someone close to me” (22.7%) and “Important if I get something out of it” (13.6%) responses.

The comparable nature of the frequencies found for a number of the answers to the questionnaire items associated with these variables would indicate the potential presence of additional nuisance variables. Though there were significant differences between the

frequencies of some of the responses, the differences for others can be considered negligible and indicate a need for further research. This research would need to further understand the nature of the variables and assess their impact as behavioural motivators. For the assistance variable, the target of the assistance should be considered to determine whether or not the participants are willing to assist certain groups of people over others. This could provide insight into the participants' feelings towards certain groups of people and therewith their propensity to justify the victimisation of individuals from these groups. In terms of relative deprivation, the units of comparison along which recidivists compare themselves to others would also assist in the understanding of the elements that recidivists might feel inadequate or inferior about in their own lives and could be explored as potential targets of intervention measures. Larger sample sizes and control groups will also assist in determining the degree of association between these variables and recidivism in order to control for the potential that these perspectives may be held in equal proportions by non-recidivists.

6.13. Recidivism and Anger

Anger responses have been mentioned in a number of previous hypotheses as either playing an associated, motivating or outcome role for other variables (social isolation, maltreatment, general strain, disruption of social bonds, lack of self-control, socialisation, and “threatened egotism”). The assertion that recidivists view themselves as angry individuals and the reasons therefore will be explored in hypothesis 13.

6.13.1. Hypothesis 13

Hypothesis 13 states that recidivists will experience significant levels of anger. Table 35 present the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test, and is followed by an explanation of the findings.

Table 35

Chi-square Test for Anger Variable

Variable	χ^2	df	p	n
Anger	5.07	1	.02*	202

* $p < 0.05$

The results for the anger variable indicate a significant difference between the answers provided by the participants, providing support for hypothesis 13. As this variable was bivariate in nature, the table containing the descriptive data was consulted. A significant number of participants (57.9%) mentioned that they perceived themselves as “angry people” in comparison to those who did not. Participants were then also asked to elaborate on what they believed might be the cause of this anger. The reason that received the most support (29.1%) was that of familial relations, which included perceptions of being judged by their family members, the lack of support that they received and level of poverty that they were brought up in.

The reasons provided by the participants align with a number of theoretical perspectives from the fields of psychology and criminology alike as increased incidence of anger and aggressive responses can be linked to negative childhood experiences, frustration due to labelling, a perceived lack of opportunities, experiences of victimisation, socialisation, cognitive structures, personality variables and attitudes (Andrews & Bonta, 2010:193; Clear, 2010:7; Cronje, 2012:48; Dissel, 2008:157; Maddi, 1996:121; Palmer et al., 2007:102; Peacock, 2006:56; Sarkin, 2008:28; Wekerle et al., 2008:877; Williams & Fouche, 2008:159; Williams & McShane, 2010:96)

6.14. Recidivism and Locus of Control

Hypothesis 14 states that recidivism will be significantly related to an external locus of control. The questionnaire items associated with locus of control aimed to elicit responses regarding how often participants felt that they were not in control of their own behaviour, whether their control was associated with drug use and whether or not they were of the opinion that success was associated with luck.

6.14.1. Hypothesis 14

Table 36 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit tests, and is followed by an explanation of the findings.

Table 36

Chi-square Tests for Locus of Control Variables

Locus of Control	χ^2	df	p	n
Control	59.82	4	.00**	201
Luck	23.71	2	.00**	200
Drugs	15.25	2	.00**	201

** $p < 0.01$

The results presented in Table 36 indicate a significant difference between the responses provided for the items associated with locus of control, hence hypothesis 14 is supported. The control variable was determined using a five-point Likert scale comprising the options: “Always”, “Most of the time”, “Sometimes”, “Seldom” and “Never”. The luck and drugs variables relied on the options “Yes”, “Sometimes” and “No”. As none of these variables were bivariate in nature, multiple pairwise comparisons were conducted in order to determine the exact nature of the significant relationships presented in Table 36.

The descriptive table for the control variable showed that the highest frequencies tended to cluster towards the positive end of the scale, with the “Always” (34.3%) option being the most popular, followed by “Most of the time” (22.4%) and “Sometimes” (27.4%). The pairwise comparison indicated that these frequencies were not significantly different once the Bonferroni correction had been applied, and that the “Always” option was only selected significantly more frequently than the “Never” (12.4%) and “Seldom” (3.5%) options. In terms of the other two variables, the pairwise comparison showed that the lack of control mentioned previously was not as a result of drug use (46.3%), and the highest number of participants felt that people who achieve more than others just have better luck (49.5%).

These results provide clear indication for an external locus of control held by a significant number of the participants, which supports the findings of Schoeman (2002:256) and provides further explanation of the results from hypothesis 13 in which participants were significantly more likely to define themselves as angry people. This association between an external locus of control and recidivism was furthermore highlighted by Fisher et al. (1998) who stated that a variety of offenders including violent and sexual offenders have an external locus of control, meaning that the offenders perceived life-events as being out of their control, and due to “chance, fate, luck or powerful others” (Fisher et al., 1998:2). This

perception of behavioural control has also been linked to increased levels of impulsiveness, a factor associated with violent or aggressive behaviour according to Deming and Lochman (2008).

6.15. Recidivism and the use of Psychological Defences

The use of psychological defences was demonstrated by asking the participants whether or not some people deserve to be victims, if they ever thought about the effect their behaviour had on their victims, if they felt that they had a justifiable reason to commit their offences and what they believed their chances were of being caught if they were to commit crime again.

6.15.1. Hypothesis 15, 15.1 and 15.2

Hypothesis 15 states that recidivism will be significantly related to the use of psychological defences. As psychological defences can manifest in various ways, sub-hypotheses were developed to assess specific modes of adaptation. Sub-hypothesis 15.1 states that recidivists will have significantly similar perspectives about victimisation and sub-hypothesis 15.2 postulates that recidivists will display a significantly similar tendency to justify their offending behaviour. Table 37 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test, and is followed by an explanation of the findings.

Table 37

Chi-square Test for the Victim Regard Variable

Variable	χ^2	df	p	n
Victim deserve	35.29	2	.00**	200
Victim Effect	16.76	2	.00**	198
Crime Reason	53.77	2	.00**	200
Deterrence	157.30	4	.00**	169

** $p < 0.01$

All of the variables measured in Table 37 indicated a significant association with recidivism and therefore provide statistical support for sub-hypothesis 15.1 and sub-hypothesis 15.2. As previously mentioned, participants were asked if they felt that some people deserved to be

victims of crime. The available options were “Yes”, “Sometimes” or “No”. The table above indicates that there was a significant difference between at least one of the response pairs, indicating a predominant pattern of responses amongst the participants. The pairwise comparison indicates that the highest number of participants did not feel that people deserve to be victimised (53%).

The highest number of participants (45%) said that they did think about the effect of their behaviour on their victims but did not care about it. This response was not selected significantly more than the “Yes, but tried to ignore it” response (33.8%), but it was selected significantly more often than the “No, I never thought about it” response (21.2%). In terms of participants believing that they had a good reason to commit their crimes, participants were asked to select “Yes”, “No” or “Sometimes”. After conducting a pairwise comparison with a Bonferroni correction, it was found that participants answered “Yes” (56.5%) to the question significantly more often than the other two options. These findings provide support for the overall hypothesis and therefore hypothesis 15 is supported.

Thus, repeat offenders tend to feel that they had a good reason for committing their crimes significantly more often than not. These findings show that participants tend to rely on psychological defences to justify their offences and minimise the potentially detrimental effects of having to think about their victims. Similarly, the descriptive table for the deterrence variable showed that most participants (56.2%) felt that their chances of being caught if they were to commit crime again were “Very high”. The pairwise comparisons confirmed that this response was selected significantly more often than all the other options, and can therefore be said to represent a significant majority of the responses for all recidivists.

These findings provide support for the notion presented under hypothesis 8 that recidivists have an understanding or awareness of the norms and standards of conventional society. Taking the abovementioned findings into account it can be said that the participants are aware of the inappropriateness and consequences of their behaviour and do not necessarily have a pathological denial thereof or attitude towards their victims. However, the contradiction between the understanding of conventional norms and the presence of offending behaviour arguably motivated by environmental stressors are said to create a psychological environment in which certain neutralisation techniques or defence mechanisms are required to maintain a

homeostatic state between their perception of appropriate behaviour and their actual behaviour. In the cognitive-behavioural field, these are known as coping mechanisms or strategies, and can be either adaptive (directed at achieving one's goals) or maladaptive (detrimental to goal achievement) (D'Zurilla & Nezu, 2010:203). The nature of these strategies manifests through the self-regulation mechanisms in cognitive behavioural theory and depend on the nature of the individual's goals and associated schemata. This is evident in the responses from the participants of this study as a significant number indicated that they do not believe that people deserve to be victimised and that they often think about their victims and are aware of the effect their own behaviour has on them. Hence it is important for future research to include variables that provide an indication of the nature of these schemata in order to understand how this behaviour is maintained in the presence of conventional norms.

6.16. Recidivism and the Need for Immediate Satisfaction

Hypothesis 16 states that recidivism will be significantly associated with a need for immediate satisfaction. This variable was addressed in the questionnaire through items related to spending patterns and the willingness to save money when possible.

6.16.1. Hypothesis 16

Table 38 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test, and is followed by an explanation of the findings.

Table 38

Chi-square Tests for Immediate Satisfaction Variables

Variable	χ^2	df	p	n
Spend quick	.18	1	.67	202
Spend basic	27.11	1	.00**	202
Spend family	78.59	1	.00**	202
Spend save	120.48	1	.00**	202
Save importance	47.13	2	.00**	201

** $p < 0.01$

The findings presented in the table above indicate a significant difference in responses for all but one indicator of the immediate satisfaction variable. Due to this non-significant result, hypothesis 16 was not supported. As all of the spend variables were bivariate, their respective descriptive tables were used to determine the nature of these significant differences. The ‘spend quick’ variable was found to be not significant, indicating that the participants who selected this option could not be considered a significant majority despite comprising 51.5% of the sample. The descriptive data for the other spend categories indicated a significantly low representation amongst the participants. Only 31.7% of participants said that they would spend their income on basic necessities, while 18.8% would spend it on their families and 11.4% would save it. As participants were allowed to select all the options that applied to them, the percentages do not add up to 100%.

