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Offender rehabilitation and reintegration: taking the White Paper on Corrections forward

By

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SOUTH AFRICA

The aim of CSPRI is to improve the human rights of prisoners through research-based lobbying and advocacy and collaborative efforts with civil society structures. The key areas that CSPRI examines are developing and strengthening the capacity of civil society and civilian institutions related to corrections; promoting improved prison governance; promoting the greater use of non-custodial sentencing as a mechanism for reducing overcrowding in prisons; and reducing the rate of recidivism through improved reintegration programmes. CSPRI supports these objectives by undertaking independent critical research; raising awareness of decision makers and the public; disseminating information and capacity building.

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1. Introduction

The state can respond to crime in a number of ways; together, the responses of the criminal justice system constitute one set of possible actions. Others include socio-economic development and human development. In the court-prisons nexus, six broad categories of intervention can be distinguished:[1]

- Incapacitation through imprisonment, to deprive the offender of the opportunity to commit crime.
- Deterrence strategies intended to provide punishment so harsh that neither the offender nor other citizens will commit the crime in the future.
- Rehabilitation or treatment aimed at changing the offender's behaviour to prevent him or her from committing another offence.
- Community restraints, such as the supervision of offenders in the community to provide continued formal control over them and thus limit the opportunities for re-offending.
- Related to deterrence strategies, is the intervention of highly structured discipline and challenge programmes, which combine physical exertion and/or mentally stressful experiences in an attempt to effect change in the offender's behaviour (American para-military-style correctional "boot camps" are examples).
- Combining attempts at rehabilitation and restraint to ensure that offenders make changes that are associated with a reduction in future criminal behaviour by addressing specific risk factors such as substance abuse. (Drug courts, as they are practiced in the United States, are an expression of this approach)

Although not all these interventions are practiced in South Africa, we need to see rehabilitation interventions for what they are – one set of responses to crime from amongst a range of possibilities.

In October 2004, the Correctional Services Act (111 of 1998) was promulgated in full, and five months later the Department of Correctional Services (DCS, or the Department) released the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (the White Paper hereafter). This heralded a new age for prisons and corrections in South Africa. Particularly the White Paper is of interest, as it not only provides a historical description of the DCS, but also

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[1] McKenzie DL Criminal Justice and Crime Prevention in LW Sherman et al (1997) Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising, National Institute of Justice, US Department of Justice, Washington, p. 410.

redefines its task and the requirements associated with it. To some extent, the White Paper reflects a confession on the part of the Department for previous practices and policies, and also a reparation statement-of-intent. It is in this statement of intent that the rehabilitation of prisoners is given a central purpose in the correctional system's response to crime.

It is important to acknowledge that the White Paper and the Act bring stability to the strategic vision of the DCS. The preceding years were indeed characterised by a lack of a central vision, regular policy shifts and confusion concerning legal compliance[2]. As the point of departure, the Act describes the purpose of the correctional system as[3]:

> *To contribute to maintaining and protecting a just, peaceful and safe society by*
> - *Enforcing sentences of the courts in the manner prescribed by this Act*
> - *Detaining all prisoners in safe custody whilst ensuring their human dignity; and*
> - *Promoting the social responsibility and human development of all prisoners and persons subject to community corrections.*

The three purposes listed above are inextricably linked and it can be argued that the third is conditional upon the second being met; that rehabilitation would not be possible if prisoners were not detained under safe and humane conditions. Nonetheless, the third is the "rehabilitation purpose" referred to in the Act, which the White Paper expanded upon by describing seven of the 10 objectives of the DCS as related to rehabilitation and defining these as the core business of the Department. These are[4]:

- Breaking the cycle of crime;
- Providing an environment for controlled and phased rehabilitation interventions;
- Providing guidance and support to probationers and parolees within the community;
- Provision of corrective and development measures to the offender;
- Reconciliation of the offender with the community;
- Enhancement of the productive capacity of offenders, and
- Promotion of healthy familial relations.

Given the emphasis of the White Paper on rehabilitation, it is necessary to explore this further. This paper will investigate offender rehabilitation and reintegration as one response aimed at reducing the level of crime in society. In view of the White Paper's focus on rehabilitation and reintegration, it is necessary to reflect on this within the South African context and to learn from that which has been achieved over the last 30 years in other jurisdictions. The White Paper is a high-level policy document, which should guide the definition and description of implementation. Admittedly, we are faced not only with a deficit of information and knowledge, but also of

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[2] See Sloth-Nielsen J (2003) Policy Developments in the South African Correctional System, CSPRI Paper No. 1, http://www.communitylawcentre.org.za/cspri/publications/Julia-final.pdf, Accessed 1/9/2005.
[3] Correctional Services Act (Act 111 of 1998) S 2.
[4] Department of Correctional Services (2005) White Paper on Corrections in South Africa, Section 4.4, 73-76

experience when contemplating rehabilitation on such a large scale. The Act and the White Paper place a heavy duty on the Department, because they regard rehabilitation as a right of prisoners and not as a conditional luxury that is dependent on available resources.

Rehabilitation and reintegration, as contemplated on the scale articulated in the White Paper, will indeed require a very careful approach and consideration would have to be given to the major challenges, such as resource constraints, that may effect implementation. This paper is an attempt to describe and highlight some of the key theoretical and research findings on offender rehabilitation to assist in the implementation of the task outlined in the White Paper. It is also a central theme of this paper that offender rehabilitation and reintegration is more complicated than what is often held as "common wisdom" in the field and expressed as simplified linear relationships of cause and effect. Underlying the approach taken in this paper is acceptance of the position that a more punitive approach will not contribute to reducing crime levels, nor will longer prison sentences facilitate rehabilitation. With more than 6 000 sentenced prisoners being released from South African prisons monthly, a planned and rigorous approach is required, if the expectation that rehabilitation will have an impact on crime levels is to be fulfilled. It is of the utmost importance that a strategic approach to the implementation of offender reintegration and rehabilitation be based on scientific knowledge that informs decision-making in relation to the target group, the scale of implementation, definitions of success, and what is regarded as good practice and what is not.

These issues will be explored in this paper according to the following four themes:
- What is the nature of the problem we are trying to address? What is known about the profile and demographics of prisoners that might assist us? Which variables are significant to interventions with this target group?
- What offender rehabilitation programmes are working? Why are these programmes successful and what lessons can be learned?
- What offender rehabilitation programmes are not working and why?
- What recommendations can be made for taking the White Paper forward?

2.   Rehabilitation and other related terms

For the purposes of this discussion some important terms need to be defined, namely rehabilitation, reintegration, and re-entry.

Rehabilitation
In paragraphs 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, the White Paper defines rehabilitation thus:

Rehabilitation is the result of a process that combines the correction of offending behaviour, human development and the promotion of social responsibility and values. It is a desired outcome of processes that involve both departmental responsibilities of Government and social responsibilities of the nation.

Rehabilitation should be viewed not merely as a strategy to preventing crime, but rather as a holistic phenomenon incorporating and encouraging:

- *social responsibility;*
- *social justice;*
- *active participation in democratic activities;*
- *empowerment with life-skills and other skills; and*
- *a contribution to making South Africa a better place to live in.*

Cullen and Gendreau present a definition that is closer to operational level and based on a very extensive review and that identifies three common characteristics of correctional rehabilitation[5]:

- The intervention is planned or specifically undertaken and is not a per chance event or unplanned occurrence.
- The intervention targets for change some aspect(s) of the offender that is (are) regarded as the cause of the offender's criminal behaviour, such as attitude, cognitive processes, personality, mental health, social relationships, education, vocational skills, or employment.
- The intervention is aimed at reducing the offender's likelihood of breaking the law in future, i.e. it reduces recidivism.

Therefore, a rehabilitation intervention intentionally targets some specific aspect(s) of the offender with the purpose of reducing the likelihood of him or her re-offending. How this is achieved is indeed the subject of much research and will be dealt with in more detail in the subsequent discussion.

Reintegration

In paragraph 9.13 the White Paper describes "the social reintegration of persons under correction" and highlights "after-care", the role of the family and communication with the outside world as key components of reintegration.

The term "reintegration" has become more popular amongst practitioners in recent years as it reflects to some extent the overall purpose of the field, namely that ex-prisoners (and offenders) find themselves ultimately "re-integrated back into society". Some practitioners also avoid the term *rehabilitation* as it has its origin in medicine and further assumes that there is a pathology in the individual that needs to be corrected. Recent research, done mainly in the United Kingdom (UK), has shown that the typical prisoner, or ex-prisoner, has probably never felt

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[5] Cullen FT and Gendreau P (2000) Assessing Correctional Rehabilitation: Policy Practice and Prospects in J Horney (ed) Criminal Justice 2000, Volume 3: Changes in Decision Making and Discretion in the Criminal Justice System, US Department of Justice, Washington, p 112.

part of or integrated into society and the notion of being *re*-integrated becomes somewhat tenuous[6]. The work done by the Social Exclusion Unit of the UK government in particular alluded to the histories of social exclusion that many prisoners had suffered prior to, and as a result, of their incarceration[7]. Social exclusion:

> " . . . *is about more than income poverty. Social exclusion happens when people or places suffer from a series of problems such as unemployment, discrimination, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime, ill health and family breakdown. When such problems combine they can create a vicious cycle. Social exclusion can happen as a result of problems that face one person in their life. But it can also start from birth. Being born into poverty or to parents with low skills still has a major influence on future life chances*[8]."

Despite the difficulty that the term "reintegration" has met in terms of the criticism espoused by social exclusion theory and that there is or was very little or nothing to "integrate back into" in many instances, the term is important as it denotes a qualitatively different result from that entailed by rehabilitation. (Re)-integration introduces a societal dimension as opposed to the emphasis on law abidance and avoidance of risk behaviour often associated with rehabilitation. British research into social exclusion has identified nine key factors that influence re-offending that are noteworthy for the definition of integration (or, alternatively, the roll-back of exclusion)[9]:

- Education – most prisoners have had no, a limited, or a severely disrupted education.
- Employment – most prisoners have never experienced formal fixed employment.
- Drug and alcohol misuse – Rates of substance abuse amongst prisoners and ex-prisoners are substantially higher than for the general population.
- Mental and physical health –Prisoners suffer from poorer mental health than the general population, and are also exposed to particular prison-associated diseases, such as tuberculosis.
- Attitudes and self-control – Prisoners often come from socially excluded groups in society that may regard crime as a way of life or an easy way of making money, and, in fact, may regard prison as an inevitable part of their lifestyle. Understanding the behaviour, reasons and conditions that lead them into offending may not be self-evident.
- Institutionalisation and life-skills – Many prisoners have had disadvantaged family backgrounds, which were exacerbated by early institutionalisation, and limited opportunities to develop the life-skills needed for them to function in society.
- Housing – Ex-prisoners who are homeless are more likely to be reconvicted. In the UK, up to a third of prisoners lose their housing during custody.

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[6] Borzycki M and Baldry E (2003) Promoting Integration: The Provision of Prisoner Post Release Services, Trends and Issues in Criminal Justice No 262, Australia Institute of Criminology, Canberra., p 1.

[7] For a more detailed description on social exclusion see Reducing Re-offending by Ex-prisoners: Report by the Social Exclusion Unit, Available from http://www.socialexclusion.gov.uk/publications.asp?did=64

[8] http://www.socialexclusion.gov.uk/page.asp?id=213 Accessed on 10 June 2005

[9] Social Exclusion Unit (2002) Reducing Re-offending by Ex-prisoners: Report by the Social Exclusion Unit, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

- Financial support and debt – Not having enough money, especially during the first few weeks after release, will substantially increase the risk of ex-prisoners re-offending.
- Family relationships – Maintaining contact with families can be difficult and while families can play a critical role in preventing re-offending, often they are not properly prepared or made part of the release of a family member from prison.

Some criticism has also been levelled at the usefulness of social exclusion theory in a society such as South Africa, where high levels of poverty and unemployment exist, and where education and health care are often inaccessible to large sectors of the population[10]. These points are acknowledged, and it is also put forward that the nine factors affecting re-offending are useful for their analytical value in understanding patterns of re-offending. At this stage, we know too little about patterns of re-offending in South Africa to discard the notion of social exclusion completely. It will require some further research and testing.

Given the complexity of these nine key factors and how they can influence the risk of re-offending, it follows that reintegration is a process rather than a once-off intervention, and that previous interventions need to be supported by subsequent interventions in a sustained and linked manner. Successful integration (and reintegration) therefore is associated with a process of support that starts during incarceration and continues thereafter. In older social work literature, this was often referred to as after-care, but the term "through-care"[11] may be a more apt description.

