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**BEHAVIOUR CHANGE: IDENTIFYING THE
EXTERNAL FACTORS WHICH HELP DIRECT THE
EFFECTIVE MANAGEMENT OF STOPPING
REOFFENDING OR HELP MAINTAIN
RECIDIVISM**

A study of driver offenders who have made a
decision to stop driving while disqualified.

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Abstract

The prediction of criminal behaviour is perhaps one of the most central issues in the New Zealand Department of Corrections today. In order to understand more fully the human diversity involved in criminal activity, the current focus is on the psychology of criminal conduct and the internal variables operating to maintain this behaviour. Given the usefulness of combining a variety of predictors of criminal behaviour, both internal and external, the study attempts to redress the gap that appears to have emerged with the concentration on internal predictor variables. This endeavour is on a small scale. The research participants are a group of eight (8) recidivist driver offenders, who have completed the nine week phase of the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme and ten (10) support people. An inquiry reveals their understanding of the external factors which either direct the course of recidivism or the effective management of their decision to stop driving while disqualified. The central argument, and one that has provided the motivation to carry out this study, is that external factors, such as support people, play a major part in the lives of offenders who have decided to stop or significantly reduce their reoffending. In the management of sentences, the Community Probation service has traditionally targeted its resources to the offender. The assumption of the current study is that factors operating in the offender's environment are also instrumental in the goal of reducing

reoffending. It is proffered that these factors are given more emphasis in practice and resourcing issues.

The present study is an exploratory one, with responses elicited from a sample of recidivist driver offenders and the people they identify as their key support people. Semi-structured individual, face-to-face interviews are instrumental in this process. The research project explores the concepts and themes that emerge, which are based on the perceptions of both groups of people. Commentary and research findings on the issues facing the target client group are also examined and the connections between this material and the perceptions of the research participants and their support people are investigated. Two major findings of the study lend support firstly, to the critical part that external factors play in the process of behaviour change when treatment is provided for disqualified drivers who are sufficiently motivated to stop driving. Secondly, findings support the effectiveness of a cognitive-behavioural model which combines elements of the principles of constructivism and plays a vital role in the intervention of high-risk offenders. It is found that it is this combination of factors which directs the effective management of the decision to stop driving while disqualified. It is hoped that the outcomes of this inquiry will have positive implications for professional practice and social policy for rehabilitation programmes in the Corrections arena.

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My choice of topic has emerged from direct groupwork practice experience with offenders over the last six years. This client group has powerfully influenced the development of my perspective on recidivism and the issues relating to the difficulties inherent in reducing reoffending.

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1 Introduction

Driving offending has become a substantial problem for law enforcement and corrections agencies. The public and professional interest with driver offenders has gained momentum in the last decade. The intervention with driver offenders is a growing area of social work and clinical psychological practice. Intervention programmes, commonly termed treatment programmes, particularly those based on cognitive-behavioural approaches, are developing and gaining significant recognition for providing effective treatment for offenders.

The Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme, which is referred to in the study, is described as a therapeutic programme because it has as its goals: to increase people's knowledge of themselves and others, to help clarify the changes they most want to make in their lives, and to provide the tools necessary to make these changes. The aims of this group are three-fold. The first aim is that participants interact with others in a trusting and accepting environment. The second aim is that participants be given the opportunity to experiment with different behaviour. The third aim is that participants receive honest feedback from other members of the group concerning the effects of their behaviour in order to learn how that behaviour impacts upon others.

The cognitive-behavioural approach encourages group members to be directly involved in the programme and as a result it gets to the heart of

how people learn skills. This approach focuses on changing not only behaviour but also attitudes and thinking patterns associated with repeat offending and provides opportunities for alternative ways of thinking.

However, it is emphasised that the intervention is not a 'cure' and offenders must continue to apply their learning in maintaining their offence-free lifestyle. The question arises, then, as to what external factors (for example, employment), help or hinder driver offenders who are motivated to stop reoffending. Furthermore, what is the effect of internal variables (for example, self-efficacy) on behaviour and what level of interaction operates between these variables and the external factors identified. Information elicited from an investigation into these issues could be particularly pertinent to the post-intervention phase when offenders face the challenge of implementing the strategies and skills that they have learnt in a treatment programme.

1.1 Rationale for research topic

I have focused upon the DOT programme and high-risk driver offenders who attend this programme in this investigation, for the following reasons. Firstly, I have been engaged in direct practice with driver offenders over a period of six years. In that time I have provided individual supervision and facilitated change-oriented group work. I have become involved in work with driver offenders because of a belief that this type of offending is a social issue and can be dealt with more constructively than with a term of imprisonment.

Secondly, the nine week course of the DOT programme has been evaluated by the Department of Corrections Psychological Services (Bakker, Ward, Cryer & Hudson, 1997) and has been shown to be effective in reducing reoffending in driver offenders. It is therefore reported as a viable intervention model for use by probation officers. The content of the programme is continually evolving to adapt to the knowledge gained from the therapeutic alliance established between facilitators and driver offenders and research undertaken on correctional programmes in general. It is important for programme efficacy and for maintaining the transparency and integrity of the programme that these modifications are examined and monitored.

Thirdly, throughout the history of the DOT programme, the approaches used in the delivery of the programme have evolved. The pure cognitive-behavioural approach, has been gradually modified to accommodate the nature of the therapeutic alliance between facilitators and group members, and as a consequence, principles of constructivism have become increasingly relevant. My motivation for locating the focus of inquiry within the context of the DOT programme, emanates principally from my concentration on the place of external factors which support the maintenance of the decision to stop driving by disqualified drivers who have attended this particular programme. However, the relationship between internal behaviour change that takes place as a result of attending a rehabilitation programme and the external factors which operate concurrently are also examined.

Fourthly, the post-treatment phase of this programme has not been evaluated. One might reasonably expect that the most difficult time for

behaviour change to be maintained is the period of time after a course is completed. From my experience this is especially so if the intervention has been as intensive as that experienced by group members in the nine week DOT course.

Fifthly, to date, most research on driver offenders has focused on identifying sub-groups of driver offenders, determining internal factors which assist behaviour change and evaluating programme effectiveness. As noted, the initial nine week phase of the DOT programme has been evaluated and its effectiveness in reducing reoffending indicated by previous findings (see Chapter Five). Essentially, this study implies that some positive behaviour change has taken place in group members as a result of attending the DOT programme and concurrently carrying out their daily living in the community. However, the findings from the evaluation also indicate that a significant number of group members reoffended after completing the DOT programme.

But what the earlier evaluation did not explore were the external factors that impinge on driver offenders. Little has been done in terms of identifying the external factors that may have assisted or hindered the change in behaviour which is instrumental in reducing reoffending. Neither has there been any significant investigation into how the internal variables, which have brought about the desire for change, interact with external factors in the maintenance of that change.

The aim of this study is to explore these areas and in so doing to extend the knowledge and understanding in regard to repeat driver offenders who have made a decision to stop driving while disqualified.

1.2 Impact of the current research on social policy

The findings from the current study could be useful in developing policies in the Department of Corrections with its focus on rehabilitative issues. The result of economic rationalisation and the adoption of monetarist management practice, has meant a separation of policy development from service delivery.

The current climate in the Department of Corrections needs to be understood in the context of a change in management ideology where the main distinguishing feature is that approaches and techniques of business management are applicable to the management of human services. To facilitate this understanding, it is important that the prevailing management ideology is viewed within the framework of a political programme. In light of this it is necessary to understand the nature of the demands that ensue, deal strategically with them, challenge where necessary, and maintain and advance a broader perspective. Towards these aims, the DOT programme has been used as a platform from which to examine the current initiatives. The rationale for exploring the agency context in the framework of this study is that it provides a background to what has been considered principles of best practice within Community Corrections. It can also assist in identifying the reasons for the traditionally strong emphasis within this agency on the internal factors which impinge on recidivist offenders and the increasing importance given to external factors.

1.3 Current departmental initiatives

Since 1997, the Department of Corrections has been developing and trialling a major initiative, the Integrated Offender Management (IOM),

across all its services - Community Probation, Public Prisons and Psychological Services. IOM is a new co-ordinated approach to managing offenders and ensuring sentence compliance, with the aim of significantly reducing re-offending. The framework is supported by an integrated information technology system and represents a significant advance over previous piecemeal systems.

This initiative focuses on the offender and provides consistent, clear information and tailored treatment throughout the sentence. IOM encourages offenders to take responsibility for their own behaviour and actions and prepares them for integration back into the community. It covers four inter-related phases: Induction, Assessment, Offender Management and Post-Order Support. A psychological model has been developed to provide necessary information for managing offenders throughout the four phases and enhancing rehabilitation. This model is instrumental in predicting offenders' risk of reoffending, identifying who would benefit from intervention and identifying the most appropriate programme.

1.3.1 Core programmes

The development of programme intervention has been an integral part of the offender management phase. The core programmes are a suite of intensive group programmes covering driving offending, Make Our Drivers Safe (MODS), violent offending, Keeping Other People Safe (KOPS), a substance abuse programme (SAP) and a general programme to reduce offending (PRO).

1.3.2 The DOT programme and departmental initiatives

Due to my involvement with the DOT programme, I was invited to be a member of the team which designed and developed the core programmes and the training packages for the facilitators in the pilot programmes. To date, the DOT programme (only one of the few programmes being run in the Department of Corrections which has been evaluated as effective), uses a cognitive-behavioural approach, is of a comparable length and has a level of treatment intensity similar to that of the IOM core programmes.

More recently, the process of offence mapping, a cognitive-behavioural strategy, has been incorporated into the DOT programme (subsequent to the current study being completed). Historically, the assumption has been that relapse constitutes a process or chain of behaviour occurring across time. Offence mapping, has developed from the concept of a relapse chain and is the construction of individual offence chains, identifying personally relevant links in each person's relapse process. Offence mapping then, provides mechanisms to integrate cognitive, affective and behavioural patterns as they relate to the offence process. It also provides an opportunity for offenders to identify external factors which impact on their offending, for example, peer pressure. As this technique has been useful in reducing reoffending, it has become an integral part of current programmes provided for offenders both in the community (e.g., Stopping Violence For Men) and in prisons (e.g., Kia Marama Unit for Sex Offenders).

By noting recent departmental initiatives within the framework of the current study, the increasing attention and importance given to external factors by Community Corrections is acknowledged.

1.4 Overview

Chapter Two provides a framework in which to examine the tradition of intervention with offenders in the Department of Corrections. Towards this aim, three areas are considered regarding criminal behaviour and the management of this type of behaviour: the question of why certain behaviours are defined as deviant; theoretical underpinnings of crime and deviance; and the justifications for goals and theories of punishment. The process of investigating these areas and in particular looking at the current trends in sentencing and the reasons for those trends, enables the establishment of the context for this investigation.

Chapter Three gives consideration to what is meant by effective correctional intervention and describes the influences underpinning the drive for effectiveness. The influence of change in the Department of Corrections in New Zealand is discussed with attention given to central government management, current management ideology; values of the Community Probation service; and the principles underpinning intervention with offenders. Identifying influences that impact upon decision-making with respect to effectiveness in correctional intervention, has particular relevance to the current study given that it examines factors that traditionally have not been considered to be high priority.

Chapter Four provides an examination of material to date relating to the characteristics of effective correctional programme interventions. An analysis of the criteria for effectiveness sets the scene for the next chapter in which the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme is described. Attending to the many dimensions of programmes in this chapter, essentially means that the DOT programme is not examined in isolation

from other interventions. As a consequence, the complexity of programme effectiveness is not ignored in favour of a simple description of categories within one programme. Both programmatic and non-programmatic components of correctional intervention are taken into consideration.

Chapter Five focuses on the programme which the research participants have attended, namely the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme. The chapter offers a rationale for the development of a programme designed to target offenders who continue to drive while disqualified. Within this chapter the various components of the programme will be identified, including the underlying theories that drive the programme. It is acknowledged that there are particular elements of the programme that are clearly consistent with cognitive-behavioural approaches and others which accord with principles of constructivism. In light of this, a cognitive-behavioural model of correctional intervention, which incorporates elements of the principles of constructivism, is discussed as it applies to the DOT programme.

A component of the programme consistent with a cognitive-behavioural approach is a relapse prevention model. Discussion focuses on an appraisal of Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) relapse prevention model. This particular model is established in context with other relapse prevention models as an integral part of the DOT programme. In the process of working with relapse prevention, offenders identify separate antecedents, which are either internally or externally based, to their particular offences. Including an analysis of the particular relapse prevention model used in the programme, is an area of investigation considered essential to the

current study with its emphasis on external factors which impinge on reoffending.

Chapter Six reviews findings to date of inquiries that examine external factors which have helped or hindered offenders in maintaining behaviours. As a consequence of the dearth of material on the study topic, causal explanations of general offending are outlined prior to a discussion focused more specifically on disqualified drivers.

Chapter Seven outlines the research design which provides a plan for the inquiry and a strategy for capturing the findings. Ultimately, this chapter brings together the interrelated aspects of the study. The theoretical perspective which informs the research methodology is presented. Discussion centres upon qualitative research practice and its relevance to the study topic. The rationale for the methodology and issues surrounding its validity are also addressed. Finally, the structure of the research process is presented and ethical issues involved in the research are considered.

Chapter Eight presents the data generated as a result of the research and an analysis of those data. In the first instance an interpretation of the substantive themes, which have emerged from the material, is outlined. Next, in presenting a selection of responses from the research participants, an analysis of the themes is offered before preceding with a discussion which links these themes to earlier examination of research findings to date.

Chapter Nine provides some concluding observations with respect to external factors in the context of the criminal recidivist process. Included in this chapter is an integration of the accounts from both the group members and their support people. Challenges are noted which exemplify particular difficulties experienced by the researcher, either because of the nature of research in general or as a consequence of specific roles encountered.

Chapter Ten documents the findings from the research. In light of the current study, strengths and limitations of the research process are summarised. In the concluding section, suggestions are offered for future research and indications of the implications of the study findings on practice are outlined.

Chapter Eleven briefly describes the research participants' current situation. The rationale underpinning this endeavour is two-fold. Firstly, to acknowledge the research participants and the value of their contribution by augmenting their accounts with a follow-up to the study. Secondly, to ascertain any progression on the research participants' decision to stop reoffending, such as becoming legal drivers, and the impact of external factors (if any) on that progress.

2 Deviance and the function of punishment

2.1 Introduction

The research participants from the current study have attended a rehabilitative programme which has been evaluated as being effective. So it follows that in this chapter, a discussion focused on deviancy and the function of punishment, as it relates to driver offenders, will serve as an integral backdrop to the current inquiry. In the chapters to follow, external factors will be identified which either assist or hinder the research participants who have made a decision to stop driving while disqualified. These external factors will be examined in relation to how they interact with the internal factors which are evidenced in behaviour change.

Social work practice is changing as people try to accommodate shifts in organisational cultures and approaches to management which reflect wider political and ideological concerns. The Community Probation Service is no exception and acknowledges that it does not operate in isolation from the government's response to social order and the subsequent reform of the public sector. The effort to become more effective and efficient has led to the restructuring of the Service as it incorporates technology, forms partnerships (such as those developing between Psychological, Community Probation and Public Prison services) and embarks on performance-based standards of practice. Before examining what has caused these changes and the culture that has

evolved, it will be useful to widen the picture and extend the analysis by exploring the rationale behind the tradition of intervention with offenders. To facilitate this understanding and to establish where work with offenders fits in the correctional setting, this chapter will define deviance and address the question of why behaviours are regarded as deviant. The response a society makes to those who offend against it is the focus of the next discussion which outlines the goals of punishment.

Following on, the function of punishment will be acknowledged and the theories underpinning the goals of punishment examined. This discussion will encompass the concept of penology, which Simon and Feeley (1995) describe as the discourses and practices generated by all who pose as professionals in the realm of the exercise of the power to punish. The scene will then be set for the following chapter with its focus on the driving force underpinning effective intervention in the Department of Corrections.

2.2 Defining deviance

McGuire and Priestly (1985) point out that societies rely for their existence on the maintenance of rules by their members. These writers go on to say that these rules have some useful functions including giving citizens a collective identity. This sense of belonging can in turn generate emotional, physical and moral security. Cohen (1985) comments that behaviour which somehow departs from the expectations of a group or what is considered desirable, is considered deviant. So it could be argued that when defining deviance, the emphasis moves away from the attributes of the individual to the larger perspective of the social processes that

define the behaviour commonly known as 'deviant behaviour'. The place of social expectations is significant as these assumptions can affect the behaviour of members of society by the use of sanctions designed to ensure compliance to particular standards. These sanctions are often influenced by the dominant values in society (McGuire & Priestly, 1985).

Certainly Bilton, Bonnett, Jones, Sheard, Stanworth, and Webster (1985) say that what is regarded as deviance is very much a matter of *social definition* with the definition of deviance imposed by a community or by groups within that community. Furthermore, deviant behaviour cannot be conceived as something which is absolute or universal (Bilton et al., 1985). Rather, what deviance is understood to be is dependent upon cultural relativity and what a particular society or social group at a particular time defines as deviant. Young (1989) illustrates cultural relativity by noting that prior to the industrial revolution, theft was not a crime. In light of this, it could be argued that deviance can be discussed in terms of its relationship to the public discourse about crime and punishment. Extending the analysis further, reasons why some behaviours are regarded as deviant tells a lot about the society and the ability of certain groups to impose their definitions of normality and deviance on the rest of society. As Bilton et al. (1985) conclude, that the process of social control manufactures an apparent consensus about what is proper and improper behaviour.

2.3 Theorising about crime and deviance

Given that theory provides explanations of human situations and behaviour, a brief outline is offered from a selected few of the numerous

theories on crime and deviance. Dominelli (1997a) views theories as the lynchpin of any analysis. She explains that theories operate at a number of levels. These range from poorly theorised commonsense to sophisticated intellectual formulations at the highest level of abstraction and cover both micro-level and macro-level phenomena. Given this, it can be argued that theories are socially constructed. As such, they are not just a process of intellectual development, rather they respond to social forces and are therefore much more about ideas and interpretation than prescriptions for practice.

2.4 Theories linked with crime and deviance

When considering what constitutes a theory in the current study, fundamental differences are made between penal, psychological and sociological theories. There are a number of important functions that theory can serve in applied fields. The fundamental differences in the three types of disciplines noted are that psychological theories have their basis in empirical knowledge. Their objective provides a conceptual explanation of human processes, whereas sociological theory, as Dominelli (1997a) points out, focuses less on individual differences and more on structural societal issues. In questioning perceived wisdom and superficial analyses of social life, the assumption is that sociological theories offer explanations to help in the understanding of social interactions between individuals and subject such interactions to critical scrutiny. Raynor (1997) explains that the key difference between psychological, sociological and penological theories lies in the organising effect that the penological theories have on understanding society. He points out that these particular theories seek to establish more specific

causal connections between social circumstances, institutional networks in society and offending, than psychological and sociological theories. However, as Von Hirsch and Ashworth (1993) caution, a penal theory needs to be able to deal with all stages of the criminal justice processes as well as questions relating to what kinds of behaviour should be criminalised.

2.4.1 Sociological theories

2.4.1.1 Strain theory

Strain theory presupposes that people are generally pre-disposed towards conformity and law-abiding behaviour and that they are driven into criminal acts by a powerful strain or pressure (Taylor, 1998). Smith (1995) points out that the sociological theory of anomie, or the isolation from legitimate means of achieving a social ideal, is an integral part of strain theory; the illegitimate means of achieving the ideal are perceived as the major cause of criminal behaviour. According to Young (1981), this theory has an emphasis on economic circumstances and locates the deviant behaviour firmly with the individual; crime is seen as arising from some weakness in the bonds that normally develop between individuals and their interaction with society. Cohen (1985), introduced the term 'cultural deviance' to strain theory. This theory is the driving force behind explanations of the influence of groups or gangs on criminal behaviour in urban neighbourhoods. Cultural deviance theory has been significant in the understanding of group behaviour and characteristics of sub-groups of offenders. Farrington, Gallagher, Morley, St Ledger, and West (1986) identify a link between unemployment and increases in certain categories of crime by young men.

Taylor (1998) suggests that strain theory can assist in recognising and identifying ways to reduce stress on families. In addition, the theory points to possible links between offending pressure from family history and existing family relationships and pressure to offend (Taylor, 1998). However, Smith (1995) cautions that strain theory fails to explain some crucial facts about crime in modern society. The problems that he outlines relate to explaining middle-class offending; over-predicting working-class delinquency; over-predicting the scale and gravity of offending; and finally the tendency, even for those who are relatively serious offenders as young adults, to become relatively law-abiding citizens in their maturity.

2.4.1.2 Control theory

Other theories of crime and theories of justice seek to establish more specific causal connections between social circumstances and offending, or between social purposes and theories of justice. Control theory emphasises social bonds and relationships. Hirschi (1969) points to valued social relationships and resources as being the main factors preventing people from offending. Bottoms (1997) agrees and explains that this theory essentially contends people do not offend if they are in social situations that mean something to them. Hirschi (1969) suggests that while strain theory assumes a moral person (people are disposed to behave well), control theory assumes that such a person does not necessarily exist.

Everyone is bound to conventional society in differing degrees (Hirschi, 1969). The elements of the bond are described by Bottoms (1997) as attachment, which means the emotional connection and sensitivity to

others; commitment, which means something the individual undertakes to do; and the concept of involvement, which means to have a concern and association with others. Given this, in terms of control theory, anyone who experiences less than equal treatment in education, employment, and housing, is unlikely to be as bound to conventional behaviour as one who enjoys the full benefits of these social goods. Indeed Smith (1995) comments that if race is added to economic and social disadvantage, people may well experience the kind of stigmatisation and marginalisation which may encourage the formation of deviant subcultures. Smith explains that although control theory is the type of theory which generally best withstands empirical scrutiny, a fundamental criticism of control theory is that it provides no explanation for offending beyond the absence of controls. It is assumed, he says, that everyone would be deviant if they dared. Ultimately, this theory lacks an explanation of how opportunities for different types of crime become available and are sustained over time (Smith, 1995).

2.4.2 Economic theories of crime

According to Buchanan and Hartley (1996), economic theories of crime can be contrasted with sociological and psychological theories which generally maintain that offenders are not rational and free agents. However, it can also be argued that the economic approach to understanding criminal behaviour is largely compatible with these other theories. The major difference between the economic approach and alternative sociological and psychological approaches is that the economic approach places the individual at centre stage.

It can be assumed that crime can be deterred if the marginal costs of committing a crime exceed the marginal benefits (Buchanan & Hartley, 1996). Essentially, Buchanan and Hartley argue that the economic approach views most human behaviour as rational attempts to further whatever goals the individual has within a range of choices which are constrained by the natural environment and by the rule of interaction in society. So it could be said that offenders weigh the expected costs (including social costs, such as ostracism) and benefits (including experiencing thrills) of offending, before engaging in such behaviour. When the expected benefits outweigh the expected costs, the offender will offend.

This chapter does not set out to systematically compare each theory on the central questions of deviancy and crime. Rather, the focus is on raising the idea that whatever theory is put forward, deviancy is not a marginal concern. Indeed, any discussion on deviancy raises fundamental questions on order and morality in society and examines the very basis of the civilisation that we live in.

2.5 Perspectives on reasons for punishment

Just as theories of crime have been of great interest to sociologists, penologists and psychologists alike, so too have the principles of punishment and justification for punishment been the source of much analysis. Furthermore, just as definitions of deviance can vary according to changes in society's thinking, so too with the concept of punishment. According to Hudson (1996), while legal theorists have developed theories about, and argued about, the different justifications for

punishments, sociologists have been concerned with the ways in which different ideas have come and gone in penal fashion. Also of concern are the ways in which penal codes and penal policies have shown the relative influence of different philosophies. A commentary follows which focuses on the different perspectives advanced on reasons for punishment.

Foucault (1977) makes the point that the marked shift away from punishments on the body to punishments involving other penalties, was not simply a reflection of a more humanitarian approach to legal sanctions. Rather, this transformation reflected more general social change. The industrial revolution exemplifies this as it generated changes in public perception. So it can be argued that the procedures which a society has developed for coping with its offenders, reflect the thinking of that society. Although punishment can be defined without any reference to its purposes, it cannot be justified without such a reference. For the purposes of this chapter, punishment is defined as “the authorised deprivation of the rights of a person because the person has been found guilty of a criminal violation of the rights of others” (Sharpe, 1993). This definition brings out several points. First, that punishment is authorised and does not occur accidentally. Second, that there are some objective forms of deprivation of rights and third, that punishment is not a natural event but a human institution which is deliberately practised. Ultimately, as Walker (1991) points out what settles the question of whether something serves as a punishment or not, is the belief or intention of the person who orders something to be done and not the belief or intention of the person to whom it is done.

Hudson (1996) notes that modern penology is the study of punishment for crime from the time of the industrial revolution onwards. She elaborates further by explaining that punishment, which is the subject matter of penology, refers to the penalties authorised by the state and inflicted by state officials in response to crime. There is an enormous volume of literature on the philosophies of punishment and its purpose and effectiveness. This thinking spans centuries from classicism, with its approach to punishment entrenched in religious tradition and focusing on the act committed, to what Pratt (1992a) describes as the 'new penology'. He suggests that this thinking turned its attention to the missing figure in classical discourse, the criminal. Its objectives were no longer concerned with the delivery of the punishment commensurate with his or her criminal act. Instead, it was intended that the criminal be rehabilitated by matching the punishment with the individual. As Hudson (1996) explains, the aim of rehabilitative punishment is to take away the desire to offend and the objective of rehabilitation is to reintegrate the offender into society and to design the content of the punishment so as to achieve this. The presumption is that the offender can change his/her behaviour as a result of some form of intervention.

Widening the picture, sociological studies of punishment have shown that the penal character of a society and thus its preferred penal goals and strategies, are related not so much to the weight of penal ideas but to their congruence with other areas of social life. These areas include the economic base of society and the form of government. So it follows that punishment, whether as a cultural expression or as an instrument of public policy, does not exist in a political or social vacuum. Its variability over

time and space is usually contingent upon variations in other forms of social control. These forms can vary from the stressed certainty and proportionality of sanctions as a way of steering people away from crime, to approaches which assist offenders to reintegrate into the community. Cohen (1985) points out that objectives of punishment are widely shared by communities and are part of traditional penology which is preoccupied with the philosophical justifications and effectiveness of punishment. Ultimately, this chapter does not give a comprehensive account or summary of all the literature on punishment. Instead, it acknowledges that to justify the imposition of punishment, the objectives of the practice itself must be articulated.

2.5.1 Justification for punishment

As a term of reference, a brief outline of the main goals of punishment is provided and the theoretical thinking underpinning these goals is explored. A discussion evolves on how these goals can be achieved given that Hudson (1996) points out, the penal temper of a society has preferences for certain goals. Within this discussion the principles of punishment are examined and recent penal trends explored.

Hudson says that for centuries the meting out of punishment to transgressors, both as an attempt to control their future behaviour and as a signal to everyone else that the offending behaviour was proscribed, has been the dominant, if not the sole mode of dealing with offenders throughout Western Europe. However, when considering the goals of sentencing, questions arise regarding why we have a system of punishment at all and why we choose to impose particular types of

sanctions upon individual offenders. Certainly the general justification for punishment is to reduce crime. However, the questions noted have been traditionally answered by reference to several purposes of punishment. According to Hudson (1996), the apparently simple question, why offenders should be punished, has several possible answers. She outlines these reasons as, because they deserve it; to stop them committing further crimes; to reassure victims that society cares about what has happened to them; to discourage other people from doing the same thing; to protect society from dangerous or dishonest people; to allow offenders to make amends for the harm they have caused; to make people realise that laws must be obeyed.

2.5.2 Theoretical thinking underlying the goals of punishment

To understand the connections and disparities among these reasons for punishment, it is important to look at the underlying theories that have led contemporary penal theorists to seek compromises among them. Hudson (1996) categorises these theories into two groups, those which are concerned with preventing future crimes and those which are concerned with punishing already-committed crimes. Breaking these concepts down further, Hudson points out how the umbrella term of 'penology', elucidates the principles of theories.

Included in the penologist theories are two opposing sub theories on punishment, namely reductivist and retributivist. Reductivist assumptions support the view that punishment can only be justified if the harm that it prevents is greater than the harm which is inflicted on offenders by punishing them (Cavidino & Dignan, 1992). The aim in this instance is to

have a reduction in crime. On the other hand, retributivist theory drives the notion that punishment should not be used as a means to other social ends such as the prevention of reoffending. Indeed, punishment, according to this philosophy, is seen as a justified and necessary end in itself. Essentially, the theory of retribution maintains that punishment is justified when, and only when, someone has done something to deserve it. Therefore, central to retribution is the idea that offenders are receiving their 'just deserts' when being punished (Young, 1989). These theories are explained in more detail in the next section.

2.5.2.1 Utilitarian theories

The most influential forms of crime-reduction penal theory in modern times have been linked with the theories of the eighteenth and nineteenth century utilitarian thinkers such as Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) (Hudson, 1996). These theories proffered the notion that the 'good' is not some abstract metaphysical property, but human happiness. Given this, the role of government is to promote the sum of human happiness and minimise the amount of human suffering.