The save importance variable was a separate variable that provided an indication of the level of importance participants placed on saving their money by defining it as either “Important”, “Not important” or “Never thought about it”. The pairwise comparison revealed that the most frequently selected answer was the “I never thought about it” response, which had a significantly higher response rate (54.2%) than the other two options. Despite the overall lack of support for hypothesis 16, the significant findings for the individual variables provide initial evidence for potential relationships. Future research needs to consider exploring the degree and nature of impulsivity associated with recidivism in the context of communities that are characterised by despairing views of the future. This research should therefore also include other forms of immediate satisfaction such other utilitarian forms of violence such as physical and sexual violence and not only economic spending patterns. The motivation for substance or alcohol abuse should also be further explored to determine the degree to which these behaviours are associated with the immediate satisfactions of perceived needs.

6.17. Recidivism and Idle Mindedness

Hypothesis 17 states that there will be a significant relationship between recidivism and idle mindedness. The idle mindedness variable focuses specifically on the availability of constructive recreational opportunities and was indirectly measured by asking the participants to indicate what they did in their free time in an open-ended question. The answers were then collected and categorised as constructive (creative arts, employment or exercise), neutral (sedentary, social neutral or loitering) or criminogenic (crime, substance use or sexual).

6.17.1. Hypothesis 17

The activities listed below were derived from the answers to the open-ended question mentioned above. Table 39 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test for the free time variable, and is followed by an explanation of the findings.

Table 39

Chi-square Tests for Free Time Variable

Variable	χ^2	df	p	n
Free Time	30.78	2	.00**	266

** $p < 0.01$

The free time variable presented in Table 39 is significantly associated with recidivism indicating support for hypothesis 17. As the questionnaire item was open ended, some participants indicated that they engaged in multiple activities in their free time causing the total value to exceed 202. The pairwise comparison showed that the highest number of participants engaged in criminogenic activities (49.2%) in their free time followed by activities classified as neutral (27.1%) and then constructive (23.7%).

One aspect that may be symptomatic rather than causal is idleness owing to unemployment. For the relationship to be causal, there would need to be a direct link between unemployment and crime. However, the first challenge with this assumption is that the unemployed population in South Africa cannot be considered a homogenous group, and if one is to look at the unemployment statistics in comparison to the incarceration percentage, one would find a vast difference, indicating that there is a larger population of individuals who are unemployed but who do not participate in crime. This distinction is important not only from an empirical perspective, but also in terms of the creation of stereotypes fuelling the perception of people living in poverty as criminals. The cognitive behavioural approach provides an explanation of this finding by referring to the self-regulation principle discussed in section 2.2.4 which acknowledges the far-reaching effects the presence of negative cognitions have on the self-regulation process. It continues to explain that individuals actively engage with their environment to illicit a response associated with his or her own view of the self, the environment and prospects for the future, which in the context of repeat offending behaviour is said to explain the resistance to opportunities to participate in pro-social activities that

numerous recidivists tend to display as per the findings of the current study (Nurius & Macy, 2008:111).

6.18. Recidivism and Environmental Change

Hypothesis 18 states that recidivists will have significantly similar evaluations of the degree of change in their communities upon release from corrections. This variable links to the continued existence of the same environmental variables that could have increased the participants' initial involvement in crime that would still be present upon returning from corrections.

6.18.1. Hypothesis 18

Table 40 presents the results for the chi-square goodness of fit test, and is followed by an explanation of the findings.

Table 40

Chi-square Test for Environmental Change Variable

Variable	χ^2	df	p	n
Environmental change	38.24	2	.00**	201

** $p < 0.01$

The significant result for the environmental change variable provides support for hypothesis 18. The environmental change variable consisted of three options, which referred to the level of criminogenic variables present in the participants' communities when they returned from corrections. These options were "Things had gotten better", "Nothing had changed" and "Things had gotten worse". The pairwise comparison showed that there was no significant difference between the first (45.8%) and second (41.3%) options. However, both were significantly more frequently selected than the third option (12.9%).

Upon first impression, it seems that these findings contradict the perspective put forward in the qualitative stage in which a number of participants mentioned the amount of time they would spend with no constructive past time to keep them occupied and away from

criminogenic activities. This resulted in them committing crime upon return from corrections. When coupled with the findings presented above that nothing had changed in their environment, or potentially had gotten better, spending time with a group of idle friends with criminogenic options could be seen as the best option to help them feel as if life is back to normal again. In addition to the results presented above, participants from the quantitative phase were also asked to explain their answers.

Participants who mentioned that circumstances had improved in their communities often cited infrastructure and social changes as the most important variables. Such changes included increased access to support services for the elderly, skills development for the youth, new schools and improved security measures. A notable point mentioned by the participants in the qualitative phase was that they would become involved in crime again to bring some sense of normality to their lives. They were returning to “new” environments, not knowing what to do or with whom to spend their time. Participants in the quantitative stage also mentioned that their friends had gotten married and moved on, and they often felt left behind. Therefore, the improvement in environmental factors may not be perceived as positively by the recidivists as initially thought, and may in contrast increase the participants’ anxiety, thus making them feel as if they need to engage in crime in order to experience psychological congruence.

Mears et al. (2015), in their review of incarceration literature, cite studies that have found positive, negative and null effects of incarceration on recidivism, and argue that the effects of incarceration are simply too dependent on individual factors such as risk profile, mental health status, demographics and conditions of the communities into which they are returned. The general argument is then that the effects of incarceration on recidivism are not uniform across offending populations but rather form part of a more complex narrative and depend on the availability of other internal and external resources. The variability found here could be a contributing factor to the lack of certain theoretical understandings of recidivism, in that the contributing factors are just too varied to make generalisable conclusions. This argument provides further support for the need for more process-orientated theories such as cognitive-behavioural theory that focus on how information is experienced and how this experience is interpreted and allowed to affect behaviour. The content related to this process would need to be understood on an individual basis and can therefore not be as broadly generalised, owing to its context-specific nature. Additionally, studies have shown that punishment-orientated

approaches to corrections with no rehabilitative elements may actually increase the probability of recidivism (Gatotoh et al., 2011:263).

6.19. Conclusion

This chapter presented a discussion of the results of the quantitative phase of the study in light of the hypotheses developed with the goal of fulfilling the aims of the study. The results were discussed in relation to theory and research pertaining to understanding recidivism and correctional intervention programmes. The findings and explanations provided highlighted an important interrelation between micro and macro variables, especially in light of the apparent contradiction between the participants' acknowledgement and understanding of conventional norms and values and their continued offending behaviour. It can therefore be said that although change in the cognitive structure of individuals is important for behavioural change, it is also necessary to ensure that the cognitive changes are relevant and applicable to the environment into which they return. In Chapter 7 the analyses of the data will be examined in relation to the aims of this study and recommendations for further research will be formulated.

Chapter 7

Recommendations and Conclusions

With the exploratory analysis of the factors associated with recidivism in the previous chapter, it is now possible to ascertain if the aims of the study (see 1.5) have been realised. The data generated and analyses thereof present a foundation for further research, especially in lieu of the dearth of research on the criminogenic, victimogenic and programme related factors associated with repeat offending behaviour.

7.1. Conclusions Pertaining to the Fulfilment of the Aims of the Study

The following discussion focuses on an assessment of the realisation of the aims of the study, followed by guidelines for future scientific enquiry to expand on this research.

7.1.1. Conclusion Pertaining to the Identification and Understanding of Criminogenic and Victimogenic Variables Associated with Repeat Offending Behaviour

The first aim entailed identifying and providing an understanding of the various criminogenic and victimogenic variables associated with recidivism. Focus was placed specifically on the dynamic factors of behaviour due to their ability to change through the implementation of appropriate interventions. Due to the high level of variability in findings and lack of research, specifically in the South African context, it was decided to first identify variables with a group of South African recidivists and then test these variables quantitatively on a larger scale. The findings (presented in Chapter 6) provided mixed support for the international literature, highlighting the need to continue to conduct research grounded in the understandings of the local context. The variables identified in the first phase of the study were categorised into victimogenic, social, cognitive-behavioural, environmental and “other” (employment and substance use) domains. A criminogenic domain was not identified as a category on its own as all of the above-mentioned variables are associated with recidivism and therefore would by nature be considered criminogenic.

In terms of the victimogenic variables identified it was found that participants had experienced low levels of victimisation both inside and outside of the correctional

environment, which correlated with generally positive perceptions of themselves and their future prospects as purported by cognitive-behavioural theory in reference to the development of the cognitive-behavioural feedback loop – the core cognitive structure through which all information from the environment is processed and ascribed meaning (Nurius & Macy, 2008:102). Additionally, despite their low levels of victimisation participants had a significant fear of the correctional environment and preferred life outside of prison as opposed to inside. Participants also defined their communities as unhelpful in terms of assisting them to reintegrate, a notion supported by the participants experiences with restorative justice and aftercare services which will be outlined in the discussion on social variables associated with recidivism presented below.

The findings associated with the social variables demonstrated significant access to conventional social support in the form of: mentors both inside and outside of the correctional setting, the maintenance of family ties whilst incarcerated and a lack of positive social responses to offending behaviour. These findings in isolation could arguably be said to be associated with individuals who would usually display pro-social behaviour and not commonly with recidivists. However, further investigation showed a significant association between recidivists and gang involvement, association with friends involved in crime, and the perception that leaving the criminal lifestyle would be possible but difficult. It could therefore be argued that despite having connections to pro-social relationships such as non-criminal mentors and family members, the association with deviant peer groups could be seen as having a stronger influence on behaviour. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, reintegration was also found to be lacking, with a significant number of participants indicating that they did not receive aftercare or restorative justice services. The importance of reintegration has been explored in the existing literature (Dissel, 2008:158; Dissel, 2012:30; Norton, 2007:64) and found to be inversely related to experiences of stigmatisation and directly related to employment and an institutionalised mind-set. This was however not the case in the current study as participants mentioned experiencing low levels of stigmatisation by their communities, showed evidence of pro-social cognitions and had varying experiences of employment (discussed in the section below) despite lacking the experience of adequate reintegration services. This finding indicates the presence of additional mediating variables and highlights the need for further research. It could also be seen as a contributing factor for the lack of conformity with conventional support structures in favour of deviant peers.

From a cognitive-behavioural perspective it was found that a significant number of participants had deviant decision making cognitive structures, opting to use crime as a means to solve an array of challenges in their lives. In terms of the control participants felt they had over their lives, a significant number showed signs of an external locus of control and believed that they had good reason to commit their crimes, providing further support for the findings of Schoeman, (2002:256) and the perspective presented in section 4.5.1 that identifies the commission of crime as a criminogenic variable in itself, due to its instrumental value as a means of problem solving. It was also found that recidivists tend to show significantly egocentric thought patterns and consider themselves to be angry people. Andrews & Bonta, (2010:235) provide an explanation that states that recidivists behavioural motivators which, limit utilitarian concepts of universality and collective good are defined by a comparatively primitive dependence on social approval and hedonistic motivators. A view that cognitive-behavioural theory explains as a lack of complexity of available schemata which, limit the individuals' problem-solving capacity and create an over reliance on basic hedonistic responses to situations viewed as problematic or stressful. In terms of their feelings towards their victims, participants were most likely to show an awareness of the effect their behaviour had on their victims but either did not care or tried not to think about it and also significantly felt that no one necessarily deserved to be victimised. Collectively, these findings provide evidence for a cognitive-behavioural structure that is aware of and accepts a number of conventional beliefs but that is constantly neutralising the disequilibrium between these beliefs and the individuals' behaviour as purported by Sykes & Matza's, (1957:667) neutralisation techniques being used to minimise what Festinger termed "cognitive" dissonance (D'Zurilla & Nezu, 2010:203; Maddi, 1980:100;), a process arguably influenced by the lack of access to conventional means of sustainability as purported by Anomie theory (Williams & McShane, 2010:95).