In summary, successful (re)integration therefore reflects the ability of an ex-prisoner to function in society (and family, place of employment, etc) and manage situations by means of his or her decision-making and behaviour, in such a manner that avoids risk and further conflict with the law.

Re-entry
The term refers, firstly, to those people who are leaving prison conditionally and unconditionally. The increasing number of people who remain under criminal justice control in society (e.g. person on parole or under correctional supervision[12]) warrants a more accurate description in this regard. Secondly, it is a technical term that describes merely the process of re-entering society without any connotations of doing it successfully or not, in other words of

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[10] See Du Toit A (2004) "Social Exclusion" Discourse and Chronic Poverty - a South African Case Study, SARPN paper, http:///sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001070/index.php Accessed 28/9/2005.
[11] Borzycki M and Baldry E (2003) Promoting Integration: The Provision of Prisoner Post Release Services, Trends and Issues in Criminal Justice No 262, Australia Institute of Criminology, Canberra., p 2.
[12] According to DCS Annual Reports the daily average of persons supervised as parolees and probationers (correctional supervision) has increased from 56 484 to 75 061 from1998 to 2003.

being rehabilitated and reintegrated. Thirdly, the term enables us to monitor the profile of people released from prison and re-entering society, thus facilitating more appropriate support services[13].

3. What is the nature of the problem offender reintegration seeks to address?

Whilst the White Paper creates a high-level framework for offender rehabilitation and reintegration, it does not deal with a theoretical understanding of offending behaviour or with the prevention of re-offending. A better understanding of what offender rehabilitation and reintegration need to achieve will be assisted by an accurate problem description. Such a description should also contextualise expectations. To assist in this, three broad themes will be addressed based on the extant literature:

- human behaviour in general, and more specifically how to change it.
- the characteristics of the target group (prisoners and ex-prisoners).
- defining success in offender rehabilitation and reintegration.

The nature of human behaviour and what is known about changing it within the prison context are central to any intervention that hopes to achieve success. As will be described further on, success with intervention programmes is highly dependent on what the intervention plans to achieve and whether it is able to demonstrate the link between this and the activities it intends using to achieve its objectives.

Offenders also present a unique profile when compared to the general population and these characteristics have an influence on interventions. In the discussion below, attention is paid to social factors, criminal careers (or patterns of persistent offending), long-term prisoners, alcohol and drug abuse, and families and communities. Collectively seen, these factors tend to undermine rehabilitation and reintegration efforts, especially if they are not addressed in the intervention process. From an implementation perspective, the question should then be: What does this mean for an intervention?

How success is defined and measured, as well as the current emphasis on using re-offending as the primary indicator of success, is investigated further in this section.

(a) Changing human behaviour

In essence, offender rehabilitation and successful reintegration are about changing people's behaviour from acts and behaviour that were harmful to the self and others, to behaviour that is not harmful to the self and/or others,

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[13] See for example Lynch JP and Sabol WJ (2001) Prisoner Re-entry in Perspective, Crime Policy Report Vol 3 September 2001, Urban Institute and Metreaux S and Culhane (2004) Homeless Shelter Use and Reincarceration Following Prison Release, Criminology and Public Policy, Vol 3 No 2 pp 139-160.

and that is socially contributory. In paragraph 9.8.2 the White Paper refers to the "correction" of offending behaviour as the change process that needs to happen:

> *In essence, the correction of offending behaviour is based on the promotion of social responsibility, ensuring that the individual can recognise what they did as wrong, understand why society believes it to be unacceptable and to internalise the impact that their actions have had on the victims and on society as a whole.*

The discussion below takes this point further and asks how this can be achieved, and how change in behaviour should be defined and understood. To do this it is necessary to start the discussion with what motivates people.

According to Deci and Ryan,[14] the natural human predisposition toward self-organisation and organised relationships to a larger social structure requires that all humans seek to satisfy three innate or fundamental psychological needs, namely, competence, relatedness and autonomy. Being aware of these needs also assists in satisfying them on an individual level, and is associated with adaptive advantages. These are described as[15]:

- *Competence: To engage optimal challenges and experience mastery or effectance in the physical and social world*
- *Relatedness: To seek attachments and experience feelings of security, belonging, and intimacy with others.*
- *Autonomy: To self-organise and regulate one's own behaviour, which includes the tendency to work toward inner coherence and integration among regulatory demands and goals.*

Failure or partial failure to meet these needs invariably leads to negative functional consequences for mental health. Their research showed those social contexts that are supportive of the three innate needs (competency, autonomy and relatedness) achieve three important objectives:

- intrinsic motivation is maintained and enhanced (i.e. less external control is required).
- more autonomous motivational or regulatory orientation is achieved through the integration and internalisation of extrinsic motivation (self-control is more prevalent).
- sustained support and motivation for life-goals that provide satisfaction of the innate needs (meeting the innate needs becomes a self-rewarding and motivating cycle).

There is a considerable body of psychological research into goal-orientation and attainment, and, more specifically, on the thwarting of needs as described by Deci and Ryan above; a summary is sufficient here. In essence, the argument is that if people are unable to satisfy the basic needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness, it can lead them to develop substitute needs, which may have very negative consequences, and which will continue to interfere with the attainment of the needs that they really ought to meet.

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[14] Deci EL and Ryan RM (2000) The "What" and "Why" of Goal Pursuits: Human Needs and the Self Determination of Behaviour, Psychological Inquiry, Volume 11 No. 4, p 262
[15] Deci EL and Ryan RM (2000) The "What" and "Why" of Goal Pursuits: Human Needs and the Self Determination of Behaviour, Psychological Inquiry, Volume 11 No. 4, p 252

What does this mean for offending behaviour? Do offenders have different needs, or the same needs, but different ways of satisfying them? McMurran and Ward argue in support of the latter[16]. Building on Deci and Ryan, they argue that all people have the same needs, and have further developed these into the nine primary "human goods". "Human goods" are actions, states of affairs, characteristics, experiences, and states of mind that are regarded as intrinsically beneficial to human beings. Each of these is not a means to an end, but an end in itself. They are:

- life (e.g. health, optimal physical functioning, sexual satisfaction);
- knowledge;
- excellence in play and work;
- excellence in agency (autonomy and self-directedness);
- inner peace (freedom from emotional turmoil and stress);
- relatedness and community (including intimate, romantic and family relationships);
- spirituality (finding purpose and meaning in life);
- happiness, and
- creativity.

To achieve these human goods, we all have an implicit or explicit life-plan that we use to guide everyday decisions and actions. Citing Emmons, the authors state that a poorly thought-out plan will result in a somewhat chaotic and meandering life, whereas a coherent plan based on the abilities, characteristics and context of the individual is likely to result in high levels of well-being and a self-judgment that his or her life is of value.

Our ability to seek and succeed in finding the human goods are therefore central to meeting the three innate needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness. In the case of offenders, the Good Lives Model (GLM), advocated for by McMurran and Ward, understands offending behaviour in terms of four major difficulties in offenders' life plans, namely:

- problems with the means used to secure primary goods (e.g. over-controlling behaviour that may result in coercion and violence);
- a lack of scope within a life plan;
- the presence of conflict among goals, and
- a lack of capacity to form or adjust a life plan to changing circumstances.

The value of the GLM is that it reframes the concept of actual risk behaviour and compels an analysis of what the innate needs and the primary goods are that the offender seeks to address through the offending behaviour. This is important for it emphasises the strengths in the person and supersedes the focus on the negative, namely to manage risks through an often disciplinary and punitive approach. Therefore, "*the aim is to help them to secure*

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[16] McMurran M and Ward T (2004) Motivating Offenders to Change in Therapy: An Organizing Framework, Legal and Criminal Psychology, Volume 9, p 298.

human goods that are important to them, but to do so in ways that are socially more acceptable and also, importantly, personally more satisfying."[17]
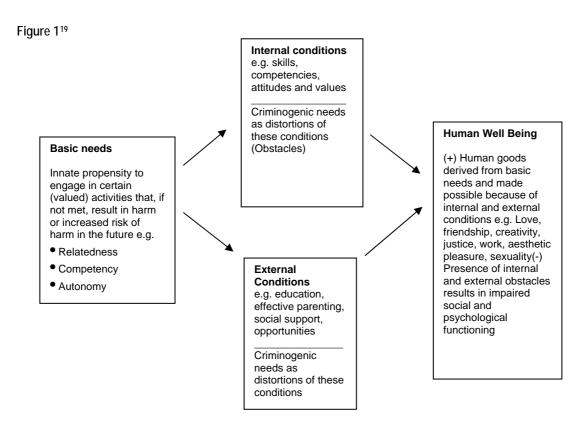
The GLM also assists us in understanding criminogenic needs as obstacles to attaining the human goods, and that their management is not an end in itself, but a means of achieving the beneficial end of primary human goods. Criminogenic needs are "dynamic attributes of offenders and their circumstances that, when changed, are associated with reduced rates of recidivism"[18]. Examples are pro-offending attitudes, anti-social personality, poor problem-solving ability, and substance abuse. Ward and Stewart describe further that, in addition to the dynamic attributes, there are also static attributes such as gender, age and offending history. Whilst the static attributes are important in predicting risk and re-offending, they are not of significant value in guiding treatment. See Figure 1.

Crudely, we can summarise as follows: All human beings have three innate needs that they seek to satisfy, namely competence, autonomy and relatedness. These needs can be understood in a more tangible form as the nine human goods that all humans work towards in terms of an explicit or implicit life plan. When individuals cannot satisfy a need and cannot obtain one or more of the human goods, they may develop substitute needs that may place them at risk. The ability to satisfy a need and obtain the human goods is effected by criminogenic needs (the dynamic risk factors) that function as obstacles between the individual and the innate need that would provide access to the human goods. An effective intervention would understand the offending behaviour in terms of the innate need(s) it seeks to address, the human goods it seeks, and the dynamic obstacles (internal and external criminogenic needs) that prevent the attainment thereof in a socially acceptable and personally satisfying manner. The intervention would then reframe this relationship and seek to build on the strengths of the individual in pursuit of a legitimate and acceptable life plan.

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[17] McMurran M and Ward T (2004) Motivating Offenders to Change in Therapy: An Organizing Framework, Legal and Criminal Psychology, Volume 9, p 302.
[18] Ward T and Stewart C (2003) Criminogenic needs and human needs: a theoretical model, Psychology, Crime and Law, Volume 9(2) p. 127

Figure 1[19]

Even if it is accepted that what offenders really seek relates to the three innate psychological needs and that their offending behaviour can be construed as the creation of substitute needs, and that there are internal and external obstacles, it still does not explain how change happens. Bar a few exceptions, change is normally a gradual process that happens over time. The trans-theoretical model developed by Prochaska et al distinguishes five stages[20]:

- *Pre-contemplation stage*: There is denial of the problem, with individuals being unaware of the negative consequences of their behaviour, and either believing that the consequences are insignificant or having given up on changing their behaviour.

- *Contemplation stage*: Individuals are likely to acknowledge the advantages and disadvantages of changing, and are likely to overestimate the disadvantages of changing, with this resulting in them experiencing ambivalence.

- *Preparation stage*: Individuals have decided to take action within the next month and have commenced with small steps toward that goal.

- *Action stage*: Individuals are overtly engaged in changing their problem behaviours.

- *Maintenance*: They have been able to sustain their action for at least six months, and are focused on preventing relapse.

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[19] Ward T and Stewart C (2003) Criminogenic needs and human needs: a theoretical model, Psychology, Crime and Law, Volume 9(2) p. 137

[20] Prochaska JM et al (2004) The Trans-theoretical Model of Change for Multi-level Intervention for Alcohol Abuse on Campus, Journal of Alcohol and Drug Education, Volume 47 Issue 3, p 36-37.

From this five-stage model it is clear that the critical step is to move individuals from pre-contemplation to contemplation. The individual who does not acknowledge the impact of his behaviour or regards it as insignificant requires far more attention than the individual who volunteers for participation in a rehabilitation programme. It should also be acknowledged that individuals can be stuck in the contemplative stage, and experience continued ambivalence, and that this ambivalence requires special attention, especially where high-risk individuals are concerned. In the prison context, individuals can be released during this stage and continue with their behavioural patterns whilst acknowledging that they need to change.