In relation to punishment, the pain suffered by the offender is only justified if more pain (stemming from more crime) is thereby avoided. Walker (1991) explains that most people have no difficulty in identifying the utility of punishment as it is the reduction of the frequency with which people infringe the rules which makes for a contented society. Penologist theories influenced by utilitarianism contribute to this by advocating deterring offenders from reoffending, discouraging others from following their example, or putting offenders where they cannot offend any longer.

More recently, Hudson (1996) goes on to say that a utilitarian approach makes the individual the focus of penal attention, rather than the offence.

To broaden this theoretical viewpoint regarding a goal of punishment, would be to question what sentence minimises the total cost of crime and punishment for each class of offence and offender (Hudson, 1996). Farrington, Gallagher, Morley, St Ledger, and West (1986) point out that there are several utilitarian principles of punishment. These include advancing the goal of effective crime control through rehabilitation programmes, the deterrent effect of punishment, the public reassertion of the moral validity of violated laws and the removal of criminal opportunities through the incapacitative effect of imprisonment.

Hudson (1996) acknowledges an often-expressed criticism of utilitarian theories that with the principles of rehabilitation and incapacitation, individuals could be punished because someone else thinks they may commit a crime in the future, and deterrence does not guarantee the innocent freedom from punishment. This argument has some force as the punishment-without-crime philosophy is based on risk assessment and can result in punishment in excess of that deserved for the crime already committed.

2.5.3 Principles underlying the goals of punishment

2.5.3.1 Retribution

Retribution as a goal of punishment has as its focus, punishing already committed crimes. Hudson (1996) points out that the aim is to exact retribution from the offenders for their crimes. She explains that the

centrality of retributivist perspectives, is the idea that the purpose of judicial punishment is to place moral blame on the offenders for the offences they have committed; the future conduct of the offenders is not a proper concern for punishment.

A coherent basis for a goal of punishment, then, relies on the assumption that the criminal laws whose violation makes one eligible for punishment, protect genuine individual rights. It could be said that when looking at both the utilitarian and retributivist theories, a system of punishment under law is a technique of social control and its employment is justified to the extent that it actually protects social justice.

Greenberg and Larkin (1998) sum up both retribution and utilitarian theories by pointing out that to a retributivist, punishment should be determined by the degree of wrongfulness of the defendant's illegal conduct; utilitarian considerations should carry no weight in determining what should be done to someone who has been convicted of a crime. By this reasoning, the retributivist looks to an offender's past conduct, not the likelihood of future illegal activity. By contrast, utilitarians think that crime prevention goals can legitimately influence the type and severity of penalty an offender receives.

Following on from this analysis, principles will be outlined which guide the Court in its aim to reduce reoffending and thereby protect the community. As Hall (1994) comments that the Court must retain the respect and the trust of the community on which its authority depends.

Young (1989) says to punish from a retributivist position one needs only look back to the harm resulting from the crime and devise punishment proportionate to this harm. As noted, punishment is justified when, and only when, someone has done something to deserve it. However, Young (1989) also cautions that behind this apparent simplicity lurks complex assumptions. Hudson (1996) claims that fixing punishment according to 'just deserts' does not give the courts adequate powers to punish persistent and/or dangerous offenders or to respond to waves of a particular crime. Retribution, then, accepts the principle enunciated by the philosopher, Kant, that punishment should be not used as a means to other social ends such as the prevention of reoffending. Instead, it is a justified and necessary end in itself.

Opponents of retribution could argue that punishment based on simple vengeance is not as progressive a punishment as that which effects change in the individual. As Young (1989) points out, the retributive requirement that someone must have done something to deserve punishment introduces the notion of culpability which is used to justify both the imposition of punishment and the form that it takes.

2.5.3.2 Denunciation

Closely related to retribution, and also a principle underlying the goals of punishment, is denunciation. Hall (1994) says this principle emphasises that the criminal law is an educative and a cohesive force in the community. Certainly, the justification for denunciation is that by penalising an offender it expresses an important symbolic statement about the offence and the way it is regarded by the community (Young, 1989).

So, through the public nature of punishment of crime, indignation and condemnation of certain conduct are thereby expressed. However, denunciation and retribution need to be clearly distinguished because although they are closely related, there are distinct differences between these two concepts.

Perhaps the most obvious distinction between them is, as Walker (1985) points out, that secret or covert punishment is quite acceptable from a retributivist standpoint whereas covert denunciatory punishment is a contradiction in terms. He argues that it is this which underlines the force of the theory of denunciation in the public nature of punishment.

2.5.3.3 Deterrence

The relationship between retribution and deterrence is somewhat less clear than that between retribution and denunciation. Hall (1994) defines deterrence as the attempt to restrain persons from offending by the threat, or actual imposition, of punishment. The principle has a two-fold aspect: it may specifically deter the offender before the court from reoffending; and generally deter other persons who may be contemplating offending in a similar way. More specifically, individuals, who find themselves in situations which they did not anticipate or intend (being provoked), are said to be restrained by the prospect of a penalty. Others who do not commit certain offences are restrained from more serious ones because of the greater possible penalties (Walker, 1985). Ultimately the overriding justification for deterrent theory is the prevention of future crime by either the offender being sentenced or some other person who may come to know of the sentence. Furthermore, Young (1981) points out that

deterrence theory forms an integral part of both the imposition of specific sentences and the setting of penalty levels.

The major difference between deterrence and retribution is in the application of punishment. As Walker (1985) signifies, whatever effect the sentencer expects to have on the future conduct of the offender, he must also have in mind the likely effects of the sentence upon the conduct of other people. So as a result of an educative element, some individuals may be deterred from committing a crime. This is not so in regard to retribution. As a goal of punishment, the underlying philosophy of retributivist theory is that the punishment specifically targets an offence that has taken place and the punishment imposed must be served.

Young (1989) points out that the high rates of recidivism mean that deterrence does not work. It could therefore be argued that from an ethical and mainly retributivist perspective, if deterrence is the principle underlying punishment, deterrence is in fact unjust and its use with individual offenders is a means to prevent other people from offending. Even though this is a legitimate aim on grounds of justice, it is not a strong aim.

2.5.3.4 Incapacitation

Hudson (1996) outlines the theory of incapacitation as one of the simplest justifications of punishment. When offenders are out of circulation, the number of offences carried out in the community will reduce as opportunities for offending are limited. This in turn will provide some

protection for the public. It could be argued that social control then becomes an underlying rationale for development of penal policy.

Incapacitation regulates the behaviour of the population at large in a way that has the potential for greater surveillance, intervention and regulation than any other forms of punishment (Bedau, 1993). At times in penal history, the goals of incapacitation and retribution have dominated and sometimes superseded the goals of rehabilitation and deterrence in the minds of politicians and social theorists.

2.5.3.5 Rehabilitation

The principle underlying rehabilitation differs significantly from other principles of punishment. It drives the premise concerned with the value of humanitarian responses to offenders and the optimism that offenders can change. Rehabilitation essentially involves an explicit attempt to resocialise offenders so that they no longer see the need to offend. As noted, Taxman and Piquero (1998) say that this principle underpins the idea that offenders will change as a result of some form of intervention. Gottfredson and Barton (1993) point out that historically, the nature and type of intervention varies widely depending on the modality, the setting and the orientation of the intervention programme.

It seems important to consider the various criticisms levelled at the rehabilitative ideal and discuss their implications for the future of rehabilitation. According to Young (1992), criticisms have been based on the original tenets of this philosophy. These, he says, have included arguments that rehabilitation is based on determinism and therefore

denies individual freedom and personal choice; that rehabilitation has resulted in disparity in punishment between offenders convicted of similar offences; that it is not possible, nor desirable, to change attitudes of people against their will; that rehabilitation has led to penal programmes which are too soft and insufficient to reflect the gravity of the sentence; and the effectiveness critique which is based on the view that 'nothing works'.

Young (1992) points out that the original tenets of rehabilitation are flawed and they do not, for example, necessarily invalidate any attempts to change offenders. He notes that due recognition of the individual taking responsibility is done by assisting motivated individuals to change their behaviour, by increasing the options open to them and by inviting them to become more aware of alternative offence-free lifestyles. Also, the 'nothing works' critique has largely been replaced by promising and positive evidence that programmes targeting offenders, do seem to work (Andrews & Bonta, 1994).

2.6 Recent trends/influences in penal policy

Trends in penal policy have been governed by three principal influences. First, Young (1992) points out, there has been growing pressure upon politicians to reduce the use of imprisonment for less serious offenders (driver offenders) due to the cost of imprisonment. Second, there has been increasing pressure to do something about the escalating official crime rates. As a consequence of this concern, the New Zealand Criminal Justice Amendment Act (No.2) (1987) extends legislative measures which demonstrates the increased official emphasis upon incapacitation for only

serious offending (violent offending). Given this, it shows that greater efforts are being made to draw a clear distinction between this type of offending on one hand and less serious offending on the other. Third, McLaren (1993) identifies an influence upon modern penal policy as a move away from individualised rehabilitation and programmes in prison to programmes targeting criminogenic needs (those needs which predispose an individual to offend) in the community.

Current trends extend this philosophy further, as the Department of Corrections implements an integrated offender management system (see Introduction). Byers (1998) explains that this system will be more effective as sentence planning will be based on specific 'prescriptions' for offender management. These will be used nationally and across the traditional prison, probation and psychological services boundaries.

2.6.1 Incompatibilities between ideal and rehabilitative policies

As noted, the underlying assumption of rehabilitation is that offenders may change their offending behaviour as a result of intervention. Certainly, it could be said that rehabilitation of offenders so that they will diminish their propensity for criminal behaviour, is a compelling idea. Raynor (1997) says a topic well-documented in penological discourse and echoed in a good deal of penal policy, is that justice in sentencing is necessarily retributivist and backward-looking as it is based on the seriousness of the offence. On the other hand, he points out that rehabilitation is consequentialist and forward-looking as it is concerned with future behaviour. However, Hudson (1996), observes that there is a problem when sentencing for less serious offences if people are to be

sentenced according to their future prognosis rather than their current offence.

She further comments that although utilitarian justifications seek to advance the goal of crime control through rehabilitation, commentary on deterrence (viewed as the most important utilitarian goal) is often sceptical of rehabilitation. Simon and Feeley (1995), Logan and Gaes (1993), and Wilson and Hernstein (1985), strongly suggest that rehabilitation has faded from contemporary penal practice. They argue that penology goals aimed at normalising individual offenders have been replaced by goals which aim at regulating groups of offenders.

Lucken (1998) comments that there are a number of indicators which point to the persistence of rehabilitation. These, she says, are in the official language of penal objectives, programme components and sanctioning agent perceptions of the system, self and offenders. Certainly the principle of rehabilitation relies on the individual being motivated to address the problems associated with the offending. However, individual choices as Carlen (1989) points out, are very much influenced by circumstances such as economic, class and gender.

Raynor (1997) argues that rehabilitation may be incompatible with narrow and inadequate versions of 'just deserts', but effective rehabilitation has its place. He observes that rehabilitation endeavours to address those disadvantages which locate individuals so far below acceptable conditions of normal participation in society, that it is hardly reasonable to make them act on normal social obligations. So it could be argued that if the

expectation is that offenders participate actively in their own rehabilitation, as both a requirement of effectiveness and a moral expectation, opportunities should flow from their own efforts.

According to Raynor (1997), too many of those sentencing, and the public, appear unconvinced that the current forms of supervision are either sufficiently rigorous to constitute adequate punishment or sufficiently effective to reduce criminal behaviour. He explains that this has come about because of the supposed incompatibilities between ideas and policies associated with rehabilitation and another set of ideas and policies associated with justice or 'just deserts' as goals of punishment. He adds, that a more socially contextualised understanding of justice is needed to make sense of the place of rehabilitative aims. However, he cautions that this requires a more explicit linkage than currently exists between the goals of criminal justice and those of wider social policy.

Interestingly, Dale (1997) identifies a clear relationship between political responses to public opinion and rates of crime and legislation which provides direction for the New Zealand Department of Corrections. He says that over the past decade there has been increasing emphasis upon control and offender management (reflecting concern with 'risk control') in combination with rehabilitative programmes (which reflect concern with 'risk reduction'). Duell (1999) too, refers to the growing acknowledgement that the New Zealand Probation service does not operate in isolation; rather it is an important part of the Criminal Justice framework. He claims that whether the Courts view the sentences administered by the Community Probation service as punishment,

rehabilitation or reintegration, it is generally agreed that the service should have as central to its goal, the rehabilitation or reintegration of offenders. Thurber (1998) refers to the process of assisting the rehabilitation of offenders and their reintegration into the community as law-abiding citizens as being met through the provision of programmes in the community. Against this backdrop, the prevailing goals of punishment and sentencing in New Zealand are examined.

2.6.2 Prevailing goals of punishment/ sentencing in New Zealand:

Hall (1994) makes the point that legislature in New Zealand had failed to develop a coherent sentencing policy from the theories of punishment that comprise this country's penal philosophy and sentencing jurisprudence. The function of the criminal law and the purpose of punishment cannot be found in any single explanation. He reasons that as a result of this, the Court is becoming more conscious of its role as a determiner of sentencing policy. In light of this, the current goals of punishment and sentencing in New Zealand will be discussed. The focus is on one type of offending and the perpetrators of such crimes. The discussion will highlight some of the dilemmas raised.

2.6.2.1 Impact of current goals of punishment

Ultimately, in New Zealand as in other countries, the main purpose of punishment is to protect the community. For this to happen from a deterrent viewpoint, legislation must clearly signal that severe punishment will be a consequence if impulses to commit crime are yielded to. Hall (1994) submits that a fundamental principle upon which all penal sentences are imposed today is that the punishment should fit the crime.

However, he adds that it is justified that a minimum penalty only will operate as a deterrent. For example, the Land Transport Safety Authority (1997) focuses on the purposes of penalties for driving offenders. It states that for traffic offending, deterrence is considered to be the most important factor in controlling both the frequency and severity of offending. A distinction is made between individual deterrence and general deterrence, by the suggestion that penalties can achieve much more in both road safety terms and in reducing costs to the criminal justice system, if the threat of the penalty is sufficient to deter the rest of the population from offending.

Interestingly, in terms of individual deterrence, a key issue that Donovan, Marlatt, and Salzberg (1983) identify is the compulsive nature of offending for some disqualified drivers. In these cases, it would appear that the traditional ways of intervention, of simply increasing the legal penalties, are likely to be ineffectual. More particularly, recidivist drivers often have strong expectations that they will get caught yet continue to drive even though they are aware of the severe penalties associated with doing so.

Hall (1994) says that legislative recognition of the importance of protecting society and reducing offending, may be achieved by the adoption of any one or any combination of the various purposes of punishment. However, he contends that the legislative caution to adopt one at the exclusion of the others, may result in the imposition of a sentence that is out of all proportion to the gravity of the offending.

2.6.2.2 *Retribution and driver offenders*

However, in the New Zealand courts, current sentencing policy and practice are based largely on retribution. A retributive system views crime as a violation against the state and focuses on establishing guilt so that punishment can be administered; that is what laws were broken, by whom and what the offender is required to be sentenced to. The adversarial process, Zehr (1995) explains, means rules and intentions outweigh the outcomes and causes, responsibility and solutions are not generally given significant consideration. Sentencing is fixed according to the seriousness of the offence and offenders' culpability. As a consequence, in many cases, offenders have been able to overlook the consequences of their actions; they do not have to observe the impact of their actions on victims or do anything tangible to right the wrong.

Nonetheless, Hall (1994) cites a Court of Appeal judgement which states that judicial obligation is to ensure that the punishment imposed in the name of the community is itself a civilised reaction in terms of justice and deliberation. In New Zealand, the maximum penalty for driving while disqualified is five years' imprisonment (Land Transport Act), which is greater than driving with a blood alcohol count that is higher than the legal limit. This is interesting given the prevailing public condemnation of drinking and driving.

However, what is actually evidenced by the longer sentence is that, people who drive while they are disqualified, are in fact ignoring a judgement of the Court, hence the severity of the penalty. Nonetheless, even when a driver offender has been described as a recidivist offender, the choice of

an appropriate sentence and the general purpose and probable effects of punishment can be evaluated in different ways by individual Judges. For example, the aim of rehabilitation to induce or assist offenders to avoid reoffending in the future can be utilised and this can occur when the offence is addiction-driven. As Hall (1994) points out, in these cases the facet of public interest is but one of the areas to be considered.

In concluding this section, sentencing in New Zealand appears to take into consideration the level of remorse evidenced by the offender, the deterrence of the crime, rehabilitation and the need to protect the community. At times, the focus appears to be on the wrong of the behaviour and seemingly little regard is paid to repairing the harm of the crime.

However, history suggests that sentencing patterns in New Zealand are continually evolving and will continue to do so as social research, more effective programmes and assessment tools, improved technological technology and Government resources make further options available. Certainly, with the introduction of recent substantial changes in the Department of Corrections, new initiatives are being designed and implemented to secure the Community Probation Service as a more accountable and effective service. The changes which have taken place are in response to a globally-driven political programme (to be discussed in more depth in the following chapter). These changes also reflect the new penology that has evolved in the last decade which reveals a shift away from the objectives of transforming individuals. Instead, it embraces

a new objective: risk management and the management of the system itself (Simon & Feeley, 1995),

2.7 Concluding remarks

In conclusion, this discussion has established that the way deviance is defined is inextricably connected to sentencing practices. In turn, sentencing practices involve diverse principles and reflect wider influences than the offence itself. However, it is also argued that the whole point of criminal law and the systems of punishments outlined are to prevent crime. It follows, then, that punishments cannot be divorced from crime itself. *How*, as well as *who*, we punish contribute to the shape of crime. Furthermore, Hudson (1996) suggests that questions such as, *what types* of punishment should be imposed and *how much* punishment should there be should also be part of the equation. The process of analysing the theories underpinning the reasons why society punishes, and incorporating the utilitarian and retributive considerations, provides clarity to the concept of punishment. Within the parameters of this analysis is a clear suggestion that it is incumbent upon society to ensure that punishment is kept within proper limits. Furthermore, and more importantly, it demonstrates how that system is part of a larger political, economic and social base when considering the moral concerns of social justice. This in turn, raises the questions about how people who have the power to punish put their ideas into practice and what influences their decision.

As indicated at the beginning of this discussion, the link between defining deviance and exploring diverse sentencing approaches, and the current

inquiry, is to establish the rationale for selecting research participants who have attended a programme with a rehabilitative approach. The current study aims to examine correlations between the internal behaviour change that has taken place as a result of attending a rehabilitative programme and the external factors which operate alongside those internal factors when offenders decide to stop driving while disqualified. Given this, there is a need for continuous examination of the relative merits of the principles of rehabilitation as they apply to Community Corrections.

The next chapter looks at what forces are influencing the current drive for effective rehabilitative approaches in this particular area of correctional intervention. Identifying these influences will provide an interpretation of the underlying principles of the term 'effective' in the corrections arena. More importantly, a discussion of this nature will increase understanding of a programme targeted in this study as a factor influencing behaviour change.

3 Managerialism and its Effect on the Community Probation Service

3.1 Introduction

The attention to deviance and the function of punishment in the previous chapter provides a complete picture of issues relating to driver offenders in this area. The purpose of the current investigation is to study group members of a Community Corrections rehabilitative programme who have made a decision to stop driving while disqualified. The aim of this study is to identify external factors which affect the maintenance of this decision.

In the previous chapter, a framework was set up in which to examine the tradition of correctional intervention. This chapter sets the scene for exploring what is considered rehabilitative intervention and the influential forces underpinning the drive for effectiveness.

The rise of managerialism as a response to the growing ethos of accountancy criteria in a 'people' business has been noted in the previous chapter. Raynor, Smith and Vanstone (1994) point out that an aspect of this approach to management is that within an organisation a bureaucratic structure develops a life and a rationale increasingly remote from the core tasks of the Probation Officer. The view that Raine and Wilson (1997) take regarding the development of managerialism, explains the reason for this. They say that the changes in the management style of the public

sector, which includes the Criminal Justice Service, have had a considerable impact on accountability and the provision of a service and is now not dependent simply on the vagaries of individual energy, skills and commitment. In New Zealand, alongside this developing climate, McLaren (1994) recognises that we are in the fortunate position of being able to take the best features of overseas systems, improve on their weak points, develop our own tools and come up with something that uniquely suits our justice system. However, to date it could be argued that overseas research has not been replicated to test its applicability in New Zealand. Nonetheless, it is suggested that within a climate based on business principles where there is an increased focus on management, innovation and creativity can still be a component of potentially effective intervention with offender client groups.

This chapter will look at the professional practices that have been assessed as effective and the values underpinning the interventions which have been used in the past and are currently being used by probation officers. However, it is not enough to simply summarise the research and identify programmes that appear to be working. The salient questions are concerned with definitions of effectiveness, that is, who is defining effectiveness and what are the distinguishing characteristics between effective and ineffective intervention.

3.2 Social construction of effectiveness in relation to intervention

The inherent nature of the term 'effectiveness' means that when it is applied to positive outcomes or successful programmes it will be defined in different ways in different studies. When examining organisational

effectiveness of the probation service in Britain, Humphrey and Pease (1992) lend support to this notion. They consider the effect of management and policy initiatives on effectiveness criteria used by staff. Their findings show that there is no such thing as effectiveness per se because concepts of corporate effectiveness are socially constructed. As such, meanings and roles stem from the articulation of particular social concerns, interests and demands and the specific contexts in which the concepts operate.

From his perspective, Palmer (1994) agrees with Humphrey and Pease (1992). He says that to have meaningful discussion when evaluating effective practice a socially contextualised approach must be taken. However, whereas Humphrey and Pease are relating this aspect of the term 'effectiveness' with an organisational dimension, Palmer is concerned with socially contextualising effective practice and broadening a systematic identification of underlying factors which can contribute to the effectiveness of practice.

3.2.1 Difficulties in defining 'effectiveness'

It is therefore argued that 'effectiveness' is not an absolute, is situation-dependent and defined according to the evaluator. Given these factors, it is understandable that presenting an adequate definition of the term 'effectiveness' is problematic. Furthermore, the term is difficult to define because the most common measure of effectiveness in the correctional arena is reduction in recidivism rates. Hudson (1996) contends that 'evaluations of evaluations' have shown that recidivism is not a simple fact but involves all the complexities surrounding criminal statistics. For example, does offending less, frequently count as 'success' because of a

reduction in criminality, or as failure because further offending has taken place? In light of the complex nature of the term 'effectiveness', for the purposes of this study this concept will not be defined per se but rather defined relative to particular social contexts. In terms of the current study, the research participants have participated in a correctional programme. This will be taken into consideration when investigating behaviour change and identifying external factors which have helped in maintaining that change. As McLaren (1993) points out, when reviewing correctional programmes in terms of effectiveness the overriding criterion has been the extent to which recidivism is reduced. Andrews and Bonta (1994) indicate that when the three principles of risk, need, and responsivity are taken into account, interventions are more likely to be effective. Palmer (1995) has broadened the principles of effectiveness in terms of correctional programmes to include non-programmatic features such as facilitator characteristics and programme settings. The underlying patterns of characteristics outlined and shared by current effective correctional intervention all essentially contribute to defining effectiveness as it relates to the current study.

3.2.2 Evaluating 'effectiveness' in the New Zealand context

Effectiveness will be evaluated in terms of the New Zealand context prior to looking at the international dimension of managerialism and the effect it has had on the New Zealand Department of Corrections (Community Probation Service, Psychological Services and the Public Prison Service). An outcome will be acknowledgement of the forces driving what is currently understood to be effective correctional intervention in New Zealand. In this instance, the term 'intervention' refers to any course of

action undertaken with an offender which includes in its goals the reduction of reoffending (McLaren, 1993).

In common with many other public sector services, the Department of Corrections in New Zealand has recently been increasingly subjected to initiatives where the purported objective has been the improvement of efficiency and effectiveness. The current position of the service and what is seen as effective practice, can be put into context by tracing the changing policies and organisational contexts of practice over the years. Raynor, Smith and Vanstone (1994) note that instead of the diverse and piecemeal innovations that have been typical of the Department of Corrections' response to effective practice hitherto, empirically informed approaches have been developed which are clearer about values, purposes and methods. These responses to effective practice include psychological tools for assessing risk of reoffending. However Raynor et al., (1994) argue that a preoccupation with technical effectiveness and assessment of 'what works' could dehumanise probation activity.

An assessment of the changes made as a result of linking political and personal relations, emphasises the concept of effectiveness alongside economy and efficiency (Dominelli, 1997b). However, as clear and well argued as Dominelli's account is, Shirley (1997) does not believe 'effectiveness' has this value in the current cultural context in New Zealand. He explains that the New Zealand experience of the new managerialism has been a primary focus on 'outputs' rather than 'outcomes'. Furthermore, Shirley claims that in current managerial practices in social work, economy and efficiency have replaced care,

justice and self determination. In his view, effectiveness should ultimately be judged in accordance with outcomes.

3.2.3 Criteria for effectiveness

Questions, therefore, need to be asked in relation to what is to be achieved by increased effectiveness. One could say that within the Department of Corrections, the criteria for effectiveness would need to be general to encompass not only reduced levels of offending or the cost of service delivery but also the service's contribution to the amelioration of social problems. But in relation to this, Dale (1997) cautions that New Zealand's Department of Corrections policy and associated practice, regarding assessment of effectiveness, lack sophistication.

Raynor (1997) raises two specific matters of contention which illuminate some of the difficulties experienced when addressing effectiveness in the Corrections arena. Firstly, he points out that it is important to identify the criteria against which effectiveness is to be measured. More specifically, he acknowledges that the current policy is that reducing reoffending is the desired outcome. It appears it is the reduction in recidivism which is paramount, as suggested by the footer of the Corrections services' official letterhead which reads 'Reducing Re-offending'. Raynor points out that an additional desired outcome might be a reduction in the relative seriousness or frequency of offending. McWilliams and Pease (1990) agree and argue that the proper meaning of rehabilitation is to be understood in this context, rather than simply a reduction in reoffending.

The second issue Raynor (1997) notes is related to the first. He clarifies the point that definitions of effectiveness should be linked to stakeholder

interests which are clearly identified. So, as Dale (1997) points out, Raynor (1997) is drawing attention to the fact that advances in criminological theory demand new and expanded measures of effectiveness. Dominelli (1997b) lends support to this notion and suggests that new theories of, and paradigms for, looking at effectiveness in social work practice, should take on board the impact world-scale capitalist relations have had on social work practice.

3.2.4 The impact of the international dimension on effectiveness

Previous discussion has implied that effective intervention with clients is context-dependent and therefore unlikely to require the consideration of the impact of an international dimension on its activities. However, Dominelli (1997b) argues otherwise. In her view the impact of the international dimension on effective social work practice has been to introduce changes of a fundamental nature into the profession and has affected its infrastructure, value base, methods of working, work-place relations and workers' relationships with clients. According to Dominelli, these changes have links with private sector management and government human services agencies, such as the Department of Corrections and have roots in a political programme. To make sense of the impact that this programme has had on this department, and in particular, the Community Probation Service, it is necessary to give a brief historical overview. This will cover the significant changes occurring in New Zealand's economic and social environment and place these changes in a global picture of economic reform.

3.3 Globalisation and the rise of managerialism

Since the reform process began in 1984, a powerful new era has evolved. Dominelli (1997b) describes what was happening as a process of globalisation. This is a process through which capitalist relations are both widened and deepened on a world scale. She goes on to explain that this process involves an extension of the multiplicity of linkages and interconnections between the states and society which comprise the modern world system. As noted, deregulation and liberalisation of financial markets started to happen in New Zealand as a consequence of globalisation. McGrew (1992) adds that at the same time technological innovations developed and have been crucial to the evolution of this process. In addition, the global restructuring of capital markets has been “accompanied by the ‘internationalisation of the state’ which implicates the nation-state in becoming a vehicle through which a domestic economy is adjusted to the imperatives of a global market” (Cox,1981:146). New Zealand has responded to the changing economic and social relations with “deregulation of financial markets; the lifting of restrictions on the flow of money in and out of the country; the termination of subsidies; the commercialisation and privatisation of key areas in government” (Shirley, 1997: 12). O’Connor (1997) describes this trend to open up the marketplace in human services. He views the issues of economic, social and cultural change evident in the movements of people, capital and employment as reflecting the processes of globalisation.

Within this process, the social services have started a restructuring programme in order to operate on private sector principles which provides for a purchaser/provider split. As a result, the managerialist agenda in Criminal Justice has taken on a three pronged strategy:

This strategy includes cash limits and emphasis on efficiency to engender a more financially aware and prudent approach; greater standardisation in policies and practices to curb the autonomy of the professionals and reduce their idiosyncrasies; and reorganisation of the agencies (Community Probation, Psychological and Public Prisons services) into stronger hierarchies, supported by target setting and performance monitoring to effect greater control and to sharpen accountability. The main manifestations of all this are productivity, cost efficiency and consumerism. (Raine & Wilson:1997:83).