The final two domains highlighted the impact of environmental variables and those classified as "other". Within the environmental variables it was found that a significant majority of participants engaged in criminogenic activities in their recreational time, which included substance use, crime and sexual activities. Participants also indicated that the adverse conditions in their communities had either stayed the same or improved since they had returned from incarceration. This finding was linked to recidivism as either being due to the continued presence of criminogenic variables that originally drew the participants to crime or alternatively an increase in psychological strain due to an associated need to bring a sense of

normalcy amidst the changing nature of their community. The “other” category included the substance use and employment variables and showed that a significant number of participants engaged in both illicit drug and alcohol use and that the majority of participants were unable to find employment despite actively searching.

Considering the combination of variables presented above it can be said that a significant number of participants should have an awareness of conventional, anti-criminogenic belief systems but that these beliefs do not necessarily translate into accompanying behaviour. With the findings that indicate an awareness of their behaviour and the impact it has on their victims, one could make the argument that recidivists are not simply driven by anti-social or pathological thinking patterns but may have an elaborate cognitive structure that allows them to participate in crime whilst maintaining a positive self-view. From a cognitive-behavioural perspective recidivists can be said to possess a ‘clause schema’ that allows them to have an awareness of societal norms and expectations but feel that because of their personal circumstances, these norms do not fully apply to them, similar to Merton’s ‘Innovation’ mode of adaptation discussed in Anomie theory (Bartol & Bartol, 2008:3; Williams & McShane, 2010:79). In other words, despite the existence of a generally negative perception of crime and deviance, when it does occur, community members tend to more understanding of the behaviour in light of the collective understanding of the shared social circumstance they share with the offenders (predominantly in terms of less serious offences). Future research could explore this finding further due to the existence of both pro-social and deviant variables in the participants’ lives across the victimogenic, social, cognitive-behavioural, environmental and “other” domains. Given the assessment of the findings associated with the identification and understanding of the various criminogenic and victimogenic variables associated with recidivism the first aim of the study was realised.

7.1.2. Conclusion Pertaining to the Comparison of the Dynamic Risk Factors between Individuals who have Committed Different Types of Offences

The second aim required a comparison to be made of the nature of the dynamic risk factors associated with recidivism between the different offending categories. These categories consisted of aggressive, economic, narcotic, sexual and “other” (possession of an unlicensed firearm, child neglect, malicious damage to property, arson, drunk driving, parole break, escape from a correctional centre and contempt of court) offences and were hypothesised to

be comparatively no different in terms of their relation to the dynamic variables associated with recidivism. The rationale for this hypothesis was based on the dearth of research comparing different types of re-offenders in a single study and thereby being measured with the same criteria, making it difficult to accurately deduce any relationship between the factors associated with different types of repeat offences.

The results indicated that there were in fact significant differences between the responses provided to the questionnaire items by offenders from the various offending categories and in doing so demonstrated comparative support for findings of previous research which had predominantly focussed on specific types of re-offenders (Baumeister et al., 1996; 1996; Deming & Lochman, 2008; Fisher et al., 1998; Mann et al., 2010; Schoeman, 2002). As the nature of the responses for the variables that did not differ significantly between offence categories can be inferred from the results presented for the first aim under section 7.1.1, this section will focus on the variables that did show a significant difference between different types of offenders in relation to the five dynamic factor domains associated with recidivism namely cognitive-behavioural, victimogenic, social, environmental, and other (comprising employment and substance abuse).

Sexual offenders were found to be more inclined to use deviant problem-solving skills and indicated that assisting people was unimportant and spending their income on basic needs was significantly less likely to occur than in the case of participants from the other offending categories. They also tend to show evidence of an external locus of control, and believed that they had a legitimate reason to commit their offence. Justifying offending behaviour was also found to be associated with narcotic offenders, who at 29.7% were also more likely to spend their money on basic needs than expected. Narcotic offenders were the least likely to have friends who viewed their offending behaviour in a positive light. Aggressive offenders were significantly more likely to be involved in gangsterism personally as well as have friends in gangs. They were also found to engage in drug usage more frequently than other types of offenders, and often defined themselves as angry people. In terms of the social variables, economic and “other” offenders were significantly more likely than other types of offenders to believe that it would be “Possible but difficult” to stop their involvement in criminal behaviour and were also significantly more likely to use deviant problem-solving skills. Additionally, the participants belonging to these two categories were also significantly more likely to have “Never thought about” saving their money. Economic offending was then also

found to be significantly associated with higher rates of spending money quickly and significantly lower rates of spending money on family. They were also more likely to feel that they had a justifiable reason for their crime and also believe that they have a purpose in the world.

Serendipitously it was furthermore found that economic offences were significantly more commonly committed by the sample, an observation that draws additional parallels between the current study and one previously conducted by the researcher (Cronje, 2012). This finding provides support for the view of Dissel, (2008:158; 2012:30) that offenders of all crime categories in South Africa experience difficulties finding employment upon release and therefore turn to economic crimes to survive as opposed to resorting to non-criminogenic alternatives like most individuals found in similar situations. Additionally, research on offence types tends not to focus on the offences with the highest recidivism rates but rather those that elicit higher levels of social concern, such as sexual and aggressive offending, examples of such studies utilised in the current study include Deming and Lochman (2008), Fisher et al. (1998), Mann et al. (2010), Mathe (2007) and Thornton et al. (2004). Given the assessment of the findings related to the comparison of dynamic risk factors associated with recidivism between the different offending categories the second aim of the study was realised.

7.1.3. Conclusions Pertaining to the Exploration of the Effect of Programme Participation on Recidivism

The last aim was fulfilled by identifying individuals in the quantitative sample who had participated in correctional interventions and assessing the significance of the relationship between recidivism and the achievement of the various intervention outcomes, as outlined in the White Paper on Corrections (DCS, 2005). The results obtained indicated that a significant number of participants had in many cases achieved the prescribed programme outcomes and provided evidence for decidedly non-criminogenic cognitive feedback structures including a) an awareness of how their behaviour influenced their own involvement in crime, b) the effect their behaviour had on others, c) the ability to make more positive decisions defined by a willingness to cease involvement in crime and the search for more pro-social activities when returning to their communities, d) had learned new skills to help them deal with negative thoughts predominantly related to anger and aggression, e) were more aware of how their

thoughts effected their behaviour and f) were able to set positive goals for their future. In terms of the other programmatic outcomes it was found in a number of cases that although the differences in response patterns for the items were significant, it was not uncommon (in instances where there were multiple options to select from) that two opposing responses would be significantly higher than the rest but not significantly different from one another. If one is to consider these findings from a perspective that relies on recidivism as the sole indicator of programme effectiveness it could be argued that the direction of the data is contradictory. However, from a more critical and multidimensional perspective such as those presented in the research of Dissel (2012:6), Gould (2010:14), Magoro and Louw (2010:8) and Maltz (2001:5) it can be said that these results simply provide evidence for the potential presence of a multitude of background variables and provide thus a framework for further research into the variables associated with recidivism.

Therefore, taking these findings into account in conjunction with the lack of restorative justice and aftercare services experienced by a significant number of participants, the role of environmental stimuli not accounted for by the interventions is apparent. Based on this combination of findings (that programme variables were achieved and pro-social cognitive change occurred) it can be deduced that these variables cannot be said to function in isolation and it can therefore be argued that the current correctional approach, that removes individuals from their environment in order to teach them how to function within that very environment is not an effective means of reducing recidivism. As both a content and process theory of human behaviour (Nurius & Macy, 2008:102), the cognitive-behavioural approach acknowledges the role of the environment in the development of the content that characterises an individual's cognitive-affective-behavioural feedback structure. It is for this reason that it was concluded in section 7.1.1 that recidivists would need to develop a 'clause schema' that allows for the continuation of offending behaviour despite the existence of an understanding of the deviant nature of their behaviour. The first assumption in light of these findings would be to recommend that correctional interventions should also address the criminogenic elements in the participants' communities upon return from corrections. However it would be unrealistic to expect a correctional intervention to change, for example the unemployment rate in South Africa or the finding that a number of participants live in areas with high levels of gangsterism and should therefore rather focus on the impact that they can have on the individuals, not only in terms of their cognitive structures but also in supporting the implementation of this pro-social cognitive structure found to be developed

through the current intervention approach. Intervention programmes therefore need to address the activities participants engage in and the social interactions they have when returning to their communities after their release from the correctional centre. Given the assessment of the findings associated with the effect of programme participation on recidivism, the third aim of the study was realised.

7.2. Recommendations for Future Research

The current study has identified a number of variables associated with recidivism in South Africa with some results providing additional evidence for previously held perspectives and others providing new insight into understanding the above-mentioned variables. As shown in the discussion presented in section 7.1 there are a number of variables that provided mixed, yet significant results in terms of their association with recidivism, in particular for variables that had more than two answers to select from. Further research would allow for the expansion of the understanding of these variables in relation to recidivism and contribute to the development of policies and procedures that more effectively attend to the purpose of correctional facilities as outlined in the White Paper on Corrections (DCS, 2005). The recommendations for further research based on the findings from the current study will be presented below.

7.2.1. Longitudinal Research

Longitudinal research could assist in determining the extent of the effect of intervention participation more comprehensively. Based on the findings from the current study that indicated the presence of a pro-social cognitive structure despite the continued offending behaviour as well as the perspectives of Clear (2010:2) and Muntingh (2001:13) that state that an individual's probability of reoffending is highest shortly after release and decreases with time but never reaches zero, longitudinal research will allow for the exploration of the degree of change these variables undergo. Research of this nature will also allow for an observation of the degree of permanency that these views hold within the individual and whether or not the exposure to the community has an effect on the pro-social mindset observed in the current study.