For the purposes of implementing rehabilitation, as described in the White Paper, it is therefore critical to acknowledge that effective change in human behaviour requires intensive and sustained interventions that deal with the barriers to such change in a manner that does not gloss over critical aspects of human behaviour. The description above also supports a view of offender rehabilitation that is not reductionist, but rather expansive and inclusive, and, furthermore, based on a positive approach to goal attainment as opposed to a risk-management strategy. Offender reintegration presents a particular set of challenges in changing human behaviour. This implies thorough assessments, careful planning, high integrity implementation, and thorough evaluation. The GLM is presented here as an example of a particular approach to understanding offending behaviour in a manner that recognises the difficulties individuals may experience in attaining the human goods. However, behavioural change remains a complicated process; even if stages are identifiable for analytical purposes. It is important to start from a strong theoretical base to ensure consistency and programme integrity. Therefore, posing philosophical questions about human behaviour, the nature of reality and how to intervene in this reality is then imperative. Leaving these questions unanswered at the level of programme design will expose contradictions during implementation.

(b)   Profile of the target group and particular challenges in changing behaviour

Prisoners and ex-prisoners present a range of common and associated characteristics. Whilst these are not absolute, or present in all cases, they are sufficiently prevalent to make taking note of them important. Current literature also highlights the shortcomings in South African research with regard to the profile of offenders, such as biographical and demographic data, as well as life-style characteristics. We do not yet understand how these common and prevalent characteristics intersect with each other in a development context and, more specifically, how they play out in the South African situation with its own unique attributes. Implementing rehabilitation and reintegration on the scale contemplated in the White Paper requires a broad assessment of the target group so that one might describe some salient characteristics and identify areas of particular concern. These characteristics should be seen within the context of the challenges that prisoners face upon release. A recent South African study, commissioned by the non-government organisation Khulisa, that surveyed young persons released from prisons in Gauteng, North West Province and KwaZulu-Natal, highlights some of these challenges as[21]:

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[21] Roper M (2005) Khulisa Programme Report: Emerging pathways for effective reintegration of juvenile offenders in South Africa based on the Khulisa "My path" Programme Evaluations, Khulisa Unpublished Report, p 12-14.

- securing financial stability and sustainability;

- employment;

- dealing with temptation;

- addressing issues of mental and physical health;

- being accepted back into family networks;

- finding adequate housing;

- community acceptance and stigmatisation;

- developing and maintaining relationships, and

- low levels of literacy.

In the following attention will be given to eight areas of risk. These are normative heterogeneity, institutionalisation and prisonisation, criminal careers and persistent offending, social factors, alcohol and drugs, long-term prisoners, and family and community.

Normative heterogeneity

Successful reintegration is dependent on the ex-prisoner making the "right" choices in situations that hold risk to him or her. In addition, what is "right" and what is "wrong" is not always clearly defined in the communities that prisoners come from. Theoretical perspectives on rehabilitation and reintegration need to deal with *normative choices* at some stage in order to address offending behaviour effectively. Theory on rehabilitation and reintegration must therefore reflect on the moral choices to be made by offenders. The options are, however, not always as clear as they were for Anakin Skywalker when he chose the Dark Side. Reality is more complex and fluid than it is in the movies and options appear in layers that have in themselves been perverted by the criminal justice system. Survival and self-preservation may override moral choices in the prison environment, and the decision to join a prison gang at a young age may initially be a survival strategy, that escalates into a range of obligations and duties that stretch beyond the prison walls.

It is argued by some that mass incarceration has indeed stripped the prison experience of its deterrent effect and "*once experienced, prison is transformed from an awful mystery to a real- life ordeal that has been suffered and survived*"[22]. Having large numbers of returning prisoners, people who have been socialised in the prison sub-culture and who have a stronger orientation towards deviance relative to other community members, increases *normative heterogeneity* in the community, adding to community instability and disorganisation[23]. This multiplicity in choices and their poorly anticipated advantages and disadvantages are not easy for individuals with social shortcomings, an educational backlog and poor life-skills. Poverty, inequality, historical characteristics and mass

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[22] Lynch JP and Sabol WJ (2004) Assessing the Effects of Mass Incarceration on Informal Social Control in Communities , Criminology and Public Policy, Volume 3, No 2 p 274-5.
[23] Lynch JP and Sabol WJ (2004) Assessing the Effects of Mass Incarceration on Informal Social Control in Communities , Criminology and Public Policy, Volume 3, No 2 p 274-5.

media (to name but a few) place young people under tremendous pressure to change their circumstances, but many lack the knowledge, skills and support to achieve this in a socially acceptable manner.

Norms, values, morality and their apparent link to crime have not gone unnoticed in the South African crime discourse, and the establishment of the Moral Regeneration Movement in the Office of the Deputy President is indicative of the importance it has been given. The debate on moral regeneration is not over and is worthy of further investigation. The Moral Regeneration Movement has, however, received substantial criticism from eminent local criminologists[24]:

> *[p. 12] The movement also faces the problem of defining and identifying activities as morally regenerative. While there is a potentially large 'feel-good factor' associated with moral regeneration – all manner of activities could be seen as part of the campaign – it will be extremely difficult to empirically demonstrate whether any of these activities actually enhance morality.*

> *[p. 13] Remarkably, and probably only because of the tolerance for diversity that is South Africa, it has survived its own confusion and embraced a range of differing interest groups – conservative religious groups, some elements of the business community, political parties, government and intellectuals. What remains to be seen is whether a largely ideological campaign of this type will deliver any meaningful results in terms of strengthening social fabric and reducing crime.*

The White Paper also gives attention to moral regeneration and states in the Executive Summary of the White Paper, in paragraph 16, that:

> *. . . the Department has a significant role to play in regenerating societal norms and values, through ensuring that all its correctional centres are turned into moral regeneration institutions in which offenders are taught positive values that are society-friendly.*

And in paragraph 3.3.8 describes it as follows:

> *Moral regeneration and [the] promotion of the ethics enshrined in the Constitution requires special attention to be paid to the creation of an environment that allows for self-discipline, social independence, ongoing family support and community support as well as reintegration of offenders into a substantially transformed community. It is the vision of our correctional system to have equipped offenders by the time they are released into society with an attitude of desiring to serve their families and society with competence, excellence and responsibility in relationships, but without the general moral regeneration and social crime prevention within the broader society, the trigger factors for repeat offending are likely to come into play.*

It can be concluded therefore that managing this multiplicity of choices or normative heterogeneity is one of the risks that the successful returnee must be able to manage, and that this ability will not depend on simplified

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[24] Rauch, J (2005) Linking Crime and Morality Reviewing The Moral Regeneration Movement, SA Crime Quarterly No 11 March 2005, p 12.

understandings of recidivism and employment, but rather on cognitive skills, acquired patterns of behaviour, and the emotional maturity that he or she needs to apply in a consistent and sustained manner. Furthermore, that the local discourse on morality and the regeneration of norms and values, has not yet attained such depth that it practically informs our notions of offender rehabilitation and reintegration, and the criticism levelled by Rauch remains a challenge.

Institutionalisation and prisonisation

We can rightly ask to what extent rehabilitation and reintegration efforts are trying to undo the effects of imprisonment, and to what extent they are actively engaged in "real" rehabilitation work. Institutionalisation undoubtedly has an impact on individuals and the Social Exclusion Unit (UK) regards this as an important factor in predicting re-offending[25]. Haney describes institutionalisation as "the process by which inmates are shaped and transformed by the institutional environments in which they live" and prisonisation as a summary of the negative psychological effects of imprisonment[26]. The effect of imprisonment can be physically, mentally and emotionally devastating for any individual. It is, however, also true that not all people react in the same way to imprisonment, and that imprisonment does not have the same effect on all people.

Porporino, in a review of the literature on long-term prisoners, found that there is no <u>consistent</u> link between the term of imprisonment and deterioration of mental health, intellectual abilities, physical condition, or social competence[27]. On the other hand, he also reports that long-term prisoners react in particular ways to the circumstances of prolonged confinement; relationships with family and friends can be severed, and that particular vulnerabilities and inabilities can come to the fore in the prison setting. In addition, behaviour patterns that may emerge as a result of long-term imprisonment can take on several forms, such as aggression, social and emotional withdrawal, and violence. It appears from the literature that the perspectives of long-term prisoners on imprisonment are related in a consistent manner to personality and pre-institutional history.

Long-term prisoners

The proportion of long-term prisoners in South African prisons has increased substantially over the past ten years. For the purposes of the discussion here a term of seven years and longer will be regarded as long-term imprisonment, although this is rather arbitrary. In 1995, prisoners serving a term of seven years and longer constituted just over 28% of the sentenced South African prison population, but by 2004 this proportion had grown to just over 50% of the sentenced prison population%[28]. The White Paper acknowledges the increase in long-term prisoners (see paragraph 11.9) and the demand that this category of prisoners will place on the resources of the

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[25] Social Exclusion Unit (2002) Reducing Re-offending by Ex-prisoners: Report by the Social Exclusion Unit, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

[26] Haney C (2001) The Psychological Impact of Incarceration: Implications for Post-Prison Adjustment, Paper presented at the National Policy Conference 30-31 January 2002, US Department of Health and Human Services, The Urban Institute, p 5.

[27] Porporino F (1991) Differences In Response to Long-Term Imprisonment: Implications for the Management of Long Term Offenders, Research and Statistics Branch, The Correctional Service of Canada, p 1-2.

[28] Figures made available to the author by the Office of the Inspecting Judge, March 2005.

Department of Correctional Services. The White Paper also regards long-term prisoners as a security risk and describes them as "inclined towards aggression". It is not clear on what evidence this assessment is based, as international research indicates the contrary.

International literature indicates that long-term prisoners are usually managed in a fairly routine manner, and that actual release preparation is left until well into the sentence[29]. The literature also does not suggest that long-term prisoners pose any particular security or violence risk greater than that of short term prisoners. On the other hand, it is also noted that the sheer length of the prison term has its own negative consequences for the family and social relations, as was reflected on earlier. Porporino reports that there is little specialised programming for long term prisoners; secondly, that in order to manage this sector of the prison population effectively, the diversity in the population need to be acknowledged as part of this management strategy[30].

The increasing number of long-term prisoners in South Africa necessitates a critical re-examination of how these prisoners serve their terms of imprisonment. Over the next 25 years there will be a decline in the proportion of short-term prisoners and an increase in the long-term prison population. Conservative calculations[31] estimate that less than 7% of required bed space for the next 25 years in South African prisons will be occupied by prisoners serving a term of less than two years. On the other hand, 56% of required bed space for the next 25 years will be occupied by prisoners serving a term of longer than seven years. The balance of 37% will be needed for prisoners serving a term of longer than two years, but less than seven years. It is a strategic decision that will need to pass intense scrutiny as to whether services could and should be concentrated in any particular sentence category or not.

Changes in the profile of the South African prison population must be reflected in South African offender reintegration theory and policy. In the context of longer and longer prison terms, the effects of institutionalisation and prisonisation cannot be ignored. Sentence plans, as well as reintegration interventions, ought to accommodate these factors. Managing long-term prison sentences in a productive manner can be a costly business and the rapid increase in the proportion of long-term prisoners without a corresponding increase in resources place these individuals and ultimately the community at risk. How prisoners spend their days, the programmes they participate in and how they maintain (or build up) contact with the outside world are questions of critical importance, if these prisoners are to be prepared adequately for their release. In essence, this means that programmes with long-term prisoners (7 years and more) must be tailored to the individual's needs and abilities, and must incorporate an understanding of their different responses to imprisonment. The real challenge lies in

[29] Porporino F (1991) Differences In Response to Long-Term Imprisonment: Implications for the Management of Long Term Offenders, Research and Statistics Branch, The Correctional Service of Canada, p 5.
[30] Porporino F (1991) Differences in Response to Long-Term Imprisonment: Implications for the Management of Long Term Offenders, Research and Statistics Branch, The Correctional Service of Canada, p 6.
[31] These calculations were done by the author and are on file.

providing programmes of such a nature to more than half the sentenced prison population in a sustained and effective manner.

Criminal careers

Research into criminal careers originated in North America in the mid-1980s and has made a significant contribution to knowledge on re-offending and predictors of re-offending. A criminal career is defined as:

"the longitudinal sequence of offences committed by an individual offender" and that it is further possible to study the criminal careers of families, gangs or even communities. . . .A criminal career has a beginning (or onset), an end (desistance), and a career length between (duration). Only a certain proportion of the population (prevalence) has a criminal career and commits offences. During their careers, offenders commit offences at a certain rate (frequency) while they are at risk of offending in the community [32].

Criminal career research, in essence, tracks and attempts to reconstruct the (criminal) life histories of known repeat-offenders in order to develop a better understanding of risk and criminal propensity predictors. Looking at a select group of persistent offenders gives insight into the offending patterns of a relatively small group of people responsible for a disproportionately large amount of crime in society. The cost implications of persistent offending are phenomenal. One researcher estimated it by calculating the savings to be gained if such a criminal career were averted. It was calculated to bring about a saving of between $1.7 million and $2.3 million"[33].