3. 3.1 A brief history of managerialism in New Zealand

Public sector managerialism has come about as a result of the State Sector Act (1988) and the Public Finance Act (1989). These statutory Acts facilitated significant changes in the way government departments were managed. However the rise of managerialism has been slow in the corrections arena due to the highly political profile of law and order issues in New Zealand.

Raine and Wilson (1997) explain that major social and political changes have seen the economic paradigm shift away from perceived “welfarism” to increased involvement of for-profit and non-profit companies in the provision of human services under contract to government and local bodies. This has meant a change in focus from one on the economic and social well-being of marginalised groups in society to one of economic

rationalisation. Raine and Wilson point out that in the past many public institutions, including the Criminal Justice system, have been described as spendthrift, idiosyncratic and unaccountable. The changes have meant a rigorous restructuring process. This has been based on a business model to ensure the Criminal Justice system becomes contestable in the public service. With their focus on the Department of Corrections in this managerial climate, writers such as Garwood (1994); Dale (1997); O'Donoghue, Baskerville and Trlin (1999) examine the changes. They indicate that the results include increased managerial accountability and an emphasis on quantifiable output measures and performance targets. These outcomes contrast with the professional process accountability which had previously been evident in professional practice supervision.

3.3.2 Critique of managerialism in Department of Corrections

There have been a number of commentaries outlining resistance to the hegemony of managerialism in the Probation service, (see, e.g., Humphrey, 1991; Humphrey & Pease, 1992; Beaumont, 1995). Perhaps the most influential has been that of McWilliams (1992) who argues that the management ideal makes the probation service vulnerable to change from the outside because it starts at the top with policy that is 'given'. The role of managers, he says, is merely to translate that policy into instrumental objectives and to ensure, through evaluation and monitoring, that organisational practice is commensurate with those objectives.

Dominelli (1997b) is equally condemning in her evaluation of managerialism, suggesting that the new managerialism has fostered deprofessionalism, a budget-led approach to needs-based assessments and a reduction in relationship-building between social work and their clients.

Shirley (1997) reinforces these observations and goes on to suggest that social policy is now determined by economic technicians and managerial determinists.

3.3.3 Accountability and the link with managerialism

Scott (1993) views the spread of modern private sector management approaches into the public sector in a positive light. From his perspective the quality of the service to the public is not undermined. He argues that the increase in exposure of the public sector is not a bad thing if it sharpens one's desire to identify and solve problems. Worrall (1997) too, gives a positive evaluation and indicates that the principles underpinning managerialism drive a clear framework for accountability, effective links with other organisations in the community, and opportunities to engage with the social worlds which clients inhabit.

3.3.4 Managerialism, accountability and Department of Corrections

Evans (1999) opposes Shirley's (1997) view that government policies only look at outputs and opens up the issue of accountability further. Evans (1999) explains that one of the key reforms of the New Zealand Government is to shift focus from activities to outcomes and this has led to the formation of specific goals that government departments, such as the Department of Corrections, are required to meet. From this, performance indicators and targets for the required outputs were created. Raine and Wilson (1997) comment positively on the consequences of a managerialist agenda when examining the outcomes of the change in management approach within the public sector. They claim this approach offers greater openness, accessibility and goals that sharpen accountability.

Ward and Lacey (1995) point out that a service such as the Department of Corrections exercises powers and influences the exercise of coercive power over others. Given this, they say, it must operate according to the highest standards not only of legitimacy but also of accountability. It is argued that to be accountable the Department must also be effective. Rotman (1990) argues that effectiveness is linked to rehabilitation (as noted previously this is a goal of the Department of Corrections), and the only way that rehabilitation will be effective is if it is an obligation of the state. State commitment is necessary for effectively translating constitutional principles into penal practice. Taking these commentaries into account, it could be argued that managerialism clearly encourages a clear framework of accountability.

3.3.5 Impact of managerialism on the Community Probation service

The impact of managerialism has been to introduce changes of a fundamental nature into Community Probation. As a consequence, it affects the infrastructure, value base, and ultimately the practices or methods of working. Given this, it is important to examine the relevant areas affected.

Firstly, a detailed analysis will look at how the changes in management culture have modified values to better suit the changed organisational context. Secondly, and in light of this analysis, the interventions will be examined in an environment described as “a cultural milieu dominated by economic reductionism and the ideology of the New Right” (Shirley, 1997 : 12).

3.3.5.1 The fit of welfare and justice models under managerialism

Traditionally, the probation service has straddled both the welfare model, based on the needs of the offender, and the justice model, which stresses consistency of response proportionate to the severity of the offending. Worrall (1997) explains that there has always been a degree of tension in the role of the probation officer between responding to the needs of the offenders and controlling their criminal behaviour. Pratt (1992b) argues that corporatism actually offers a new model which displaces the old welfare-justice dichotomy. Therefore a point for discussion is that there could be a significant impact on previously-held values informing practice in probation with the emergence of a managerial culture.

Brown (1992) points out that managerialism embodies a conviction that moulding organisational culture offers a means of orchestrating organisational change. As such, it encourages employees to view the Department as a business focused on the core beliefs of the private sector of customer service in delivery of goods and services. Nellis (1995) says that managerialism encourages the 'just deserts' philosophy of punishment and challenges offender behaviour. He agrees with Brown (1992) that even though social work values have traditionally provided an accepted base for probation work, these values must now be clearly defined as the connotation of social work runs counter to the market-driven philosophies. This argument gains strength when the changes in the way offenders are managed are discussed.

3.4 Effect of managerialism on managing offenders

An integrated offender management system (IOMS) has been introduced to New Zealand Community Corrections and parallels the process of

managerialism. The fundamental difference between this model of practice and the previous organisational culture emerges at the agency level of the Criminal Justice system comprising the penal, probation and psychological services. As a result of the changes, these services have become an integrated and co-ordinated system for managing clients. At the same time they share a common purpose and common objectives in reducing re-offending. Assessment is part of the Department's new approach, which aims at consistency across the three Services. It will target programmes and services for sentenced offenders to factors which affect each individual's offending.

An integral part of the new approach is the use of screening tools to identify offenders' risk of re-offending and to help with effective targeting. In this process offenders' individual needs and risk directly relating to offending will be identified. Programmes and services which are empirically-supported interventions and based on cognitive-behavioural approaches will be provided with the intention of lowering recidivism rates.

3.4.1 Goals of punishment and sentencing in this new era

There are now signs that effectiveness at least might be achievable. For the purposes of the current inquiry, questions relate to how does this outcome affect past arguments about 'just deserts'. These concepts draw their support from a loss of faith in the consequentialist goals of punishment. A decade ago rehabilitation was perceived as being ineffective in influencing offenders' behaviour.

Modernisation of the probation service started with the Criminal Justice Act (1991) which was an ambitious piece of legislation with a stated aim to both reduce crime and the use of custody for 'less serious' offenders. It would appear that an expected outcome of this act might be that the probation service would have a more integral part to play in the Criminal Justice system. Worrall (1997) describes the Criminal Justice Act (1991) as a deliberate curbing of the Court's sentencing powers through legislation. Interestingly, the 1991 Act laid considerable stress on the role of the pre-sentence report, which is the social information written by probation officers in criminal justice decision-making. Taking the philosophy of 'just deserts' into consideration, it is difficult to see where these reports fit into the thinking of this philosophy if sentencing focuses primarily upon the previously committed offence. Nonetheless, reports judged by professional criteria to be of good quality are also regarded as useful by Judges. These reports appear to have an influence on sentencing in the direction of less imprisonment and more use of community sentences (Raynor, 1997). So it could be argued that even under the 1991 Act a just sentence must take into account the following components: social context of the offender; the prospects of future behaviour following different sentences; a focus on the previously committed offence.

3.4.1.1 Finding a 'fit' between 'just deserts' and rehabilitation

Hudson (1996) identifies the general danger that 'just deserts' thinking can differentially disadvantage the poorer and least powerful. This argument has been highly influential given the current experience of what actually happens in penal systems underpinned by a rhetoric of 'just deserts'. Certainly, in its pure form, this goal of punishment is concerned with past actions only (Hudson, 1996). Also, as Raynor (1997) points out,

pure justice models regard crime as a matter of free choice. He goes on to say that in reality offenders' choices, like all our choices, are constrained by social structure; by the cultures we develop or inherit in response to the agenda set by the structures; by biography, and our inherited and learned typical patterns of responses. At a strictly logical level, it is inevitable that there exists a difficulty of fit between the 'just deserts' influence with the Criminal Justice Act (1991) and rehabilitation, with its consequentialist and forward-looking philosophy.

However, Ward and Lacey (1995) explain that the Criminal Justice Act (1991), although less than ideal, offers positive opportunities. These writers say that when looking at finding a balance between the constraints of 'just deserts' and the opportunities of rehabilitation, the Act offers a fairer deal for offenders, victims and their communities. In short, rehabilitation may be incompatible with narrow and inadequate versions of 'just deserts'. Nonetheless, effective rehabilitation has its place within a model of organic justice which aims at compatibility with social justice and communal solidarity (Raynor, 1997). Ultimately, as Bottoms (1997) explains, both goals of sentencing are informed by a conception of justice which links social obligations to social rights. Indeed, it could be argued that rehabilitative efforts still need to be limited by the requirement to ensure punishment befitting the offence; the expectation of offenders participating actively in their own rehabilitation, is both a requirement of effectiveness and a moral expectation (Raynor, 1997).

Duell (1999) also views the Criminal Justice Act (1991) positively. He argues that it enables the previous Probation Service and now Department of Corrections in New Zealand to take centre stage and reclaim itself as

an organisation. The outcome of changes, in particular in the context of accountability, has enabled this service to develop closer working relationships with stakeholders, customers, clients and other criminal justice partners (Duell, 1999). In the past, Duell points out, probation had been criticised by the New Zealand's Penal Policy Review Committee (1981) for its lack of impact on recidivism rates and ambiguity of the Agency's goals. As Evans (1999) says, one of the key recent reforms of the New Zealand government is to shift focus from activities to outcomes and this has led to the formation of specific goals which government departments are required to meet. Now it can be argued that clear objectives exist to create and integrate a co-ordinated criminal justice system. Indeed, the goal of intensive supervision programmes which have become the hallmark of this era, is to monitor offenders diligently.

Combined with this thinking is also the upsurge in enthusiasm for certain approaches and recent evidence concerning the effectiveness of rehabilitative efforts. Exemplifying this, are Beck and Fernandez's (1998) conclusions in a meta-analysis on the criteria for effective correctional programmes. Their findings show that the apparent popularity of cognitive-behavioural therapy in the treatment of offending behaviour is justified by its effectiveness in achieving desired treatment goals. Ultimately, the thinking behind goals of sentencing and punishment is complex in this era of change. Nonetheless, as Duff and Garland (1997) argue, a combination of goals of punishment can work. "Effective thinking about punishment requires a closer relationship between high-level normative theory and ground-level practical decision-making" (Duff & Garland, 1997: 21).

3.5. Impact of managerialism on probation values

Alongside the examination of the changes in philosophies underpinning the goals of sentencing, it is also important to deconstruct the values that had been subscribed to for decades in probation. Traditionally, probation values are closely linked with practice firmly embedded in a belief in casework and reforming principles of the twentieth century. Nellis (1995) says, 'the moral shorthand of probation' was traditionally the principles of advise, assist and befriend. He suggests that these principles reflect the traditional psychotherapeutic focus on unconscious processes and feelings and the placement of offenders on probation because of welfare considerations. At the time of his writing, Nellis argues that the probation service was still clinging to the welfare ethic and had not fully integrated the notion of 'punishment in the community'. For him that was the shift in thinking necessary in the Criminal Justice system.

Nellis is highly critical of the value framework which informs the probation service as he sees the close proximity between probation work and social work as being unhelpful. James (1995), on the other hand, argues that any new values which are identified for the probation service will have to be capable of being both generalised and acceptable to other agencies in the Criminal Justice system. Certainly this notion appears valid with the introduction of the integrated approach to managing offenders. Nellis (1995) argues that as Community Corrections is a service which is embracing managerialism, it has a preoccupation with the New Right's discourse of outcomes, efficiency and quality. He notes that as a consequence, opportunistic political initiatives now outstrip the pace at which penal policy is made.

Given this, one could argue that for a service which is rooted by virtue of its history and its training in working with offenders, the value-base needs to be broader to inform practice undertaken with these clients. There appears to be a need to reflect a change from the traditional view of the Community Probation service as a provider of welfare services to an agency which has gone through a rigorous restructuring programme. It now has a brief to address offending behaviour as part of an integrated criminal justice system which is responsive to government policy. Indeed, in this new market-driven culture, general principles such as 'respect for persons' have little impact. They concentrate on the individual rather than a specific set of values and principles of effective practice which will address the changes in the political and economic environment.

Williams (1997) points out that probation officers have been opposed to the use of custodial punishment and committed to the use and provision of more constructive ways of working with offenders. Furthermore, Worrall (1997), after charting the irresistible move from traditional values to current values, deduces that care, justice and self-determination have been replaced by confrontation and the controlling and monitoring of offenders. However, as Williams (1997) points out, by converting moral issues into technical ones and political questions into administrative ones, there is a danger that the success of managerialism will be related to its ability to simplify value structures.

3.6. Concluding remarks

This chapter has looked at effectiveness as it relates to the Criminal Justice system. It has pointed out that it can be a disadvantage to rely on one measure of effectiveness, namely crime reduction. The grounds for

this are that the Community Probation service has a moral responsibility to the community combined with the issue of disadvantage. The rise of managerialism as a management approach has been outlined and its inherent characteristics examined. Significant recognition has been given to the advantages of an approach to management which has a focus on market driven policies. The major strength of this approach has been identified as concern for accountability which has resulted in a clear organisational focus for Corrections staff.

Empirically informed practice is seen to be of value. However, it has also been argued that a preoccupation with measurement and a 'results ethos' can be detrimental and dehumanising to a service which Raynor (1997) acknowledges has been valued for its responsiveness and flexible approach to social work practice.

Far from assuming a centre stage in the Criminal Justice system as anticipated by the Criminal Justice Act (1991), the Community Probation service has instead started to question the very basis of its professional purpose and competency. The organisation has experienced substantial cuts in its resource base. There is now a drive for its practices and responsibilities to become competitive in a business environment. In this culture of effectiveness, efficiency and economy, market testing and resource limits, it is important to ensure that the gap does not widen irretrievably between the principles of management and those of probation practice. More importantly, as Ward and Lacey (1995) point out that in a relentless search for effectiveness, the moral dimensions of practice and organisation (issues relating to just, right and good) can be easily sacrificed for expediency. In the current climate, whatever connotation is

placed on 'effectiveness', the reality is that it is driven by management ideology. Therefore, there will be a certain set of principles which relate to the market forces and underpin any prescribed definition.

The next chapter will critically examine effectiveness in terms of programme intervention in this current climate. The connection with the following discussion and the focus of this inquiry is particularly strong. As noted, the research participants have attended the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme, which has been evaluated as effective. The next chapter identifies the current principles of effectiveness and compares these with the approaches used in the DOT programme. Correlations will be established between the prevailing ideology of 'effectiveness' and the principles of effectiveness associated with the approach utilised in the DOT programme.

4 Characteristics of effective correctional programme intervention

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines commentaries on intervention currently used in the Department of Corrections and identifies the principles of effectiveness underpinning these interventions. However, as became apparent in the previous chapter, correctional intervention is influenced by factors other than principles of effectiveness. This chapter will discuss the principles of effectiveness with consideration given to the values and theories that underpin the ideology that drives the agency.

Managerialism, as noted in the previous chapter, might be described as essentially an element of a political programme that manages for results and influences the search for programme effectiveness in Community Corrections. The values underpinning this management approach are a significant factor when examining the fundamental principles characteristic of the interventions which are shown to be effective in managing the offender client group. These principles will be identified and examined in the context of this chapter. Theory provides pragmatic value in the way it offers explanations of human situations and behaviour. Theory also presents ideas for change strategies and is linked not only to practice but also to the wider social context. In view of this, theory is also inextricably linked with the values and principles contributing to correctional intervention. Specific theories will be acknowledged, for

example, cognitive-behavioural, which drive the interventions that have been identified as facilitating the change process in offending. As Meemeduma (1995) points out, the philosophy and the ethos of the institution comprise the building blocks of intervention practices.

The intention of the next section is to give an overall perspective on what particular writers view as important when examining effectiveness in correctional intervention. For nearly two decades the question of whether correctional intervention is effective has generated interest and controversy when examining what intervention reduces recidivism and thereby protects the public. In his profile of correctional effectiveness, Palmer (1994) points out that a broader research strategy is needed than has been used previously. This, he explains is in order to make continued and substantial progress in building knowledge about effective intervention. In light of this, non-programmatic factors, such as facilitator characteristics and facilitator/client interactions, will be taken into account when identifying effective characteristics of correctional programme intervention.

Zamble and Quinsey (1997) argue that in order for an effective programme intervention to be designed, it is important to understand why new offences are actually committed. Commentary will be explored on how persistent, serious offenders fail to cope with their environments and the psychological factors that make reoffending more likely to happen. The assumption is that the outcome of an effective programme will be a reduction in reoffending. Therefore an integral part of the discussion will be an examination of external and internal factors which are operating concurrently to bring about behaviour change.

4.1.1 'Intervention' in the corrections arena

McLaren (1993) offers a broad definition of 'intervention' when framing the context of the 'effectiveness' debate in Community Corrections. This debate is centred around the proportion of interventions which are effective and the degree of their effectiveness. She explains that given the range and type of interventions covered by the commentaries, including programmes, treatment, approaches and service, 'intervention' refers to any course of action undertaken with an offender which identifies reducing reoffending as a goal.

Andrews and Bonta (1994) provide a more specific statement based on psychological theory and identify the principles underpinning effective intervention. Worrall (1997) offers a discourse analysis on intervention. She explains that intervention is a process in which the individuals and agencies attempt to anticipate the effects of programmes and technologies and then refer to these expected effects to assess justification for the continuation or cessation of such intervention. Having briefly contextualised 'intervention', 'effectiveness' will be evaluated at both a macro and micro-level.

4.1.2 Evaluating 'effectiveness' at a macro-level

Merrill (1998) argues that essentially measures of effectiveness can depend on the problem being addressed and what is being measured. For example, studies in the field of substance abuse illustrate the value of applying broader-based measures of substance use and overall social function. This is instead of simply using clinical outcomes to assess treatment (Merrill, 1998). He claims that reduction in illegal activities and clean urine samples are often criteria used when looking at programme

effectiveness. However, he suggests that equally useful measures can be increases in employment, improvement in health status and reduced dependence on public assistance. So it may be necessary to explore further what researchers have come up with in terms of the most appropriate role of programmes.

In a review on what works in correctional treatment, Palmer (1992), a compelling and widely cited writer on this topic, offers a comprehensive study of the factors in evaluating treatment effectiveness. He calls into question the “nothing works” credo and comments on how ‘intervention’ appears to have regained moral, scientific, philosophical and even pragmatic legitimacy. Certainly at the time he was writing, positive evidence was growing at a fast rate. This was due, in part, to the work of writers such as Lipsey (1989) and Gendreau and Ross (1981) who first identified the theoretical and empirical weaknesses of official punishment. They noted that the findings favouring the effectiveness of rehabilitation were beginning to grow.

Palmer (1992) is a radical advocator for and open to the empirical exploration of well-implemented programmes. He suggests that rather than question what works for offenders as a whole, we should be identifying which method works best for different categories of offenders and specific types of settings. He puts forward the developing consensus view that a combination of treatment and external controls may be valuable with a particular emphasis on aftercare. However he cautions that those who promote intervention often fail to explain and clarify the considerable effort required to implement effective programmes.

Porporino (1995) argues that at the end of the day, a potentially effective correctional programme will show effectiveness only if it is supported by a policy and management agenda where all the pieces work together and where the broader correctional process is grounded firmly in both theory and research on what works.

4.1.3 Evaluating 'effectiveness' at a micro-level

So far the focus of this review has been on a macro-level when defining the term 'effectiveness' in relation to programmes. Directing the debate at a micro-level, Palmer (1994) explains why no one method is guaranteed to work. He argues that it is impossible to categorise an overall intervention type as 'effective' or 'ineffective'. His reasons include that some approaches may have worked in some settings under some conditions but not in other settings under other conditions. He considers that approaches may have reduced reoffending for one offender subgroup or type but not for all those offenders who participated. He points out that attention must therefore be paid to the details of a specific intervention and the context within which it is delivered. Lester, Braswell and Van Voorhis (1993) on the other hand, argue that there is extensive literature attesting to the fact that certain approaches can work with offenders so it would be reasonable to assume that a set of underlying principles can be derived that are predictive of successful practices.

4.2 Principle characteristics of effective correctional programmes

Antonowicz and Ross (1994) carried out a quantitative analysis of 44 rigorously controlled offender treatment studies and identified six essential characteristics of effective programmes. These factors, they say, include: a sound conceptual model; multi-faceted programming; the

targeting of 'criminogenic needs' (such as alcohol/drug abuse or marital/family relationships); the responsivity principle which derives from the fact that offenders differ in motivation, personality and emotional and cognitive abilities and influence the offender's responsiveness to various treatment programmes, roleplaying and modelling and social skill training.

Andrews and Bonta (1994) have also examined these issues. They agree with Antonowicz and Ross (1994) that when looking at effectiveness in terms of the assumptions applied to practice, responsivity and criminogenic needs are among the three principles they propose.

These writers include one other principle known as the risk factor. Their research findings show that treating the most at-risk offenders has a greater impact on crime than treating low-risk offenders. Prior to examining the other principles noted, the following discussion will focus on the assumption that the level of risk is a significant factor in effective intervention.

4.2.1 Risk principle

Much has been written about the risk principle by writers in the area of correctional intervention. Taxman and Piquero (1998) and Gendreau, Little and Goggin (1996) submit that targeting the offender's level of risk is vital when considering programme intervention. However, Brown (1996) argues that while meta-analyses of rehabilitation programmes consider reoffending risk to be a primary variable in influencing programme effectiveness, practitioners are not clear about how to interpret this broad finding in screening offenders for rehabilitation programmes.

Andrews, Bonta and Hoge (1990) point out that there are a number of significant issues surrounding risk assessment and sentence management. Dale (1997) reinforces the link between risk principle and programmes for offenders. He suggests that Andrews, Bonta and Hoge (1990) frame the context of the debate by their explanation. In practice, the assessment of offender risk serves to structure many of the decisions made regarding programme management. Bonta (1996) discusses the development of risk assessment through 'three generations'.

He argues that the first is based on subjective 'professional judgement' which has an inherent weakness due to practitioner discretion. According to Bonta, this makes accountability and fairness difficult to achieve. The second, he suggests, characterises a move towards the use of objective, empirically-based offender risk assessment instruments. However, the major weakness of such instruments lies in their inability to provide direction for intervention. Therefore, Bonta (1996) comments, the third generation of risk development is the combination of more traditional risk items (based on historic facts such as prior convictions or nature of the offence) with dynamic, criminogenic need items (such as alcohol/abuse or marital/family relationships) which are linked to criminal behaviour.

4.2.1.1 Risk assessment tool

New Zealand psychologists, Bakker, O'Malley and Riley (1998a) have developed a formal risk assessment instrument and have based their research around the writings of Andrews and Bonta (1994). Bakker et al. say that to make the most effective use of programme resources, one needs not only to accurately identify those most at risk in a particular environment but one also needs to use an instrument which has a culturally

compatible measure. Their comments reflect that to date most risk assessment measures used in correctional agencies have been developed for Northern American communities. By developing specific statistical models for predicting reconviction, Bakker et al. say they have been able to provide relevant standardised and reliable measures for targeting the most at-risk traffic and violent offenders for intervention in New Zealand.

The current Community Corrections policy of Integrated Offender Management (IOM), has a 'framework' which uses the three principles of effective interventions proposed by Andrews and Bonta (1994). They claim that targeting is important because by identifying individual needs and risks directly related to offending, programmes and services can be delivered to meet those needs.

4.2.2 Needs Principle

Johnston (1998) points out that over the past seventy years a vast array of rehabilitative interventions have been applied to offenders with varying degrees of success. Evaluative research suggests that the programmes that are effective, that is, those which reduce reoffending are those which focus on specific features of offenders which are known to be risk-related (Johnston, 1988). Andrews and Bonta (1994) identify features such as the ones Johnston describes and explain that they are known as 'criminogenic needs'.

Antonwicz and Ross (1994) refer to research on correctional programming (e.g., Andrews & Bonta, 1994; Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau & Cullen, 1990; Gendreau & Ross, 1987) which

demonstrates that programmes are effective in reducing recidivism when targeted towards appropriate criminogenic needs. These writers say that these needs can be seen as risk factors which when reduced, or positively influenced, bring about reductions in recidivism. Examples of crimeogenic needs include drug and alcohol use and thinking which focuses on offending and violence.

4.2.2.1 Criminogenic needs

However, Johnston (1998) points out that the concept of criminogenic needs requires some clarification and definition. Essentially, he says, these needs are features of offenders' personality, lifestyle and social circumstances that predispose the person to offending. As such, criminogenic needs are a subset of a broader range of factors which have been demonstrated statistically to correlate with offending risk. He sees the most powerful predictors of risk as being factors such as current age, age at first arrest, gender, number of previous offences and a history of school failure and family maladjustment. However, he goes on to say that though criminogenic needs have a lower correlation to risk, they are particularly important in that they are potentially changeable.

Bonta (1996) describes criminogenic needs as dynamic risk factors. He views these particular needs as any characteristic which when changed leads to a change in the level of crime. Essentially, then, criminogenic needs are the intermediary link to recidivism (Bonta, 1996). In earlier writings, Andrews and Bonta (1994) identify criminogenic needs as poor cognitive competencies and social skills, criminal associates, delinquent peer contacts, lack of prosocial bonding, educational and vocational deficits among others. McLaren (1994) also lists examples of criminogenic

needs. She qualifies the exemplars in her writings by pointing out that they are not so much needs which if not met will harm the offenders, as needs which if not met in the offender will lead to great harm and possibly death for other people. So, as Johnston (1998) goes on to explain, for many offenders it is essential in order for offending to be curtailed that they identify those features which make them susceptible to offending and successfully treat the patterns of abuse and addiction.

4.2.3 Responsivity principle

The third principle associated with effective correctional intervention and identified by Andrews and Bonta (1994) is the assumption of responsivity. This principle, they say, suggests that offenders will only be able to respond to interventions which match their abilities and learning styles (so modes and styles of treatment are employed that are capable of influencing criminogenic needs). Recommended modes of treatment for effective intervention are cognitive-behavioural and social learning approaches rather than nondirective relationship-oriented counselling or psychodynamic, insight oriented counselling (Andrews & Bonta, 1994).

In his writings Serin (1994) too, illustrates the importance of matching offenders to the appropriate level of intervention. He develops this notion further by suggesting the provision of a continuum of intervention from intake to community follow up and supervision. Prochaska (1999) takes up the points made by these researchers but argues that therapeutic processes originating from competing theories can be compatible when they are matched with a client's stage of change. His ideas have been formulated and developed from the writings of Miller (1993) on the transtheoretical model of change.

4.2.3.1 Transtheoretical model of change

Miller (1993) comments that substantial attention has been devoted to the causes of relapse and this attention has been focused mostly on precipitating factors. He explains that when looking at what really drives change that much less research has been devoted to the positive side of the picture. He suggests that these are the determinants of change in behaviour or the predisposing factors which prepare the way and lay the foundation for positive change. He offers an integrative framework for understanding and intervening with human intentional behaviour change.

This framework has three organising constructs: the stages of change representing the dynamic and motivational aspects of the process of change over time; the processes of change or the 'engines' that facilitate movement through the stages of change; and the levels of change where it is acknowledged that multiple problems can complicate and interact with change. Prochaska (1999) comments that Miller's (1993) change processes provide the integration of some of the best change processes derived from theories of therapeutic change that are usually seen as incompatible or competing. However, Prochaska is critical of a transtheoretical approach evolving from a comparative analysis of the major systems of psychotherapy. When commenting on this approach he points out that it supports theories which are more about why people do not change than how people can change. He qualifies this appraisal by pointing out that the approach emphasises the content of therapy rather than the process of change.

In their overview of the transtheoretical model, DiClemente and Prochaska (1998) comment that most individuals move through stages of

change in a cyclical rather than linear fashion. In other words, an individual may realise there is a problem, recognise the need for change, make the decision to change and take the appropriate action. They argue that most successful behaviour change requires several cycles through the stages of change before the individual is able to achieve sustained change.

In earlier writings, perpetuating factors also make sense to Miller (1993). He observes that in order to understand the intricacies of change and what determines whether a change will endure, we have to look at all four types of potentially causal factors commonly investigated in the etiology of psychopathology. He lists these primary factors as predisposing factors, which increase susceptibility; precipitating factors which immediately precede onset of event; and reinforcing or perpetuating factors, which increase the probability of continuation after onset.