7.2.2. Types of Offence Categories

The significant findings associated with the different offence categories provide an initial framework for further exploration of the different types of repeat offences. Utilising this framework and including participants with different offending backgrounds will assist in improving the current dearth of available research and allow for the further analysis of the associations between the different types of offences. The inclusion of larger, more diverse samples would expand on the nature of the understanding of offence specific variables and the influence they have on recidivism. Research of this nature will further determine the nature of the need for offence specific interventions tailored for individual needs.

7.2.3. Stakeholder Involvement

One of the reasons for the lack of empirical research on recidivism in South Africa is the lack of official statistics on recidivism. This reality makes it difficult for recidivism researchers to determine the comparative effectiveness of interventions as well as the scope of the phenomenon. Government departments are however not the only entities that have information about recidivism in South Africa. The non-governmental and civil service organisations that provide intervention services to offenders also have a substantial input into the prevalence of recidivism in South Africa. These organisations are not only an essential source of knowledge in terms of understanding the variables (both procedural and in terms of content) that could increase the effectiveness of implementation approaches but also have a number of reports, documenting the impact of intervention programmes on recidivism rates. It is recommended that future research should therefore include these organisations in order to bridge the gap between research and practice. This will not only allow for an understanding of recidivism that is more grounded in the local context but also make the findings more relevant to practice and therefore increase the potential impact it can have on recidivism rates through informing the development of new interventions. An understanding of the factors associated with recidivism will allow for a comparison between static and dynamic factors, which could inform the development of preventative programmes, focused on youth offenders that are related to and compliment the current reactive approaches to correctional intervention approaches.

7.2.4. Individual Variables

The current study provided new insight into the variables associated with recidivism in South Africa, however there were still a number of individual variables that require further exploration as they were either serendipitous or were found not to support the available research. The impulsivity variable is one that may benefit from further research by exploring the degree and nature of impulsivity associated with recidivism in the context of communities that are characterised by despairing views of the future. Exploring the linkage between recidivists' expectations of community assistance and their actual experiences would also provide more in-depth insight into the effect this interrelation may have on promoting further offending behaviour. This approach would also benefit from the use of control groups and quasi-experimental designs, which control for the presence of potential background variables, postulated to be present in the current study. Controlling for these variables and analysing them using continuous or interval data would allow for a more in-depth understanding of specific factors through the analysis of the degree to which they are present in the lives of the recidivists and interrelated with other variables associated with repeated offending behaviour. The variable mentioned in the recommendation for longitudinal research related to the degree of permanency of the pro-social cognitions held by recidivists, that identified the presence of a pro-social cognitive structure despite the continued offending behaviour can be further explored by considering the effect of beliefs on behaviour. Research focusing on additional individual variables might also be able to further explain the results demonstrating that despite a significant majority of participants indicating that they associated with gangsters and had friends involved in crime, participants were not found to be significantly involved in gangsterism personally.

This approach could also create a framework for further research focused on sub-populations of recidivists that have been historically marginalised in the recidivism literature such as female and youth offenders. Diversifying the nature of samples in terms of gender and age and incorporating a comparative element between male and female offenders of different age groups will allow for insights into the different motivating factors associated with these groups of recidivists. Longitudinal studies are also useful in terms of individual variables to track personal change across age ranges.

7.2.5. Development of African Perspectives

In terms of developing African perspectives on challenges faced in the local context it becomes important to ground future research in the said context. Conducting more comparative research that includes an understanding of cultural belief systems and the nature of the cognitive content and how it impacts on individual behaviour or developing grounded theory using qualitative research in conjunction with quantitative means to account more accurately for local understanding and not simply applying international perspectives can achieve this. Theoretical integration of both macro and micro theories such as anomie theory and the cognitive-behavioural approach can also assist in understanding and guiding the development of interventions that not only develop more pro-social cognitive structures but also assist offenders to implement this way of thinking upon return to their communities in a realistic manner. Conducting research that is sensitive to the social and behavioural circumstances of the communities in which recidivists live whilst also formally exploring the potential effectiveness of traditional responses to crime and deviance may provide further insight into more effective practices of crime prevention and rehabilitation. This approach can also contribute to the development of legislative policies and procedures that are not only empirically sound but also realistically implementable. The criticism of the current approach to corrections that recommends removing individuals from their environment in order to teach them how to function within that very environment mentioned under section 7.1.3, highlights the need for further research into the use of alternative sentencing practices currently enshrined in legislation. Research of this nature should also aim to understand the frequency and conditions under which alternative sentences are being considered by the judiciary.

7.3. Concluding Remarks

In closing it can be said that the current study has provided new insight into the social and psychological context of recidivists in South Africa but also identified areas that require additional empirical enquiry. The study has highlighted the need for more research that is sensitive to the local context and takes the beliefs and social expectations of the communities into account but is also aware of the changing nature of African ideologies in the global context. Though the focus of this study was on the dynamic and not static factors associated

with recidivism due to its long-term aim of informing intervention approaches, the importance of addressing the abject conditions in which many South Africans live could not be ignored. As it was repeatedly mentioned throughout the study, involvement in crime should be considered criminogenic in itself due to the effect it has on the life experiences of the participants. Once crime has been successfully committed it becomes a realistic means in which to overcome future problematic circumstances and it is for this reason that it is imperative to focus on the development of both reactive and proactive approaches to offending behaviour.

8. References

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Appendix 1

PROCEDURAL SCHEDULES OF THE QUALITATIVE PHASE

A. Interview Schedule

1. Welcome and introduction

- a. Welcome the participant and introduce self.
- b. Provide an explanation of the nature and purpose of the study.
- c. Read through the “Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research” form. Allow time for any questions and provide clarity on any concerns the participant may have.
- d. Have the participant sign the consent form once they are comfortable that they understand the process and are willing to participate.

2. Interview

- a. Ask the participant to “tell you their story”. Starting from early childhood through to their current position. Mention that if there are any questions or any clarity is needed that it will be asked after they are finished.
- b. When telling their story, ask the participants to include:
 - i. Their circumstances growing up (family composition, educational achievement, significant events).
 - ii. Their history of offending behaviour and the surrounding circumstances.
 - iii. Their experience with the criminal justice system (experience with police, the court process and corrections).
 - iv. The circumstances surrounding the period between the completion of their sentence and their continued involvement in crime.
- c. Once the participant is satisfied that they have told their story, it is important to go back and ask the participant to expand on, or explain any parts of the story that require more information.
- d. Ask the participant if there is anything they would like to add that would be of value to the research.

3. Debrief and closure

- a. Thank the participant for their time and for participating in the study.
- b. Allow time for any last questions that the participant may have before ending the session.

B. Focus Group Schedule

1. Welcome and introduction

- a. Welcome the participants and introduce self.
- b. Provide an explanation of the nature and purpose of the study.
- c. Read through the “Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research” form. Allow time for any questions and provide clarity on any concerns the participants may have.
- d. Have the participants each sign the consent form once they are comfortable that they understand the process and are willing to participate.

2. Focus Group

- a. Using the list of variables identified during the interviews, present each variable one by one and provide a brief explanation.
- b. Allow the participants to respond by providing their thoughts on the variable presented in terms of whether or not they believe it should be considered a factor that contributes towards recidivism. If all participants agree that the factor mentioned does or can contribute to recidivism, mark the variable as “accepted” by the group.
- c. Where there is disagreement about the impact of a given variable on recidivism, allow the individuals to explain their perspective and facilitate constructive debate. If no consensus can be reached, mark the variable as accepted but ensure that the nuanced nature of the variable is included in the quantitative questionnaire.
- d. Once all the variables have been discussed, allow participants the opportunity to add any additional factors that they may believe have been missed or were not included in the original list.

3. Debrief and closure

- a. Thank the participants for their time and for participating in the study.
- b. Allow time for any last questions that the participants may have before ending the session.

Appendix 2

CONSENT FORM

I _____ have been informed about the study entitled “A Comparative Analysis of Recidivism with Specific Reference to Crimino-Victimogenic Variables, Offence Analysis and Programme Participation” by Matthew Cronje.

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study is to understand repeat offending behaviour in South Africa in order to inform programme development that aims to assist in reducing future recidivism. I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction. I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to. I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures. If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at mattcronje07@gmail.com or 072 202 3584. If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion	YES / NO
Video-record my interview / focus group discussion	YES / NO
Use of my photographs for research purposes	YES / NO

Signature of Participant

Date

Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)

Date

Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)

Date

Appendix 3

RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

Date:

To whom it may concern

My name is Matthew Cronje, I am a Criminology PhD student from the University of KwaZulu-Natal's School of Social Sciences.

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research on repeat offending in South Africa. The aim and purpose of this research is to understand why people continue involvement in a criminal lifestyle after having already served a corrective sentence prescribed by a court. The study is expected to enrol 50 participants in the first phase and 200 participants in the second phase from around South Africa. It will involve the following procedures:

Phase 1 – Interview or focus group participation where you will be asked about factors in your own life that influenced your repeated offending behaviour

Phase 2 – Completion of questionnaire with factors linked to recidivism and programme participation.

The duration of your participation if you choose to enrol and remain in the study is expected to be:

Phase 1 – 2 hours

Phase 2 – 2 hours

The study is funded by the South African Humanities Dean's Association.

The study may involve the following risks and/or discomforts:

- Speaking about possible negative past experiences
- Speaking about your involvement in criminality

We hope that the study will create the following benefits:

- An understanding of recidivism in order to develop interventions that can effectively assist in reducing the need for individuals to continue in a high risk lifestyle once completing their sentence.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSS/1261/014D).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at mattcronje07@gmail.com, 072 202 3584 or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

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Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

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Participation in this research is completely voluntary and if at any time you wish to terminate participation in the research you are free to do so without any consequence. You will not receive any form of reimbursement for participation, as the decision to participate is completely voluntary. The information collected will be conditionally confidential and therefore absolute confidentiality cannot be guaranteed. All digital information collected will be stored on a secure hard drive and physical copies will be kept securely by the researcher. To enhance confidentiality it is important not to record your name anywhere on the questionnaire. You will only record your name on the informed consent form. If at any point you experience any form of discomfort, a social worker will be available for debriefing at any time during or after the project.