Farrington reports that the best childhood predictors of an early (10 - 13 years of age) onset as opposed to a later (14 - 16 years of age) onset of offending behaviour were that children rarely spent leisure time with the father, high "troublesomeness", authoritarian parents, and high psychomotor impulsivity[34]. Research has also showed conclusively that those boys who started earliest (aged 10 – 13 years) were the most persistent offenders with a career length of 10 to 12 years, in other words, with them desisting roughly at the age of 23. This obviously has implications for work with children in conflict with the law, but it also has implications for intervention programmes in prison. In this group, the strongest predictors of offending were "rarely spending leisure time with a father at age 12, heavy drinking at age 16, low intelligence at age 8 – 10, and frequent unemployment at age 16"[35].

Research findings on criminal careers therefore assist with three challenges. Firstly, the data assist us in understanding early offending behaviour, for example, when a child aged 10 years becomes involved in crime, the chances for persistent offending are fairly high. Secondly, the findings assist with understanding career criminals currently incarcerated, and in assessing appropriate programmes and the appropriate timing of interventions. Thirdly, research findings appear to be consistent in indicating that prisoners have behind them, in the majority of

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[32] Farrington D (1992) Criminal Career Research in the United Kingdom , British Journal of Criminology, Volume 32 No 4 p. 521.

[33] Cohen MA (1998) The Monetary Value of Saving a High Risk Youth, Journal of Quantitative Criminology, Volume 14, No 1.

[34] Farrington D (1992) Criminal Career Research in the United Kingdom, British Journal of Criminology, Volume 32 No 4 p. 527.

[35] Farrington D (1992) Criminal Career Research in the United Kingdom, British Journal of Criminology, Volume 32 No 4 p. 529.

cases, a history of risk behaviour, limited opportunities, poor parenting, exclusion from certain resources, and a lack of abilities and skills to mediate these shortcomings. Taking a life-historical approach therefore is a central feature of effective programmes.

The White Paper does not explicitly deal with criminal careers but in paragraph 9.4 reference is made to profiling, but it is not clear what this profiling would entail. A cursory description is given in paragraph 9.4.3, stating that profiling would collect data on the causes of the offence, the nature and circumstances of the offence, the conviction record of the offender, and the social circumstances of the offender. The question needs to be answered how data of this nature will assist the Department of Correctional Services in implementing effective services involving correctly targeted individuals, as not all prisoners are career criminals. The art would therefore lie in identifying those individuals in the prison population who pose the highest risk of re-offending upon release and who would, in the absence of an effective intervention, be responsible for a disproportionate amount of crime in South Africa.

Social factors

Research in the UK has shown that the majority of people who end up in prison come from a distinctly disadvantaged or excluded background. Prisoners often lack skills, experience in employment, and have housing problems, limited positive social networks and so forth. The Social Exclusion Unit reports that when the UK prison population is compared with the general population, the following distinct differences emerge:[36]

- prisoners are:
    - 13 times as likely to have been placed in care as a child,
    - thirteen times more likely to be unemployed,
    - ten times more likely to have been a regular truant as a child,
    - two and a half times more likely to have had a family member convicted of a criminal offence
    - six times more likely to have been a young father,
    - fifteen times more likely to be HIV-positive,
- Of prisoners, 80% have the writing skills, 65% the numeracy skills, and 50% the reading skills of or below the level of an 11-year-old child,
- Of prisoners, 60 to 70% were using drugs before imprisonment,
- Of prisoners, over 70% suffered from at least two mental disorders,
- 20% of male and 37% of female sentenced prisoners have attempted suicide in the past.

When focusing on the prison population with a view to reducing crime in society, it is helpful to reflect on the profile of this segment of the population for it is different in significant ways from that of the general population. Indeed, these differences are what contributed in many instances to them being in prison, but these differences also point towards the developmental deficits that need to be addressed in a change process. As noted earlier, we do not as

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[36] Social Exclusion Unit (2002) Reducing Re-offending by Ex-prisoners: Report by the Social Exclusion Unit, Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, p 6.

yet have accurate biographical and demographic data on the South African prison population, but international literature alerts us to the fact that we need this information and that it should inform decision-making, especially with regard to implementation. Comprehensive, detailed and purposeful assessments at various stages of imprisonment will also contribute greatly to enhancing the success of particular interventions by ensuring optimal matching of programme content to participant needs.

One example from South African research illustrates the importance of this type of data. A study commissioned by the non-government organisation NICRO in 2003 reported on a joint project involving NICRO, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF), and the Department of Social Development that placed ex-prisoners in the DWAF Working for Water Programme as contract workers[37]. It was found that 75% of programme participants had never had any formal or informal employment previously, and this figure was slightly higher at 80% for women in the group. A profile of this nature has implications for what is assumed about participants' knowledge of work ethics, personal finances, employer-employee relationships, and so forth. If data of this nature is available, it should inform the design of interventions and ensure that assumptions are tested prior to implementation.

Alcohol

Alcohol abuse at a young age has already been mentioned as a risk factor and there is a substantial body of research investigating the link between drugs, alcohol and crime, particularly aggressive crimes. Substance-abuse prevention programmes are also popular as pre-release programmes for prisoners, and alcohol-abuse prevention programmes are well-known features of pre-release programmes in South African prisons[38]. The White Paper acknowledges in paragraphs 7.2.7 and 9.1.2 that substance abuse is worthy of attention, but does not pursue this issue further with any rigour. As will be illustrated below, it appears that the alcohol-crime link is worthy of a more rigorous approach.

Even to the casual observer the association between crime and alcohol is evident, but when attempting a deeper and more causal understanding of this association, it becomes evident that it is not as simple as it seems. It is well known that not all people who abuse alcohol and become intoxicated commit crimes, but we can safely state that it is a contributory factor, and is also likely to be a particularly important factor in certain types of crime[39].

South African research confirms the strong association between alcohol and crime. For example, nearly half of arrestees in a survey of three cities in 1999 and 2000 reported that they were under the influence of alcohol at the

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[37] Lomofsky D and Smith G (2003) Impact Evaluation of the Offender Reintegration Programme – NICRO, Working for water and Department of Social Development, NICRO, Cape Town, http://www.nicro.org.za, p. v.

[38] The 2003/4 DCS Annual Report reflects that 3783 sessions on drug and alcohol abuse were held with prisoners during that year. The actual number of prisoners involved is not reflected but it can be safely assumed that this will be substantial.

[39] Day A et al (2003) Alcohol Use and Negative Affect in the Offence Cycle, Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health, Volume 13, p 47.

time of the offence[40]. Leggett reports on a 1998 study in the Western Cape that found that in 55% of non-natural deaths in Cape Town, the deceased had blood alcohol concentrations equal to or greater than 0.08g/100ml, with the highest levels being found among murder victims and people who had suffered transportation deaths. Furthermore, 59% of murder victims in the Western Cape and 69% of murder victims in the Northern Cape tested positive for alcohol[41]. There is a growing body of South African research into alcohol-related deaths and injuries, primarily from the Medical Research Council's Alcohol and Drug Abuse Research Unit that confirms this strong association[42]. These statistics indicate that in South Africa the association between crime and alcohol is not insignificant and that it forms an integral part of risk behaviour and crime, and that it is strongly associated with violent crimes. Given this prevalence, alcohol abuse should be given high importance as a risk factor in the South African context. The following explores these issues further in regard to programmes.

Day et al report that there are certain moderating factors in the supposed causal relationship between alcohol intoxication and criminal behaviour, such as intrapersonal and contextual influences, norms, and expected behaviour, the presence of other intoxicated people, social setting, and situations of low social control. Mediating factors in the alcohol-crime link include reduced problem-solving ability, diminished fear of consequences, impaired cognitive functioning, a focus on the present as opposed to the future, increased emotionalism, greater risk-taking, and increased concerns over power (particularly in males). In essence, the result is "a tendency to be concerned with the here and now and to make cognitively simple interpretations of occurrences in a situation"[43]. The question still remains as to how this is linked with criminal behaviour.

A criminogenic needs approach or risk-reduction approach would focus on reducing the immediately associated variables and contextual risk factors and, if successful, would lead to a reduction in the risk of the offending behaviour occurring. In other words, if one is able to prevent the at-risk ex-offender from consuming alcohol and associating with people who are doing so, the risk of re-offending would be reduced. Whilst this may be workable in theory, such a control-based approach is difficult to sustain, and another approach is sought.

Citing Baumeister's work, Day et al report on the findings concerning mediating variables (as noted above) that showed commonalities with the more theoretical constructs on self-regulation, and more specifically that under a state of negative affective arousal (unassisted by alcohol), individuals may experience "cognitive deconstruction" characterised by all or some of the following:

- less integrated and meaningful awareness of self;
- diminished guilt;

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[40] Parry C (2004) The Alcohol Crime Nexus, Presentation to Discussion on Crime and Alcohol, Opens Society Foundation, 13 May 2004.

[41] Leggett, T (2004) What's Up in the Cape? - Crime rates in Western and Northern Cape provinces, Crime Quarterly No 7 2004, Institute for Security Studies.

[42] A list of its publications are available on http://www.mrc.ac.za/adarg/publications.htm

[43] Day A et al (2003) Alcohol Use and Negative Affect in the Offence Cycle, Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health, Volume 13, p 49.

- focus on immediate short-term outcomes;

- dominance of immediate rather than distant goals;

- concrete thinking;

- lessened influence of self-standards;

- passivity;

- diminished inhibitions, and

- being prone to fantasy.

Therefore, it is suggested that "awareness of the self as falling short of personal standards is a crucial aspect of negative affect. The person is seen as coping by trying to 'cut off' negative affect by disengaging from the self system"[44].

In short, it is argued that a negative emotional state may result in a diminished internal inhibitory system and thus constitute a criminogenic need for some offenders, i.e. it places them at an increased risk of offending. Pursuing this line of argument in empirical research, Day et al cite a number of studies that have found that recidivists report substantially higher states of negative affect prior to offending compared to offenders who did not re-offend. One study found that recidivists reported rates of dysphoria[45] that were six times higher than those of non-recidivists in the 48 hours leading up to the offence.

What appears to emerge from these findings is that negative emotional states, combined with alcohol use and intoxication, place individuals at a much higher risk of committing an impulsive or opportunistic offence. Day et al conclude that[46]:

> "poor self-regulation, including poor self- regulation of negative affectivity, is the important criminogenic need underlying alcohol-linked offending. It may be more effective to target such self-regulatory variables for change rather than patterns of alcohol use per se."

An effective response in the offender reintegration context would therefore need to look at and develop mechanisms to deal with depression, fear, anxiety, self-control, and emotions as risk areas that are associated with negative affect. It should therefore be recognised that the persistent and excessive use of alcohol is a symptomatic response. Therefore, a simple prohibiting approach to alcohol use or even information giving is unlikely to succeed as it fails to deal with how an individual regulates his or her emotional state and following from that, his or her behaviour.

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[44] Day A et al (2003) Alcohol Use and Negative Affect in the Offence Cycle, Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health, Volume 13, p 51.

[45] The term dysphoria is used here to describe a general state of being unwell or unhappy, and can be regarded as the opposite of euphoria. There are also several associated states of dysphoria such as depressive, mania and pre-menstrual. It is particularly mania that is associated with suicide.

[46] Day A et al (2003) Alcohol Use and Negative Affect in the Offence Cycle, Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health, Volume 13, p 54.

Whilst alcohol is widely associated with crime[47] [48], and often in an apparent causal relationship, the above has shown that there is at least sufficient reason to investigate this further and not assume that the obvious is indeed correct. To be effective requires a departure from many of the existing approaches and assumptions, and taking on a more comprehensive view of the problem.

Drugs:

There is no doubt about the fact that in South Africa there is a very strong association between drugs and crime. Apart from the involvement of organised crime in the illicit drug trade, many individual offenders are under the influence of drugs when they commit crimes or are motivated in their offending by addiction. A recent study of arrestees in three South African cities found that 46% tested positive for at least one out of the six drugs for which they were being tested[49]. Roper reports that the overwhelming majority of a group of young offenders, who participated in a youth offender programme at a local prison, indicated that they had been using drugs prior to imprisonment[50]. The very early onset of drug use was also a significant finding of the study and some reported that they started drug use at the age eight and nine years. Given this prevalence, it is indeed something of an anomaly that there are very few resources available to drug addicts in South Africa and that the criminal justice system does not give any substantial attention to this apparently widespread problem. Drugs such as dagga and Mandrax have been part of the South African criminal landscape for decades, yet very little resources have been available to assist excessive users and addicts. For example, the Western Cape has only one state-run drug rehabilitation centre, namely De Novo.