4.2.3.2 Critique of transtheoretical model

Davidson (1998) in his critical overview of the transtheoretical model, agrees with Prochaska (1999) that at the stage component of this model a temporal organisational structure tells us something about when people change but nothing about how or why they change. Although he agrees with Miller (1993) that the model places motivational interviewing in a context important to many practitioners, Davidson (1998) criticises the notion that good quality change will occur only if an individual proceeds through each stage of change. He argues that based on current findings it would be best to construe the change process as a continuous variable rather than a series of discrete stages.

Hughes (1996) makes a conceptual, rather than a methodological criticism and questions the value of comparing models. He emphasises the importance of how the models interrelate rather than merely looking at their relative power. However, Hughes also acknowledges that the stage model describes a simple quantitative and chronological relationship between intention and behaviour. Stockwell (1996) comments that preparedness to change matters greatly and should be central to the design and delivery of any intervention.

4.2.3.3 Responsivity principle as it relates to design of programmes

Research reported in the landmark work of Zamble and Quinsey (1997) helps in the understanding of why new crimes are actually committed. The findings assist in the design of effective prevention programmes. Zamble and Quinsey submit that recidivism is a necessary focus in extending knowledge when a very large segment of the offender population have been and continue to be repeat offenders. Yet despite the importance of the measure of prison, parole and probation success, the understanding of recidivism derives mainly from actuarial and anecdotal analyses. Zamble and Quinsey provide an alternative approach by examining how persistent serious offenders fail to cope with their environments and the psychological factors that make reoffending more likely. By examining the criminal recidivism process, these writers say they are able to consider the theoretical import of their study and empirical implications for application.

Coebergh, Bakker, Anstiss, Maynard and Percy (1999) develop the work of Zamble and Quinsey (1997) further. Coebergh et al., like Andrews and Bonta (1994) observe that in order for interventions to be effective,

criminogenic needs should be targeted. Essentially, this means that the design of the programme should be specifically tailored to target an individual's specific criminogenic needs. In general terms, interventions will need to be cognitive-behavioural in nature, have components that specifically target criminogenic needs and teach relapse prevention principles to self manage criminogenic needs (Coebergh et al., 1999). To date, the Department of Corrections has adopted principles of best practice which are consistent with Coebergh, et al.'s (1999) recommendation.

4.3 Principal treatment approaches to programme intervention

There are five principal treatment approaches to programme intervention used in the Department of Community Corrections: psychodynamic/non-directive client centred, behavioural based on social learning theory, cognitive and cognitive-behavioural. Of the five, the cognitive-behavioural approach is more frequently used and supported by the Department in terms of staff training courses.

4.3.1 Psychodynamic approach

McLaren (1994) offers a particularly insightful critique of the psychodynamic approach and explains that the focus is on establishing a good relationship with the client and encouraging insight rather than actively and directly developing new habits of thought and behaviour. She claims that the reasons this approach does not work with offenders is that not only are clients rewarded for anti-social as well as pro-social behaviour but also, behaviours which are associated with reoffending are not directly addressed by the intervention. McLaren claims that if they

are, they are not addressed in a sufficiently active and directive way to change them. However, Andrews and Bonta (1994) point out that it is clear psychodynamic theory suggests a number of important need factors (or intermediate targets for intervention) and receives strong support from cross-sectional and longitudinal studies. Although they concede that this approach does not provide a powerful technology of behavioural influence for correctional purposes.

4.3.2 Behavioural

There is some disagreement on the effectiveness of behavioural approaches in guiding the interventions used in working with offenders. Behaviourists suggest that since all human behaviour is learned it can also be changed using the principles by which it was acquired. However, Bartol (1999) cautions that over simplification is dangerous when dealing with human complexity. He explains that when we lose sight of the person and overemphasise the environmental or external determinants of behaviour, we may be overlooking a critical level of explanation. He concludes that both internal as well as external factors play a significant role in behaviour. In earlier writings, Payne (1991) makes the point that behavioural theories emphasise the client's ability to learn, adapt, control and change but not necessarily understand his or her behaviour.

Bartol (1999) is also critical of behaviourist theories in terms of the practice models they drive. He argues that these models seem to offer simple straight-forward methods of elevating pressing behaviour problems when what is actually required is sophistication on the part of the therapist, stringent environmental control and a high degree of cooperation and commitment from those even remotely involved in the

programme. Furthermore, he claims, criminal behaviour is not simply the result of imitating others in the social environment or even the result of external reinforcements. He explains that if this was the situation and actions were determined solely by external rewards or punishments, people would behave like weather vanes constantly shifting in directions to conform to the momentary influences impinging on them.

4.3.3 Cognitive-behavioural

The suggestion that correctional intervention needs to impact directly on offenders' behaviour if the goal of reducing reoffending is to have any relevance, essentially means that offenders need to be directly involved in this process. This is one of the characteristics of the cognitive-behavioural approaches which makes them the preferred option when intervening with offenders' treatment. Andrews and Bonta (1994) comment that cognitive-behavioural and social learning interventions are widely recognised as the most effective way of treating high risk offenders.

4.3.3.1 Reasons for cognitive-behavioural being preferred approach

To date there are a number of reasons why the cognitive-behavioural approaches are preferred in this area of work. According to Scott and Stradling (1991), the cognitive revolution in psychology has meant that an individual's behaviour is now rarely viewed in simple behaviourist terms as solely a product of rewards and punishment. They explain that behaviour is instead seen as influenced by an individual's own, often idiosyncratic, view of his/her situation. In this area a substantial number of well designed outcome studies (e.g., Izzo & Ross, 1990) testify to the efficacy of cognitive-behavioural therapy (McLaren, 1993). As Scott and Stradling (1991) suggest, the cognitive-behavioural therapy is sufficiently

detailed to equip social workers with a wide range of strategies which they could adopt with almost any issue that needs to be addressed.

McLaren (1994) agrees and says that one of the most significant results of relevant research in this area is that interventions, which use cognitive and behavioural techniques to bring about change in key areas, are far more likely to succeed. She explains that such success is due to cognitive-behavioural interventions being able to get to the heart of how people learn skills in the first place. She qualifies this by acknowledging that this type of intervention focuses on changing not only behaviour but also attitudes or thinking habits associated with repeat offending and on teaching more functional thinking skills to offenders. Donovan (1996) adds to the overwhelming support for this approach by saying that the strength of the cognitive-behavioural approach is that the client is able to be part of the decision-making process. As an outcome of earlier research, Lipsey (1989) found that the major treatment variables associated with reduced recidivism included behaviour-oriented, skill oriented and multimodal treatment. These variables are characteristic of the cognitive-behavioural approach. According to Lipsey, treatments which reduce recidivism rates by approximately 30% are those which are structured and focused.

4.4 Nonprogrammatic factors in effective intervention

Palmer (1992) argues that when looking at what is underlying the effectiveness of a programme, factors other than approaches and methods used, need to be taken into consideration. He makes two major concluding points from his summary of meta-analyses of correctional intervention programmes. Firstly, each generic approach or category actually contains

more than one programme component. According to Palmer, several mutually different combinations of programme components may exist, or could have existed, in one category. He suggests that if this conclusion is valid then it would appear that only some components were effective with a large proportion of offenders. Secondly, when looking at why some programmes work and others do not, it appears that non-programmatic factors such as facilitator characteristics, staff/client interaction and settings influence outcomes (Palmer, 1992). He views the difference between programmatic and nonprogrammatic factors as significant. Nonprogrammatic factors include a wide range of conditions which can centre on structural and quantitative aspects and do not necessarily focus on programme content (Palmer, 1992). An examination of the material in regard to these factors, confirms a dearth of information on this topic. Palmer points out that this gap in relevant knowledge reflects the fact that clearly delineated combinations have rarely been hypothesised or given a focus in systematised research on the effectiveness of correctional programmes.

4.4.1 Facilitator characteristics

McLaren (1994) partly fills this gap when she addresses the value that the practitioner contributes by acknowledging that effective intervention with offenders has a high level of therapeutic integrity. She identifies a set of conditions which are associated with interventions effective in reducing recidivism. Each of these sixteen principles of effectiveness relates in some way to how a practitioner can work in an effective way. Exemplifying this point and included in the assumptions that McLaren makes is that staff relate to offenders in warm, flexible and enthusiastic ways and at the same time support anticriminal attitudes and behaviours

which are supportive and positive regarding conventional alternatives to crime.

Other writers, including Andrews and Bonta (1994), also support the notion that the role of the correctional workers, and therefore programme facilitators, is an important one. They note that effective facilitators should serve as anticriminal models for their clients and as sources of reinforcement for their clients' anticriminal expressions and efforts (Andrews & Bonta, 1994). Certainly as clear and as well argued as these writers' accounts are of the specific characteristics of effective facilitators, other writers have identified other characteristics. In earlier writings, Siporin (1993) says that the social worker's personality, craftsmanship and artistry in the application of knowledge and skill, is articulated through the professional and personal style. Rather than offering a cluster of characteristics which fit an 'effectiveness mould', Siporin (1993) prefers to view everyone's operational style as highly individualised. He views these styles as expressions of the characteristic qualities of practitioners as individual human beings. He broadens the concept of roles which the practitioner can offer to the therapeutic alliance by identifying the pragmatist or analyst, mediator, trouble-shooter, discussion leader and coach, among others.

There are a number of reasons why the issue of what makes an effective therapist is not so clear cut. Prochaska (1999), when looking at how people make change, is one of the few writers who describes the therapist's contribution as a secondary role in the therapeutic alliance. He points out that therapeutic processes originating from competing theories can be compatible but the main point for consideration is the client's stage

of change. Therefore, according to Prochaska, the value of an effective facilitator lies in the knowledge that he or she has to match the interventions with the stage of change the client is at.

4.4.2 Staff/client interaction

Staff interactions with clients present both dilemmas and opportunities. A significant account on this issue reflects the value that Andrews and Bonta (1994) place on this aspect of effective programming. They point out that essential to an effective relationship is an open, flexible and enthusiastic style wherein people feel free to express their opinions, feelings and experiences. Furthermore, they comment that mutual liking, respect and caring is also necessary. Illustrating the importance of staff/client relationships, Palmer (1995) points out that studies have revealed where high mutual regard or high mutual dislike exists between client and therapist, differences in recidivism are pronounced.

4.4.3 Setting

Johnson (1996) outlines the approach of community based corrections and looks at the different types of programmes on which offenders may be placed. The conclusion he reaches is that community based programmes need to provide a balance between punishment, rehabilitation and the management of risk to the community if they are to be effective. Andrews and Bonta (1994) point out that a high quality interpersonal relationship creates a setting in which modelling and reinforcement can more easily take place. However, Palmer (1995) concludes that insufficient studies have been carried out to identify effective programmatic combinations and the nonprogrammatic factors and conditions which contribute significantly to positive outcomes. He claims that programme settings

should involve more than various formal or structural dimensions, i.e. justice system or non justice system and should encompass management and decision-making styles and social-climate dimensions.

4.5 Concluding remarks

Commentary on the effects of treatment services has revealed positive results. What has been made clear is that in regard to the principles of risk, need and responsivity, it is not about including these principles but about taking account of them when working with offenders. The dominance of North American writers in the area of effective programming and the psychology of criminal conduct is significant. On a global dimension it could be argued that this emphasis has implications for cultural and social differences in correctional environments. Having reviewed much of the available literature on effective programmes, it becomes increasingly clear that researchers have centred their analyses of effective programmes around a distinguishing or salient feature, such as the use of a particular intervention approach. In analysing the programme component or approach, significant knowledge has been produced. However, research on nonprogrammatic features, for example, facilitator characteristics, have largely been ignored. As Palmer (1995) points out, less salient programme features should be included. This poses a challenge for further knowledge building in outcome-relevant factors.

In terms of the current study, this chapter has framed the area of effective intervention with offenders. An examination of material to date is provided on the characteristics of correctional programme intervention. The scene is now set for the following chapter in which the target programme will be described. As noted, the research participants attended

this programme prior to being interviewed for the current study. They identify behaviour changes which occurred as a direct result of attending the course. So it follows that inclusion of material focusing on a target programme which promotes behaviour change is essential when identifying external factors operating at the same time as these changes are taking place.

5 The Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) Programme

5.1. Introduction

As outlined in the previous chapter, the rationale for examining the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme is integral to the overall aims of the current study. The concept of relapse prevention and relapse prevention models are given particular emphasis because of the unique contribution of relapse theory. This theory provides explanations relating to maintenance of behaviour change and reasons why individuals fail to maintain behaviour change. When working with relapse prevention in social work practice, the focus is on identifying internal and external factors in the maintenance of behaviour change and how offenders interact with their environment and cope with problems in this environment.

Innovative programmes, alone, once captured the interest of funding sources in Community Corrections. However, currently there is increased competition for scarce financial resources due to the management ideology driving the search for programme effectiveness. So it is now necessary to include those principles shown to be effective in reducing reoffending in funded programmes. Van Voorhis (1998) says that traditionally recidivism has been a standard for measuring programme outcomes. However, Palmer (1992) points out that exclusive reliance on recidivism ignores other important indicators of programme success. For him, it is essential to take into consideration the complexities inherent

with intervention in the corrections arena. This means including the multiple features of the programme in the analysis. In light of this, a detailed statement on the DOT programme will be provided in this chapter. The statement will include a review of combinations of the programme components and in particular, the rationale underpinning the programme, its design and description, facilitator characteristics and a detailed review of the theories relevant to this practice area. A critique of Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) relapse prevention model will be offered. Another focus of the discussion will be the relationship between the described criteria for effective intervention (identified in the previous chapter) and the process and outcomes of the DOT programme.

5.2 Rationale underpinning the DOT programme

Several sections to follow will highlight the logic and motivation for the development of the DOT programme which the target group of the current study attended. One of the reasons for developing this programme is linked to the offending behaviour of the target group. To gain a broader view of this type of offending behaviour, the analysis will provide an outline of the social consequences of disqualified driving and key issues relating to drivers who continue to drive while disqualified.

5.2.1 The problem

The focus for this study is on disqualified drivers who continue to drive as they represent one of the largest portion of offenders within traffic offending. Bakker, Ward and Hudson (1997) note that persistent driver offenders are a substantial problem for law enforcement agencies with almost 45% of all convictions in New Zealand being for traffic offences. Spier, Norris and Southey (1993) report that in 1992, over nine thousand

drivers were convicted of Driving While Disqualified (DWD) charges in New Zealand with 16% of these being incarcerated and constituting about 20% of all sentenced inmates in the same year. Added to these statistics, Bakker et al. claim that DWD offenders also comprised approximately 21% of the 5000 periodic detention cases in 1991. The cost of apprehension, processing through the courts and administering the punishment for this group of offenders is high. In terms of imprisonment, Braybrook and Southey (1991) report that the sentence length for driving while disqualified (DWD) offenders ranges from as little as one week to a maximum of five years. Furthermore, these writers indicate that on any given day, approximately six to eight percent of the prison population are individuals whose major offence is a DWD conviction.

Wilson (1996) points out the many hidden costs to DWD offending. These may include New Zealand Income Support payments to the DWD offender and/or their family if they are incarcerated, unemployment due to obtaining a criminal conviction, and the loss of a licence to drive. Furthermore, there are emotional costs associated with an offending lifestyle that affect both the offenders and their families. However, as Wilson indicates, these costs are not easily quantified.

Research undertaken by Bailey (1993) shows that approximately 90% of DWD offenders in New Zealand were initially disqualified because of excess blood alcohol levels. Many of the offenders have extensive histories of driving while disqualified. Bakker et al. (1997) point out that while it is clear that most disqualified drivers have a number of offences for alcohol impaired driving, driving while disqualified offences are more numerous for most of these individuals. This strongly suggests that it is a

significant problem in its own right. Furthermore, many disqualified drivers have past criminal histories cited in their Community Corrections pre-conviction lists but their current offending behaviour which results in the attention from the Criminal Justice system, is disqualified driving. This gives an indication of the complex nature of this type of offending.

5.2.2 Key issues

Bakker et al. (1997) conclude that one of the key issues around intervention with disqualified offenders, concerns the reason why these individuals continue to drive despite the potentially severe consequences of doing so. These consequences include the risk of having their motor-vehicle confiscated. It appears to make sense then, that understanding the factors which maintain what could be described as ‘chronic’ behaviour, may lead to more effective intervention.

5.2.2.1 Driving as an addiction

As a result of their evaluation of disqualified drivers, Bakker et al. (1997) found that many drivers describe a compulsion to drive that they report finding difficult to resist. Simply imprisoning persistent offenders appears ineffective in stopping this behaviour. Often this group of offenders accumulates large numbers of disqualifications and frequently cannot remain conviction-free sufficiently long enough to become eligible to obtain a driver’s licence.

5.2.2.2 ‘Disqualification treadmill’

The Land Transport Safety Authority (LTSA) (1997) describes this reoffending cycle as a ‘disqualification treadmill’ and acknowledges that although initially drivers cease to drive without a licence, they are

disqualified for so long that further periods of disqualified driving are likely and hence so too, is the risk of further disqualification. Bailey (1993) points out that disqualified drivers are identifiably different from drivers whose major problem is with drinking. According to Bailey, the individual who has difficulties stopping driving while disqualified accumulates more driving convictions overall. Added to this, the majority of these convictions are for driving while disqualified. It could be argued then, that for these individuals to stop reoffending means attending to the apparently reinforcing effects of driving.

5.2.2.3 Traditional strategies for intervention with driver offenders

Interventions which have been employed in attempt to alter at-risk behaviour include sanctions such as licence suspension, alcohol treatment and driver education. The most common form of intervention with disqualified driver offenders is to simply increase the legal penalties for this offending. The LTSA (1997) indicates that deterrence is considered the most important factor in controlling both the frequency and severity of traffic offending and suggests that penalties can achieve much more in both road safety terms and in reducing costs to the criminal justice system if the threat of the penalty is sufficient to deter the rest of the population from offending. Ross (1992) has written extensively about the issues of deterrence in relation to driving offending. He argues that in order for a penalty regime to function effectively as an individual and general deterrent, it must be perceived as severe, certain and swift. Bakker, Ward, Cryer and Hudson (1997) point out that research shows licence suspensions are effective in reducing subsequent accidents and convictions for driving while under the influence of alcohol. Earlier research by Waller (1985) evidences that up to two-thirds of drivers who

are disqualified, drive during their revocation period. Bakker, et al. (1997) say that the high relapse and recidivism rates in this group have been thought to be associated with compulsivity or addictive processes.

5.2.2.4 Effectiveness of traditional approaches in social work practice

Traditional intervention for driver offenders in the Community Probation service and in the community, has focused almost exclusively on alcohol treatment and driver education. However, Foon (1988) comments that educational approaches to the problem of drink driving and disqualified driving typically provide individuals with information about alcohol and its effect on behaviour, without directly attempting to change drinking behaviour or driving patterns. Bakker, et al. (1997) say that for most of these individuals, research outcomes show that both alcohol treatment and driver education have been only marginally effective in reducing conviction rates. However, they caution that estimates of the effectiveness of treatment are hampered by methodological weaknesses. In their evaluation of the DOT programme (described in the next section) Bakker, Ward and Hudson (1997) point out that the lack of effectiveness of interventions in New Zealand is evidenced in statistics documented in 1990. In this year out of 7835 DWD offenders, 3567 or (45%) had a previous DWD offence and 575 or (6%) had more than five previous offences.

5.2.2.5 DWD as an identifiable sub-group of driving offenders

Traditionally, little distinction has been made between drivers who drive while disqualified and other driver offenders. Bakker et al. conclude that the majority of treatment approaches have ignored the different types of driver offender. Their research shows that while it is clear that most

disqualified drivers have a number of alcohol impaired driving convictions, over 90% of DWD offenders became disqualified as a result of alcohol impaired driving (Bailey, 1993). For most of these drivers, DWD offences are more numerous than alcohol related driving convictions (known in New Zealand as Excess Blood/Breath Alcohol or EBA). This strongly suggests that DWD is a significant problem in its own right.

5.3 Description of the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme

As a consequence of identifying a gap in the range of traditional interventions offered to driver offenders, the DOT programme treats DWD offenders as an identifiable sub-group of driving offenders. Given this, it targets offenders' self-control of driving behaviour and is referred to as a group-based relapse prevention approach to the problem of recidivist driving while disqualified offending. Leon Bakker, a Community Corrections senior psychologist, designed the programme and it has been developed further by probation officers at the Christchurch Community Probation office, one of whom is the writer of this thesis. In 1993, the initial two pilot programmes were run at Rolleston Prison with a psychologist intern and a probation officer co-facilitating each group. Following the pilot programme, another three groups were run in the prison. Since then the programme has been run at the Community Probation office and the current facilitation team comprises five probation officers. The course runs over a period of nine weeks with approximately thirty-six sessions of one and one-half duration. It is a group-based relapse prevention approach to the problem of disqualified drivers.

5.3.1 Referral process

The main criterion for referral to the group is that the individual is a recidivist driver offender whose convictions are mostly DWD. To date, DOT has been offered only in Christchurch and is viewed by the Judges in this area as a viable option to imprisonment for high risk offenders. The majority of group members are sentenced by the court to Supervision with a special condition to attend the programme. Others are released early from prison by the District Prisons Board to attend the programme while on parole. Other sanctions include being subject to a suspended prison sentence, or being remanded while on the course and sentenced on completion of the course. Statistics show a high retention rate of group members and on average ten complete each group. Groups have varied in membership and have ranged from a group commencing with ten group members, to one group where fifteen group members started the course and without exception all completed the course.

5.3.2 Assessment phase of DOT

The assessment phase is considered an integral part of the process of referral. In the first instance, one of the DOT collective of facilitators is contacted by either colleagues, lawyers or by clients themselves and can be screened out at this point. If the person being referred appears to fit the criteria, a full assessment is carried out by two facilitators (preferably the co-facilitators of the next course) to establish suitability for participation in the programme. The Intake day, which is the first session of the nine week course, is also part of the assessment phase. In this session, potential group members are invited to focus on their level of motivation to address their offending and to assess if their level of motivation is sufficiently high to participate in daily attendance at an intensive nine week course. It

is made clear by the facilitators that the choice to leave the group at this stage is still an option.

5.3.3 Components of DOT

Previous research carried out by Donovan and Marlatt (1982) shows that recidivist drivers lack the skills necessary to cope with relationship and personal problems. Often their continued driving appears to be the consequence of their inability to manage these issues more effectively. Given this, components of the course include anger and stress management, problem-solving, learning communication skills, cognitive restructuring and relapse prevention. These aspects of the course are managed in a group context with the use of social work practice and an emphasis on group process.

5.3.4 Post-intervention support

The process of post-intervention support enables group members to implement, monitor and maintain change that occurs on the programme. On completion of the nine week course the members attend a follow-up programme. Attendance is often a requirement stated on the Supervision Order issued by the Court and involves attending the programme once a month for one and one-half hours. The following list outlines the aims of this stage of the programme:

- * to reinforce personalised safety plans;
- * to review skills learnt on the course;
- * to review group members' application of their learning in their daily lives;
- * to give participants feedback on how they are managing their lives;

Some group members have continued to attend this group after their sentence has been completed. Assistance in accessing support and resources are provided for obtaining driver licences.

5.4 Evaluation of DOT

From 1994 to 1997, an evaluation of the programme was carried out by Leon Bakker of the Community Corrections Psychological Services with the final report to have been completed at the end of 1999. In the evaluation of the programme a relapse prevention framework was used to integrate the various components and to organise programme delivery. The four major questions that the evaluation address are:

- * Does a relapse prevention programme for drivers convicted of DWD reduce reconviction?
- * What are the social, cognitive, affective and behavioural components in relapse process with disqualified drivers?
- * Is the relapse prevention model of the relapse process applicable to this group?
- * Are there subtypes of offenders? If so, are there specific features and how do they relate to sentence outcomes (Bakker, et al. 1997)?

At the beginning and conclusion of each group, pre and post test questionnaires were given to the group members of the DOT programme. These instruments assessed different aspects of functioning theorised as being potentially important to the subjects' offending. Included in these measures were levels of depression, anger and social skills. An analysis of the results of treatment was by way of repeated measures (Bakker, et al.

(1997). As a qualitative method, grounded theory was used to analyse and develop a descriptive model of the relapse process regarding subjects who drove while disqualified (Wilson, 1996).

5.4.1 Outcomes of evaluation

Bakker, Ward and Hudson (1997) report that the results of the evaluation indicate a significant and real change in post-treatment driving behaviour and produced a reduction in offending 18% below that of a matched control group. Addition of such independent variables as age, ethnicity, number of previous DWD convictions, and criminal convictions, whether treatment or community-based, did not significantly alter the regression analyses. According to Bakker et al., this suggests that treatment was efficient despite differences between participants with respect to these variables. These researchers note that it is not surprising some impact on criminal offending should occur. Many of the cognitive-behavioural treatment methods used in the DOT programme have been shown to reduce recidivism in the general criminal population (see e.g., Andrews & Bonta, 1994; Lipsey & Wilson, 1993).

5.5 Theoretical and conceptual framework

As Rein (1983) points out, where research has implications for policy analysis, the researcher must examine not only the relationship between fact and value but also the interplay between these two factors and theory as this investigation will assist in evaluating whether the policy provisions will actually achieve what they set out to do. The DOT programme is informed by a variety of theoretical perspectives which will be outlined in the following sections. Basically the all-encompassing goal of intervention is to reduce reoffending. However, it is unlikely that

intervention carried out with offenders will be effective in a change process unless clinical practitioners understand behaviour and what causes it. Offenders often see the causes of their offending quite differently from how others see them.

Leibrich (1993) points out that it is essential when working with this client group to discover what is important to them in their account of their own behaviour and so learn how *they* understand it, how *they* describe it and how *they* retrospectively make sense of the changes in their lives. McKay (1993) says that the way offenders perceive their behaviour may seem irrational or personally unacceptable to the practitioner but it is the reality of the offenders' world. Theories and models of social work practice facilitate this understanding. The following section will examine more closely the theories which underpin the DOT programmes, the models that are used and the approaches which are taken. Firstly, a discussion of Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) relapse prevention model will be presented as this paradigm is an integral part of the programme.

5.5.1 Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) relapse prevention model

Understanding the nature of relapse is not only fundamental to developing effective interventions for long term treatment for driver offenders, but also for identifying the internal variables of behaviour change and the external factors operating at the same time. Instrumental to effective intervention with this client group is identifying these internal and external factors and the effect they have on driver offenders who have made a decision to stop reoffending. Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) model of relapse prevention can facilitate this understanding. A discussion

outlining the principles and practices fundamental to this model will follow. As the study of relapse is an emergent area and one which is open to many perspectives, other relapse prevention models will be looked at briefly prior to examining Marlatt and Gordon's model. This will highlight the position their model holds in this area of practice and provide a rationale for the use of this particular model in the DOT programme.

5.5.1.1 Psychological relapse models

In terms of psychological models of relapse, Connors, Maisto and Donovan (1996) identify four significant models: the person-situation interactional model (Litman, 1986); the cognitive appraisals model (Sanchez-Craig, (1976); self-efficacy and outcome expectations model (Rollnick & Heather, 1982; Annis, 1986); and the cognitive-behavioural model (Marlatt & Gordon, 1985). The latter is the model which Connors, Maisto and Donovan (1996) highlight in their writings and is the focus of this critique.

5.5.1.2 Traditional rationale for Marlatt and Gordon's model

Connors et al. describe Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) model as one which was originally developed to understand alcoholism. They explain that the model attends to the sense of self-efficacy that develops over time with abstinence. It also focuses on the high-risk situations that present challenges to the continuation of such abstinence and to the availability and use of coping skills that address such situations. If the individual is unable to utilise an effective coping behaviour in the face of a given high-risk situation, the result can be a decreased sense of self-efficacy and an increase in the attractiveness of the problem behaviour as a mechanism

for coping. Marlatt and Gordon (1985) advance the notion of differentiating internal and external stimuli associated with relapse and offer conceptually rich explanations of the relapse process.

In an innovative approach, Bakker, Ward, Cryer, and Hudson (1997) linked this model with driver offenders. As noted, a key issue underlying their research, concerns the reason why individuals continue to drive despite the potentially severe consequences of doing so. These writers reason that simply imprisoning persistent driving offenders is ineffective in extinguishing this behaviour as the essential problem is a compulsion to drive which the individuals concerned find difficult to resist. Licence revocation is probably the least effective way of addressing the issues for drivers who claim to have a psychological need to drive (Bakker, Ward, Cryer & Hudson, 1997; Mirlees-Black, 1994). Attending to the reinforcing effects of driving would seem to be a more effective way of address this problem (Bakker et al., 1997).

Marlatt and Gordon (1985) suggest that lifestyle balance may be an initiating factor in the relapse process. As Laws (1999) explains, when the things that people believe they should do begin to overbalance the things that they want to do, this may create a desire for indulgence of some form of immediate gratification. The urges and cravings produced by the desire serve to encourage positive expectancies regarding indulgence in the prohibited behaviour. Laws points out that coupled with this is the making of a series of mini-decisions which lead the individual closer and closer to a lapse that is facilitated by the use of rationalisation and denial. The result is that eventually an individual leads himself or herself into a high-risk situation.