Appendix 4

THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE RECIDIVISM VARIABLES

Phase 1 Variables	Initial Codes	Themes (Factors)	Domains	
Easier to just to look after self	Self-focused	Selfish/egocentric	Cognitive- Behavioural	
Don't always think of family's needs	Lack of care for others			
Constant comparison with others	Material comparison	Relative deprivation		
People in immediate community have more than them	Viewed as having less than others			
Deviant way of thinking is biggest motivation	Use crime to solve problems	Deviant decision- making/ problem- solving skills		
Violence/crime is an option for conflict resolution				
Can use different identity to get lesser sentence	Belief and knowledge of how to beat the system			
Can pay to be released by police				
The police and courts are beatable				
High reward with little chance of capture	Risk vs reward decision making			Anger and aggression
Many opportunities to commit crime	Easy entrance to crime			
Getting into crime is easy				
Blame parents for poverty	Angry with parents	Anger and aggression		
Lack of childhood due to early independence	Anger about own circumstance			
Frustration with own situation				
Anger and frustration about Apartheid	Angry about the past	Immediate satisfaction		
Unable to wait for circumstance to improve	Impatient with change			
Problems must be solved immediately				
Not concerned with long term goals	No long term investment	External locus of control		
Never had money so when he had it he used it				
Religious but don't believe its applicable to crime	Divine intervention			External locus of control
Believes God kept them safe while committing crime				
Use of Muti				
Behaviour influenced by environment	Lack responsibility for behaviour	No regard for victims		
Its ok to steal from wealthy people	Ignore victim experience			
Don't think about the victim in non-contact crimes	No regard for victims			
Will try not to think about responsibilities	Denial of responsibilities	Use of psychological defences		
Know behaviour is wrong but try not to think about it	Acknowledge behaviour Is wrong, but justified			
Family say behaviour is wrong but still support you in prison				
Didn't finish matric	Lack work experience	Employment		Other
Can't find employment				
Don't have skills that can get them a job				
Nobody wants to hire a criminal	Can't get a job because of criminal record			
Not always about having no money but also about not having enough money	Available work doesn't meet needs			
Alcohol use is a way of life	Substance abuse	Substance abuse		
Excessive drug and alcohol usage				
Steal to get drug money			Addictions contribute to crime	

Return to same community after release	Environment doesn't change	Same environment	Environmental
Life is still hard after prison			
Boredom			
Nothing constructive to do with time	No constructive activities	Idle mind	
Nobody in community wants to help	Social support structures don't meet needs	Support structures	Social
Lack of uBuntu			
Lack of aftercare once released from prison			
Family provides basic support but there's no relationship	Nature of familial support		
Families won't stop you from committing crime, still visit you when in prison			
Raised by single parent			
More feared when returning from prison	Prison viewed as a rite of passage	Positive social status of crime	
Crime helps to achieve or maintain a level of status in the community	Crime viewed positively		
Involvement in crime increases social status			
Previous involvement in crime was associated with a good life			
Started with petty crimes at a young age	Crime is the only option	Entrenched in criminal lifestyle	
Believe educational skills learned in prison can't be used on the outside			
Difficult to leave gangsterism	Gang involvement		
Know too much about people involved in crime	Too involved to leave		
Prison experience taught you to be a better criminal	Criminal role models	Negative peer associations/role models	
Friends encourage involvement in crime	Negative peer associations		
Friends don't speak positivity into their lives			
Can't develop meaningful relationships with others	Lack positive mentors and role models	Lack of positive role models/mentors	
Unable to communicate feelings effectively	Lack positive interactions		
Going in and out of prison over lifespan	Familiarity to prison	Not deterred by prison	Victimogenic
View prison as a waste of time but not afraid of it	Not afraid of prison		
Treatment as a criminal by community	Forced acceptance of criminal label	Frustration owing to criminal labelling	
Forced to take on criminal label			
Community can't see past the criminal label			
Abuse by prison system	Previous experiences of abuse	Tolerance to punishment	
Home situation is very bad	Used to poor living conditions		
Negative situations become a way of life			
Used to being treated badly by people	Used to negative treatment		
Can't see circumstances ever getting better	Little belief in things getting better	Feelings of hopelessness/worthlessness	
Can't see anything better for their lives			
No other option to survive	Lack of hope for a better future		
Feelings of suicide			
Belief that there is no way out of poverty and that the situation is unbearable	Can't get out of poverty		
Literal poverty where essential needs cannot be attained			

Appendix 5

REPEAT OFFENDING GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Recidivism Questionnaire

Please answer **ALL** the questions in this section. Make a tick (✓) over the answer you choose. All questions refer to the period after your last completed sentence.

EXAMPLE

Do you go to school?

Yes ✓	No
-------	----

Please Note:

- Do not write your name or any identifying particulars on the questionnaire.
- ALL** Information supplied will be treated as confidential.
- There are **no** right or wrong answers.

A. GENERAL INFORMATION

1. How old are you?

2. What is your gender?

Male	Female
------	--------

3. What is your marital status?

Single	Married	Traditionally Married	Long Term Partner	Divorced	Widowed
--------	---------	-----------------------	-------------------	----------	---------

4. Which ethnic group do you belong to? (select only one)

Asian	Black	Coloured	White	Other (Specify: _____)
-------	-------	----------	-------	------------------------

1.5. Which cultural group do you belong to? (select only one)

Afrikaans	Coloured	English	Indian	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Southern Sotho	Swati
Tsonga	Tswana	Venda	Xhosa	Zulu	Other (Specify: _____)		

1.6. What is your home language? (select only one)

Afrikaans	English	Ndebele	Northern Sotho	Southern Sotho	Swati	Tsonga	Tswana
Venda	Xhosa	Zulu	Other (Specify: _____)				

1.7. What type of community do you live in?

CBD	Suburban	Township	Rural	Other (Specify: _____)
-----	----------	----------	-------	------------------------

8. In what area do you live?

1.9. What is your highest level of education completed?

Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6	Grade 7
Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12	Diploma	Trade
Degree	No Schooling					

**1.10. How many sentences have you served and what were you sentenced for?
(Include custodial and non-custodial sentences)**

Offence	Sentence Date (Month and Year)	Sentence length (Actual time served)

B. RECIDIVISM FACTORS

All questions asked refer to the period between your last crime and the sentence before that

2.1. What was the last crime you committed?

**2.2. Did you ever experience any kind of victimisation after your last release?
(please select all that apply)**

Yes, I was personally victimised	I saw people being victimised	No, I was not victimised	I don't know
-------------------------------------	----------------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------

2.2.1 If yes, please could you describe what happened:

2.3. Could you find permanent or regular employment after serving your sentence?

Yes, and it covers my needs	Yes, but it does not cover my needs	No, I try often to find one but there is nothing available	No, I've tried but no one wants to employ an ex-offender	No, I haven't tried because I don't want to work	No, I haven't tried because I believe it will be a waste of time
-----------------------------	-------------------------------------	--	--	--	--

2.4. Was there anyone that you could get good advice from when you had a problem?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.4.1 If yes, who was this person?

**2.5. Who benefitted from your crimes?
(please select all that apply)**

It only benefitted me	It benefitted the people who did the crime with me	It benefitted by family	It benefitted my friends who were not doing the crime with me	It did not benefit anyone
-----------------------	--	-------------------------	---	---------------------------

2.6. How important was it to do good things for other people?

Very Important in general	Important, but only for people close to me	Important, but only if I got something out of it as well	Not important
---------------------------	--	--	---------------

2.7. Did you compare yourself to other people often?

Yes, other people mostly had better things than me	Yes, I mostly had better things than other people	No	I'm not sure
--	---	----	--------------

2.8. What did you do in your free time?

2.9. Rate the following statements:**2.9.1 I would commit a crime if it helped me solve a problem.**

Strongly Agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	----------	----------	-------------------

2.9.2 When I was hungry I would steal food or money.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	----------	----------	-------------------

2.9.3 If I saw an opportunity to commit crime I would take it.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	----------	----------	-------------------

2.9.4 I would only commit a crime to provide for my family or myself.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Not sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	----------	----------	-------------------

2.10. Were there any changes in your community when you returned after serving your last sentence?

Things had gotten better	Nothing had changed	Things had gotten worse
--------------------------	---------------------	-------------------------

2.10.1 Please explain your answer:

2.11. Would you describe yourself as someone who had a lot of anger inside?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.11.1 If yes, what do you think caused that anger?

2.12. How helpful were the people in your community when you completed your sentence?

Very Helpful	Helpful	I don't know	Unhelpful	Very Unhelpful
--------------	---------	--------------	-----------	----------------

2.13. How difficult did you think it would be to stop doing crime?

Very Easy	Easy	Possible but difficult	Too difficult to try	Impossible
-----------	------	------------------------	----------------------	------------

2.13.1 Please explain your answer:

2.14. Did you have any friends who were involved in gangs?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.15. Were you involved in gangs?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.16. Did you spend time with people who were more experienced than you in doing crime?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.17. What did you do when you got some money?

I would spend it quickly	I would buy the basic things I need to live (eg. Food, toiletries, etc)	I would give it to my family	I would save as much as I could
--------------------------	---	------------------------------	---------------------------------

2.18. How important was it for you to save your money?

Important	I never thought about it	Not important
-----------	--------------------------	---------------

2.19. Did you feel like you had a purpose for your life?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.20. Did you feel like you were able to change your life if you needed to?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.21. Were you ever victimised during your sentence?
(please select all that apply)

Yes, I was personally victimised	I saw people being victimised	No, I was not victimised	I don't know
----------------------------------	-------------------------------	--------------------------	--------------

2.21.1 If yes, please could you describe what happened:

2.22. Were there people that liked you more when they found out you had committed crime?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.23. How often did you feel like you were not in control of your actions?

Always	Most of the time	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
--------	------------------	-----------	--------	-------

2.23.1 Was this feeling related to substance use?

Yes	Sometimes	No
-----	-----------	----

2.24. Did you believe that some people just have better luck than others and that why they achieve more?

Yes	Sometimes	No
-----	-----------	----

2.25. Did you drink alcohol?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.25.1 If yes, how many times per week?

2.26. Did you use any drugs?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.26.1 If yes, what drugs and how many times per week?

2.27. Did you feel that some people deserve to be victims of crime?

Yes	Sometimes	No
-----	-----------	----

2.27.1 Please explain your answer

2.28. Did you think about how your crime affected other people?

Yes, but I didn't care	Yes, but I tried to ignore it	No, I never thought about it
------------------------	-------------------------------	------------------------------

2.29. Did you feel like you had a good reason to commit your crimes?

Yes	Sometimes	No
-----	-----------	----

2.30. Was life better inside or outside of prison?

Inside	Outside	I never went to prison
--------	---------	------------------------

2.30.1 Please explain your answer

2.31. Did you have someone to help you cope with life in your community after your sentence?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.31.1 If yes, who was this person?