The relationship between drugs and crime is also characterised by a number of patterns, three of which are reported in the literature[51]:

- most offenders have used illegal drugs;
- minor offending precedes drug use, and
- offenders who are drug users are more likely to report higher rates of re-offending.

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[47] For a further description on the association between binge drinking and criminal behaviour in especially young males in England and Whales, see Richardson A and Budd T (2003) Young Adults, Alcohol, Crime and Disorder, Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health Volume 13, pp 5-17. The study found amongst others, that getting drunk at least once a week, increases the individual's chances of getting involved in a fight by four to five times, and breaking or damaging property by seven times.

[48] The effect of alcohol on individuals is, however, not only understood and studied from psychology but also medicine. Badawy presents evidence that a reduction in the level of serotonin predisposes individuals to aggressive behaviour and that the high consumption of alcohol have a significant lowering effect on serotonin levels. It follows then that with individuals already experiencing depleted serotonin levels, the high level consumption of alcohol would only aggravate the situation at an accelerated pace. (See Badawy, AAB (2003) Alcohol and Violence and the Possible Role of Serotonin, Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health, Volume 13, pp 31 -44.)

[49] Plüddemann A , Parry C, Louw A and Burton P (2002) Drugs and Crime in South Africa - A Study in Three Cities in Perspectives on Demand: The Findings of the 3-Metros Arrestee Study, Published in Monograph No 69, March 2002

[50] Roper M (2005) A Review of the Integrated Youth Offender Programme piloted in the Boksburg Juvenile Correctional Centre with the "Inkonyezi yentathakusa", Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, http://www.csvr.org.za/papaers/paiyop.htm Accessed 27/9/2005.

[51] Makkai T and Payne J (2003) Key Findings from the Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Study, Trends and Issues in Crime and Justice, No 267, Australian Institute of Criminology, p 1.

Whilst there is undeniably a link between drug use and crime, the exact nature of this relationship remain contested. There is increasing agreement that the link between the two is influenced by a range of environmental, psychological and situational factors, and three relationships are discerned[52]:

- substance-use leads to crime;

- crime leads to substance-use, and

- substance-use and crime are caused by the same factors.

Makkai and Payne report further on a survey of 2 135 persistent offenders in Australia that analysed their criminal careers and investigated the part that drug-use played. They found that the onset of offending precedes the onset of drug-use, and that persistent offending precedes the onset of persistent drug use. The sample reflects that for persistent offenders the mean age for a first offence was 13 years followed by first drug use at age 14 years, with regular offending by the age of 15 and regular drug use by the age of 16 years[53]. The data then gives little support to the argument that drugs cause crime, but rather that there is a common factor associated with both, which is described as a "general deviant lifestyle". It should also be noted that the popularity of drugs and of specific drugs changes over time. Drugs are also typically associated with the younger age groupings and youth culture, and there are simply not sufficient research findings on the drug-criminal behaviour link in South Africa.

It would therefore be safe to assume that a very substantial proportion of the South African prison population has a history of substance abuse, and this may involve drugs, alcohol or both. Based on international literature, it would also be safe to assume that this proportion would be higher amongst persistent offenders. The fact that prisoners have limited or no access to drugs whilst in prison and may even have stopped consumption as a result of their imprisonment should not be interpreted as evidence of the addiction having been treated. It would be safer to assume that the chance of relapse remain very high upon release. Addiction and substance-abuse treatment is a highly specialised field and its association with re-offending in the South African context is in need of urgent research in order to support the services of the DCS[54].

Family and community

The last significant aspect of the profile of the target population that will be dealt with here is the family and the communities to which prisoners return. The White Paper, in Chapter 3, calls "corrections a societal responsibility" and proceeds to describe a range of factors that place individuals, families and communities at risk. In this range of risk factors, the emphasis is placed on "dysfunctional families" (see paragraph 3.2) as the main contributor to offending and re-offending. Whilst this is not incorrect from an analytical point, it is a narrow view of families if an effective response is to be developed. South African research done in 2003 emphasised the critical importance of

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[52] Makkai T and Payne J (2003) Key Findings from the Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Study, Trends and Issues in Crime and Justice, No 267, Australian Institute of Criminology, p 1.
[53] Makkai T and Payne J (2003) Key Findings from the Drug Use Careers of Offenders (DUCO) Study, Trends and Issues in Crime and Justice, No 267, Australian Institute of Criminology, p 5.
[54] See paragraph 9.1.2 of the White Paper.

families during incarceration and upon release. The research evaluated a prison-based programme run by NICRO and the following observations were made regarding families[55]:

- *Two thirds of respondents had experienced unconditional acceptance by their families since their release from prison,*
- *Families and friends were identified as a chief source of support,*
- *The support of families and friends was seen to be very valuable,*
- *Family was one of the main factors that motivated a change in participants' lives, and*
- *Participants' roles in their families had actually increased since their release from prison.*

The relationship between prison, prisoners and the community is in dire need of further critical research. It is essential to understand who and from which communities is imprisoned, for how long and what the impact of their absence is, but also what the impact of their return might be[56]. The DCS releases approximately 6 000 sentenced prisoners per month and given the propensity of young males to end up in prison, the following question begs asking: what impact does this have on communities characterised by high imprisonment rates, and what impact does this have on family structures? If we take, for example, the fact that the imprisonment rate of the South African Coloured population is four times higher than the national per capita imprisonment rate (1 600 compared to 400 per 100 000 of the population)[57], we can assume that at least some Coloured communities literally see and feel the effects of current imprisonment trends as a regular and pervasive aspect of their lives.

Communities are not left unaffected by the high imprisonment rates of their members (primarily young males) and this impact is felt in a number of ways. At this stage, there are more questions than answers, indicating a great need for South African research on the topic. Using North American research findings, it is possible to develop, and at least be alerted to some of the analytical tools required when trying to understand the prison-community-family inter-relationship.

The literature distinguishes between formal and informal methods of social control, with law enforcement being regarded as a formal method of social control, and community structures, families, kinship networks and civil society structures being seen as methods of informal social control. The informal methods can also be regarded as social crime-prevention measures. It is these informal methods of social control that create the most sustained results in crime control but they are also most at risk as a result of high imprisonment rates, as will be described below.

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[55] Lomofsky, D and Smith, G (2003) Impact Evaluation of the Tough Enough Programme, NICRO, http://www.nicro.org.za, p viii

[56] For a very specific investigation of this see Bhana K and Hochfeld T (2001) Now we have nothing – exploring the impact of maternal imprisonment on children whose mothers killed an abusive partner, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation Paper, http://csvr.org.za/papers/papkbth.htm#findings, Accessed 28/9/2005.

[57] Muntingh L (2005) Surveying the Prisons Landscape: What the Numbers Tell Us, Law Democracy and Development, Volume 9 No. 1.

Logic tells us that a high imprisonment rate should result in an overall reduction in the crime rate and the literature seems to support this view, but further investigation reveals an increase in crime levels is associated with high imprisonment rates in specific neighbourhoods[58]. This finding is, however, not consistent across different sites. Lynch and Sabol conclude that the effects of high imprisonment rates are both positive and negative; in the short term, it reduces crime, but those reductions in crime are not directly associated with increases in informal social controls. Increases in incarceration are, however, also associated with diminished community solidarity, which is a key determinant of informal social control[59]. The positive impact of increased imprisonment may therefore be only of a fleeting and temporary nature in communities that are characterised by high imprisonment rates.

An earlier study by Rose, Clear and Scully sheds more light on the impact of a high imprisonment rate on local communities[60]. Working from the established principle in social disorganisation theory that mobility in the population of a community is a main contributor to instability and crime, they argue that high imprisonment rates account for forced or coercive mobility, and thus contribute to instability. The return of these persons to the community[61]:

> *"constitutes a challenge to the community's capacity for self-regulation. They somehow need to be reintegrated into the community, and the strains they pose for the informal social control resources in the community constitute a force that tends to increase social disorganisation."*

High levels of incarceration (and the consequent return of prisoners to particular communities) therefore have four important negative consequences for community life. Firstly, high levels of incarceration increase mobility in the population, which has been shown to be associated with instability and elevated crime levels. Secondly, the mobility in the population undermines the informal social control mechanisms based on social and family cohesion that is in effect the first line of defence against risk behaviour and crime. Thirdly, high imprisonment rates result in there being more disrupted families. Fourthly, the mass incarceration of young men further contributes to the creation of female-headed households[62].

At micro level, it is observed that the manner in which family members interact with an imprisoned member also presents a complex set of relationships that are affected by such issues as the length of the prison term, the distance to the prison, the travel costs involved, and other practical issues. But, even when immediate family members maintain relations with an imprisoned family member, the stigma associated with incarceration often causes them to sever ties with the extended family, thus cutting off the imprisoned member from a possible

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[58] Lynch JP and Sabol WJ (2004) Assessing the effect of Mass Incarceration on Informal Social Control in Communities, Criminology and Public Policy, Volume 3 No. 2, p. 275.

[59] Lynch JP and Sabol WJ (2004) Assessing the effect of Mass Incarceration on Informal Social Control in Communities, Criminology and Public Policy, Volume 3 No. 2, p. 276

[60] Rose D, Clear T and Scully K (1999) Coercive Mobility and Crime: Incarceration and Social Disorganization, http://www.jrn.columbia.edu/studentwork/children/examples/Coercivefinal.doc, Accessed on 11/7/2005

[61] Rose D, Clear T and Scully K (1999) Coercive Mobility and Crime: Incarceration and Social Disorganization, http://www.jrn.columbia.edu/studentwork/children/examples/Coercivefinal.doc, Accessed on 11/7/2005, p 20.

[62] Lynch JP and Sabol WJ (2004) Assessing the effect of Mass Incarceration on Informal Social Control in Communities, Criminology and Public Policy, Volume 3 No. 2, p. 280.

extended social network of resources[63]. It can also be argued that disorganised communities, single-parent families, and families that are insulated from extended families all contribute to the diminished social capital of the family itself. Social capital is seen as "networks, shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups and access to important resources"[64]. The family represents a key ingredient in the reintegration process through its potential ability to mobilise social capital beyond the family itself "*into the formal and informal arena of economy, polity and community*"[65]. The disruption, insulation, or isolation of the family as a result of imprisonment then holds severe consequences for the reintegration process, but also undermines, in a more insidious manner, the informal mechanisms of social control in a community. Reintegration programmes and post-release support need to take account of community profiles that identify general attributes, risks, and resources that are relevant to the reintegration progress.

Summary

The overall purpose of this rather lengthy description was to draw attention to the fact that the quality of interventions and their impact would be advanced if policy and practice were informed by reliable information on the characteristics of the prison population. From the above a number of key points describing the target population emerge. As the White Paper correctly states, the chances are good that most prisoners originate from communities that are subject to instability, crime and high imprisonment rates. These communities are often characterised by a range of risk factors that the released prisoner needs to be able to manage successfully in order to avoid conflict with the law. Family instability appears to play a significant role in the life histories of prisoners (and offenders in general), but it should be emphasised that the family is a key ingredient in a successful reintegration process, for families have social capital. Alcohol- and drug-abuse are important, but neglected, risk factors in the South African context. The effects of institutionalisation and the management of long-term prisoners in the prison system also present the Department of Correctional Services with particular challenges. From an implementation perspective, it is critical to acknowledge, research and understand these characteristics of the prison population.

(c)   What is success in rehabilitation and reintegration?

The White Paper (in paragraph 9.18) reflects on success in rehabilitation and acknowledges that there is no reliable data in South Africa on recidivism:

Success in the following areas will be a good indicator of the effectiveness of both internal Departmental programmes and societal initiatives:

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[63] Lynch JP and Sabol WJ (2004) Assessing the effect of Mass Incarceration on Informal Social Control in Communities, Criminology and Public Policy, Volume 3 No. 2, p. 271.

[64] Flavin J (2004) Employment, Counselling, Housing Assistance. . and Aunt Yolanda?: How Strengthening Families' Social Capital can Reduce Recidivism, Criminology & Public Policy, March 2004, Vol. 3 Issue 2, p 209.

[65] Flavin J (2004) Employment, Counselling, Housing Assistance. . and Aunt Yolanda?: How Strengthening Families' Social Capital can Reduce Recidivism, Criminology & Public Policy, March 2004, Vol. 3 Issue 2, p 209.

- *Reduction of repeat offending;*
- *Effective re-integration of released offenders to society;*
- *Reduction of new offending as societal institutions begin to play their part, and*
- *Reduction or elimination of criminal offending within correctional centres.*

Three of these four indicators relate to re-offending as the indicator of success and, as will be shown below, this presents a problem.