Donovan (1996) says Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) relapse model is based on the premise that the individual is deficient in those skills necessary to cope with general stress and the more immediate demands of high-risk relapse situations. Donovan claims that it is important to assess the relative strength of deficits in an individual's repertoire of coping abilities. At this point also, Allsop and Saunders (1989) proffer that it is important to assess an individual's ability to use or deploy available coping skills. Litman (1986) carried out research on this phase of the relapse process. His findings indicate that individuals are less likely to relapse if they have a greater diversity or range of available coping skills and the flexibility to shift adaptively among them as needed.

5.5.1.3 Rationale for the use of Marlatt and Gordon's model in DOT

Prochaska (1999) claims that for people entering therapy in the action stage for addiction (that is, when they are sufficiently motivated to address their problems), an appropriate approach to recommend might be the relapse prevention strategies developed by Marlatt and Gordon (1985). Prochaska claims that those individuals who are at this stage are likely to be ready to use these methods.

The intensive assessment phase of the DOT programme generally ensures that DWD offenders are at a particular level of motivation appropriate to the intensity of a nine week course. In light of this, it could be argued that Prochaska's belief that people need to be sufficiently motivated to address their offending before working with the relapse prevention process, provides a rationale for the traditionally high retention levels and daily attendance rates of group members.

5.5.1.4 Development of Marlatt and Gordon's model

Initially, Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) model was represented as a maintenance strategy. However over the years it has been portrayed in different ways. These ways introduce elements at variance to the original model. Nonetheless, the general notion of examining prior relapse episodes as a starting point for clinical intervention essentially means that Marlatt and Gordon's work has provided the impetus for the usefulness of maintenance strategies. Their overall conceptualisation of relapse has been central to these efforts. As Marlatt (1996) points out, relapse prevention represents a prevention approach to harm reduction, designed to reduce the magnitude of relapse.

5.5.1.5 Criticism of Marlatt and Gordon's model

Laws (1999) puts the relapse prevention models in perspective. He points out that the most remarkable thing about relapse prevention is that until recently it has escaped empirical scrutiny and has been uncritically accepted. The following critique examines some of the limitations of the Marlatt and Gordon's model. Donovan (1996) claims that this model provides an important heuristic framework within which to describe, understand and potentially predict and prevent relapse.

Lowman, Allen and Stout (1996) agree and add that it is a model which extends our knowledge about relapse; Marlatt and Gordon help to organise conceptualisation of it into a testable model. However, Donovan argues that Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) relapse model is mutually exclusive as it puts forward the notion that it is important to identify the precipitant (whatever it is in particular circumstances) which is proximal in time to the relapse. Donovan (1996) explains that this is consistent with

a reductionist tendency to focus only on what happened immediately prior to the event. He argues that the problem with this approach is that it may lead to a false assumption that those variables immediately preceding a relapse, because of their temporal proximity and relative influence, are the 'real reasons'. He cautions that this can lead to the failure to look beyond the immediate timeframe at other potential contributing factors.

Ward and Hudson (1996) have developed a self-regulation model which Laws (1999) claims results in theoretical and practical break-throughs in sex offender treatment. Ward and Hudson agree that Marlatt's model of the relapse prevention process sets out to provide a rich description of the cognitive, behavioural, motivational, and contextual factors associated with offending. However, they conclude that it suffers from a number of conceptual and empirical problems. They argue that the model emphasises skills deficits which do not take into consideration the individuals who consciously decide to relapse. Given this, Ward and Hudson point out that a comprehensive model of the relapse process needs to contain a number of pathways. These should preferably take into account different types of goals, (for example, approach versus avoidance goals), varying affective states, and different types of planning. Ward and Hudson explain that Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) model has been constructed from theoretical elements which have led to conceptual confusion and redundancy. These writers draw on their empirical and theoretical work to suggest that a more comprehensive model would provide mechanisms to integrate cognitive, affective and behavioural factors. They agree with Donovan (1996) that the model should also include an explicit temporal emphasis and be able to account for the dynamic nature of the offence process.

5.5.1.6 Further research and developments in the relapse process

Zamble and Quinsey (1997) show in their development of the criminal recidivist process, that there are distinct paths to various types of criminal offences. They say that not only are these paths characteristic events that distinguish recidivism generally, but that there are separate antecedents to particular offences which are either internally or externally based.

Ward and Hudson (1998) broaden the thinking on relapse processes. With a focus on sex offenders, they explore the notion that different pathways to offending require different treatment intervention. In developing a self-regulatory model of the relapse process for use in the cognitive-behavioural approach, they advance a perspective which has several theoretical advantages over Marlatt and Gordon's original model.

Essentially, Ward and Hudson demonstrate the exigency for different treatment needs of offenders within the same offence category. They do this by identifying the importance of different goals, either acquisitional (approach) or inhibitory (avoidance), that offenders present, and which should guide the planning, implementation and evaluation of their offending. Exemplifying this, the avoidance-passive pathway relates to the individual who drives as a maladaptive way of coping with stress. This situation represents an approximation to the traditional relapse prevention offence process in which increased skills around relationship, problem-solving, mood management and increased self-efficacy are needed (Ward & Hudson, 1996). However, Ward and Hudson identify a fundamental difference in the context of self-regulatory processes. The offender presenting with automatic goal-directed behaviour, (an exaggerated sense

of entitlement to drive) would require treatment for cognitive distortions to appreciate the potential harm to others.

Connors, Maisto and Zywiak (1996) extend the the original work of Marlatt and Gordon in their research focused on the conceptual model and associated analytic strategies. They include the interplay of the individual and situation variables over time. An understanding of outcome requires an appraisal of the individual's overall life in Connors et al.'s systems model. They suggest that it is possible that negative emotions are not themselves the cause of relapse but only markers of more durable antecedents such as social isolation and family factors.

5.5.1.7 Marlatt's response

Marlatt's (1996) response to the criticism over the years has been to broaden his model of the relapse process. He outlines his additions to his original precipitants to relapse and claims that they all contribute to relative risk: the immediate and recent emotional state of the individual; the social and interpersonal context of the situations to which the person is exposed; the availability of, access to, and desire to employ emotional, and/or cognitive coping strategies; and the individual's sense of personal efficacy or confidence.

5.5.1.8 Key contributions of Marlatt and Gordon's model to DOT

As evidenced by this critique, there are aspects of Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) relapse prevention model which have warranted further research and examination. However, the model is an integral part of the DOT programme for several reasons, not the least because the principles have extended our knowledge about relapse and helped to organise

conceptualisations of it into a testable model. Indeed, the main contribution this particular model makes to the DOT programme is the key assumption that addictive habit patterns can be changed through the application of self management or self-control procedures. In other words, once the skills provided by Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) model are learnt and individual early warning signals for relapse identified, offenders can anticipate and be prepared in advance for possible relapses. If relapse occurs offenders are aware that they do not have to respond with a sense of failure. Instead they can return to the relapse prevention process and manage their relapse by putting into place the strategies and skills provided by the model.

Essentially, the model produces a formula for self- managing maintenance of an offence-free lifestyle. It follows then, that with the emphasis on self-management of an offence-free lifestyle, the most important strength Marlatt and Gordon's relapse model contributes is its emphasis on self-efficacy; a concept which supports a belief that one is sufficiently skilled to stop reoffending.

5.5.1.9 Practical application of Marlatt and Gordon's model

A practical application to illustrate the use of the self-efficacy principle is that at the commencement of each DOT course, the group members are given the opportunity to record their perceptions of their risk of reoffending. Nine weeks later, at the completion of the course, the exercise is repeated. To date, most group members report a drop in their risk of reoffending as a result of increased confidence and having learnt skills and strategies to assist them to stop driving while disqualified.

5.6 Other theories and models which underpin DOT

This section looks at theories and models that underpin the DOT programme. Wilson's (1996) model of the reoffending process of recidivist DWD offenders in New Zealand is also included. It is acknowledged that as a result of the dearth of material on theories explaining DWD, this section includes broader explanations of high risk driving offending and the personal characteristics of high risk driver offenders.

5.6.1 Personal characteristics of high risk driving offenders

Donovan, Marlatt and Salzberg (1983) found that driving offenders can be grouped into several clusters. Bakker, Ward and Hudson (1997) describe three specific groups. One group is characterised by high levels of depression and resentment, together with low levels of assertiveness, emotional adjustment and perceived control. The second group is characterised by high levels of driving related aggression, competitive speed, sensation seeking, assaultiveness, verbal hostility, and irritability, moderate levels of depression and emotional instability and external perceptions of control. The third group scores high for driving to reduce tension, has low levels of attributing locus of control for driving problems to external causes and relatively low levels of depression and resentment. Donovan, Marlatt and Salzberg (1983) suggest that strategies involving social skills, stress management and problem solving may contribute to reducing reoffending.

5.6.2 Models and Theories relating to traffic offenders

5.6.2.1 Donovan, Marlatt & Salzberg (1983) cognitive-behavioural model

In their theoretical formulation of traffic accident and violation risk, Donovan, Marlatt and Salzberg (1983) integrate psychological, behavioural and environmental factors and implicate several variables such as demographic variables, excessive alcohol use, personality traits, emotional state, and driving related attitudes, as contributing factors to high risk driving. They developed a cognitive-behavioural model of high risk driving. Their findings suggest that drinking and driving may be expressive of the same psychological states typically related to tension and anxiety over personal competence and power.

Donovan et al., found that some individuals do not possess the requisite skills necessary to cope with acute emotional stress and drinking and/or driving is seen as a means of dealing with the situation. Their findings also suggest that for some people driving a motor vehicle provides a maladaptive way of coping with a stressful situation. Donovan et al. also claim that driving may provide access to pleasurable events such as social interactions. In these situations driving acts as a positive reinforcer. Furthermore, these writers claim that a combination of peer modelling, past experience with driving and media exposure, lead to expectations that driving and/or drinking are effective ways of coping with negative mood states and will increase feelings of self efficacy, mastery and control.

Although a useful step in the understanding of high risk driving offenders, Bakker, Ward and Hudson (1997) point out that Donovan, Marlatt and

Salzberg's (1983) model is not highly detailed and could be developed further to relate more specifically to drivers who drive while disqualified.

5.6.2.2 Psychosocial model

Jessor (1987) offers an explanation for high risk driving behaviour by describing a psychosocial model. According to this model, behavioural and environmental factors contain elements that either inhibit or motivate an individual's behaviour (Jessor, 1987). As a result of interactions between behavioural and environmental factors, there are differing levels of propensity to engage in problem behaviour. This behaviour, Jessor claims, departs from socially accepted norms of behaviour. However, this theory has a methodological weakness as a viable explanation for driving offending. The focus is only on driving offending as one of the many antisocial behaviours that the individual is involved in.

5.6.2.3 Rational choice theory

Corbett and Simon (1992) explore the reasons that subjects gave for a range of driving violations. They found that drivers classified as high risk gave a range of explanations for their offending and could identify only a narrow selection of reasons for not offending. Evidence from this research suggests that most drivers attempt, at least some of the time, to weigh up the opportunities, costs and benefits of offending.

5.6.2.4 Psychological theories

In an endeavour to explain why individuals continue to drive while disqualified despite the potentially severe consequences of doing so, Donovan, Marlatt and Salzberg (1983) and Mirrlees-Black (1994) link this

particular driver behaviour with a compulsive nature and the psychological need to drive.

5.6.3 Models and theories in relation to DWD

5.6.3.1 A model of the offence process of recidivist DWD offenders

Wilson (1996) addresses some of the past research deficiencies on DWD and argues that general theories of driving offending are of only limited use in explaining the complexity of DWD offending. She identifies DWD drivers as a clearly defined sub-group of the driving population. Her analysis of 'offence chains' which are the patterns of behaviour, thinking and emotions that DWD offenders experience leading up to an offence, preceded the development of a model of the offending process. This model extends the scope of existing theories of disqualified driving by identifying the sequence of psychological, behavioural and environmental factors which contribute to DWD offending.

Wilson incorporates into the model of the offence process aspects of offending behaviour such as social maladjustment, personal maladjustment, impulse control deficits and problem behaviour. She explains that the model is developed from an elaboration on Donovan, Marlatt and Salzberg's (1983) theory that driving may represent a maladaptive attempt to cope with negative intrapersonal feelings. However, Wilson's (1996) research shows that driving may function to decrease DWD offenders' perceived stress. This notion differs from the explanation put forward by Donovan et al. who suggest that levels of covert and overt hostility-aggression increase after the disqualified driver has driven.

5.6.4 Theories, approaches and models currently used in DOT

5.6.4.1 Social learning theory

Cullen and Gendreau (1989) suggest that a social learning model treats attitudes and behaviours which lead to offending, as learned habits which can be changed by teaching and reinforcing new noncriminal attitudes and behaviours. These writers take the position that criminal behaviour is predictable and that social learning theory provides some general guidelines as to what variables may be important predictors. Cullen and Gendreau argue that predictability of recidivism may be greatly increased through the monitoring of changes in the person.

5.6.4.2 Cognitive theories

A cognitive approach rejects the determinism of typical psychoanalytical approaches (Porporino & Zamble, 1994). Payne (1991) says that cognitive theory usefully leads behavioural social work away from a mechanistic view of behaviour and explores the capacity of human minds to modify and control how stimuli affect behaviour. The basic premise of cognitive restructuring is that beliefs are prior to and influence feelings and lead to particular behaviour (Beck, 1976). Goncalves (1994) claims that the core theme of cognitive theory is the significance of the problem of mental representation or the way individuals mentally express information about themselves and the world around them. Therefore, according to cognitive theory each person perceives the world in their own way and the thinking that results, is the thinking that comes from personal life experiences. Perception, and the way it links our thoughts and feelings with the external and social world is fundamental to cognitive theory. Essentially, cognitive theory drives the cognitive approaches which focus on offenders' rational capacity to manage their lives.

5.6.4.3 Cognitive model

If cognition refers to mental processes, perception, memory, information processing, it follows that the basic premise of this model is that emotions and behaviours are influenced by people's perceptions of events. In other words, the situation itself does not directly determine how one feels. Rather, it can be said that it is the environment, cognitions and bodily reactions which influence behaviour. Cohen (1985) argues that modifying the cognitions that support behaviour can achieve significant changes in behavioural repertoires and patterns.

5.6.4.4 Cognitive-behavioural theory

Scott and Stradling (1991) say that cognitive-behavioural therapies share a central assumption that the response of a person to a situation is not simply a product of external rewards and punishments but is influenced by an individual's idiosyncratic interpretation of their situation. These writers go on to explain that three fundamental propositions form the basic premise of this theory: cognitive activity affects behaviour; cognitive activity can be monitored and altered; and desired behaviour change can be effected through cognitive change. Given this, it could be argued that the ways in which an individual behaves are determined by immediate situations and the individual's interpretation of it. Therefore, the emphasis on cognitive mechanisms to create behavioural effects is what differentiates the cognitive-behavioural from the behavioural approaches.

5.6.4.5 Cognitive-behavioural model

As noted previously, Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) relapse prevention model exemplifies a cognitive-behavioural model with its key assumption

that addictive habit patterns can be changed through the application of self management or self control procedures.

5.6.4.6 Cognitive - behavioural approach

Scott and Stradling (1991) suggest that this approach assists the client to become aware of information-processing biases that can distort the sense they make of the situation. Working with this model means that offending is seen as a function of the individual and his/her environment. Cognitive-behavioural interventions focus on changing not only behaviour, but also attitudes or thinking habits (McLaren, 1993). According to Scott and Stradling, cognitive-behavioural therapy is sufficiently detailed to equip people with a wide range of strategies. The application of cognitive-behavioural theory to intervention has been demonstrated to reduce recidivism in the general population (see e.g., Andrews & Bonta, 1994; Gendreau, Little & Goggin, 1996; Lipsey & Wilson, 1993). Andrews and Bonta (1994) conclude that cognitive behavioural and social learning approaches have the overriding value of being active, cognitive, experiential and pro-intervention.

5.6.4.7 Rational-emotive therapy model

Ellis's (1962) interactive paradigm of rational-emotive therapy is used to enhance cognitive-behavioural approaches. This model has a consistent emphasis on cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects regarding the way individuals interact. Its value also lies in the detailed techniques it provides and as a practice-model it has the capacity for locating points of intervention across a wide range of human functioning. Briggs (1993) points out that the theory underpinning this model explains why people do not directly react emotionally or behaviourally to the events they encounter

in their lives. The principle driving the model is that people cause their own reactions by the way they interpret or evaluate the events they experience. By utilising this thinking, offenders learn that external events do not cause their behaviour. Once this is accepted their control over their emotions increases. Ellis (1989) theorises that negative distortions of reality are not a key cause of problems; rather, he views them as possibly occurring from, and resulting from, logical deductions from the core irrational schema that clients hold.

5.6.4.8 Constructivist approaches

Neimeyer (1995) explains the difference between cognitive therapy and constructivist theory. According to him, cognitive therapy is concerned with logic and truth and adopts the position that our thoughts and beliefs can and should bear a direct correspondence to external reality. He also argues that constructivist theory assumes that human beings are active agents, who individually and collectively, constitute the meaning of their experiential world. He proffers that constructivist therapies are more creative than corrective because they attempt to foster the broader development of the way that individuals construct their reality rather than revising cognitive distortions. Constructivism assumes that reality is socially constructed. Bruner (1988) says a culturally adapted way of life depends upon shared meanings, concepts and modes of discourse for negotiating difficulties in meaning and interpretation. Seidman and Wagner (1992) explain this concept more fully by saying that the different stories of people from diverse ethnic, racial and class backgrounds, are as politically powerful as those based on one grand theme. They go on to say, that unlike the latter, these stories draw their strength from their diverse components, rather than from the suppression of such diversity.

In assisting the process of change, it is useful for facilitators to discover what is important to clients in their account of their offending and so learn how they understand it, how they describe it and how they retrospectively make sense of the changes in their lives. The constructivist approach focuses on meaning and the complexity of clients' respective narratives. It is an approach which invites clients to explore their stories and provides opportunities for understanding to develop and deepen. Essentially, it consolidates the foundation for a collaborative therapeutic process.

Green, Jensen, and Jones (1996) argue that constructivism is a participatory epistemology so facilitators are in a position to hold and express a contrary viewpoint and to demonstrate the lack of viability of a client's view. However, facilitators must also be aware that although their version may be more useful, it may not hold true for their clients. Ultimately, it could be said that an inherent characteristic of effective social work practice is interpreting and understanding clients' reality and presenting it. This process is indicative of the strength of a constructivist approach.

5.6.4.9 Constructivism as a meta-theory

Clinical intervention which is driven by cognitive-behavioural theories, and approaches which have constructivist theoretical underpinnings consistent with postmodern philosophy, can work effectively together. However to manage this process competently, Gray (1995) suggests that the priority of human interest and the pursuit of egalitarian conception of social justice are two issues that social workers should agree to consider.

Constructivism, as a theoretical framework, provides an overarching way of thinking and a basis for selecting and implementing particular approaches from both modern and postmodern eras. Neimeyer (1995) emphasises the self-organising and pro-active features of human knowledge and their implications for human change. On this metatheoretical level, Gergen and Kaye (1995) claim constructivism invites a multiplicity of accounts of reality while recognising the historical and culturally situated contingency of each.

5.6.5 Integrating cognitive-behavioural and constructivist approaches in DOT

The everyday practice and application of ideas in social work practice and counselling can generate new thinking and more effective ways of working. Certainly this has been evidenced in the DOT programme. The pure cognitive-behavioural approach has been linked to aspects of the constructivist approach although it is acknowledged that there are ideological differences underpinning these two approaches. In particular, the historical notion that cognitive approaches are predicated on a modernist epistemology is in contrast to the postmodernist thinking which influences constructivism. However, the value of including for example, a narrative component is apparent when it is considered that the experience of the client group in the DOT programme is often that of belonging in a marginalised culture and having to learn to live in their own and a dominant culture. Added to this, the group setting is in a statutory agency with a characteristic inherent power differential between clients (offenders) and facilitators (probation officers). Therefore it is useful if the approaches used in this context are meaningful and appropriate for the

client group as the intervention that takes place will be more likely to be effective in changing offending behaviour.

In the DOT programme, the constructivist approach with its focus on meaning and the complexity of offenders' narrative, has been effectively utilised alongside the cognitive-behavioural approach where individual behaviour and thinking patterns can be changed through the application of self-management strategies. Facilitators can understand more clearly clients' constraints to reducing reoffending by acknowledging they are the primary authors of their experience. More importantly, facilitators learn how they (facilitator and clients) can collaboratively work on strategies that make sense for the client in maintaining an offence-free lifestyle. Working in a constructivist way, the emphasis is on validating the client's story. However, as noted, facilitators are also in a position to hold and express a contrary viewpoint and to demonstrate the lack of viability of a client's view (Green, Jensen & Jones, 1996).

Offence-mapping in the cognitive-behavioural approach also validates the offenders' viewpoint and respects their understanding of their offending patterns. This process helps group members to understand their own unique offence chain by inviting them to recount the pathway that led to their respective offence. Attention is paid to the integration of circumstances and situations which preceded each major offence. This strategy is also instrumental in identifying thoughts and emotions during the lead-up to the offending behaviour, while the offence is occurring and the period thereafter.

Essentially, this process provides mechanisms which integrate cognitions, affective and behavioural factors as they relate to the offence process (Ward & Hudson, 1998). When considering the relationship between cognitive-behavioural and constructivist approaches, it is useful to note that constructivist therapy is not so much a technique as a philosophical context within which therapy is carried out (Neimeyer, 1995). Facilitating a merger between cognitive-behavioural and constructivist methods is the emphasis that both approaches have as the essence of their existence, the assumption of links between thoughts, feelings and behaviour.

The social work approach most favoured by management in the current prevailing 'results' ethos is the cognitive-behavioural approach as it provides strategies such as social learning skills, which can be implemented and evaluated.

Constructivism, as Lee (1996) points out, does not provide these specific ways of 'doing' clinical work. However, it does offer the facilitator an overarching way of thinking. As a meta-theory it provides a basis for selecting and implementing particular theoretical approaches to practice. Given this, the prevailing managerial adherence to the disciplines of the market-place can be more easily integrated with the client's reality. A collaborative approach can help break down power imbalances and be instrumental in facilitating an environment conducive to behaviour change.

5.6.6 Transtheoretical approach to stages of change

Change is a process which unfolds over time, according to Prochaska and DiClemente (1982). They outline a number of identifiable stages of

implementing changes in lifestyle and behaviour. The stages referred to are *pre-contemplation*, in which the individual is entrenched in a pattern of behaviour without considering alternatives; *contemplation*, in which the individual becomes aware of problems associated with the behaviour and examines the costs and benefits of changing; *determination*, in which the individual makes some decisions around taking steps to change; *action*, in which practical steps towards change are taken; *maintenance*, the stage at which individuals successfully implement change in their ongoing lifestyle.

This transtheoretical approach to therapy, has been further developed by Prochaska (1999). He argues that the 'grand tie' across treatments suggests that there are common pathways to change, regardless of how people are treated in therapy. In clarifying this notion, he explains that clients spend less than 1% of their waking hours in therapy sessions so given how few people participate in treatment, his search shifted from how do people change in therapy to how do people change, period.

In light of this, Prochaska extends the transtheoretical model to include the application of the stages of change model to phases of therapy. He outlines these stages as recruitment, retention, progress, process and outcomes. At each phase the pros and cons of changing are considered. In identifying a more comprehensive theory of change, Prochaska (1999) places value on the notion that increasing the benefits of change can significantly assist offenders in the change process involved in reducing reoffending.

5.7 Concluding remarks

It is useful to acknowledge comments by Raynor, Smith and Vanstone (1994) when concluding this section on the models and approaches used in the DOT programme. They say that the principle of client choice operates within the limits prescribed by the overall values and purposes of the probation service. In the process of change, group members are offered enhanced choices and a degree of empowerment by an invitation to explore their options and to take responsibility for their offending behaviour. Goldstein (1995) claims that personal narrative reveals how personal and social change may be spurred by the kind of consciousness-raising that occurs when people explore their own stories. At times, the prescriptive and logical nature of the cognitive-behavioural approach precludes the collaborative way of working that constructivist approaches suggest is appropriate. Overall, however, cognitive approaches offer a useful way of understanding the work carried out with offenders as they emphasise offenders' rational capacity to manage their lives. Dean (1993) points out that it is possible to combine constructivist practices with more traditional ways of working with clients if one is willing to hold the tension of the inconsistencies, incompatibilities and limitations of different models. The material covered in this chapter has provided a substantial outline of issues relating to repeat driver offenders. Zamble and Quinsey (1997) point out that recidivism is the result of continuous action between behaviour propensities and environmental factors.

In the process of developing the current analysis further, the following chapter identifies behavioural tendencies and external factors which relate to the reality of the target group in the current study.

6 Research and theories on external factors which help or hinder high risk offenders in maintaining behaviour change.

6.1 Introduction

As indicated earlier, Palmer (1995) points out that it is necessary to extend knowledge centred around effectiveness in programme intervention, further than the areas traditionally examined. Especially, he suggests when looking at what is effectiveness and relating it to programmes and working with offenders. The key issues examined in this chapter go somewhat towards meeting this challenge. These issues relate in particular to disqualified driving and the environmental factors which help or hinder the disqualified driver when a decision has been made to stop reoffending in this way.

To date, studies on disqualified drivers have been few and have been strongly influenced by psychological and behavioural theories. This chapter will look at some of these but will also widen the picture to include a variety of theories from different disciplines. Taylor (1998) says postmodernism has emerged in the 1990's as a theoretical attempt to consider a number of validated social "truths" in an inclusive fashion. She goes on to say that generally accepted universal scientific understandings could be better explained in terms of cultural difference and gender inequality. Postmodernism is useful in its attempt to consider a range of paradigms to explain different types of crime in particular societies without assuming transferability (Taylor, 1998). This statement provides a background for the study to follow as it proffers the notion that a multiplicity of accounts of shared views of reality can guide our

behaviour. These accounts will provide an outline of the differing causal explanations of crime and the many theoretical interpretations underpinning them.

As noted in the previous chapter, Wilson (1996) addresses some of the past research deficiencies on Driving While Disqualified (DWD). She identifies DWD drivers as a clearly defined sub-group of the driving population and argues that the use of general theories of driving offending are of limited value in explaining the complexity of this type of offending. Notwithstanding this argument, for the purposes of this review the picture will be widened to include what people are saying about offending in general, in particular violence, property, sexual and drug abuse and examine possible links between these types of offending and DWD.

6.2 Causes of offending

6.2.1 A snap-shot of views on causes of offending

6.2.1.1 Criminological viewpoint

Taking a broad criminological view of offending, Smith (1995) notes three assumptions which he says any explanatory theory of crime ought to explain especially if culture and time are being considered. These assumptions are that gender is the single most important variable in the community, as crime is disproportionately committed by males; crime is disproportionately a youthful activity; and a significant disproportional representation of particular ethnic groups has been identified. Earlier, Braithwaite (1989) had also come to these conclusions and had offered more complex issues which he considered were associated with committing crime. These include, young people who do poorly at school

or have friends who are criminals; people who move house often; and social and economic subordination and oppression. The latter are associated with an increased likelihood of committing the kind of crime with which the Criminal Justice system predominantly deals. Braithwaite adds that young people who are strongly attached to their parents or to their school or who have high educational and occupational aspirations, are less likely to commit crime. Smith (1995), who generates some of his thinking from Braithwaite's findings, suggests that while for most people crime is a transient, intermittent activity, for a few it is persistent and habitual. It is this small minority which is responsible for a high proportion of the crime dealt with by the Criminal Justice system (Smith, 1995).

6.2.1.2 Sense of entitlement

Narrowing the focus, McMaster (1999) maintains that offenders often exhibit an exaggerated sense of entitlement and status, and at times avoid social-emotional responsibilities. He concludes from these findings that it is clear that many clients of the Criminal Justice system tend to be isolated within their family/peer groups at a physical and emotional level.

6.2.1.3 Psychosocial view

Bartol (1999) in his psychosocial approach to criminal behaviour, portrays the criminal offender as being embedded in and continually influenced by, multiple systems within the psychosocial environment. He points out that to work with the information known in regard to offending issues, requires an understanding of the many levels of events that influence a person's life course - from family, peers, schooling, neighbourhoods, community, culture to society as a whole. Similarly, Smith (1995) argues

that few theories which are predominantly psychological, claim that psychology can explain everything; more typically, they suggest that individual psychology can point to a predisposition to crime, which is activated in vulnerable individuals by social and economic circumstances.

6.2.1.4 Ontogenetic and sociogenetic explanations

Adding to this thinking, Warr (1998) comments that at a broad level there is a current and truly fundamental debate in this field. He describes it as the clash between ontogenetic and sociogenetic explanations of crime. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), proponents of the ontogenetic position, assert that criminal behaviour is the result of an individual trait (e.g., low self-control) which is present at an early age and persists through life. As a result of this latent trait of propensity to engage in crime, offenders engaging in one form of criminal behaviour are also likely to engage in other forms of illegal behaviour (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). In other words, they will be versatile in their offending patterns. So on the basis of this analysis, Gottfredson and Hirschi argue that criminal behaviour is largely unaffected by life-course events like marriage, employment and education.