2.32. Were you afraid of going back to prison?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.32.1 Please provide a reason for your answer

2.33. Were you afraid of going back to your community?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.33.1 Please provide a reason for your answer

2.34. Did the people in your community treat you like a criminal?

Yes	No
-----	----

2.34.1 If yes, how did this make you feel

C. PROGRAMME INFORMATION

3.1. Do you feel that you were treated fairly during your sentence?

Yes	No
-----	----

3.1.1 If no, please explain why

3.2. Did you participate in any programmes during your sentence?

Yes	No
-----	----

3.2.1 If yes, please list them, how long you were in the programme for and if you completed

Programme Name	Time spent in programme	Completed (Yes/No)

3.3. Were the skills you learned during the programme/s useful after your sentence was complete?

Yes	No
-----	----

3.3.1 Please explain your answer

3.4. Do you feel that the aftercare services provided were adequate to help you reintegrate?

Yes	No	I did not receive any aftercare
-----	----	---------------------------------

3.4.1 If no, please explain why

3.5. Do you feel that any of the correctional officials or facilitators influenced your life positively?

Yes	No
-----	----

3.6. Did you participate in a Restorative Justice process to reconcile with your victim and/or community?

Yes, it was a good experience	Yes, but it was a bad experience	No, I did not want to	No, the victim or community did not want to	No, it was not offered
-------------------------------	----------------------------------	-----------------------	---	------------------------

3.7. What do you think are the chances of being caught if you do crime again?

Very high	Good	I'm not sure	Not good	Never
-----------	------	--------------	----------	-------

3.8. After participating in the programme, are you more aware of how your behaviour led to you being sentenced?

Yes	I don't know	No
-----	--------------	----

3.8.1 Please give a reason for your answer

3.9. From participating in the programme, are you more aware of the effect your behaviour has on your community?

Yes	I don't know	No
-----	--------------	----

3.10. Do you feel that the programme was able to assist you with making more positive decisions when you returned back to your community?

Yes	I don't know	No
-----	--------------	----

3.10.1 Please give a reason for your answer

3.11. Were your family and friends able to visit you in prison?

Yes	No	I was never in prison
-----	----	-----------------------

3.12. Do you feel that the environmental conditions where you completed your sentence helped make the programme more effective?

Yes	I don't know	No
-----	--------------	----

3.12.1 Please give a reason for your answer

3.13. Did you learn any skills to help you to deal with negative thoughts during the programme?

Yes	No
-----	----

3.13.1 Please explain your answer

3.14. After completing the programme, have you become more aware of your thoughts and how they affect your behaviour?

Yes	I don't know	No
-----	--------------	----

3.15. Did the programme help you set positive goals for the future?

Yes	No
-----	----

3.15.1 If yes, what are those goals?

-----Thank You-----

Appendix 6

GEOGRAPHICAL SCOPE

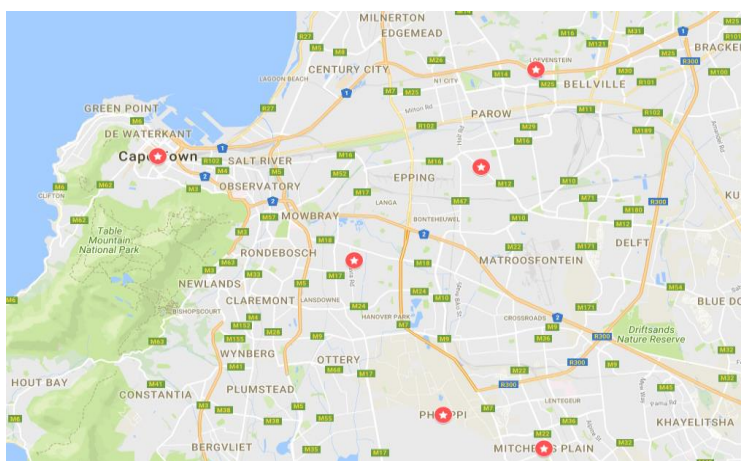
South Africa



Western Cape



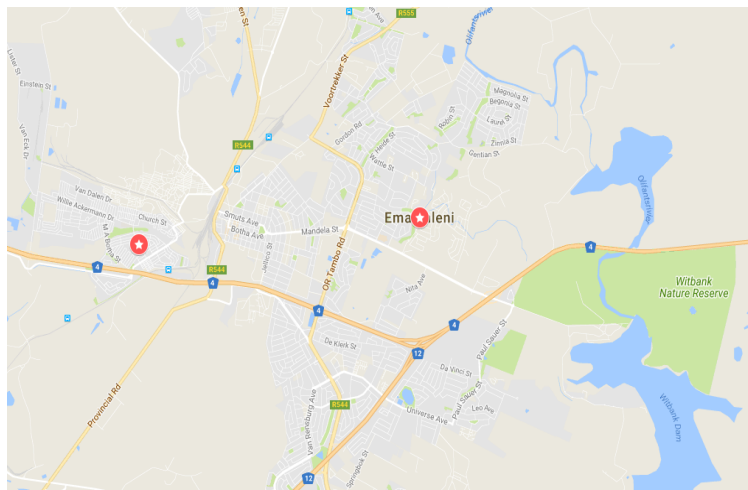
Cape Town



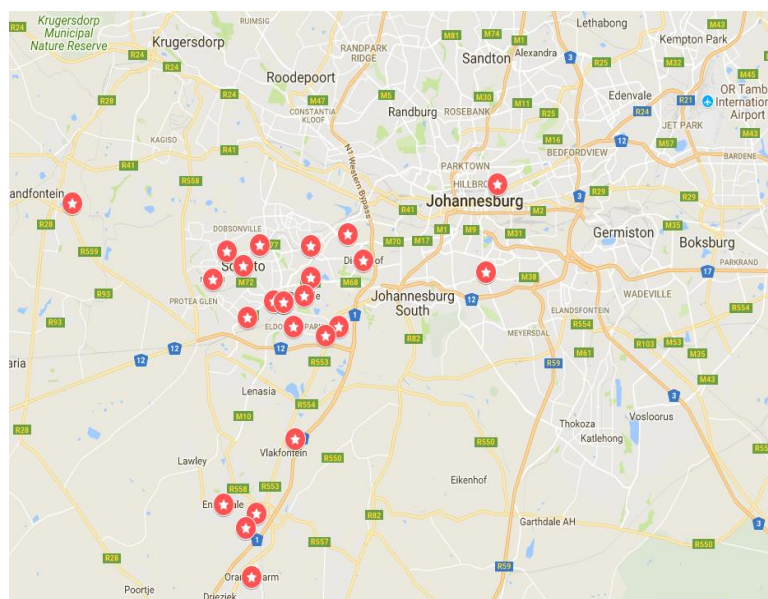
Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga



Mpumalanga



Gauteng



Appendix 7

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE



20 January 2015

Mr Matthew Cronje 212559802
School of Applied Human Sciences – Criminology
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Cronje

Protocol reference number: HSS/1261/014D

Project title: A longitudinal analysis of Recidivism with specific reference to Crimino-Victimogenic variables, offence analysis and programme participation

Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed

This letter serves to notify you that your application in connection with the above has now been granted full approval.

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach/Methods must be reviewed and approved through an amendment /modification prior to its implementation. Please quote the above reference number for all queries relating to this study. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Professor Robert Peacock
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor DP McCracken
cc School Administrator: Ms Ausie Luthuli

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

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Website: www.ukzn.ac.za



Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

Appendix 8

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION TABLES

Table 12.1 Frequency Distribution of Ego Benefit Variables by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Self	91	66.4	23	74.2	30	69.8	83	62.9	41	63.1
Co-offender	24	17.5	4	12.9	4	9.3	23	17.4	10	15.4
Family	28	20.4	6	19.4	8	18.6	24	18.2	13	20.0
Friends	4	2.9	1	3.2	1	2.3	3	2.3	1	1.5
No-one	14	10.2	2	6.5	5	11.6	15	11.4	8	12.3

^aN = 137; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 132; ^eN = 65

Table 12.2 Frequency Distribution of Problem Solve (Problem) Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly Agree	70	51.1	21	67.4	18	41.9	67	50.8	33	50.8
Agree	47	34.3	8	25.8	14	32.6	39	29.5	20	30.8
Not Sure	10	7.3	1	3.2	7	16.3	10	7.6	6	9.2
Disagree	7	5.1	0	0.0	3	7.0	11	8.3	4	6.2
Strongly Disagree	3	2.2	0	0.0	1	2.3	4	3.0	1	1.5

^aN = 137; ^bN = 30; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 132; ^eN = 64

Table 12.2 Frequency Distribution of Problem Solve (Hunger) Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly Agree	36	26.3	12	38.7	7	16.3	35	26.5	14	21.5
Agree	47	34.3	9	29.0	14	32.6	49	37.1	27	41.5
Not Sure	25	18.2	6	19.4	11	25.6	24	18.2	12	18.5
Disagree	22	16.1	3	9.7	9	20.9	18	13.6	10	15.4
Strongly Disagree	7	5.1	1	3.2	2	4.7	6	4.5	2	3.1

^aN = 137; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 132; ^eN = 65

Table 12.2 Frequency Distribution of Problem Solve (Opportunity) Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly Agree	71	51.8	17	54.8	19	44.2	62	47.0	35	45.5
Agree	44	32.1	10	32.3	14	32.6	45	34.1	68	33.7
Not Sure	11	8.0	1	3.2	5	11.6	8	6.1	14	6.9
Disagree	5	3.6	1	3.2	4	9.3	8	6.1	14	6.9
Strongly Disagree	6	4.4	1	3.2	1	2.3	8	6.1	13	6.4

^aN = 137; ^bN = 30; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 64

Table 12.2 Frequency Distribution of Problem Solve (Family) Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Strongly Agree	70	51.1	21	67.7	15	34.9	69	52.3	35	53.8
Agree	49	35.8	6	19.4	21	48.8	37	28.0	21	32.3
Not Sure	6	4.4	2	6.5	2	4.7	7	5.3	5	7.7
Disagree	7	5.1	1	3.2	3	7.0	10	7.6	3	4.6
Strongly Disagree	5	3.6	1	3.2	2	4.7	9	6.8	1	1.5

^aN = 137; ^bN = 30; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 64

Table 12.3 Frequency Distribution of Ego Assist Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very important in general	33	24.4	5	16.1	11	26.8	35	26.9	15	23.1
Important, but only for people close to me	35	25.9	5	16.1	14	34.1	23	17.7	12	18.5
Important, but only if I got something out of it as well	18	13.3	0	0.0	1	2.4	19	14.6	8	12.3
Not important	49	36.3	21	67.7	15	36.6	53	40.8	30	46.2

^aN = 135; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 41; ^dN = 130; ^eN = 65

Table 12.3 Frequency Distribution of Relative Deprivation Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes, other people mostly had better things than me	67	49.3	12	38.7	17	39.5	55	42.0	27	41.5
Yes, I mostly had better things than other people	10	7.4	1	3.2	4	9.3	10	7.6	6	9.2
No	49	36.0	15	48.4	16	37.2	56	42.7	28	43.1
I am not sure	10	7.4	3	9.7	6	14.0	10	7.6	4	6.2

^aN = 136; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 65

Table 12.3 Frequency Distribution of Anger Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	79	57.9	16	51.6	23	53.5	85	64.4	42	64.6
No	58	42.3	15	48.4	20	46.5	47	35.6	23	35.4