Defining success in rehabilitation and reintegration is difficult as familiar results are often chaotic and inconsistent. The same miserable prison can produce success stories, and, at the opposite end, some individuals appear to be incorrigible no matter how good the programme is. The inescapable truth is that there are no quick fixes and there is no single programme that works for everybody.

It is significant that effectiveness in rehabilitation and reintegration is commonly constructed in relation to its apparent failure, i.e. the recidivism rate. The recidivism rate is, however, more tricky than a simple counting of crimes committed after release or an intervention. Beck calls recidivism a "fruit salad concept" because of the different measurements that have been called recidivism rates and poses three questions in relation to recidivism[66]:

- What is counted as recidivism? For example, do we count arrests, prosecutions, convictions, custodial, and non-custodial sentences? Do we count all offences, from parole violations and consensual crimes to serious offences?
- What is the time-frame of measurement? Do we measure, for example, at one year for all offences, or do we measure violent and sex offences over longer periods[67]?
- What is the basis for making sense of the data? With recidivism data it is crucial to compare "apples with apples". A general figure, stating that the recidivism rate is 50%, does not tell us anything about managing certain categories of offenders and understanding re-offending patterns. Recidivism data of persons who participated in a particular intervention needs to be compared with a matched group who did not participate in the intervention.

When we use recidivism as an indicator of success, we need to be clear on the answers to these three questions, and also on the additional limitations of re-offence data. Particular changes in policing or prosecution priorities may produce elevated results for an offence category or a particular geographical area. A large police-swoop operation in an urban area can lead to the arrest of hundreds of suspects. Furthermore, the supervision of persons placed under community correction is affected by a number of variables, such as the staff-to-probationer ratio, for example. Legislative reform can have a further impact on results; by improving legislation, prosecutions may be improved. Even if we are clear on the three questions raised by Beck, and we are able to control the other factors

[66] Beck AR (2001) Recidivism: A Fruit Salad Concept in the Criminal Justice World, Available from http://www.justiceconcepts.com/recidivism.pdf, Accessed on 12/7/2005.
[67] The research on criminal careers (such as that by Farrington referred to earlier) clearly indicate that persistent violent offenders do not offend as frequently as persistent property offenders.

noted above, using recidivism as a measure for the success of rehabilitation and reintegration intervention is still too simplistic and akin to "using retention as a measure of Adult Basic Education Programmes"[68]. Successful reintegration and rehabilitation is not about remembering and regurgitating a set of external facts, but about demonstrating skills and abilities on a continuous basis in a range of life settings.

In short, using recidivism as an indicator of rehabilitation and reintegration success is fraught with difficulties and highly dependent on accurate recording and reporting. When information systems in the criminal justice system are not set up to and do not function in pursuit of this objective, the results will be questionable. Rehabilitation and reintegration is a multi-layered process with too complex an interaction of variables for it to be measured by one indicator that is, in essence, subject to a range of other intermediaries and at best can show us only part of the picture. There is, nonetheless, a political expectation that interventions must deliver and be able to show beyond doubt that they are able to achieve a reduction in recidivism. Fortunately, a relatively low reduction in recidivism enables an intervention to "pay for itself". Subject to some in-put variables, the literature shows that a reduction of between 1% and 5% enables the programme to pay for itself[69]. Programmes, subject to rigorous evaluations, have shown substantially higher reductions in recidivism than 5%[70].

A more progressive and comprehensive view on successful rehabilitation and reintegration would be that it is defined by its objectives, which are determined by how we regard the problem and how its causes are defined. Louw, cited in Dawes and Van der Merwe, articulates it as follows[71]:

- *the more clearly and accurately the focal social problem is defined,*

- *the more clearly and precisely the needs of the target group can be assessed,*

- *the more appropriately the programme is designed to address the needs,*

- *the more effectively the programme is delivered and implemented,*

- *the more the short and medium-term outcomes are achieved,*

- *the greater the long-term impact is likely to be.*

The Australian Department of Corrections specifies that correctional programmes must be evaluated for their success in terms of the following:

- effect on positive change in behaviour, attitudes and life-options of offenders and inmates;

- reduction in frequency of and severity of offending;

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[68] Vacca JS (2004) Educated Prisoners are Less Likely to Return to Prison, The Journal of Correctional Education, Volume 55 No. 4, p 302.

[69] Cullen FT and Gendreau P (2000) Assessing Correctional Rehabilitation: Policy Practice and Prospects in J Horney (ed) Criminal Justice 2000, Volume 3: Changes in Decision Making and Discretion in the Criminal Justice System, US Department of Justice, Washington, p 140.

[70] See McKenzie DL Criminal Justice and Crime Prevention in LW Sherman et al (1997) Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising, National Institute of Justice, US Department of Justice, Washington. See also: Gendreau P, Goggin C and Cullen FT (1999) The Effects of Prison Sentences on Recidivism, Public Works and Government Services, Canada.

[71] Louw J (2000) Improving Practice Through Evaluation in Donald A, Dawes A and Louw J (ed) Addressing Childhood Adversity, Cape Town, David Philip in Dawes A and Vander Merwe A (2004) The Development of Minimum Standards for Diversion Programmes in the Child Justice System: Final Report for Nicro, Unpublished report, p. 38

- reduction in imprisonment rates;
- conforming to the expectation of the courts and community;
- making a positive contribution to the community with regard to cost-effectiveness, and
- addressing the offence-related needs of offenders and inmates[72].

In summary then, there is no universal definition for recidivism; and assessing the success of reintegration and rehabilitation programmes in terms of recidivism appears to be less than helpful. Defining success according to what a well-motivated, carefully developed and properly defined intervention plan aims to achieve appears to be a more constructive route to follow for defining success. Seen collectively, offender reintegration is aimed at reducing the probability of offending, and this probability is affected by the measure to which people are able to be competent, function autonomously, and experience relatedness.

4. What is working?

Research in other parts of the world has produced a considerable body of knowledge on what is effective in offender reintegration and rehabilitation. There are also some promising South African research findings that will also be reflected on below. The lessons learned elsewhere and presented here as principles should be taken note of and applied as far as the context allows. Even if these principles seem demanding and onerous in their implications, they should not be dismissed. In the following section attention will be paid to confirmed good practice principles from the international literature, promising results from South African research, and the importance of an appropriate institutional environment for effective offender rehabilitation and reintegration programmes.

(a) What is the appropriate institutional context for reintegration?

Before the discussion moves to which interventions are effective in rehabilitation and reintegration, it is necessary to make some observations about the context for effective programmes. Apart from detaining people (meeting the incapacitation objective), imprisonment must, on the face of it, purport to serve a useful purpose[73] in a manner that is acceptable in terms of human rights standards. Broadly, this useful purpose is understood to be the expectation that offenders will leave prison less likely to commit another offence. Apart from direct interventions through therapy or programmes, the overall environment of a prison and broader facility management approach needs to provide an enabling environment for interventions to be effective[74].

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[72] Hunter W, Fitzgerald C and Redston T (2001) Offender Rehabilitation: Northern Territory Correctional Service, Corrections Today, February 2001, p 96.
[73] Cornwell DJ (2003) The Role of Criminology in Custodial Corrections: a multi-disciplinary approach, Acta Criminologica, Volume 16 No 5, p 82.
[74] Fine N (1996) Transforming Institutional Thinking: Through the Walls, Community Law Centre (UWC) Bellville, p. 56

An appropriate correctional environment needs to simultaneously be receptive to, and reflective of, the outcomes that a rehabilitation programme is working towards. Cullen and Gendreau advocate for "evidence-based corrections" which, in practice means the following[75]:

- embracing professionalism that is respectful of data;
- training of practitioners based on research;
- the creation of correctional training academies;
- the implementation of programmes informed by empirically-based theory of effective interventions;
- the integration of evaluation as part of delivery, and
- the auditing and accreditation of agencies and programmes.

Interventions therefore need to be rigorous in their design, development, implementation and evaluation. It also means that this rigour must be echoed in management's approach to delivery. Following from this evidence-based approach, it is recommended by Gendreau, Goggin and Cullen that prisons need to continuously assess situational factors that can negatively affect prisons and, further, that prisoners need to be assessed on a periodic basis for a wide range of dynamic risk factors using valid assessment instruments[76].

Apart from the management approach and theory underpinning the work, the physical conditions of prisons and the available resources will have a direct impact on the context of an intervention. There is more than sufficient data available on the conditions in South African prisons and, specifically, the impact of overcrowding in some prisons, therefore it is not necessary to describe it here[77]. Suffice to say that overcrowded conditions in themselves place a strain on physical resources, human resources, and create security risks, which collectively result in conditions that do not meet the minimum standards of humane detention.

(b)   Effective programmes in international literature

Since the second half of the 19th century there has been a claim that "scientific methods", based on positivist thinking, would be used to reshape people into law-abiding citizens[78]. Although preceded by significant scepticism[79], this expectation was shaken to its core by the now well-known "*What works? Questions and answers about Prison Reform*" by Robert Martinson in 1974. He gave a pessimistic account of the prospects for

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[75] Cullen FT and Gendreau P (2000) Assessing Correctional Rehabilitation: Policy Practice and Prospects in J Horney (ed) Criminal Justice 2000, Volume 3: Changes in Decision Making and Discretion in the Criminal Justice System, US Department of Justice, Washington, p 111.

[76] Gendreau P, Goggin C and Cullen FT (1999) The Effects of Prison Sentences on Recidivism, Public Works and Government Services, Canada, p 22.

[77] For more information see the Annual Reports of the Judicial Inspectorate of Prisons as well as the reports from the Law Society of South Africa on its annual prison visits.

[78] Van Zyl Smit D (2000) The Place of Criminal Law in Contemporary Crime Control Strategies, European Journal of Crime Criminal Law and Criminal Justice, Volume 8 No 4, p 362

[79] In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* M Foucault cites several reports from the 1830s and 1840s that lament the miserable failure of prison as an institution of correction and rehabilitation, and that prison in fact only contributes to worsening the situation, (p 265).

rehabilitating offenders and concluded that: *With few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism*". This conclusion was soon reduced to "*nothing works*"[80].

Since 1974, the "nothing works" conclusion has, however, resulted in a number of positive spin-offs that, in the long term, have been to the benefit of rehabilitation and reintegration programmes with prisoners, and offenders in general. This is notwithstanding the fact that a relatively small number of researchers and academics have been reviewing the data and methodology on offender rehabilitation programmes, primarily in North America and Australasia. The challenge of the "nothing works" conclusion compelled programme delivery agents and researchers to be substantially more rigorous in the design, development and delivery of programmes, and, most importantly, also in the evaluation of programmes. Over a period of 30 years, a considerable body of research has emerged out of the evaluations and meta-analyses of evaluations that counters Martinson's initial conclusion that nothing works. This evidence shows that there are a number of programmes that are able to effect substantial reductions in re-offending[81].

As was noted above, it was a relatively small group of researchers that did not accept Martinson's "nothing works" conclusion, primarily because they felt that the data was not sufficient to reach such a conclusion, but also because there were indications of findings that directed them to a different conclusion. Most prominent amongst these are Gendreau, Cullen, Bonta, Andrews, and Ross[82]. Since then, the age of meta-analyses has dawned on offender rehabilitation and reintegration, as well as other crime-reduction and prevention interventions, and numerous studies have been completed. These studies enabled the formulation of four basic principles to guide effective interventions. These will be dealt with here in summary format[83].

Firstly, *interventions should target the known predictors of crime and recidivism*. These are also referred to as criminogenic needs and are divided into static and dynamic needs. The focus of interventions is on dynamic predictors especially, and with the following being of particular interest:

- anti-social or pro-criminal attitudes, values, beliefs and cognitive emotional states;
- pro-criminal associates and isolation from anti-criminal others, and
- anti-social personal factors such as impulsiveness, risk taking, and low self-control.

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[80] Cullen FT and Gendreau P (2000) Assessing Correctional Rehabilitation: Policy Practice and Prospects in J Horney (ed) Criminal Justice 2000, Volume 3: Changes in Decision Making and Discretion in the Criminal Justice System, US Department of Justice, Washington, p 111.

[81] For a concise and accessible summary in this regard see Cullen FT and Gendreau P (2000) Assessing Correctional Rehabilitation: Policy Practice and Prospects in J Horney (ed) Criminal Justice 2000, Volume 3: Changes in Decision Making and Discretion in the Criminal Justice System, US Department of Justice, Washington.

[82] For a more detailed description, see Cullen FT (2005) The Twelve People who saved rehabilitation: How the Science of Criminology Made a Difference, Criminology, Volume 43 No 1, pp 1-42.