In contrast, Gottfredson and Hirschi note that advocates of sociogenesis assert that criminal propensity and behaviour are not stable and immutable through life but undergo transformation in response to changing events and circumstances. Essentially what Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) are saying is that crime and analogous behaviours, stem from an underlying propensity to commit crime, therefore criminal acts have similar causes. The second notion lends itself more towards dialogue relating to how social context impacts upon propensity to commit crime

as the conception is that offenders do not concentrate on specific areas of offending. The next section outlines more specifically some of the theories which have been offered to explain offending behaviour in order to gain more in-depth understanding of offending behaviour.

6.2.2.Theories underpinning causal explanations of offending

The current predominant theories of crime are economic, control, cultural deviance and strain theories. Further explanations have developed from shortcomings in predominant theories of crime. For example, in the 1970's, feminist criminology developed in response to the androcentrism of previous explanations of crime and their inability to explain power imbalances and the major differences between male and female crime. Also, postmodernism has developed in response to some perceived shortcomings of the predominant theories (to be discussed in the following sections). Postmodernism seeks to accept difference rather than preclude the consideration of other standpoints.

6.2.2.1 Economic theories

In any given society the social and cultural components concerned with the production and distribution and consumption of goods and services are defined in economic terms. So too, when considering theoretical underpinnings of causal explanations of offending, economic theories can provide direction and explain a particular view of the world. Duguid (1997) comments that any discussion on crime and deviance must acknowledge deeper structures and forces that impinge on our understanding of these phenomena. Raynor (1994) emphasises that crime must be addressed from both an individual and a wider social perspective and in ways that challenge disadvantage. Similarly, Brown and Caddick

(1993) comment that the conditions of disadvantage which lie behind a good deal of offending, can be as much to do with socially-created lack of power and choice as with a personal insufficiency of skills or an inability to control or consider the consequences of one's behaviour.

Buchanan and Hartley (1996) report that many influential criminologists attribute increases in crime in New Zealand to poverty, unemployment, genetic defects, psychological problems and dysfunctional families. According to these criminologists, Buchanan and Hartley say, it is reasonable to presume that within any population those individuals in possession of the lowest levels of marketable skills and abilities are most likely to be criminal in their behaviour.

However, Buchanan and Hartley's view contrasts sharply with the notion that offenders are forced into a life of crime through no fault of their own. Buchanan and Hartley are proponents of an economic model of criminal behaviour which indicates that offenders are rational people who choose to commit crimes. These writers say that offenders engage in criminal activity because it is preferable to alternative legitimate uses of their abilities and their time, energy and other resources.

For Buchanan and Hartley, then, the concept of rational self-interest is an economic theory and the economic approach is an attempt to explain choices as rational responses to changes in opportunities. The key difference between this particular theory of crime and other accounts of crime is that offenders change their behaviour in response to changes in the expected benefits and costs of realising their respective goals (Buchanan & Hartley, 1996). So, according to Buchanan and Hartley

regardless of the exact motivation for their actions, offenders exercise free will in choosing to act in the ways they believe will make them better off.

6.2.2.2 Rational choice theory

Corbet and Simon (1992) point out that the rational choice theory is not as popular as economic theories when explaining crime. They assert, as do Buchanan and Hartley (1996), that rational choice theory assumes people who engage in criminal activity choose to do so. However, where Corbet and Simon differ in their thinking is that offenders choose to commit crime insofar as they can choose otherwise, and are deterred by the threat of apprehension and punishment, including social sanctions such as ostracism and disapproval.

6.2.2.2.1 Criticism of rational choice theory

Smith (1995) observes that criminological suspicion of rational choice theory is understandable. However, he argues that it breaks with the determinism implied by much earlier psychological criminology and emphasises that crime is the product of choice. He claims that although this suggests the possibility of helping offenders to make other choices, it does not explain external factors such as lack of social skills, economic deprivation, educational failure or lack of social supports.

6.2.2.3 Control theory

Bottoms (1997), on the other hand, describes control theory as a useful basis for understanding the external factors which assist inmates in their reintegration into society. He explains that people do not offend if they are part of an effective support system which includes being involved in relationships that meet their needs. Bottoms identifies three concepts:

attachment (emotional connection and sensitivity to others), commitment (developing a stake in society which one is actually committed to), and involvement (participation in lawful activities which is likely to mean offenders will be less likely to be engaged in illegitimate activities), as providing a meaningful way of understanding why some people reintegrate into society more easily than others. Other control theorists also point to work that strongly supports their predictions about the relationship between family and other social groups. Haines (1990), for example, argues that the evidence of reconviction of people released from prison, supports control theory. His research findings show that those who have the strongest and most supportive family ties have the lowest reconviction rates.

6.2.2.3.1 Criticism of control theory

Again, Smith (1995) is critical and maintains that control theory provides no motivation for offending beyond the absence of controls. In other words, he says, this theory subscribes to extrinsic motivation only and does not explain an internalised sense of values. So on this basis, Smith argues that control theory lacks an explanation for how opportunities for different forms of crime become available and can be sustained over time and therefore does not explain persistent and serious crime.

6.2.2.4 Cultural deviance theories

On the other hand, cultural deviance theories go a long way towards responding to the modern social construction of reality in providing a particular explanation for recidivism. Because of this these theories have become current predominant explanations for crime alongside the control theory. According to Smith (1995), these theories can explain why some

groups commit a high proportion of crime as they remind us of both the importance and complexity of culture shaping people's experience and the ways in which they understand it. Buchanan and Hartley (1996) explain that cultural deviance theories are based on the premise that children either learn to conform to the rules of the middle class or they do not. They go on to say that if a child is raised by parents who do not reinforce acceptable middle class behaviour in him or her, the child is more likely to become a delinquent. Thus it can be argued that individuals do not voluntarily commit crimes but are driven to crime due to poor moral education.

Taylor (1998) comments that the implications on practice of cultural deviance theory are that characteristics of groups of offenders can be identified and group behaviour more easily understood. Smith (1995) points out that sociological theories of this type provide an essential link between other categories of theory by giving a plausible account of how individual frustration (strain theory) and lack of conventional commitment (control theory), can be expressed in persistent offending within a community of like-minded individuals.

6.2.2.5 Cognitive theory

Porporino (1995) and Ross and Ross (1995), who are widely referred to in contemporary literature on cognitive theory, endeavour to distance themselves from psychological theories. They argue that psychological theories have a tendency to locate the causes of crime in the individual. These writers also recognise the stresses of external factors and look at factors such as poverty, deprivation and discrimination and their relevance to offending. However, unlike proponents of the economic theories, for

example, Porporino, Ross and Ross, as do cultural deviancy theorists, make a link between both internal and external factors in their writings. They have a fundamental belief that offenders become caught up in a cycle of thinking errors, the most common of which is blaming others for their own actions. However, these writers avoid the suggestion that cognitive deficits are causes of crime. Interestingly they affirm instead that many offenders lack self-control, fail to regulate their behaviour, are unable at times to distinguish their own emotional states and tend to be non-reflective. One could argue that these observations are also about cognitive deficiency.

Porporino, and Ross and Ross stress that cognitive skills are learned and that this learning can be disrupted by early deprivation and poverty. An earlier writer, Samenow (1991), says that research suggests that offenders may exhibit developmental delays in social adaptation. As a consequence, he maintains that in general the social perspective of offenders is egocentrically focused. Porporino and Zamble (1994) point out that thinking shapes emotions, motives and behaviours and as such, has value when understanding the link between cognition and crime.

6.2.2.6 Cognitive-moral development theory

Taking the thinking of the previous sub-section to another level, Moreno, Garrido and Esteban (1997) in their study of prison inmates, refer to the theory of cognitive-moral development as it relates to criminal behaviour. Similarly, these writers suggest that deficiencies in moral and cognitive skills of inmates and their inability to establish comparisons between the short and long term consequences of their decisions, may not cause crime but they can have the effect of placing individuals at risk. Moreno et al.,

add support to the findings of Ross and Fabiano (1985) who say that for some individuals, offending is the easiest response to solving problems and having to make some difficult decisions.

6.2.2.7 Communication theory

Winter (1993), a correctional educator, takes a different approach but retains an interest in developing cognitive skills by advocating communication theory. For him, this theory provides an explanation of why people offend by suggesting the importance of communication to character formation and culture change. He explains that the communication process of individuals is usually determined by culture, which, he says is the sum total of one's socially transmitted perceptions, attitudes, values and beliefs.

For Winter, an individual's personal history generates the behaviour patterns. So it follows that if an offender comes from a family where stealing is accepted as normal behaviour, he or she would view participation in such activity as normal. According to Winter, if the character of the offender is to be changed then his cognitive processes must be altered as these are influenced by external factors situated in the environment. In turn, external factors are also changed by the environment. So again, like many of the other theories identified, the emphasis is on the need for theories to be reflexive and therefore constantly changing in response to practice constructions by the social workers concerned.

In concluding this section, it can be argued that some theories and theorists can differ in their causal explanations of crime. Depending on

current research, needs and philosophical thinking of correctional agencies, some are given more credence and popularity than others. A conclusion one could reach from this section is that there is a clear indication that certain theories explain some crimes better than others.

Earlier writers, McNamee and Gergen (1992), like Taylor (1998), note that postmodernism has emerged in the 1990's as a theoretical attempt to consider a number of validated social 'truths'. They comment that on a metatheoretical level, postmodernism invites a multiplicity of accounts of reality while recognising the historically and culturally situated contingency of each. This way of thinking offers a theoretical base from which to combine differing philosophical principles underlying causal explanations of crime. Neimeyer (1995) explains that as schemes for interpreting reality, postmodern theories assume that it is possible to have many different constructions of reality, equally tenable and worthwhile. Such theories can inform probation officers when challenged with finding a viable balance between their personal assumptions and models of practice and the belief systems of clients with diverse ethnic backgrounds (Lee, 1996). It could be argued that in light of this, theoretical considerations are paramount as they provide a pragmatic value in the way they are linked not only to practice but also to a wider social context.

6.3 Assumptions underlining motivation relating to offending

Having looked at offending in general and some of the commentaries on the causes of crime the next section will examine assumptions regarding individual motivation and offending.

6.3.1 Rationale for discussing individual motivation

The rationale for discussing individual motivation in the context of causal explanations of crime is that a commonly-held assumption suggests that motivation is essential to changing behaviour and maintaining behaviour change. Findings from research carried out by Coebergh, Bakker, Anstiss, Maynard and Percy (1999) show that across the identified criminogenic needs (the needs defined in the previous chapter as needs which are features of offenders' personality, lifestyle and social circumstances which predispose the person to offending), a majority of offenders express or evidence in other ways, no or little motivation to address them. When looking at motivation in relation to offending, commentators have focused on the *role* that motivation plays in offending. Before examining this role further, Marlatt and Gordon (1991) point out that it is important to make a clear distinction between self-efficacy and motivation as these constructs influence success or failure in changing behaviour. More importantly, in regard to the current study, it can be the way that these constructs interact with environmental factors which can influence behaviour change.

6.3.2 Distinction between self-efficacy and motivation

Clients faced with a problem situation can respond either through risk reduction or fear reduction (Bell & Rollnick, 1996). Draycott and Dabbs (1998) explain that fear reduction amounts to ways of dealing with the emotional effects of the problem rather than the problem itself. They say that one of the determinants of which route the client chooses is self-efficacy. This is a stage that people reach when they believe they are skilled enough to engage in a particular act (Andrews & Bonta, 1994:111). Motivation, on the other hand is concerned with behavioural intentions and is described by Miller and Rollnick (1991) as a state of

readiness or eagerness to change which may fluctuate from one time or situation to another and this state, they say, is one that can be influenced.

Terry and O'Leary (1995) examine the difference between motivation and self-efficacy and explain that the direct effect of perceived behaviour control on actual behaviour is dependent, not only on the extent to which the person is motivated to engage in the behaviour (intentional component), but also on the person's appraisal of his or her ability to engage in that behaviour (self-efficacy). According to Bandura (1982), a central determinant of the strength of people's motivations to engage in a behaviour, is their expectancies concerning the likelihood that they will be able to successfully perform the behaviour. Therefore, levels of self-efficacy appear to influence motivation.

However, Terry and O'Leary (1995) comment that levels of self-efficacy will not directly impact upon actual behaviour. Rather, efficacy expectancies primarily influence people's motivation to engage in a particular course of action (Bandura, 1982). In most instances, Terry and O'Leary (1995) claim, the proximal determinant of behavioural choice is motivation, which in turn is influenced by cognitive processes (including efficacy expectancies). The strength of behavioural intentions or motivation emerges then as a significant predictor of actual behaviour. As noted earlier however, the person's confidence in his or her ability to perform the behaviour (self-efficacy) would make a unique contribution to the prediction of behavioural intentions but not actual behaviour.

Given this, it would appear that motivation can operate equally as well in both committing crime and making changes. Therefore for the purposes of

this study it would appear to be useful to differentiate between motivation to commit crime and motivation to change.

6.3.3 Motivation to commit crime

Andrews and Bonta (1994) point out that assessment of behavioural intentions (motivation) and self-efficacy beliefs have impressive predictive validities in many different situations. One of the situations is motivation to commit a crime. Andrews (1998) argues that this situation occurs when:

- * there is an intent to behave in this way (commit a crime);
- * the personal choice is made;
- * self-efficacy beliefs suggest that "I am able to do it" and "it will pay off";
- * the situation is defined as one in which it is 'OK' to behave that way (commit a crime);
- * the balance of signalled rewards exceed the signalled costs of crime.

6.3.4 Motivation to change behaviour

Marlatt and Gordon (1991) describe motivation as the degree of commitment to the goal of change. For the purposes of this study the goal of change is referring to changing offending behaviour to behaviour which is more conducive to an offence-free lifestyle. Marlatt and Gordon contend that changing behaviour is determined by a wide range of factors, including, what they define as the payoff matrix of the immediate and long term benefits and costs involved. They claim that individuals who have a commitment to change need also to be firmly convinced of their capacity to deal with situations of high risk of relapse. Individuals who have a commitment to change and are convinced of their ability to cope

with high risk situations will execute coping responses more readily, with greater intensity and with greater perseverance in the event of a setback, than will individuals of lesser self-efficacy (Marlatt & Gordon, 1991).

6.3.5 Motivation, self-efficacy and cognitive dissonance

When examining motivation and self-efficacy in regard to changing offending behaviour, it is useful to consider a third concept, namely cognitive dissonance. Draycott and Dabbs (1998) explain this concept as the notion of inconsistency; the effect on attitude and behaviour of creating inconsistency is raised when clients are ambivalent about change (where people simultaneously want to change and yet maintain their current behaviours). People are motivated to alter their cognitions to reduce their experience of dissonance because of the unpleasant feelings that occur as a result of this experience (Draycott & Dabbs, 1998). The usefulness of including dissonance in a discussion regarding motivation and self-efficacy relates to Miller and Rollnick's (1991) premise that the processes of cognitive dissonance are operating when decisions to change behaviour are being made.

Laws (1999), coming from a cognitive-behaviourist perspective, also lends support to the interrelationship of motivational, self-efficacy and dissonance constructs. He says that whether a person effectively manages a situation where there is a risk of offending, depends not only on the availability of coping responses but also the determination or degree of commitment to use them in that situation. On the other hand, if no coping response is available, self-efficacy will be decreased and a lapse or slip is likely to occur (Laws, 1999). Draycott and Dabbs (1998) explain the theory underpinning this concept as, if offenders believe they cannot

translate their intentions into actions, they reason they have no responsibility for their conduct and block other responses. In dissonance terms then, the choice to take part in a programme is the ability to translate intentions to actions and requires significant effort by the offender. It also highlights the importance of people making free choices to participate in a programme as it is this which improves the efficacy of treatment. This in turn, has implications for correctional intervention where offenders are sentenced to a programme.

6.3.5.1 Internal variables influencing behaviour change

As previously noted, rational choice theory as defined by Corbet and Simon (1992), is rejected as an all-encompassing explanation for crime (Smith, 1995). Nonetheless, Corbet and Simon support rational choice theory and acknowledge its usefulness in terms of its assumption that crime is the product of choice and people can be deterred by the possibility of being apprehended, punished or experiencing disapproval from others. In a study of drivers, Corbet and Simon reported that respondents being at risk of reoffending gave a wide range of explanations for their behaviour and attempted, at least some of the time, to weigh up the opportunities, costs and benefits of offending.

These findings lend support to the 'classical' commonsense view of crime as being the result of a decision to commit crime. However, as noted earlier, it does not explain external factors such as economic deprivation or lack of social supports (Smith, 1995). Similarly, one could argue that psychological approaches to motivation and self-efficacy discussed in this section, have a focus on the internal variables which are operating at the

time an individual produces an intention to change his or her behaviour and not on how the internal variables interact with external factors.

6.3.5.2 Environmental factors influencing behaviour change

In contrast, social-ecologists, Barber and Crisp (1995) do take into account the way the offender is influenced by environmental factors in the behaviour change process. Where the focus of the cognitive-behavioural approach is on self-efficacy in the prevention of relapse, Barber and Crisp focus more on the role that social support plays in facilitating change in addictive behaviour. They suggest that social support can act as a buffer for stress and be instrumental in influencing motivation to initiate or maintain behaviour change. Their research findings suggest that social support is also useful in applying social influence to abstain from the offending behaviour. Ultimately, Barber and Crisp (1995) found that that social support and treatment success are mutually reinforcing.

6.3.5.2.1 A definition of motivation

One definition which draws upon some of the principles discussed so far is that offered by Coebergh, Bakker, Anstiss, Maynard and Percy (1999). They define motivation from a psychological perspective as the probability that an offender will enter into, and adhere to, strategies of change. They point out that motivation is a fluctuating, dynamic phenomenon and can be influenced by a variety of factors. The intensity of the motivation, Coebergh et al. explain, varies considerably depending on a number of both internal (client) and external (environmental) variables. For example, life events may influence offender motivation in both negative and positive directions. For the purposes of this study, Coebergh et al.'s definition of motivation does not necessarily encompass

all aspects of offending. As such it is to be considered an exemplar rather than a working model of a definition of motivation.

In light of the previous discussion on motivation it is argued that motivation, also, is a causal explanation for crime. Having looked at the internal variables and the environmental factors linked with the causes of crime, the discussion will now concentrate on an actual offence category, namely DWD. This section will focus on disqualified driving with a view to integrating the commentary outlined thus far relating to explanations of offending and internal and external factors which influence either the reduction or increase in DWD offending.

6.4 Identifying external/internal variables in specific offence categories

6.4.1 Traffic offenders

As noted in the previous chapter, Bakker, Ward, Cryer and Hudson (1997) outline the seriousness of the problem of DWD in New Zealand in terms of the high costs, both social and legal, the ineffectiveness of traditional interventions, and treatment issues around why drivers continue to drive even though they risk significant penalties. Bakker, O'Malley and Riley (1998b), in their research identifying the most at-risk traffic offenders, point out that the largest number of convictions each year between 1988 and 1997 in New Zealand are for traffic offences. Bakker et al., note that serious traffic offences are defined as alcohol-related driving offences, driving while disqualified, and dangerous driving. They say that serious traffic offenders also often commit criminal offences. As an outcome of their study, Bakker et al., found significant consistency in traffic offenders' offending habits. Michiels and Schneider's (1994) findings lend support to Bakker et al.'s conclusions but show that the tendency to

repeat certain offences is only applicable in the short term. In addition, Michiels and Schneider suggest that the number and type of offences are linked to the characteristics (psychological, medical, social etc.) of the individuals who are driving.

In terms of the variables that have been found to be predictive of reconviction of traffic offences, Bakker et al., claim that the longer the individual has been out of prison the less probability of the individual's reconviction. Other predictors of reconviction are similar to other offence types, such as age at first conviction, being male and the number of previous convictions.

6.4.1.1 Drunk drivers

Bakker, et al., contend that recidivism among drunk drivers has been the major focus of traffic prediction research. Spier (1998) reports that the number of cases of driving with excess alcohol was 21 149 in New Zealand for the year ending 1996. This figure is significantly higher than other categories of traffic offences, which explains the emphasis by the government on research in this area.

Bakker et al.'s, research shows that some useful predictors of recidivism for drinking and driving are:

- * unemployment;
- * a past criminal record;
- * driving while disqualified;
- * refusing a blood test;
- * delaying the judicial process to avoid conviction;
- * gender (males, more than females);

* having more than three previous traffic convictions (see Beerman, Smith, & Hall, 1988).

In their research on traffic offenders, Holubowycz and McLean (1995) found specific attitudes that support drinking and driving and traffic offending generally. Mirrlees-Black (1994) points out that a combination of peer modelling and past experience with driving and media exposure leads to the expectation that driving or drinking, or both, are effective ways of coping with negative mood states. She evidences that using these ways of coping will increase feelings of self-efficacy, mastery and control. The research carried out by Mirrlees-Black found that driving as a coping mechanism can become more probable and compulsive when the individual has been drinking. Earlier, Donovan, Marlatt and Salzberg (1983) also referred to the compulsive nature of driving for some repeat offenders.

Other research has been carried out on characteristics and behaviour of traffic offenders in general, including research undertaken by Wilson (1992) and, Little and Clontz (1994). Their findings refer to sensation-seeking and aggression while driving, and driving to release tension or escape pressure. Other researchers' findings include Parker (1992), who found that drivers have perceptions of low behavioural control; and Wilson (1996) and Stoduto (1993) who found significant illicit drug taking behaviour among traffic offenders.

Bailey (1993), a New Zealand researcher who is widely known for his work in this area, indicates that in a sample of 3 000 DWD drivers, a significant number were initially disqualified because of excess

blood/alcohol levels. However, Bakker and Ward (1995) argue that driving while disqualified offences are for most of these individuals, more numerous. They say that this strongly suggests that it is a significant problem in its own right.

6.4.1.2 Driving while disqualified (DWD)

Historically, driver offenders have been treated as an homogenous sub-group of offenders. However, as indicated earlier, many investigators have come to view drivers who drive while they are disqualified (DWD) as a clearly defined sub-group of the driving population. This position would seem justified in light of more recent findings by Bakker, Ward, Cryer and Hudson (1997) that 40% of convicted individuals reoffend.

6.4.1.2.1 Characteristics of DWD offenders

In one of the foundation enquiries leading into the more recent research carried out in New Zealand on drivers who drive while they are disqualified, Horton (1993) identified the characteristics of people who are repeat offenders. His questionnaire to 72 participants included sections on parental histories, childhood relationships, adult histories, driving-related questions and drug and alcohol measures. The majority of his sample are male and between the ages of 21 to 30 years old. Most had an education only to the fourth form level (current school leaving age is 16 years), and 69% were economically supported by a Government benefit. Approximately 40% of participants reported parents separating before they reached the age of 15 years. Findings related to relationships among family members and problems within the family. A total of 55% of participants reported having relationship difficulties with their parents and 44% reported either one parent or both having difficulties with alcohol

abuse. Horton noted that at the time of his study little was known of the psychological make up of drivers who drive while disqualified.

6.4.1.2.2 Psychological, behavioural and environmental factors and DWD
Mirrlees-Black (1994) indicates that the disqualified driver often reports a psychological need to drive. A general review of the commentaries on driving offenders does not show evidence that this is the same in other sub-groups of driver offenders. As noted in the previous chapter, Wilson (1996) along with Bakker and Ward (1995), built on the model which Donovan, Marlatt and Salzberg (1983) developed by providing an integration of psychological, behavioural and environmental factors to explain why some individuals are more likely to commit driving offences.

In their review and theoretical formulation, Donovan et al., suggest that the individual, who appears to be at maximal risk for high risk driving and driving violations, is a young man characterised by a high level of underlying hostility and an aggressive disposition. The individual also drinks heavily and frequently and is deficient in social skills relating to the appropriate expression of anger and the management of stress, frustration and depression. As noted, as well argued as these researchers' account is, Bakker et al., identify some defects of the model (outlined in previous chapter).

As an alternative to current models of offending, Wilson (1996) developed a model which targets the reoffence process of DWD offenders. Her findings suggest that driving may function to decrease the offender's perceived stress. As a result of an evaluation of the DOT programme, specifically designed for recidivist disqualified drivers,

Bakker, Ward and Hudson (1997) found DWD offenders are an identifiable sub-group of driver offenders. Findings suggest that the characteristics displayed by recidivist disqualified drivers could be grouped into several clusters (as outlined in the previous chapter) and if these characteristics were treated effectively, this group of offenders could significantly reduce their driving offending.

In concluding this section on traffic offending in general and more specifically, recidivist disqualified drivers, some external and internal factors have been identified which clearly influence this type of offending. Nonetheless, available research specifically focused upon recidivist disqualified drivers (the target group for the current study) is limited. It is therefore necessary to discuss offending more broadly rather than simply focusing upon traffic offending in the next section. The purpose is to develop further understanding of the topic being investigated in this study by using the material discussed in the next section to posit links between other types of offending and the needs and characteristics of traffic offenders.

6.4.2 Alcohol and Drug Abuse

Unlike the recent research carried out on DWD offenders, Miller (1993) says that research does not support the belief that there is a common personality core or set of robust defences that is characteristic of people who abuse drugs. Inciardi and Pottieger (1991) comment that research has consistently demonstrated a high degree of correlation between drug use and criminal behaviours. However, Johnson, Elmoghazy and Dunlap (1990) say that there is no firm evidence of causal relationship. Harrison and Gfroerer (1992) agree and state that their research shows that drug use

in general is one of the most important correlates of being booked for property and violent crimes but they say this does not provide evidence that drug use causes crime. A mere relationship or association is not sufficient evidence or causality. They contend that it may be that drug users behave in a more risk-taking fashion with regard to their criminal activity, which places them at greater risk of being apprehended and charged. It may also be that upon questioning by police, drug users are more likely to behave in a way that results in their being charged (Harrison & Gfroerer, 1992).

Whitney (1992) lends support to this argument and comments that there can be little doubt that involvement with alcohol and drugs has placed people at risk in terms of offending against the law. However, she points out that as clear and as well argued as some have been, few studies have attempted to assess the degree of alcohol consumption and drug use among those given a custodial sentence in New Zealand.

Hathaway (1996), in her study on drug use in the 12 hours before the offence, sets out to address some of the past research deficiencies in this area. Her findings show that half of all respondents in her sample were under the influence of drugs at the time of offending. However, from this study she cannot substantiate the widely-held belief that drugs cause violence. Bartol (1999) though, in his review of contemporary psychological research on criminal behaviour, says that the alcohol-violence connection appears to be strongest in the United States and the evidence is quite clear that approximately half of all offenders who commit violent crime were drinking at the time of the offence and many were highly intoxicated.

6.4.2.1 Differences/similarities between alcohol and drug abuse and

DWD

One of the most significant differences between alcohol and drug offending is the volume of data on drug offending and the dearth of research on drug use by driver offenders. As noted earlier, another difference relates to the specific characteristics of the two offender groups. DWD offenders have identifiable clusters of characteristics whereas no specific set of characteristics have been found for alcohol and drug offenders. Certainly there are some similarities between alcohol and drug offending and traffic offenders, especially in the use-of-alcohol timeframe prior to offending taking place. Bakker, Ward and Hudson (1997) acknowledge the high number of DWD offenders who have lost their licences through drink driving. Another link between offence types is evidenced by Mirrlees-Black (1994) who found that drinking and driving are effective ways of coping with negative mood states and increasing feelings of self-efficacy, mastery and control. Another correlation between the offences relates to the findings of Harrison and Gfroerer (1992) in regard to the high risk behaviour of drug users. One of the clusters of characteristics identified by Bakker, Ward, and Hudson (1997) is the thrill-seeking, risk-taking behaviour of DWD offenders. The inherent addictive characteristic associated with drugs and alcohol is well researched, however it is only recently that the addictive nature of driving has been evidenced.

6.4.3 Violent offending

Collins and Messerschmidt (1993) point out that violence can be accounted for by a wide variety of causal factors, including personality, social and cultural influences and economic conditions. In relation to

personality factors, Jenkins (1990) comments that clinical researchers have attempted to delineate personality profiles of abuse perpetrators based on psychological constructs and motives which are inferred from perpetrators' behaviour and their responses to psychological tests. Jenkins points out that due to the heterogeneity of the population of abusers, these profiles are unreliable and have little validity in predicting abusive behaviour.

However, he adds, common themes have emerged with this client group regardless of the nature of the abuse. Offenders are often seen as having rigid views regarding gender roles and parenting. A high level of emotional dependency on others in the family is commonly described along with feelings of insecurity and a strong desire to control and dominate family members. Bartol (1999) argues that there is little doubt that poverty has a strong connection to persistent, violent offending as measured by official victimisation, and self report data.

However, Sampson and Lauritsen (1994) conclude, the exact nature of the relationship between poverty and violence is not well understood. They explain that one of the reasons was that poverty is often accompanied not only by inequities in resources, but also by discrimination, racism, family disruption, joblessness, social isolation and limited social support systems.