^aN = 137; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 65

Table 12.3 Frequency Distribution of Crime Reason Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	81	59.1	23	76.7	20	47.6	81	61.8	39	61.9
Sometimes	45	32.8	3	10.0	10	23.8	35	26.7	18	28.6
No	11	8.0	4	13.3	12	28.6	15	11.5	6	9.5

^aN = 137; ^bN = 30; ^cN = 42; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 63

Table 12.4 Frequency Distribution of Locus of Control (Control) Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Always	69	34.3	18	58.1	13	30.2	53	40.5	24	37.5
Most of the time	45	22.4	5	16.1	11	25.6	29	22.1	16	25.0
Sometimes	55	27.4	4	12.9	14	32.6	31	23.7	12	18.8
Seldom	7	3.5	0	0.0	2	4.7	3	2.3	2	3.1
Never	25	12.5	4	12.9	3	7.0	15	11.5	10	15.6

^aN = 136; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 64

Table 12.4 Frequency Distribution of Locus of Control (Luck) Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	66	48.9	17	54.8	21	48.8	67	51.5	30	47.6
Sometimes	36	26.7	6	19.4	10	23.3	32	24.6	14	22.2
No	33	24.4	8	25.8	12	27.9	31	23.8	19	30.2

^aN = 135; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 130; ^eN = 63

Table 12.4 Frequency Distribution of Victim Deserve Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	38	27.9	10	32.3	11	26.2	35	26.7	16	24.6
Sometimes	29	21.3	5	16.1	7	16.7	25	19.1	15	23.1
No	69	50.7	16	51.6	24	57.1	71	54.2	34	52.3

^aN = 136; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 42; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 65

Table 12.4 Frequency Distribution of Victim Affect Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes, did not care	38	27.9	10	32.3	11	26.2	35	26.7	16	24.6
Yes, tried to ignore it	29	21.3	5	16.1	7	16.7	25	19.1	15	23.1
No, never thought about it	69	50.7	16	51.6	24	57.1	71	54.2	34	52.3

^aN = 136; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 42; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 65

Table 12.5 Frequency Distribution of Fin. Spend Quick, Basic, Family and Save Variables by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Quick ^a	79	57.7	19	61.3	19	44.2	70	53.0	38	58.5
Basic ^a	45	32.8	4	12.9	19	44.2	37	28.0	15	23.1
Family ^a	20	14.6	5	16.1	8	18.6	22	16.7	10	15.4
Save ^a	16	11.7	5	16.1	2	4.7	14	10.6	9	13.8

^aN = 137; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 132; ^eN = 65

Table 12.5 Frequency Distribution of Fin. Save Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Important	33	24.3	8	25.8	12	27.9	41	31.3	17	26.6
Never thought about it	81	59.6	15	48.4	26	60.5	66	50.4	31	48.4
Not important	22	16.2	8	25.8	5	11.6	24	18.3	16	25.0

^aN = 136; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 64

Table 13 Frequency Distribution of Free Time Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Loitering ^a	7	5.1	2	6.5	2	4.7	6	4.5	3	4.6
Sedentary ^a	34	24.8	8	25.8	9	20.9	28	21.2	18	27.7
Creative arts ^a	7	5.1	2	6.5	3	7.0	11	8.3	6	9.2
Criminogenic ^a	22	16.1	2	6.5	9	20.9	21	15.9	10	15.4
Social neutral ^a	11	8.0	5	16.1	3	7.0	8	6.1	3	4.6
Exercise ^a	12	8.8	1	3.2	5	11.6	12	9.1	3	4.6
Employment ^a	17	12.4	5	16.1	5	11.6	18	13.6	9	13.8
Substance use ^a	69	50.4	16	51.6	23	53.5	68	51.5	31	47.7
Sexual ^a	6	4.4	2	6.5	1	2.3	3	2.3	2	3.1

^aN = 137; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 132; ^eN = 65

Table 13 Frequency Distribution of Environmental Change Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Things had gotten better	60	43.8	18	58.1	17	40.5	66	50.0	28	43.1
Nothing had changed	62	45.3	9	29.0	18	42.9	50	37.9	27	41.5
Things had gotten worse	15	10.9	4	12.9	7	16.7	16	12.1	10	15.4

^aN = 137; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 42; ^dN = 132; ^eN = 65

Table 14.1 Frequency Distribution of Victimization Experience in Prison Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes, I was personally victimised	28	21.1	6	19.4	8	19.0	33	25.8	13	21.0
I saw people being victimised	32	24.1	3	9.7	9	21.4	20	15.6	12	19.4
No, I was not victimised	64	48.1	20	64.5	22	52.4	69	53.9	36	58.1
I don't know	9	6.8	2	6.5	3	7.1	6	4.7	1	1.6

^aN = 133; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 42; ^dN = 128; ^eN = 62

Table 14.1 Frequency Distribution of Victimization Experience Upon Release Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes, I was personally victimised	37	27.0	10	33.3	9	20.9	29	22.1	12	18.5
I saw people being victimised	14	10.2	0	0.0	3	7.0	15	11.5	3	4.6
No, I was not victimised	71	51.8	15	50.0	26	60.5	72	55.0	43	66.2
I don't know	15	10.9	5	16.7	5	11.6	15	11.5	7	10.8

^aN = 137; ^bN = 30; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 65

Table 14.1 Frequency Distribution of Fear of Community Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	35	25.5	7	22.6	15	34.9	36	27.3	18	27.7
No	102	74.5	24	77.4	28	65.1	96	72.7	47	72.3

^aN = 137; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 132; ^eN = 65

Table 14.1 Frequency Distribution of Fear of Prison Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	88	64.7	19	61.3	29	67.4	91	68.9	39	67.7
No	48	35.3	12	38.7	14	32.6	41	31.1	26	32.3

^aN = 136; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 132; ^eN = 65

Table 14.2 Frequency Distribution of Change Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	105	77.2	21	67.7	36	83.7	103	79.2	47	73.4
No	31	22.8	10	32.3	7	16.3	27	20.8	17	26.6

^aN = 136; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 130; ^eN = 64

Table 14.2 Frequency Distribution of Purpose Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	97	71.3	22	71.0	34	79.1	100	76.3	52	81.3
No	39	28.7	9	29.0	9	20.9	31	23.7	12	18.8

^aN = 136; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 64

Table 14.2 Frequency Distribution of Tolerance Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Inside	19	14.1	7	22.6	4	9.3	22	16.7	11	16.9
Outside	116	85.9	24	77.4	39	90.7	110	83.3	54	83.1

^aN = 135; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 132; ^eN = 65

Table 14.2 Frequency Distribution of Community Treatment Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	77	61.1	20	66.7	25	59.5	76	60.3	41	65.1
No	49	38.9	10	33.3	17	40.5	50	39.7	22	34.9

^aN = 126; ^bN = 30; ^cN = 42; ^dN = 126; ^eN = 63

Table 15.1 Frequency Distribution of Gang Friends Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	85	62.5	18	58.1	23	53.5	88	67.2	44	68.8
No	51	37.5	13	41.9	20	46.5	43	32.8	20	31.2

^aN = 136; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 64

Table 15.1 Frequency Distribution of Gang Self Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	73	53.7	19	61.3	22	51.2	77	58.8	40	53.2
No	63	46.3	12	38.7	21	48.8	54	41.2	24	46.8

^aN = 136; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 41; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 64

Table 15.1 Frequency Distribution of Criminal Peers Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	96	70.6	18	58.1	26	60.5	93	71.0	46	71.9
No	40	29.4	13	41.9	17	39.5	38	29.0	18	28.1

^aN = 136; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 64

Table 15.1 Frequency Distribution of Positive Perception of Crime Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	38	27.9	6	19.4	8	18.6	42	32.1	23	35.9
No	98	72.1	25	80.6	35	81.4	89	67.9	41	64.1

^aN = 136; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 64

Table 15.2 Frequency Distribution of Mentor Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	51	63.0	12	60.0	13	52.0	49	64.5	23	56.1
No	30	37.0	8	40.0	12	48.0	27	35.5	18	43.9

^aN = 81; ^bN = 20; ^cN = 25; ^dN = 76; ^eN = 41

Table 15.2 Frequency Distribution of Criminal Lifestyle Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very easy	13	9.6	4	12.9	4	9.3	10	7.6	2	3.1
Easy	15	11.0	3	9.7	5	11.6	26	19.7	8	12.3
Possible but difficult	79	58.1	12	38.7	28	65.1	63	47.7	33	50.8
Too difficult to try	22	16.2	7	22.6	5	11.6	24	18.2	18	27.7
Impossible	7	5.1	5	16.1	1	2.3	9	6.8	4	6.2

^aN = 136; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 132; ^eN = 65

Table 15.2 Frequency Distribution of Support Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	70	51.1	19	61.3	26	60.5	72	54.5	36	55.4
No	67	48.9	12	38.7	17	39.5	60	45.5	29	44.6

^aN = 137; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 132; ^eN = 65

Table 15.2 Frequency Distribution of Community Assistance Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very helpful	13	9.5	0	0.0	2	4.7	15	11.4	6	9.2
Helpful	25	18.2	5	16.1	6	14.0	17	12.9	6	9.2
I don't know	34	24.8	10	32.3	18	41.9	38	28.8	20	30.8
Unhelpful	47	34.3	6	19.4	13	30.2	43	32.6	21	32.3
Very Unhelpful	18	13.1	10	32.3	4	9.3	19	14.4	12	18.5

^aN = 137; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 132; ^eN = 65

Table 16 Frequency Distribution of Alcohol Use Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	94	68.6	19	61.3	30	69.8	93	71.0	44	68.8
No	43	31.4	12	38.7	13	30.2	38	29.0	20	31.2

^aN = 137; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 64

Table 16 Frequency Distribution of Drug Use Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	108	78.8	26	83.9	37	86.0	109	82.6	49	75.4
No	29	21.2	5	16.1	6	14.0	23	17.4	16	24.6

^aN = 137; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 132; ^eN = 65

Table 16 Frequency Distribution of Employment Variable by Offence Category

	Economic ^a		Sexual ^b		Narcotic ^c		Aggressive ^d		Other ^e	
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
No answer given	8	5.8	0	0.0	3	7.0	7	5.3	2	3.1
Yes, and it covers my needs	13	9.5	2	6.5	1	2.3	13	9.8	4	6.2
Yes, but it does not cover my needs	25	18.2	6	19.4	9	20.9	30	22.7	13	20.0
No, I try often to find one but there is nothing available	32	23.4	5	16.1	9	20.9	26	19.7	14	21.5
No, I have tried but no one wants to employ an ex-offender	24	17.5	6	19.4	13	30.2	18	13.6	10	15.4
No, I have not tried because I do not want to work	15	10.9	7	22.6	4	9.3	19	14.4	11	16.9
No, I have not tried because I believe it will be a waste of time	20	14.6	5	16.1	4	9.3	19	14.4	11	16.9