[83] Cullen FT and Gendreau P (2000) Assessing Correctional Rehabilitation: Policy Practice and Prospects in J Horney (ed) Criminal Justice 2000, Volume 3: Changes in Decision Making and Discretion in the Criminal Justice System, US Department of Justice, Washington, p 145-148.

Knowing what results are sought assumes an understanding of what needs to change. This requires an intimate knowledge of the problem and how particular combinations of risk factors contribute to the increased incidence of repeat offences in a given context. In the preceding sections reference was made to a number of dynamic risk factors such as substance abuse and relationships (with family and community), alluding to their complexity and interrelatedness. It was also noted that these risk factors function as the obstacles between the individual and the "human goods" when applying the GLM. This also implies that in order to be effective, interventions must remain focused on their objectives and not be distracted by those factors that are easier to address and more accessible.

Secondly, *the treatment services should be behavioural in nature*. The behavioural approach and interventions are regarded as effective, especially in changing criminogenic needs. In this regard it is important to match the interventions with the needs of offenders, or to ensure "general responsivity". These interventions should "employ the cognitive behavioural and social learning techniques of modelling, graduated practice, role playing, reinforcement, extinction, resource provision, concrete verbal suggestions, and cognitive restructuring"[84]. Interventions should be intensive, lasting from three to nine months and occupying 40-70% of the offender's time when on the programme[85]. Effective cognitive behavioural treatment interventions assist offenders to:

- define the problems that led them into conflict with the law;
- identify and describe goals;
- generate new pro-social alternatives, and
- implement these alternatives.

There are a range of interventions in this regard, such as logo-therapy and intensive journal-keeping[86].

The literature is therefore clear on the fact that successful interventions are intensive medium- to long-term programmes that require a cognitive behavioural approach. Such interventions require careful assessments, thorough goal definitions and sustained support. Short, generic, information-based, just-before-release interventions do not satisfy this principle.

Thirdly, *treatment interventions should be used with higher risk offenders, targeting their criminogenic needs for change*. Targeting high-risk individuals potentially has the biggest pay-off when successful, as they are responsible for a larger proportion of crime. According to several researchers, the most accurate manner to assess risk is not to rely on clinical judgements, but rather on actuarial-based assessment instruments, such as

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[84] Citing Andrews in Cullen FT and Gendreau P (2000) Assessing Correctional Rehabilitation: Policy Practice and Prospects in J Horney (ed) Criminal Justice 2000, Volume 3: Changes in Decision Making and Discretion in the Criminal Justice System, US Department of Justice, Washington, p 147-8.

[85] Other researchers such as Shrum recommend 18 -24 months in duration, Shrum (2004) No Longer Theory: Correctional Practice that Works, Journal of Correctional Education, Volume 55 No. 4, p 233.

[86] Shrum (2004) No Longer Theory: Correctional Practice that Works, Journal of Correctional Education, Volume 55 No. 4, p 233.

the Level of Supervision Inventory (LSI)[87]. Subjecting low-risk offenders to high-intensity and structured programmes is a waste of scarce resources.

Drawing upon the research into criminal careers, it is more than possible to identify high-risk offenders at an early age, even if the current offence is not a serious one. The extant literature indicates that persistent offending starts at an early age and has a particular pattern, and the earlier an effective intervention is implemented, the better the return on the investment is. This may require an approach that focuses specifically on younger, shorter-term prisoners. It should also be emphasised that the current offence category has limited predictor value for future offending and that a wider range of factors need to be taken into consideration to do a proper risk assessment.

Fourthly, *a range of other considerations, if addressed, will increase treatment effectiveness.* There is a wide range of issues that contribute to intervention effectiveness, such as community-based intervention versus institutional interventions, ensuring well-trained staff and monitoring them, following up on and supporting offenders after they have completed the programme, and structured relapse-prevention. Matching the treatment and programme style to the learning styles of offenders has also been shown to be a critical factor. Further programme considerations include a lack of motivation to participate, depression, anxiety, and childhood trauma.

In addition to the four principles listed above, there are further pointers to effective programmes reported in the literature and a selection is presented below. In some ways, these expand on one or more of the four principles referred to above, or provide additional descriptions.

Lawrence et al contribute a list of nine characteristics of effective interventions based on the literature[88]:
- focus on skills applicable to the job market;
- matching offenders' needs with programme objectives;
- programme participation is timed to be close to release date so that skills are up to date and relevant;
- programming lasts several months;
- the programme deals with each offender's needs and is well integrated into other prison programmes and services;
- prison programmes are followed by post-release treatment and services;
- the programme is based on effective programme design, implementation and monitoring [a point confirmed by Louw above in Section 3(c)], and
- researchers are involved in the programme as evaluators.

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[87] The LSI is an objective, quantifiable, 54 item risk/need classification instrument which provides three basic scores or measures: total risk score, profile for criminogenic need, and a scale for protective factors. Department of Corrections - State of Colorado (2000) The Multi Agency Review Team: Project Description, http://dcj.state.co.us/occ/pdf/reports/mart.pdf, Accessed on 13/7/2005.
[88] Lawrence S et al (2002) The Practice and Promise of Prison Programming, Urban Institute, Washington, p 9.

Education programmes often form the core of rehabilitation efforts in a prison and some noteworthy and interesting lessons have been learned and are reported in the literature. Vacca concludes that recidivism rates drop when educational programmes "*are designed to help prisoners with their social, skills, artistic development and techniques and strategies to help them deal with their emotions*"[89]. This should further be supported by teaching critical thinking and reasoning skills. Vocational training programmes that are supported by follow-up services for released prisoners also show a lowering effect on recidivism and parole revocation rates. It can be concluded therefore that effective education is about a far wider range of issues than academic skills, and that education can be a useful vehicle for a more comprehensive change process.

Who participates in programmes, and how they are selected, is a further contested issue. For some there is a convincing argument to be made for compulsory participation. The counter position is that unless an individual wants to change there is very little purpose in forcing participation. This position would effectively result in a selecting-for-success strategy. This is a double-edged sword, for it produces positive results, but inherently limits applicability and creates a category of so-called "incorrigibles" outside of any programme efforts. Self-selection, as a form of "selecting for success", presents further difficulties as it automatically indicates a predisposition and attitude that is conducive to change[90]. Building on the trans-theoretical model of Prochaska et al (referred to above), the pre-contemplation and contemplation stages are identified, but this does not really assist in ensuring that the "right" people are selected for a programme, in other words, a person who is willing to change. Williamson et al report favourably on the use of an assessment tool (known as the Anger Readiness to Change Questionnaire – ARCQ) prior to participation in an anger-management programme[91]. Whilst this tool essentially has no bearing on programme effectiveness, it does make an assessment of readiness for change and can thus optimise the results of existing interventions by ensuring a closer match between the needs of participants and offerings of the programme. Furthermore, it can also contribute to defining interventions for those prisoners who indicate a low level of readiness for change, i.e. who are in the pre-contemplative stage.

(c)   South African experiences

Although the data on the effectiveness of offender rehabilitation and reintegration programmes in South Africa is scant, there are three programmes that can be reported on. It should also be noted that these were not evaluated with the same rigour that was applied in the international meta-analyses referred to above. The three programmes, all facilitated by non-governmental organisations, that will be reported on are:

- *My Path* facilitated by Khulisa;

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[89] Vacca JS (2004) Educate Prisoners are Less Likely to Return to Prison, Journal of Correctional Education, Volume 55 No. 4, p 199.

[90] For a concise description of the key issues on self-selection to educational programmes, see Ubah CBA (2002) A critical Examination of Empirical Studies of Offender Rehabilitation-Correctional Education: Lessons for the 21st Century, Journal of Correctional Education, Volume 53, No 1.

[91] Williamson P et al (2003) Assessing Offender Readiness to Change Problems with Anger, Psychology, Crime and Law, Volume 9 No. 4, pp 295 – 307.

- the *Tough Enough Programme* facilitated by NICRO, and the
- *Working for Water* and NICRO offender-reintegration programme.

The first two programmes (*My Path* and *Tough Enough Programme*) start in prison and continue after release, whereas the *Working for Water*-NICRO Programme commences only after release. The actual programme content will not be described here and emphasis will be placed on the lessons learned based on the evaluations of these three programmes.

My Path by Khulisa

Research commissioned by Khulisa entailed consulting young prisoners on how offender reintegration programmes could be made more effective and the following emerged[92]:

- Facilitating educational studies and equipping participants with skills for employment or self-employment;
- Learning to live a positive life through self-control, by managing anger and having confidence, perseverance, patience and determination to succeed;
- Participating in community development programmes after release such as being part of a church or talking about prison experiences to school groups;
- By facilitating restorative justice methods, such as apologising to the victim, and
- Setting realistic goals and being realistic about life challenges, as well as having a clear vision and steps to achieve it.

The willingness of Khulisa to consult prisoners in this manner on programme content is regarded as a positive development and reflects a desire to develop needs-based programme content. Based on the evaluation of the *My Path Programme*, three themes emerge that appear to be of importance to the reintegration process. Firstly, it was found that the programme content assisted the participants in getting to know themselves better. This was described as improved self-confidence, being able to deal with stigma, developing patience, and remaining dedicated to reaching goals that were set. Further attributes described by participants entailed improving relationships with friends and family, being more articulate about feelings and thoughts, improved problem-solving, better communication skills, and in shifting them towards more positive behaviour. Part of this increased self-knowledge was setting realistic expectations for the period after release in order to avoid quick disappointment.

Secondly, and confirming the international literature on the social capital of families, building family relationships, and the support of families was critical to the process. Of particular importance was developing methods of sustaining relationships while incarcerated to encourage support systems for effective reintegration of the offender

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[92] Roper M (2005) Khulisa Programme Report: Emerging pathways for effective reintegration of juvenile offenders in South Africa based on the Khulisa "My Path" Programme Evaluations, Khulisa, Unpublished Report.

after release. In addition to these, attention should be paid to issues of financial and material support and the applicability of restorative processes.

Thirdly, achieving financial sustainability was critical to the reintegration process and required a combination of skills development, education, access to financial support, and, in many instances, support through family networks. As Roper summarises:

> *One of the key factors for successful reintegration is ex-offenders accessing supportive structures to meet their individual needs after release – including initial financial support for basic necessities, opening opportunities for gainful and meaningful work, and possible access to employment or markets for small businesses.*

Tough Enough Programme by NICRO

Research commissioned by NICRO to evaluate the *Tough Enough Programme* (TEP) entailed a formative evaluation in 2002 and an impact evaluation in 2003. The description presented here is based on the impact evaluation done in 2003[93]. The TEP starts in prison and has four objectives, namely to:

- develop skills in participants;
- build and improve relationships;
- develop potential, and
- motivate participants for action.

The main findings of the impact evaluation can be classified into three categories, namely:

- improved relationships with family and individuals:
  - o rebuilding relationships with families
  - o forging new relationships with friends
- improved individual skills and characteristics:
  - o personal empowerment of clients (improved self-awareness, self-concept, coping skills, anger management, decision making and problem-solving skills)
  - o economic empowerment of clients
- dealing with stigmatization.

The detailed findings will not be represented here and attention rather given to the methodological issues of programme design and implementation. Three lessons or good practice guidelines emerged from the evaluation. The evaluators firstly emphasised that the programme design was of such a nature that the objectives (listed above) were clear, simple and accessible to programme participants. Secondly, the TEP did not have predetermined fixed-content modules and relied on participants to determine the content of sessions, although the overall objectives were set. This enabled a multi-dimensional design that was able to respond to the individual and

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[93] Lomofsky, D and Smith, G (2003) Impact Evaluation of the Tough Enough Programme, NICRO, http://www.nicro.org.za.

collective needs of programme participants. Thirdly, participants were actively involved through the implementation of their own projects that addressed life skills, counselling, work and business skills, employment opportunities, and other related issues, such as restorative justice options.

Working for Water-NICRO Offender Reintegration Programme
The programme was conceived as an employment programme funded through the Poverty Eradication Programme of the Department of Social Development. The overall purpose was to place 500 ex-prisoners (who would be selected and prepared by NICRO) in work teams of the Working for Water Programme, where they would be employed to cut down alien vegetation in water-catchment areas. Additional support and training would also be rendered to prepare participants for the termination of contract as the employment was for a limited period.

The evaluators report similar findings to that of the TEP above:
- improved individual skills and characteristics:
  - increased economic integration and access to resources
  - personal empowerment of clients through improved self-concept
- improved relationships with individuals and the community:
  - forming new social networks in the community
  - rebuilding relationships with families
- reducing stigmatization.