In an internationally acclaimed comprehensive study on domestic abuse by men, Leibrich, Paulin and Ransom (1995) developed a model to explain why abuse occurs. They confirm previous findings by Jenkins (1990) on domestic abuse and suggest that there are certain socially

learned expectations about what it is to be male. These expectations are learned through upbringing, peers, social pressures and relationship models. When various circumstances, such as money problems, employment problems and relationship difficulties, mean a male cannot meet these expectations, emotional distress follows. Frustration, low self esteem and a sense of powerlessness increase. The consequence of this situation is a wish to regain some sense of control. If the person is unable to regain control any other way, he relieves the pressure he feels through physical expression of anger. These findings correlate with those outlined earlier on DWD drivers which show that this group of people also offend as a maladaptive way of relieving stress and gaining control over their lives. Leibrich et al. explain that a crucial finding of the study on domestic abuse is that the 'typical abuser' comes from any socio-economic level, education level, or personal income group.

6.4.3.1 Similarities between violent offending and DWD offending

The majority of the research findings in relation to violent offending have links with traffic offenders, in particular low impulse control behaviours. Again, a specific profile of characteristics for the violent offender has not been identified whereas research on DWD offenders shows an evidenced profile.

However, there are some undeniable commonalities among violent offenders which also match those of the DWD offender. These include family disruptions, inability to communicate effectively and ineffectual ways of managing anger and hostility.

6.4.4 Sexual Abuse

Difficulties in establishing emotionally satisfying relationships with other adults is a major factor with sexual offending; Ward, Hudson and France (1993) say that many men cite a need for closeness as the main reason they offend. Pithers (1990) has based his version of relapse prevention entirely on negative moods and feelings of rejection because in his view, these feelings often precipitate the offence chain. Therefore the ability to control feelings is critical to managing risk (Pithers, 1990). Seidman, Marshall, Hudson and Robertson (1994) agree, and have found in their work with sex offenders, that this group is particularly deficient in their capacity for intimacy. However, Coebergh, Bakker, Anstiss, Maynard and Percy (1999) point out that sex offenders tend to have specialised offence determinants (e.g., deviant sexual fantasies, and offence-related sexual arousal) so sexual offences are often precluded from studies looking at commonalities among offenders.

6.4.4.1 Similarities between sex offending and DWD offending

The commonalities between sex offenders and DWD offenders are most noticeable in terms of an inability to form meaningful relationships and impulse control behaviours. Social isolation and inability to manage feelings are also characteristics with correlations between the two offending groups.

In the course of the current inquiry, some research participants report that driving is a means of feeling in control of their lives and managing feelings by reducing stress. Put simply, maladaptive ways of coping with life stressors appear to be present in both sex offending and DWD offending behaviours.

6.5 External factors which contribute to behaviour change

This section will focus on general external factors which relate to the process of establishing and maintaining appropriate controls on behaviour in the community.

6.5.1 Life course transitions

Sampson and Laub (1993) are some of the first researchers to provide a major contribution to the study of criminal careers by evidencing the link between behaviour and life-course transitions. They identify some of these as marriage, employment and entry into the military. Sampson and Laub suggest that childhood delinquency is linked to adult crime, alcohol abuse, general deviance, economic dependency, educational failure, unemployment and divorce. Job stability and strong marital attachment in adulthood inhibits adult criminal and deviant behaviour (Sampson & Laub, 1993). The results of their study support a model of informal social control that recognises both stability and change in antisocial behaviour over the life course.

6.5.1.1 Marriage

In a sharp departure from that position, Warr's (1998) study drawn from differential association theory, offers evidence that life-course transitions affect criminal behaviour by altering relations with delinquent peers. Warr's thesis parallels Sampson and Laub's (1993) and West and Farrington's (1995) earlier explanations of why getting married leads to a decrease in offending.

West and Farrington's hypothesis is that during their teenage years, children break away from the control of their parents and become

influenced by peers who encourage offending in many cases. After age 20, offending declines as peer influence gives way to family influence again, but this time originating in spouses rather than parents. West and Farrington do not test their explanation but a key element of Warr's findings concerning marriage and the desistance from crime is that marriage may act to disrupt or dissolve friendships that existed prior to marriage, including relations with other offenders or accomplices.

6.5.2 Family relationships

Many studies (see e.g., Leibrich, Paulin & Ransom's, 1995) have been carried out to establish clear causal links between patterns of domestic life and propensity to offend. However, Smith (1995) points out that little is known about what kinds of families or broader kin support are associated with reduced risk of offending.

Dodd and Hunter (1992) suggest that family relationships of persistent offenders are very unlike those of the general public. Offenders are far less likely to be married, more likely to be cohabitating (not necessarily in a stable relationship), less likely (especially men) to be living with dependent children and far more likely to have spent time in care.

Stewart and Stewart (1993) agree and describe the family relationships of younger offenders as characteristically complex, unstable, disrupted, unhappy and often abusive. As the external factors outlined feature so clearly in the lives of people newly released from prison, the next section will focus on reintegration into the community and external factors which help and hinder this transitional process.

6. 6 External factors and reintegration

Much of the literature on the topic of external factors which assist offenders in their rehabilitation, relates to inmates on release. Recent work by Gillis, Belcourt and Motiuk (1998) lends support to previous studies by Coyle (1992) whose research findings suggest that future rehabilitation is likely to be affected by external factors such as accommodation, support and employment.

Gillis, Belcourt and Motiuk (1998) dramatically underscore the link between employment and offending as an issue for reintegration and targeting of effective programmes in prisons. Previous findings by Paylor (1992) findings are more specific and show that the important sources of support for many of these offenders are to be found within wider networks of kin and friendship, rather than within the conventional 'nuclear' family.

6.6.1 Lack of literacy skills

Duguid (1997) looks at liberal education in terms of rehabilitation and points out that basic literacy and numeracy underlie employability. His research findings show that education is one of the most direct and effective paths to guide the issue of cognitive development and the development of moral reasoning. According to Duguid, participants in the study showed increases in affection, intellectual flexibility, ability of maintaining personal perspectives. They also improved their understanding of different points of view by seeing the truth in all parts of a discussion and developed a more sophisticated comprehension of power and authority. He cautions, however, that education alone is not a panacea. It is, he says, a necessary activity but not sufficient in itself. He

agrees with Paylor (1992) and Gillis, Belcourt and Motiuk (1998) that prosocial contact with the community, attainment of employment and other positive elements of socialisation must be present so cognitive processes can fully develop.

Caddick and Webster (1998) also hypothesise that it is the link between external factors and social participation that is important in the rehabilitation of offenders. Their focus is also on literacy which they identify as an external factor that hinders reintegration. They note high rates of poor literacy among offenders and argue that without relevant skills these individuals lose out on what is a core element in the development of inclusion and identity with others.

6.6.2 Meaningful employment and relationships

Bottoms (1997) sums up this section when he argues that criminal careers do not develop smoothly. He explains that the reality is there are elements of desistance even among persistent offenders. Bottoms suggests that those who desist from criminal careers, or desist for a period from criminal careers, do so precisely because of the meaningfulness of particular social relationships or particular jobs at specific times.

6.7 External factors and post-treatment

So far in this discussion, a general perspective has been taken on the impact of external variables relating to offending. The next part of this section will look at some of the literature which takes into account the post-treatment phase of a programme and will examine in more detail the maintenance of behaviour change in reducing reoffending.

More specifically, this review will look at what commentators say about the internal changes an individual has made and how those changes interact with external variables. Barber and Crisp (1995) state that the problem with relapse is undoubtedly the most important single challenge currently facing the field of addictions. Whilst there is a dearth of material identifying external factors associated with this stage, Barber and Crisp acknowledge the value of support systems as significant external factors.

6.7.1 Social supports

As previously noted, McMaster (1999) points out that violent offenders tend to be socially isolated within their family/peer groups at a physical and emotional level. This isolation, he says, relates to the social domain, or the need as individuals to be socially connected and accountable for their actions to the wider social group. McMaster comments that bringing the locus of decision-making back to the family/whanau level is important in rebuilding these accountable relationships.

Kemp, Whittaker and Tracy (1997) assess social networks and identify some of the pitfalls including network members with collusive attitudes. Their research shows that it is important to have some assessment and possible intervention with support networks to ensure appropriate support is being provided. In their guidelines for interpersonal helping, Kemp, Whittaker and Tracy identify specific roles and types of support which can facilitate the change process in offending behaviour.

Daley (1991) also looks at the social environment impacting on the offender when making behaviour changes and examined the importance of these factors in the post-treatment phase. He notes that relapse is a

process characterised by thoughts, feelings, and behaviours which can lead to old habits if intervention measures are not taken. Daley views maintenance of behaviour change as a long term process of abstinence from offending behaviour which necessitates changes in areas such as physical, psychological, family, support, social and spiritual.

Adding weight to Daley's research, Moreno, Garrido and Esteban (1997) identify external factors which help offenders maintain behaviour change in reducing reoffending. These researchers present an intervention programme for offender rehabilitation based on a cognitive model of prosocial thought. However, they point out that gains made in the programme will be fruitless unless prosocial contact with the community, attainment of employment or other positive elements of resocialisation are in place.

Supporting these findings, Barber and Crisp (1995) focus on how internal variables interact with external factors at the post-treatment phase. They suggest that if relapse is a social problem it may be that changes in coping behaviour and situational confidence are of only secondary importance and social problems must be met by social solutions.

6.8 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, research has been examined which relates to driving offending and more specifically those drivers who continue to drive whilst disqualified. The aim of this endeavour has been to gain more understanding of driver offenders and the environmental factors which help to either drive the reduction of reoffending or increase recidivism. For the purpose of the current study both internal and external factors

were examined. The reason for this relates to behaviour change and the way environmental factors can direct the course of recidivism. As Zamble and Quinsey (1997) observe, often persistent serious offenders fail to cope with their environment. Given this, it makes sense to look at both the responses within the offender and identifiable events which impact upon offenders in the external environment. Examining the interaction between these variables provides a clearer picture of what sorts of mechanisms are involved in recidivism.

Research carried out on drink driving and high risk driving offers a tangible base from which to investigate the research topic. However, the lack of material on the specific topic necessitates a broader view of general offending so that inferences can be made with respect to driving offending. In light of this, an outline of differing causal explanations of crime and theoretical interpretations underpinning these accounts is offered. This outline provides a backdrop to the discussion that follows, and focuses on several offender groups, including drug, violence and sexual abuse and the factors which make offending more likely to happen. Links are then made with factors identified as being characteristic of these offender groups and factors that are common to DWD offenders. When making these links it is intended that the external factors which contribute to offending are more easily identified.

The discussion identifies general external factors that relate to the process of establishing and maintaining appropriate controls on behaviour in the community. This investigation is useful in widening the research topic. Most of the relevant research examines the reintegration of inmates into the community. Therefore in order to identify external factors which

contribute to behaviour change, links are made with these studies and those which look at factors associated with support following treatment.

Most analyses carried out on driving offenders in terms of classification and behaviour change have taken a psychosocial approach. If external factors have been identified it has been in the context of a psychological study where the emphasis is on the internal processes rather than the environmental factors. The boundaries between disciplines appear quite arbitrary at times as the psychological theories presented do not explain everything. Rather they suggest that individual psychology can indicate a predisposition to crime which is activated in vulnerable individuals by social and environmental circumstances.

7 Research design

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter the research design of the current study is presented and the research process outlined. A discussion includes material on the theoretical perspective which informs the research, the methodology and relevant ethical issues. Data collection is dependent on the strategies of qualitative research methods. Allen-Mearns (1995) points out that these methods characteristically delve beneath the surface of aggregate data and important phenomena.

It is important that any research methodology is congruent with both the subject and the purpose of the enquiry. This study seeks to gain knowledge in a social context of ongoing life experiences of people who have offended by continuing to drive while disqualified (DWD). The research participants have attended the nine week course of the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme. The particular focus of the study is to identify the external factors which help or hinder the recidivist DWD offender when a decision has been made to stop driving. Also of interest is the integration of external and internal variables on behaviour change. Towards this aim, questions asked of the research participants examined the following areas:

- * Difficulty in stopping driving offending;
- * Experiences and learning in the DOT programme;
- * Experience of relationships with partners, child/ren and family;

- * Impact of relationships on decision not to drive while disqualified;
- * Influence of peer relationships on decision not to drive illegally;
- * Understanding of and assessing the value of the concept of support;
- * Experience of relating and communicating with support network;
- * Impact of drug and alcohol use on decision to stop driving illegally;
- * Significant aspects of offenders interactions with, and the functioning of, social networks which relate to behaviour change or relapse.

7.2 Approaches to data collection

7.2.1 Inductive and deductive approaches

Babbie (1995) provides a clear distinction between the use of inductive reasoning (from facts to theories) and deductive reasoning (applying a theory to a particular case) in undertaking research investigations. Dale (1997) comments that the inductive method of theory construction moves from concrete observations to a general theoretical explanation.

In the current study, I have not adopted a purely inductive approach. Miles and Huberman (1984) consider that both inductive and deductive approaches to analysis and theory generation are valid in qualitative research. In previous writings Miles (1983) asserts that:

*Research projects that pretend to come to the study with no assumption usually encounter much difficulty as a rough working frame needs to be in place near the beginning of fieldwork the risk is **not** that of 'imposing' a self blinding framework, but that an incoherent, bulky, irrelevant, meaningless set of observations may be produced, which no one can (or even wants to) make sense of (p.119).*

Babbie (1995) identifies three possible purposes for research; exploration, description, and explanation. Exploratory research aims to provide a beginning familiarity with a topic, particularly when it is relatively new and unstudied. The primary purpose of this research is exploratory. Previous discussion suggests that there is a paucity of literature on external factors specifically relating to DWD offenders. It is hoped that the proposed study will identify useful avenues for further research.

7.2.2 The value of qualitative research

Kressel (1990) argues that the value of research is often determined without consideration being given to its social relevance. Over the years, research in social science has recognised the importance of the personal experiences of those studied and the promotion of self and social understanding.

Coombes (1998) points out that qualitative methodologies emphasise trustworthy knowledge comes from personal experience rather than propositional logic and as such, findings are not arrived at by statistical procedures. This essentially means that the researcher is required to be continually faithful to another's viewpoint. According to Ely (1996), this makes qualitative research an ethical endeavour.

Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell and Alexander (1991) argue that qualitative designs allow the researcher to observe, discover and describe the themes and underlying dimensions of social life using non-statistical data. More recently, Ely (1996) agrees and when commenting on the process of analysing qualitative data says, not every hunch is valid; not every insight is borne out by the data. She claims that automaticities (ideas put forward

without much prior reflection or as a force of habit), even ones that “bear much fruit”, such as heeding one’s tacit knowledge, are put to the test by qualitative researchers. This is because the paradigm employed by qualitative researchers is characterised by a striving for increased reflection and awareness. As a consequence of using this approach, Minichiello et al. (1991) submit that researchers seek to understand how people attach meaning to and organise their lives, and endeavour to uncover how this understanding impacts on their actions. —

7.3 Methodology

7.3.1 Qualitative approach

As noted previously, the field research for this investigation was undertaken using a qualitative methodology. This approach has a number of noticeable features previously outlined. In the following section this social research tradition will be reviewed to facilitate understanding and clarification of the methods used in this research.

7.3.1.1 Rationale for use of qualitative methodology

Politics played a part in my decision to choose a particular methodology. While there are certain advantages in undertaking practice research in the Community Corrections such as understanding the culture and departmental expectations of best practice, there are other issues which had to be considered. Fook (1996) points out that politics affect all decisions in this situation including the choosing of a methodology. As a practitioner working with high risk offenders in a bureaucratic organisation, it was important to use a methodology that was comprehensive and beyond reproach. Other factors considered related to

the methodology having credibility and the research undertaken being supportive of the organisation's goals.

Further consideration underlying the research was the concern that the research should not be considered biased or subjective given that I have worked as a facilitator for six years with the programme that the research participants had attended. Essentially this meant that the approach taken had to ensure objectivity to maintain the level of credibility of the study

The changes that have taken place in the Department of Corrections also impacted on my choice of approach. As noted in Chapter Three, the ideology driving current best practice in Community Corrections is a managerial philosophy promoting fundamental principles of efficiency and effectiveness. These are coupled with the relatively new imperatives of accountability and contracting. As a consequence, there is significant pressure to demonstrate the effectiveness of service delivery interventions to reduce reoffending.

7.3.1.2 Strengths of qualitative methods

Ely (1996) emphasises that qualitative research is an approach which offers alternative views of the world to those promoted by empirical science. In earlier writings, Schatzman and Strauss (1982) rather than describing this approach as a single formalised method, viewed it as an umbrella activity beneath which any technique could be used for gaining the desired information. Miles (1983) says that in principle qualitative data offers a precise way to assess causality in organisational affairs and has a quality of undeniability. Essentially this research approach values the meaning of experiences rather than trying to quantify them. As Fook

(1996) points out it frees us from a fixed and potentially restrictive way of thinking.

A key strength of a qualitative method when working with marginalised clients is the comprehensiveness of perspective it provides the researcher. In her study of offenders, Leibrich (1993) felt privileged to gain such insightful glimpses into other people's lives and claimed that the use of this methodology was the most rewarding experience in her career as a researcher. Ely (1996) points out that a qualitative researcher must learn by doing. She explains that the approach to inquiry has to do with a person's flexible stance and an ability to create structure while observing the situation.

7.3.1.3 Limitations of qualitative methods

However, there are problems in validity and generalisations of qualitative data and associated data handling tasks are highly complex. Added to this as Ely (1996) points out, non-mathematical procedures of data analysis are employed. Babbie (1995) describes a mathematical procedure, such as the use of statistics, a method for describing data in more manageable forms. Furthermore, in terms of qualitative research, the researcher has the difficulty of deciding what to focus on while in the field. This is particularly important as this approach is labour-intensive and the vast amount of data accumulated can be confusing and require high intensity methods when being recorded and analysed.

As a basis for a qualitative method, Fook (1996) observes that grounded theory does not necessarily uncover muted perspectives. Neither does an inductive approach necessarily challenge prevailing ideas (Fook, 1996). In

the current study I did not have a fully developed theoretical framework for identifying the muted perspectives, so a fully deductive approach would not have been possible. For me, the most effective process was to move reflectively between my own experience, the literature I had reviewed and the responses from the respondents. At the same time I was continually checking the picture which was emerging.

Ely (1996) points out that prolonged engagement with research subjects can culminate in over-involvement by the researcher with the subjects. She cautions that this in turn could result in over-representation of their perspectives in the data, and complex relationship dynamics. Reaching for objectivity in this process means getting the balance right. This balance is between sufficient involvement at the site to overcome the effects of misinformation and uncovering constructions, and immersing oneself sufficiently in order to understand the context's culture (Ely, 1996). The focus of the next chapter is upon the methods used to collect the appropriate data for analysis in this process.

7.3.2 Data collection

7.3.2.1 Questionnaire

Developing a questionnaire was the first step in facilitating a process which would eventually systematically arrange and present information in a way which succinctly made sense of the data. Just as importantly, this process needed to communicate what had been learnt. Therefore, as a tool, the questionnaire enabled information to be gathered and differences between responses to be monitored. The process was to utilise pre-set response categories that were necessary to obtain data which were relevant for the research.

The questionnaire employed in this study (see Appendix Seven) comprised questions organised and worded to encourage respondents to provide the most accurate and complete information they could on topics covered in the literature review. Foddy (1993) points out that questions should be asked in the simplest form possible which will nevertheless remain faithful to the conceptual intentions of the researcher.

Likert scaling was used in the questionnaire. Babbie (1995) defines this type of scale as a composite measure based on intensity structure among the items composing the measure. Put simply, the respondents were presented with a statement in the questionnaire and were asked to indicate whether they 'strongly agree', 'agree', 'disagree' or 'strongly disagree'. As Babbie (1995) points out, the particular value of this format is the unambiguous ordinality of response categories.

The use of the Likert scale meant that each variable being measured could be scored in a uniform manner. This allowed a reasonably good measure of each variable. Essentially, the scale strengthened the reliability and usefulness of the questionnaire. The overall purpose of the questionnaire was to inform the interviews that followed. This tool was also instrumental in a pilot for the interviews.

7.3.2.2 Triangulation

As established earlier, problems in validity and generalisation of qualitative data and associated data-handling tasks are highly complex. Given this, the utility of particular methods is determined by the research problem being studied. Use of several different research methods to test the same finding (triangulation) is frequently used to counteract inherent

deficiencies relating to validity and generalisation. By combining quantitative and qualitative research methods the research methodology can be strengthened and the findings more reliable.

In terms of reliability, there is value in delivering a questionnaire prior to carrying out an interview schedule. It was anticipated that by using a questionnaire initially, it would be possible to identify commonalities among relationships, patterns and themes, which were connected to the thesis topic as a whole. Although tentative, these themes could form the basis of later-developed interview schedules. So although the pre-set response categories of the questionnaire limit the way that respondents may answer the questions they are also able to gauge the extent to which themes are common to this particular client group. The interview schedule could then take into account that different respondents often give different interpretations of apparent commonalities or themes.

Foddy (1993) notes that it is possible that respondents will feel their sense of worth is being attacked if they are asked to respond to questions that they find difficult to interpret because of difficult vocabulary, excessive question length, grammatical complexity or difficult instructions. In the current study, this concern was minimised by ensuring the questions were simple enough to be understood by all respondents.

In summary, some inherent difficulties experienced in the use of qualitative research in this study were reduced by combining methods. Greater validity of the research findings was ensured by the use of two groups of research participants. This meant that the data collated for analysis were not reliant on one group of research participants, namely the

group members, but data were also provided by another group of research participants, namely their support people.

Concluding this section, Jick (1983) points out that the effectiveness of triangulation rests on the premise that the weakness in each single method will be compensated by the counter-balancing strengths of the other. However, Ely (1996) cautions that there is a danger that the search for the convergence of evidence can result in useful material being disregarded because of the predominance of the assumption that triangulation will result in a single valid proposition.

7.3.3 Ethical issues

7.3.3.1 Access to participants

Participants were drawn on a voluntary basis from offenders who were group members of the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme. This programme consists of a nine week intensive treatment programme specifically designed for drivers who continue to drive while disqualified.

The Courts view the programme as a viable option to imprisonment and sentence offenders to the DOT programme as part of a Supervision Order or as a condition of Parole. The requirement of the sentence is that offenders complete the initial nine week course and continue with the follow-up course until the completion of their sentence which is usually of a twelve month duration. The follow-up course focuses on maintaining the strategies and skills learnt to stop driving while disqualified.

As the researcher, I gained permission from the co-facilitators to give a presentation about the research to the group. Group members were given an information sheet (see Appendix Two) reiterating the details of the project and written informed consent was requested from those who indicated an interest (see Appendix Three). I advised group members that they had a right to decline participation in the research project at any point. I also advised them that if anyone did not want to be involved they could withdraw from participation in the research project without prejudice to receipt of further services to which they were entitled from the Department of Corrections.

Participants were also support people of group members if both parties had given their prior written informed consent (see Appendix Five). People whom the group members had identified as support people were invited to a group session. I provided details of the research project and what would be expected from them if they consented to be involved in the research (see Appendix Four). An opportunity was provided for any questions to be answered concerning the research. People who indicated an interest in becoming a research participant signed a consent form and were invited to individual interviews. The support people were also advised that they could withdraw from the research project at any stage.

As the researcher, my role was to ensure that all participants' rights were fully observed and to ensure that participation in the research was not influenced by considerations other than their desire to be involved. The Department of Corrections had an interest in the research as a stakeholder. However, this interest was confined to receiving from me and my supervisors, quarterly and six monthly reports on my progress and

receiving a copy of the final research report. The Department did not have access to other information.

7.3.3.2 Informed consent

The principle of written informed consent can be regarded as essential to ethical decisions. As noted earlier, full information about the research was conveyed initially by a personal presentation by me to the group members of the DOT course which was running at the time the research commenced. These group members were potential research participants. The information given out at this presentation included: the purpose of the research; the participants' role in it; the protection they would be given regarding anonymity and confidentiality; how the data would be used; the participants' right to decline participation and withdraw, without prejudice at any stage; their right to refuse to answer any questions without prejudice to any future service from the Department of Corrections; their right to ask any questions at any point in the investigation, and details of what they could expect from me, as the researcher. This information was reiterated in written form (see Appendix Two) and given to the group members. Information and consent forms were attached.

Group members' individual consent was necessary for my access to their Department of Corrections files (which were only looked at during the research process for confirmation of previous criminal and traffic conviction history and sentence termination dates). Individual group members' consent was also necessary for their respective support network members to be invited to talk confidentially with me about the support they had given the group member. Similarly, consent was necessary from

support people before being able to include data they contributed to the research. It was my responsibility to clarify any questions that arose prior to the participants taking part in the research project.

All participation was on a voluntary basis. Group members had their written consent forms witnessed by the co-facilitators of the group or a third party of their choice. Their support people also had their written consent forms witnessed by a third party. The consent of all participants in the research was a necessary requirement before the project could proceed.

In terms of informed consent, it should be noted that a methodological flaw occurred during the current investigation and relates to the administering to participants of psychometric screening tools for alcohol and drug use.

Given the importance of substance abuse, more detailed information than that provided by the questions in the interview schedule was required. I administered the Alcohol Use Disorder Identification Test (AUDIT) to each participant who responded in the affirmative to the alcohol screening question in the interview schedule. I also administered the Drug Abuse Screening Test (DAST) to each participant who responded in the affirmative to the drug screening question on the interview schedule. However, a major error of judgement was made at this point as I administered the tools without prior Human Ethics Committee approval.

Both AUDIT and DAST are widely-used screening tools for substance abuse and dependence. They are instruments which are well established in the Community Probation Service and are administered by probation officers. The tools are known for their validity and reliability. However, specific permission for these particular tests was not obtained from participants prior to the tests being administered. I had incorrectly assumed that permission had been obtained because participants had signed the initial Consent form prior to participating in the current study. After interviewing five participants I became aware of the fact that separate consent forms are necessary to meet the ethical guidelines of the research. The correct procedure was then put into place with the permission gained and the signature of each of the participants obtained prior to the interview commencing. Prior to the interview all participants had been informed that they could withdraw from the interview at any time and it was emphasised that there would be no consequential repercussions for doing so.

7.3.3.3 Anonymity and confidentiality

I explained the bounds of confidentiality to all participants. Anonymity and confidentiality could not be guaranteed but I assured the research participants that the utmost regard for anonymity and confidentiality would be given. This was important if the information from the interviews was to be given in a frank and honest manner. I informed the participants that I would not disclose any information they provided without their permission. The only exception to this would be if they disclosed the commission or likely commission of an offence or threat of harm to any third party or to the participant. I advised the participants that under such

circumstances I would provide information to the probation officer the participant is allocated to. I informed them that this is also a legal obligation which binds any probation officer, including myself. (During the course of the research project I was not practising as a probation officer, however in my role of Department of Corrections Chief Executive Scholar I was still bound by the obligations of a probation officer). Depending on the seriousness of the information, it would be necessary that the case be removed from the project. When I was inviting consent, this limit on confidentiality was included in the information given to potential participants and support people (see Appendices Two and Four).

All participants were advised of the procedures for handling information and material produced in the course of the research which ensured confidentiality. I explained the procedures that would be followed to ensure that participant anonymity was retained during the research process and in the final research report.

7.3.3.4 Potential harm to participants

It was useful to check out with the participant at the commencement of the interview whether he/she was able to concentrate and to ensure that nothing had happened just prior to being interviewed that would make the interview stressful. It was also important to establish how much time the participant had for the interview and for how long he/she could concentrate at one sitting. All participants were able to cope with in-depth interviews in one sitting and did not need to be interviewed more than once.

Cultural issues were kept in mind at all times especially when undertaking

in-depth interviews. Awareness of protocol and general differences were respected. Checking out with participants that I had 'got it right' was important when respecting this ethical issue. Most of the interviews with group members were carried out in an office at the Community Probation service. However with the exception of one interview, all interviews with support people were carried out in their own homes. In these situations respecting the different ethnic backgrounds and individual protocols of the participants were vital. I was prepared to seek advice on these matters if it had been necessary.

Offenders who participated in the research project spent more time in interviews than other offenders who attended the DOT programme. However, I endeavoured to interrupt their daily routine as little as possible and fitting in with their daily lives was given paramount consideration. Their involvement was separate to any legal requirements made in terms of a Court order and offenders were not prosecuted in the event that they failed to participate in the research project and were not subjected to any other consequence.

7.3.3.5 Uses of information

All participants had access to any personal record compiled as part of the research project, including interview notes and questionnaires. They were provided with a summary of the results of the research and will have access to the final report on the research. They did not have any control over information offered by other participants.

Information is only presented in the final research report in a non-identifiable form. The final report of this research is submitted as this thesis, for the requirements of a Master of Social Work degree at Massey

University. It will also be available within the Community Probation and Psychological Services of the New Zealand Department of Corrections.

The results in summarised form may also be published in the Social Work Review and other appropriate professional and academic publications. Results may also be referred to in presentations at conferences, seminars and lectures.