^aN = 137; ^bN = 31; ^cN = 43; ^dN = 131; ^eN = 65

Table 19 Frequency Distribution of Programme Dignity Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	92	77.7
No	28	23.3

N = 120

Table 19 Frequency Distribution of Programme Skills Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	105	88.9
No	13	11.1

N = 118

Table 19 Frequency Distribution of Programme Aftercare Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	48	39.7
No	12	9.9
I did not receive any aftercare	61	50.4

N = 121

Table 19 Frequency Distribution of Programme Role Model Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	96	82.1
No	21	17.9

N = 117

Table 19 Frequency Distribution of Restorative Justice Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes, it was a good experience	29	24
Yes, but it was a bad experience	9	7.4
No, I did not want to	27	22.3
No, the victim or the community did not want to	6	5.0
No, it was not offered	50	41.3

N = 121

Table 19 Frequency Distribution of Deterrence Variable

Variable	n	%
Very high	78	64.5
Good	2	1.7
I am not sure	20	16.5
Not good	12	9.9
Never	9	7.4

N = 121

Table 19 Frequency Distribution of Stop Crime Variable

Variable	n	%
Very easy	9	7.5
Easy	23	19.2
Possible but difficult	66	55.0
Too difficult to try	16	13.3
Impossible	6	5.0

N = 120

Table 19 Frequency Distribution of Employment Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes, and it covers my needs	11	9.4
Yes, but it does not cover my needs	28	23.9
No, I try often to find one but there is nothing available	32	27.4
No, I have tried but no one wants to employ an ex-offender	20	17.1
No, I have not tried because I do not want to work	9	7.7
No, I have not tried because I believe it will be a waste of time	17	14.5

N = 117

Table 19 Frequency Distribution of Visitors Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	90	76.9
No	27	23.1

N = 117

Table 19 Frequency Distribution of Programme Environment Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	72	62.6
I don't know	24	20.9
No	19	16.5

N = 115

Table 20 Frequency Distribution of Cognitive-Behavioural Awareness Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	93	79.5
I don't know	18	15.4
No	6	5.1
N = 117		

Table 20 Frequency Distribution of Cognitive-Behavioural Effect Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	84	75.7
I don't know	20	18.0
No	7	6.3
N = 111		

Table 20 Frequency Distribution of Cognitive-Behavioural Decision Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	100	85.5
I don't know	7	6.0
No	10	8.5
N = 117		

Table 20 Frequency Distribution of Cognitive-Behavioural Cognition Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	105	89.0
No	13	11.0
N = 118		

Table 20 Frequency Distribution of Cognitive-Behavioural Behaviour Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	100	86.2
I don't know	11	9.5
No	5	4.3
N = 116		

Table 20 Frequency Distribution of Cognitive-Behavioural Programme Goals Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	112	95.7
No	5	4.3

N = 117

Table 22 Frequency Distribution of Fear Prison Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	136	67.7
No	65	32.3

N = 201

Table 22 Frequency Distribution of Dignity Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	146	75.6
No	47	24.4

N = 193

Table 22 Frequency Distribution of Tolerance Variable

Variable	n	%
Inside	30	15.0
Outside	170	85.0

N = 200

Table 23 Frequency Distribution of Purpose Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	155	77.1
No	46	22.9

N = 201

Table 23 Frequency Distribution of Change Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	161	80.5
No	39	19.5

N = 200

Table 24 Frequency Distribution of Fear of Community Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	53	26.2
No	149	73.8

N = 202

Table 24 Frequency Distribution of Community Help Variable

Variable	n	%
Very helpful	22	10.9
Helpful	31	15.4
I don't know	52	25.7
Unhelpful	65	32.2
Very unhelpful	32	15.8

N = 202

Table 24 Frequency Distribution of Community Treatment Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	112	56.9
No	85	43.1

N = 197

Table 26 Frequency Distribution of Employment Status Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes, and it covers my needs	18	9.3
Yes, but it does not cover my needs	41	21.2
No, I try often to find one but there is nothing available	47	24.4
No, I have tried but no one wants to employ an ex-offender	35	18.1
No, I have not tried because I do not want to work	25	13.0
No, I have not tried because I believe it will be a waste of time	27	14.0

N = 193

Table 28 Frequency Distribution of Alcohol Use Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	140	69.7
No	61	30.3

N = 201

Table 28 Frequency Distribution of Drug Use Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	156	77.2
No	46	22.8

N = 202

Table 29 Frequency Distribution of Gang Friends Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	122	60.7
No	79	39.3

N = 201

Table 29 Frequency Distribution of Crime Friends Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	135	67.2
No	66	32.8

N = 201

Table 29 Frequency Distribution of Stop Crime Variable

Variable	n	%
Very easy	20	10.0
Easy	34	16.9
Possible but difficult	105	52.2
Too difficult to try	31	15.4
Impossible	11	5.5

N = 201

Table 30 Frequency Distribution of Programme Role Model Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	134	80.7
No	32	19.2

N = 166

Table 30 Frequency Distribution of Visit Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	123	75.9
No	39	24.1

N = 162

Table 30 Frequency Distribution of Crime Positive Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	64	31.8
No	137	68.2

N = 201

Table 30 Frequency Distribution of Mentor Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	117	57.9
No	85	42.1

N = 202

Table 30 Frequency Distribution of Support Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	103	51.0
No	99	49.0

N = 202

Table 31 Frequency Distribution of Aftercare Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	55	27.2
No	15	7.4
I did not receive any aftercare	132	65.4

N = 202

Table 31 Frequency Distribution of Restorative Justice Variables

Variable	n	%
Yes, it was a good experience	35	17.3
Yes, but it was a bad experience	10	5.0
No, I did not want to	42	20.8
No, the victim or community did not want to	8	4.0
No, it was not offered	107	52.9
N = 202		

Table 32 Frequency Distribution of Criminogenic Decision-Making (Problem) Variable

Problem Solve	n	%
Strongly Agree	92	45.8
Agree	67	33.3
Not sure	20	10.0
Disagree	15	7.4
Strongly Disagree	7	3.5
N = 201		

Table 32 Frequency Distribution of Criminogenic Decision-Making (Hunger) Variable

Problem Solve	n	%
Strongly Agree	46	22.8
Agree	72	35.6
Not sure	39	19.3
Disagree	33	16.3
Strongly Disagree	12	6.0
N = 202		

Table 32 Frequency Distribution of Criminogenic Decision-Making (Opportunity) Variable

Problem Solve	n	%
Strongly Agree	92	45.8
Agree	68	33.8
Not sure	14	7.0
Disagree	14	7.0
Strongly Disagree	13	6.4
N = 201		

Table 32 Frequency Distribution of Criminogenic Decision-Making (Family) Variable

Problem Solve	n	%
Strongly Agree	96	47.5
Agree	69	34.2
Not sure	11	5.5
Disagree	13	6.4
Strongly Disagree	13	6.4
N = 202		

Table 33 Frequency Distribution of Benefit Self Variable

Egocentricity	n	%
Yes	127	62.9
No	75	37.1
N = 202		

Table 33 Frequency Distribution of Benefit Co-offenders Variable

Egocentricity	n	%
Yes	35	17.3
No	167	82.7
N = 202		

Table 33 Frequency Distribution of Benefit Family Variable

Egocentricity	n	%
Yes	41	20.3
No	161	79.7
N = 202		

Table 33 Frequency Distribution of Benefit Friends Variable

Egocentricity	n	%
Yes	5	2.5
No	197	97.5
N = 202		

Table 33 Frequency Distribution of Benefit No-one Variable

Egocentricity	n	%
Yes	25	12.4
No	177	87.6

N = 202

Table 34 Frequency Distribution of Relative Deprivation Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes, other people mostly had better things than me	89	44.2
Yes, I mostly had better things than other people	17	8.5
No	78	38.8
I am not sure	17	8.5

N = 201

Table 34 Frequency Distribution of Ego Assist Variable

Variable	n	%
Very important in general	51	25.8
Important, but only for people close to me	45	22.7
Important, but only if I got something out of it as well	27	13.6
Not important	75	37.9

N = 198

Table 35 Frequency Distribution of Anger Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	117	57.9
No	85	42.1

N = 202

Table 36 Frequency Distribution of Locus of Control (Control) Variable

Locus of Control	n	%
Always	69	34.3
Most of the time	45	22.4
Sometimes	55	27.4
Seldom	7	3.5
Never	25	12.4

N = 201

Table 36 Frequency Distribution of Locus of Control (Luck) Variable

Locus of Control	n	%
Yes	99	49.5
Sometimes	48	24.0
No	53	26.5
N = 200		

Table 36 Frequency Distribution of Locus of Control (Drugs) Variable

Locus of Control	n	%
Yes	52	25.8
Sometimes	56	27.9
No	93	46.3
N = 201		

Table 37 Frequency Distribution of Victim Deserve Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	51	25.5
Sometimes	43	21.5
No	106	53.0
N = 200		

Table 37 Frequency Distribution of Victim Effect Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes, but I did not care	89	45.0
Yes, but I tried to ignore it	67	33.8
No, I never thought about it	42	21.2
N = 198		

Table 37 Frequency Distribution of Crime Reason Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	113	56.5
Sometimes	57	28.5
No	30	15.0
N = 200		

Table 37 Frequency Distribution of Deterrence Variable

Variable	n	%
Very high	95	56.2
Good	5	2.9
I am not sure	39	23.1
Not good	13	7.7
Never	17	10.1

N = 169

Table 38 Frequency Distribution of Spend Quick Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	104	51.5
No	98	48.5

N = 202

Table 38 Frequency Distribution of Spend Basic Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	64	31.7
No	138	68.3

N = 202

Table 38 Frequency Distribution of Spend Family Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	38	18.8
No	164	81.2

N = 202

Table 38 Frequency Distribution of Spend Save Variable

Variable	n	%
Yes	23	11.4
No	179	88.6

N = 202

Table 38 Frequency Distribution of Save Importance Variable

Variable	n	%
Important	62	30.9
I never thought about it	109	54.2
Not important	30	14.9

N = 201

Table 39 Frequency Distribution of Free Time Variable

Variable	n	%
Loitering	9	3.4
Sedentary	48	18.0
Creative Arts	15	5.6
Criminogenic	29	10.9
Social Neutral	15	5.6
Exercise	16	6.0
Employment	32	12.0
Substance Use	96	36.2
Sexual	6	2.3

N = 266

Table 40 Frequency Distribution of Environmental Change Variable

Variable	n	%
Things had gotten better	92	45.8
Nothing had changed	83	41.3
Things had gotten worse	26	12.9

N = 201