Compared to the TEP, this intervention had a much stronger economic empowerment focus and this created a number of advantages. Whilst the direct economic benefit from the contract work was very limited, other benefits were identified by the evaluators namely the exposure to and experience of a work routine, exposure to business skills training through the programme's services, and the networks that the employment opened for individuals. It was also a significant finding of the evaluation that the mere employment of individuals, even if the economic benefit was limited, had a number of positive effects on the individual's relationship with his or her family, his or her social status in the community, and most importantly, his or her self-esteem.

On a more general level, it should be emphasised that employment will in itself not result in effective reintegration, and it is more important that the individual responds in a constructive manner to the opportunity of employment. The employment opportunity should fit into a bigger life plan, which is a technique that was used in this programme. The Working for Water-NICRO Programme also demonstrated the importance of stabilising the individual's life immediately after release, especially if this could be done through employment. This provided recently-released prisoners with the opportunity to immediately develop a new routine.

5.   What is not working?

Knowing what is not working is as important as knowing what is working. The past 30 years have also produced findings on ineffective programmes that need to be taken note of, because, as the 20th century Spanish philosopher Santayana warned: "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it".

In the absence of South African research of comparable rigour, the guidelines and principles developed in the international research will have to suffice for the immediate time. Perhaps the most significant finding is reported by Gendreau, Goggin and Cullen, based on an extensive meta-analysis, namely that imprisonment does not contribute to reducing recidivism[94]. Even when controlling for risk profiles, those offenders who were sent to prison had a higher re-offending rate than those who received a community-based sentence. Higher recidivism rates are also associated with longer prison terms. In short, this means that imprisonment *per se* increases the recidivism rate and the longer the term, the worse the impact. The same researchers report that imprisonment increases recidivism for low-risk offenders and further that a "no-frills"-approach to imprisonment (very bare and basic conditions) further contributes to elevated levels of recidivism. The increases in recidivism are also not insignificant, and are estimated to be between 5% and 9%. From a policy perspective they conclude that:

> *"Prisons should not be used with the expectation of reducing future criminal activity . . . therefore the primary justification for the use of prisons is incapacitation and retribution, both of which come with a 'price', if prisons are used injudiciously."*

Cullen and Gendreau[95], in their review of correctional rehabilitation, found that interventions that aim at greater control over offenders (e.g. various forms of supervision and probation), and are regarded as by-products of the "get-tough-on-crime"-approach, are not effective in reducing recidivism. They report further that in the same manner that effective programmes are based on sound theory and empirically-tested methods and interventions, control-inspired interventions appear to be based on "a common-sense-understanding that increasing the pain and/or the surveillance of offenders would make them less likely to commit crimes".

Deterrence-oriented programmes were also shown to be ineffective and, in some instances, increased the recidivism rate based on a substantial number of meta-analyses. Examples of such sanctions are "Scared Straight"[96], boot camps[97], shock probation[98], fines, and split sentences[99]. McKenzie found in her review that there

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[94] Gendreau P, Goggin C and Cullen FT (1999) The Effects of Prison Sentences on Recidivism, Public Works and Government Services, Canada.

[95] Cullen FT and Gendreau P (2000) Assessing Correctional Rehabilitation: Policy Practice and Prospects in J Horney (ed) Criminal Justice 2000, Volume 3: Changes in Decision Making and Discretion in the Criminal Justice System, US Department of Justice, Washington, p 154.

[96] 'Scared Straight' and other similar programmes involve organised visits to prison by juvenile offenders or children at risk for criminal behaviour. Programmes are designed to deter participants from future offending through first-hand observation of prison life and interaction with adult inmates. These programmes remain in use world-wide despite studies and reviews questioning their effectiveness. From: Petrosino A , Turpin-Petrosino C, Buehler J "Scared Straight" and other juvenile

was no significant difference between control and experimental groups, and in some cases (e.g. shock probation) the experimental group showed a higher recidivism rate than the control group did.[100] Therefore, there is no evidence to suggest that greater deterrence or increased punitiveness will result in reduced re-offending, in fact, the opposite was found to be true in a number of evaluations of deterrence-based programmes.

Community-based sentences that relied on intensive supervision were also proven to be ineffective. Although there is some overlap between deterrence-based interventions, such as boot-camps and community-based options, intensive supervision probation (ISP) became the main form of this sentencing option in the US, as referred to in the literature. Several studies report no impact on recidivism with regard to ISP, even when combined with mandatory drug testing. Only the payment of restitution was associated with a slight decrease (4%) in re-offending.

With regard to the specific style of programme, it was noted earlier that cognitive-behavioural programmes had shown the best results, and some pointers were given in this regard in terms of responsivity. Treatment modalities that appear to be ineffective lack general responsivity, rely on an insight-oriented approach, are less structured, self-reflective, and verbally interactive. In general, punishment approaches do not target the dynamic risk factors of offenders[101].

As much as we would like to make "corrections a societal responsibility", as expressed in the White Paper, effective interventions require a targeted and comprehensive approach that is highly reliant on proper programme design, integrity in implementation, and the involvement of suitably skilled staff. It requires the appropriate facilitative environment being created and the necessary resources being made available. The literature is also very clear on the fact that effective interventions are not once-off or even short-term information-driven or control oriented sessions. They are longer term cognitive behavioural approaches that see the individual in his totality and place an overt focus on redefining how this person sees and responds to his/her environment. Unavoidably, this is a time-consuming endeavour.

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awareness programs for preventing juvenile delinquency (Cochrane Review) The Cochrane Library, Issue 3, 2005. Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd. http://www.update-software.com/abstracts/AB002796.htm

[97] Boot camps are very strict, (para-) military style, and highly structured facilities that last for several weeks to months aimed at instilling discipline, routine and hierarchy into the young person's life. It is akin to the basic training that defence force recruits are subjected to.

[98] Shock probation provides offenders with an opportunity to receive probation after spending a short period of time in a prison. The theory underlying shock probation is that immersing an offender in the penal system for a short period of time can 'shock' him or her into a non-criminal lifestyle. From http://www.lawyers.com/ask_a_lawyer/q_and_a_archive/view_archive/index.php?QID=08-JUL-04&site=537

[99] Split sentences allow for the court to impose a sentence that would incarcerate the offender for a portion of the full term of the sentence and the remainder of the sentence would be served on probation or supervision. http://www.co.suffolk.ny.us/Probation/ProbationandtheCriminalCourts.pdf

[100] McKenzie DL Criminal Justice and Crime Prevention in LW Sherman et al (1997) Preventing Crime: What Works, What Doesn't, What's Promising, National Institute of Justice, US Department of Justice, Washington, p 422.

[101] Cullen FT and Gendreau P (2000) Assessing Correctional Rehabilitation: Policy Practice and Prospects in J Horney (ed) Criminal Justice 2000, Volume 3: Changes in Decision Making and Discretion in the Criminal Justice System, US Department of Justice, Washington, p146.

The research further indicates that the sanctioning options that may find popular approval in a high crime rate situation (e.g. control and punishment) may in fact be the worst course of action. An emphasis on punishment and deterrence will not only achieve very little, if anything at all, at great cost, but it may in fact make the situation worse and at great cost.

6.   Conclusion

As stated at the outset, in responding to crime it must to be acknowledged that offender rehabilitation and reintegration is one response amongst several from the criminal justice system, and that it requires support and co-ordination from the other sectors of government and civil society. Even an effective rehabilitation intervention (which is a relative measure) will achieve only so much and expectations should therefore be realistic. This does not mean that we must lower the bar, but, rather, that our expectations must be based on research results and not political expectations. The failure of prison *per se* to reduce recidivism is now a well-researched and documented fact and its use as a sentencing option therefore needs to be carefully guarded to ensure that only the "most deserving" offenders are incarcerated.

The central theme that emerges from the literature is that offender reintegration, if done properly, requires a scientific approach that is able to deal with the complexities of the task. Ineffective and wasteful interventions often underestimate the complexities of the task of offender reintegration, and see singular linear relationships between risk and re-offending.

The White Paper sets an ambitious plan for the DCS. Ensuring its successful implementation requires a careful assessment of the associated possibilities, opportunities and pitfalls. If the challenge of the White Paper is somewhat intimidating, it is not surprising. The scale of implementation required is daunting to say the least. South Africa's prison population is a large one with thousands of prisoners being released on a monthly basis. There are also substantial information gaps, as has been alluded to in this paper. More information would have made strategic planning somewhat easier. The current staff, ethos and resources of the DCS also pose a significant challenge as described in the White Paper. The challenge is therefore to conceptualise an operational model for offender rehabilitation and reintegration in South Africa with reference to human resource requirements, skills requirements, costing, out-puts, outcomes and so forth.

The DCS has taken the route of focusing on its 36 centres of excellence as the primary implementation sites of its new approach to offender rehabilitation and reintegration[102]. It can be assumed that this approach is being adopted as a means of dealing with the task at hand in manageable chunks, as the centres of excellence are

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[102] Department of Correctional Services (2004) Strategic Plan 2005/6 – 2009/10.

spread across the six correctional management areas. Based on the preceding discussion, a number of guidelines or pointers are presented below to further support the implementation of offender rehabilitation and reintegration as articulated in the White Paper.

The first is that there should be a clearly defined minimum requirement in terms of institutional context as described above in Section 4(a). These minimum requirements need to reflect on practical issues, human resource requirements, managerial competence, and the track record of performance of a particular prison. Secondly, in the preceding discussion attention was drawn to the importance of adopting a strong theoretical approach to offender rehabilitation and reintegration, and particular attention was paid to changing human behaviour. The relevance of this is not only in the substantive nature of the discussion presented, but also in the importance of defining the reality of offender reintegration, the assumptions that are made, how success and failure are defined, and how effectiveness is measured. The implementation of the White Paper will therefore be greatly enhanced by a process of consensus building in the DCS concerning the theory underpinning its approach to offender-rehabilitation and reintegration. On the treacherous road of implementation, theory and thorough planning will be the beacons.

Thirdly, attention was also given to describing a number of the characteristics of the target population, placing emphasis on morality, institutionalisation, persistent offending, social factors, and family and community variables. Although not an exhaustive profile of the prison population, a number of important variables were highlighted and these should inform implementation. There is also a wider and more fundamental implication, namely that the prison population is not merely a representative sample of the national population who have happened to break the law and receive a prison sentence. Their imprisonment is itself an indication, in most cases, of a history of marginalisation, exclusion and difficult circumstances. There is also increasing evidence that certain communities experience higher rates of imprisonment than the national norm. Imprisonment therefore also requires a sociological perspective. The approach taken by the Department therefore should be informed by data of a nature that is historical, qualitative, and predictive.

Fourthly, the traditional approach of measuring the success of offender rehabilitation and reintegration with quantitative tools that focus on re-offending is fraught with difficulties and it is questionable whether such an approach will indeed be feasible in South Africa in the short- to medium-term. The DCS therefore needs to be very specific in terms of what it wants to achieve through its interventions, what success is, and how it will be measured. It was argued that success should rather be measured against the objectives that interventions are attempting to achieve. This would require rigorous planning, high integrity in implementation, and stringent evaluations. Time and resources are too limited to indulge in ineffective and quasi-scientific designs and investment is therefore required to improve the evaluations of interventions.

Fifthly, it is also evident that rehabilitation and reintegration interventions must be directed at the appropriate offenders in terms of risk-profile and appropriate risk factors. This would require accurate assessments and the development of programmes matching the risks and needs of offenders. "One-programme-for-all approaches" are nothing more than a waste of time and money. Accurate risk assessment that is used to improve programme-participant matching should be a core mechanism to break the scale of implementation down into manageable pieces at ground level.

Sixth, research in North America, Europe and Australia has presented us with the conclusions of 30 years of rigorous research into offender reintegration. With South Africa embarking on a new route in corrections, policies and practices need to incorporate the lessons learned elsewhere about what works and what does not. This also means that these principles and guidelines need to be made suitable for the local context. There are indeed a range of activities and initiatives that can be undertaken in support of the implementation of the White Paper to cultivate good practice, such as showcasing effective programmes, training of practitioners, and improving planning and evaluation skills. In a similar vein, ineffective programmes and practices need to be discouraged through the development of minimum standards for offender rehabilitation and reintegration programmes. Minimum standards set an effective baseline for intervention programmes and ensure quality in the programmes rendered by and in conjunction with the DCS.

Lastly, the literature review has also shown that there are substantial information gaps in documented South African research. It is of critical importance to the DCS to support a strategic programme of research to ensure that its decisions are based on knowledge. Primary amongst these are programme design and development guidelines, evaluations of programme effectiveness, demographical and biographical profiling of prisoners and ex-prisoners, drug and alcohol use, and criminal career patterns.

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