7.3.3.6 Conflict of interest/conflict of role

There was a potential for conflict between my roles as researcher and as a probation officer with the Department of Corrections. For approximately six years in my professional role as a probation officer, I have co-facilitated DOT groups and the follow-up groups for DOT graduates. To minimise possible conflict of interest I did not include any offender with whom I have worked in an official/professional capacity. I also did not provide the Department with any identifiable information on former clients. The research was supervised by staff of the Massey University School of Social Policy and Social Work and the University of Canterbury Department of Social Work.

The potential for conflict to exist for an offender between their rights as a research participant and their obligations in terms of a Court order was reduced by advising them of their rights as a research participant. The research roles are distinct from any other roles which participants occupy.

I was not involved in the research as a probation officer (but as noted earlier, I was still bound by the obligations of a probation officer) and therefore avoided potential conflicts of interest which could have arisen

from occupying dual roles. I followed clear procedures regarding disclosure of information which ensured that I did not assume any other role in relation to any participant

The interests of the Department of Corrections did not inhibit the aims and principles of the project and did not take precedence over the interests of the participants. The Department was a stakeholder through my sponsorship and my provision of resources to enable the research to be completed. However, the Department did not have any direct influence in the research design or implementation. As noted previously, reports were submitted to the Department on a quarterly and six monthly basis outlining my progress and the Department did have access to the final draft of the research project. However, both these reports did not contain any identifying information regarding any participant which would have prejudiced a participant's right to receive a fair and impartial treatment from the Department of Corrections.

The purpose of the research was to look at factors outside of the research participants' involvement in a separate process from those actions imposed by the administration of any sentence directed by the Court. Concluding this section on ethical issues, the specific ethical concerns relating to the current research have been identified. The full application to the Human Ethics Committee is attached as Appendix One.

7.3.4 Recruitment and selection of research participants

7.3.4.1 Group members

It has been established that the focus of the research project is on driver offenders who have attended a rehabilitative programme and who have

made a decision to stop driving while disqualified. It was intended that the selection process focus on group members of the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) nine week course which was running at a time which coincided with the research project. As noted, the initial approach to recruit participants was to the co-facilitators of the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) course. It was seen as important to gain the confidence of the co-facilitators in the value of the research, as their co-operation would be integral to the recruitment process and indeed to vital aspects of the research in the weeks that followed.

A decision was made to hold a presentation on the research project to discuss the value of research and what the aims of this particular study were and its relevance to the group members. The presentation was held as part of the content of a session held in the second week of the course. The timing was significant as group members are usually provided with extensive amounts of information in the first week of the course. By the second week they have processed that information, settled into the rhythm of the group process and are often more amenable to new information and making informed decisions.

Given the nature of the client group, it was expected that there could be a level of resistance to the notion of participating in a research study due to a variety of reasons. These included lack of knowledge, ill-informed perceptions or just not wanting to be the focus of an enquiry. It was viewed as important that a number of strategies were used to overcome these potential barriers and to foster trust and support in the project. In the first instance, the co-facilitators 'warmed' the group members to the idea that I would be joining the group to present my research project.

Secondly, group members' questions about research in general were welcomed. Discussion evolved around the concept of research and what this would mean for group members if a research project were to be conducted during the running of their particular course. This discussion was useful in that it not only raised the level of understanding and demystified the concept of research for some of the group members (knowledge gained from feedback to facilitators) but it also provided a solid basis on which all the members could make an informed decision regarding their participation (or not) in the research.

Prior to gaining the group members' consent, background information was provided which identified research as being part of the culture of the DOT programme. This was intended to make the process more meaningful for each group member. The aims and goals of the current research project was presented to the group in the form of an enlarged jigsaw puzzle. Doing this served several significant purposes. Firstly, the presentation identified the research projects which had been carried out by the Community Corrections Psychological Services in the process of evaluating the programme. Secondly, by normalising research activity in the DOT programme it became a more accepted component of the programme. Thirdly, the presentation provided an opportunity to endorse the value of the participants' contribution to the research project. They were advised that their experience would help other driver offenders who attended the DOT programme. Fourthly, it was an opportunity also to advise the group members that the research under discussion completed the jigsaw puzzle in terms of the current research needs of the programme. This gave a clear message that their contribution would be of significant value.

Written information regarding the project was distributed to group members along with consent forms. Although the message was clear that everyone could take time to reflect on what had been discussed before making a decision, after the presentation all the group members (10) agreed to become research participants. The invitation had been given to provide names of support people who could be contacted as potential participants and most group members obliged in this area also.

The selection of research participants was based on the following criteria: that they were members of the research target group; that they had made a decision to stop driving while disqualified; that they consented by written consent to be research participants.

Initially written consent forms were obtained from ten people, which included all the group members of the target group. These people were formally selected as the research participants by simply advising them that they had been selected. Subsequently, two research participants left the target group. The remaining eight group members participated fully in the research process.

It is worthwhile noting that the effect on the target group as a consequence of the two people leaving, differed in each instance. The first group member to leave, left in the first few weeks of the group commencing. His departure was due to a culmination of events which had caused friction among the members of the group. The second group member to leave, left half-way through the group after building a rapport with his peers. Unlike the first group member to leave, this particular person had been asked to leave the target group by the facilitators as a consequence of his poor

attendance and participation. This decision was not well received by the group members and as a consequence issues had to be worked through in the group sessions.

The impact on the research project as a consequence of two research participants leaving prematurely in the process, was significant in terms of the numbers to be researched. From the start it was acknowledged it would be a small-scale project and with the size being reduced by two participants, the potential material for analysis would be further reduced and in turn lessen the significance of the findings. Both group members left prior to being interviewed for the research. It was confirmed by the group facilitators that the decisions of the two group members to be involved in the research project were not the reasons for their departure.

7.3.4.2 Demographical data on research participants (group members)

The gender, ethnicity (self-defined), and ages of the group members were:

Gender:

Male	7	Female	1
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Ethnicity:

European/Pakeha	4
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One member described himself as European/Maori, another as Pakeha/Sioux.

Age:

20 years	2	26 years	1
22 years	1	33 years	2
23 years	1	40 years	1

Average age:

25 years

7.3.4.3 Support people

An integral part of the DOT programme is the inclusion of support people in two sessions throughout the course, one in the fourth week at the Support Persons session and again on the last day of the group. In particular, the purpose of the first session is to acknowledge the significant role of the support person in the behaviour change process. In the target course it was also an opportunity for me to introduce the research topic to the support people who attended. They had all been nominated by the group members and I was able to provide them with information and consent forms.

Time was allocated in which support people could ask questions and share issues regarding their involvement in the research. It was an opportunity also for the support people to get to know me, as the researcher of the project, and to organise interview dates and times. All the support people nominated (10) signed the consent forms and agreed to the interview arrangements. As with the group members, the support people understood that they could withdraw from the research at any time. Support people were selected as research participants on the basis that they had been nominated by a group member and actively supported that group member in his/her decision to stop driving while disqualified. It was also a criterion for selection that the support people had signed a consent form agreeing to be interviewed for the purposes of collecting data for the research project.

7.3.5 Pilot studies

The piloting of questions on a small scale with respondents drawn from the target population has been gathering momentum among methodologists

advocating interviewing techniques (see e.g., Foddy, 1993; Fowler & Mangione, 1990). Foddy (1993) comments that piloting questions provides a source of information about how the respondents 'see' questions and enables researchers to identify problem questions. Foddy also recommends that attention be given to questions that appear to cause discomfort to respondents, that need to be repeated or clarified, or that seem difficult or awkward for the interviewee. She alludes to other areas which might need to be altered, including questions which might seem laboured or areas where the respondent would like to say more.

7.3.5.1 Questionnaire

The reason for designing a questionnaire prior to the interviews was essentially to inform the interviews which would be carried out after the target course had finished. To this end, the questionnaire acted as a pilot for the interviews. As noted earlier, Likert scaling was used because this type of composite measure provides a systematic means for constructing indexes from the data to be collated from the questionnaire. As Babbie (1995) points out, the particular value of Likert scaling is the unambiguous ordinality of response categories. The purpose of the questionnaire was to inform the interview schedule. Therefore to judge the relative strength of agreement intended by the respondents, I needed a scaling format which provided a straightforward format based on the assumption that the overall score based on responses to a particular variable would provide a reasonably good measure of that variable.

To test the questionnaire, I carried out a small pilot study on four graduates of the Driver Offender treatment (DOT) programme who were regular members of the follow-up group of the DOT programme at the

time the current research was being carried out. The four graduates concerned voluntarily consented to be part of the pilot study. I gave them information about the research and they signed individual consent forms prior to participating. I administered the questionnaire at the pre-test to the four respondents at the same time. The questionnaire took approximately half an hour to complete. On completion, the respondents took part in a discussion with me to help identify problem questions.

Foddy (1993) comments it is useful to pilot questions on a small sample of respondents drawn from the target population. He explains that this process uncovers aspects of questions that will cause interviewers to have difficulty and discovers whether or not the respondents interpret the questions as intended. In this case, the four respondents in the pilot study were not members of the target group but had been convicted of numerous DWD charges and had attended the DOT programme.

Observations and outcomes of the pilot study suggested that there were 'difficult' questions in the initial version of the questionnaire. Several questions were modified as a consequence of this process. Exemplifying this, all four respondents identified ambiguity in the way one question had been phrased.

7.3.5.2 Interview schedule

The process for piloting the interview schedule differed from the first pilot study in several ways. Firstly, only two DOT programme graduates were involved in this study. They had also agreed to participate in the first pilot study and had welcomed the opportunity to be 'guinea pigs' again.

Secondly, the interviews were administered individually and feedback comments given on an individual basis. Thirdly, the respondents were required for a longer period of time (approximately one hour each interview). The interviews were not audiotaped and a separate consent form was obtained from each respondent as was the case in the earlier pilot study.

Once again it was a useful exercise, especially when it is considered that the accuracy and validity of the data depend on the questions asked and the ways in which respondents perceive and respond to them. Minimal alterations were made to the instrument which was a gauge of the relevancy, clarity and appropriateness of the questions, statements and style of the interview schedule. Also the 'rehearsal' of the interview schedule enabled me to develop familiarity with the tool and get an indication of the time necessary for programming interview appointments

The interview schedule for the support people was piloted by two of my work colleagues and a member of my family. This pre-testing was also useful. Even though they were not members of the target group, the people concerned were able to identify questions which required some reworking in order to provide clarity. Again, by administering this interview schedule I was able to familiarise myself with the questions involved. I obtained only verbal consent from the respondents to participate in this pre-test, given that they were work colleagues and a family member.

7.3.6 Data collection methods

7.3.6.1 Delivery of questionnaire to research participants

After negotiating with the co-facilitators of the course, time was structured into the last half an hour of a session at the end of the second week for the administration of the questionnaire. I briefly introduced the questionnaire and issued instructions on the use of the tool. The co-facilitators administered the questionnaire and supervised the respondents to minimise possible bias implications for my role as researcher. All questions were answered and the questionnaires completed within the half hour timeframe. On completion they were collected by the co-facilitators and later handed to me for analysis.

7.3.6.2 Face-to-face interviews with group members

Two separate interview schedules were developed, one for the group members and one for the support people. The questions and statements differed in the main for each schedule.

The purpose of interviewing group members and their support people separately was to give greater validity to the research findings. It was also understood that the interview process could provide an opportunity for multiple accounts of reality. Interestingly, the support peoples' responses generally confirmed those of the research participants.

The interview process used a semi-structured provisional outline of seventy questions. The schedule included themes and questions formulated as an outcome of the responses of the research participants to the quantitative questionnaire.

The group members (8) were interviewed over a two week period, the first interview taking place one week after the course terminated. The timing of the interviews was a considered decision. I waited until the group members had completed the nine week course for a number of reasons. Firstly, the respondents could answer the questions fully informed, having the benefit of having participated in the entire course. Secondly, the timing of the interviews meant that the respondents had time to reflect on the experience of being a group member for nine weeks. Thirdly, placing the interviews after the group had disbanded, minimised peer pressure to respond to the questions in a particular way. Fourthly, at the completion of the group, the respondents would not have had the daily reminder that they were not legally able to drive which they had experienced whilst a member of the group. This meant that the interview took place at a time when they were experiencing a more realistic lifestyle with the possibility of daily high risk situations.

Ultimately, it would be hoped that they had been able to put into practice some of the strategies and skills they had learnt as a consequence of being a member of the target group. If this was the case, it was intended that their experiences would have developed their understanding of the external factors which helped or hindered their decision to stop driving while disqualified.

The average interview was one hour in length. With the consent of each respondent, each interview was audiotaped and I took notes during the interview. Five of the audiotaped interviews were carried out in the Community Corrections Office. Due to sickness and lack of transport,

three interviews were administered in the homes of the respondents. In each situation, other people were present in the house.

Ely (1997) points out that interviews illustrate the never-ending variability of people and it becomes a matter of adapting the questions and probes to each respondent's style. Also, it was observed, that although the questions had appeared presented in a clear and simple way and lengthy questions avoided, one respondent had difficulty with one or two questions and cognitively adjusted the question so he could answer it.

7.3.6.3 Face-to-face interviews with support people

Nine of the interviews with support people were carried out in their respective homes. One interview was administered at the Community Probation service office at the request of the support person because it was more convenient for her. At every interview, the welcome I received was conducive to a relaxed atmosphere and at no time did I feel that my presence was intrusive to the person being interviewed.

The interviews with the support people were carried out over a period of two weeks and after I had completed the interviews with the research participants. Initially, the timing and spacing of these particular interviews was purely because of the time and energy required by me as the interviewer. However, in hindsight, it was useful to interview the support people after the research participants, as the support peoples' responses collaborated those whom they supported. As noted this added strength to the analysis and validity to the research.

Overall, the interviews carried out with both groups of participants were informative and vibrant interactions which illustrated the value of qualitative research. A factor which contributed to the general ease of the interview process was that the engagement phase between respondents and myself had begun at an earlier stage of the research. Feedback from the respondents was positive, which reinforced my impression that it had been an effective process.

7.3.6.4 Observation notes and thesis journal

At the end of each interview I listened to the content of the interview on the audiotape. This was partly to ensure that the tape had actually worked throughout the interview and partly to capture reflections, comments etc. that were noteworthy but could easily have been forgotten over a lapse of time. While listening to the tape, observation notes were written outlining how the interview had progressed and noting aspects of the interview which had worked well or not so well. Specific comments were added for future analysis and notes made to indicate emerging themes. At least within a day of listening to the tape an overall appraisal of the interview was added to the thesis journal. Basically this process illuminated the learning and understanding of the material by the discovery of material that had been forgotten or the significance of which had not been noted during the interview. The potential value of the journal is illustrated in the following excerpt.

I felt the interview had been quite useful for this person by the way he just kept talking and was in no hurry to stop the process. In a way the questions for this interview appeared too circumscribed and I would have liked to have put them to one side and let the conversation flow more

naturally. I saw this person differently in this setting. He was warmer and more approachable. This had not been so noticeable in the group setting and makes me wonder if it was because he found it difficult to be a group member. Perhaps all the barriers he had put up in the group setting had reduced his ability to take in the material and it wasn't so much that he is not motivated but more about other factors associated with being a group member which stifled him.

7.3.6.5 Transcribing interview data

I approached a former employee of the Community Probation Office to undertake the research assistant position. This particular person was selected for her knowledge of the client group being researched, the integrity she had shown when working in the Department and her skills in information technology. On average, each interview generated twenty pages of transcript.

7.3.6.6 Creating theme file structure

I listened to the interviews a third time and using an inductive approach developed a list of themes. In the main, these correlated with the key questions asked. Each theme was allocated a colour and the transcripts colour-coded to correspond to the particular theme. Each theme headed a new section of a separate file.

In summarising the overall response pattern to each theme, groups of responses were identified and verbatim material was selected to illustrate the issue. This process provided a cross-sectional breakdown of the transcripts. As a result, the material was able to be presented in a more manageable and translatable form.

7.4 Concluding remarks

For the current study the decision to use exploratory and qualitative methods appears to be an appropriate one. The challenge faced is in the quantity of material this method generates. The interviewing process enables the interviewer to hear and envision the interviewees' experiences, perceptions and feelings within the multi-layered presentation of narrative. Through the transcripts of the interviews I was able to familiarise myself with those interviewed, to absorb the detail of the interviewees' perceptions and to understand the connections that emerged from the process. What is identified as significant in the transcription is inescapably selective. The challenge is how to transform the process into the final product while continuing to be aware of the purpose of the study and remaining open to new knowledge and discovery (Miles & Huberman, 1984).

8 Data presentation

8.1. Introduction

Narrative analysis depends on the information collected. In this inquiry a majority of questions in the interview were circumscribed. Given this, the questions provided little biographical background in which to illuminate respondents' remarks on what was the reality of their lives. Furthermore, the use of probes to elicit more material was used sparingly. This was due to time constraints and the number of questions the respondents had been asked to process. In the presentation of the responses, the narrative component of the analysis is limited to the use of the respondents' phraseology in the process of explaining and interpreting the data.

Findings are presented thematically rather than each case being presented separately. Ely, Vinz, Downing & Anzul, (1997) describe a process of analysis that leads to the organisation of recurrent patterns into larger clusters of related issues which form the basis for a thematic chapter. Given the volume of material it seemed an expedient process. It offers the respondents more confidentiality and anonymity and at the same time is a credible representation of the meaning of their respective worlds. Furthermore, the composition of such themes has been a useful analytical tool and provided significant direction to the research. The following is a cross-case analysis of themes as a thematic discussion on the findings. At times the discussion moves from themes to metathemes and this process is

aided by the use of certain words or phrases that seem woven as a pattern throughout the data.

8.2 Thematic analysis of group members' responses

This section analyses the responses from eight group members as a result of interviews carried out over a period of two weeks with the first interview commencing a fortnight after the target course had finished. The interview schedule (Appendix Eight) was administered separately to each person, and each interview lasted approximately one hour in duration. The questions asked were formulated as an outcome of the group members' responses to the questionnaire administered at an earlier stage of the project. The sub-headings and sub sub-headings in this section depict the essence of the questions asked in the interviews. Pseudonyms, namely, Megan, Bruce, Neil, Murray, Riki, Shane, Darren, and Chris are used to protect the research participants' identities.

8.2.1 Difficulty in stopping driving while disqualified (DWD)

The research participants were asked to identify the degree of difficulty they had experienced in stopping driving until they are eligible to obtain a driver's licence. As noted in the previous chapter, they were each asked to establish the degree of difficulty on a Likert scale. The group members of the target group had not been convicted of as many charges for disqualified driving offending compared with members of previous Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) groups. Nonetheless, one of the criteria for being in the group was that each group member had been convicted of a significant number of DWD charges. An additional criterion stipulated that each respondent had been sentenced to a term of imprisonment

(including Corrective Training) at least on one occasion for driving offences.

With the exception of Darren, all respondents strongly agreed that stopping DWD had been difficult.

Darren's response did not emphasise the degree of difficulty as much as the other respondents although he agreed it had been difficult to stop offending in this way.

Murray, Nathan and Riki cited their love of driving as a major factor in not being able to stop DWD. Riki's offence history confirms that most of his offences are for traffic matters:

"It's like chopping your feet off not having a licence. Just the fact that everything I do has got something to do with cars."

Darren took this extreme attitude also and his explanation takes into consideration that a charge of DWD is viewed by the legal system as contempt of a Court Order:

"It's not like you are meaning to like kick the Judge in the head its, cos its like they cut your frigging legs off". It's like a situation arises and you've got to be somewhere else and bang - you jump in the car even though you know you are disqualified."

Steve's response indicated a sense of responsibility towards his DWD convictions and the reason why it was so difficult to stop:

"Just my own silly attitude."

During the course, Chris had been undergoing an adjustment period in his personal life having been released from his first term of imprisonment only months prior to the course commencing. He had been sentenced to imprisonment for twelve months on two charges of DWD. His experience of being in custody appeared to have had a significant effect on him as he, like Shane, took some responsibility for his offending behaviour.

"A lot of people were trying to help me but I was doing the opposite. I didn't listen. I went to jail and I woke up."

Megan referred to her use of alcohol and Bruce to his use of intravenous drugs and alcohol as being the major reason for finding it difficult to stop driving in the past. At the time of the interview, Bruce had been sober for five months. Prior to that he had been drinking every day for four years:

"I didn't give a hoot about anything when I was drinking every day. I gave up on life in general.... gave up on everything. Since given up drinking I have knocked criminal offending on the head but I still find it difficult to stop driving."

Department of Corrections' documents evidenced that Megan and Bruce along with Murray, Shane and Darren had substantial histories of criminal offending, dating back over a decade in some cases. However, in more recent years they had all appeared in Court on traffic matters only.

A different pattern was documented in regard to Riki and Neil who had offended on traffic matters only and Chris who had appeared in Court on mostly traffic matters.

8.2.2 Motivation for stopping DWD

As noted earlier, data were collated prior to the interviews by way of a questionnaire administered to the research participants in the second week of the course.

The second question in the questionnaire referred to the degree to which they wanted to stop the offence of DWD. All but one responded that they strongly agreed that they want to stop offending in this way. One did not reply with such intensity but agreed he wanted to stop.

8.2.3 Individual journeys to non-offending life-styles

At times individual responses demonstrated quite clearly where particular respondents were at in terms of their behaviour change and the effect the changes had had on their lives. Megan used a metaphor to illustrate how her journey was being assisted by her partner's help in making connections and looking at things differently:

"She is like a flower - she makes me see things that I don't see - she can make it beautiful."

Murray was more down to earth regarding where he saw himself on his journey of behaviour change:

" Just listening to some of them (other group members) at times, some of their stories, how they're still driving - crazy. I can understand it a bit 'cos when I was younger I never used to give a sh-t."

Bruce acknowledged other people's perspective of him in how far he had come:

“Well she (the mother of his child and former partner) has noticed changes in me and that is why she is considering us giving it another go.”

8.2.4 Motivation for completing the DOT course

For Megan, Shane and Bruce, completing the nine week DOT course had been the first course they had ever participated in. Neil and Riki had completed trades courses and Darren had completed a practical driving course while serving a term of imprisonment. Murray and Chris were the only group members who had participated on a therapeutic course prior to participating in the DOT course.

Overall, their reasons for their motivation for completing the course were similar. All but Bruce said that they were committed to the course because they had made a decision to stop driving until they obtained their driver licence. In their responses, Neil, Riki, Darren, Bruce cited not wanting to let family members down as a common basis for why they completed the course. Bruce commented:

“My determination - I have shocked a lot of people. I have never been able to do that before - stop drinking and driving. I am more likely to say ‘no’ now - will-power.”

8.2.5. Therapeutic group experience

Although the particular group the research participants had been involved in had some challenging periods over the length of the course, all respondents replied positively to questions about their experience as a group member. In response to the question relating to how it was to be a group member, the majority of responses suggested that there had been high levels of anxiety in regard to being accepted by peers, ability to “fit

in” and generally adjusting to a new pattern of attending a course on a daily basis.

Megan’s comment conveys this anxiety and the relief when she found she was able to complete the course:

“This is the first time I have actually finished a course. (Megan had attended every session). I didn’t think I was going to be able to finish it but I was able to speak in the group and not be judged for what I said and I formed a trust with the other group members.”

Bruce’s comments also reflect his sense of insecurity when starting the group:

‘I didn’t think I would fit in as well as I did. I just thought I’d be real shy and not open up in front of others. I didn’t think I would be good at groups but it was pretty good - got along with everyone. They were good people on the group.’

The way the cohesiveness of the group had developed on both a social and supportive level is illustrated in Riki’s comments:

“It was a good group just the way everyone got on so well. When we socialise, it’s not like going to a friend’s place and having a cup of coffee and talking about what you normally talk about. It’s more concentrated on ‘ra’ ‘ra’ you’re not driving, ‘ra’ ‘ra’ sort of thing.”

Bruce also alludes to the significance of the social side of the group:

“Having people to talk to who knew where I was coming from was important.”

However, for Bruce there was also another way of viewing the way the group socialised:

“The downside though would be that I smoke more cannabis when I am socialising with the group.”

Megan, Murray Neil and Riki all agreed that the nine week course had a significant effect on their decision not to drive. They cited the changes they had made to their thinking as the basis for their observations. In particular, learning to identify the type of thinking which ‘set them up’ to reoffend, appeared to have some importance. Megan summed it up in this way:

“Cognitive distortions - minimising the fact that I drove just round the corner - I never used to know that I was using cognitive distortions. I am more aware of how I set myself up. Now I take more notice of what I am thinking and think before I act. I also listen to other people and I suss out what they’re saying and I can rationalise and that.”

Murray’s comments are also insightful:

“It got me back into the right frame of thinking. What I have learnt on the group has pulled me back into reality about my anger and how to manage it.”

He was also the eldest member of the group which for him brought both self-doubt and kudos:

“I actually felt old sometimes. I used to think some of these guys must think I’m a real know-it-all. At other times some of the guys, probably five in the group, came up to me at different stages and said, “Hey I really got something out of what you said”. And that makes you feel good.”

Another comment he made:

“I got more out of this group than probably people understand.”

Neil's comments reflect the value of the particular model of relapse prevention used in the course:

"I learnt how to slow my thinking down. I used to go straight from stress to relapse - now I can slow my thinking down so that I can go through the steps and understand why I am doing certain things."

Darren and Chris agreed that the course did have some effect. Darren summed it up in this way:

"Well it is like the old saying - you can lead a horse to water A lot of stuff that was covered in the course I think everyone is aware of but it had been shoved to the back of their brain, sort of thing, and they had the information but they just didn't access it, you know what I mean, and the course, yeah - it sort of took it from the back of the head to the front and made you more aware of it."

Later on his comments illustrate how he had begun to differentiate between friends in terms of keeping himself safe from reoffending:

"I have got mates in my 'tool-box' (a term used in the group to describe strategies to use to stop reoffending) and if I get stuck, I'll see if I can get a lift whereas before I couldn't get there myself - tough shit, you know. For some of my friends it doesn't matter how far I have to go or what the time is, they will take me."

Shane responded that the course had had no effect on him at all and yet interestingly he implied that the course had consolidated his changes:

"I had made the decision not to drive. The course, well it just reinforced it."

However for Megan, participation in the group had resulted in her starting to drink again. This was a pattern of behaviour that she had successfully

stopped for five months prior to the course commencing. She explained the trigger to her relapse:

“When you’re in DOT you are allowed to talk about some sensitive issues and this raised all sorts of things for me.”

Megan’s understanding of her pathway to drinking again:

“After the course I would go and talk to my friend and I would just minimise that I’m going to have a raspberry and coke, knowing very well I’d have a drink” (meaning she would have an alcoholic drink).

8.2.6 Support networks

Megan, Murray, Neil, Shane and Chris each identified their partners as playing a key role in their support network. Murray also saw his eldest daughter in this role and Bruce cited his estranged girlfriend and his flatmate as integral to his support network. Riki viewed his mother-in-law as taking this role and David, his ex-partner.

Megan’s response to why she viewed her partner in this role introduced the concept that the support role met other needs as well:

“She wants me to be there with her, not in jail. So she challenges me on my thinking especially when I want to drive.”

Chris acknowledges that being a support person is not without frustrations:

“Well she is getting sick of driving but she drives me around all the time.”

8.2.7 Relationships

Megan, Riki, and Shane all appear to be in long term committed relationships with their partners. At the time of the interviews, Megan had lived with her partner for approximately one year and known her for two years. Riki had been living with his partner for four years and Shane had been living with his partner for four years. Neil described his relationship with his partner as “sort of separated” and had been living with her for nine months prior to the course commencing. Murray remains close to the mother of one of his children, as does Bruce. Darren still visits his former wife whom he was married to for approximately two years. Chris was also living apart from his partner but remained in close contact with her. Murray had been in a relationship for ten years and at the time of the interview enjoyed a friendship with the mother of his youngest child. Megan, Riki, and Shane describe their respective relationships as very close. Neil, Bruce and Chris describe their respective relationships as close.

When asked who makes the decisions in your partnership, with only one exception they all agreed that mutual decision-making was characteristic of their relationships. Chris advised that he makes the major decisions, otherwise their decisions were mutual. Most respondents agreed that when it came to driving, their partners made the decisions. Shane added:

“Before I got caught I would drive all the time.”

To establish the effect that the relationships had on the respondents they were asked to describe what would be different in their lives if they were not in a relationship. Most reported that they had engaged in less

offending since being in a relationship. Neil, Bruce and Chris each appeared adamant that they would be in jail if they were not in relationships and Murray stated that there would be a big gap in his life due to not being able to see his youngest daughter.

Riki commented:

“The group helps, but if I didn't have my partner, I would be driving every day, my partner cares and knows our situation and what we are trying to do.”

The most emotionally charged response was from Megan:

“I'd have nothing. I probably wouldn't be alive,”

The major way their partners supported them was to drive them around. Neil summed up in this way:

“She talks things through with me and doesn't let me drive the car.”

Megan, Murray, Neil, Bruce and Chris made references to the fact that their attitudes to their partners had changed since attending the DOT course and when asked for an explanation for this, the most cited reason was their ability to communicate more effectively. Neil's explanation once again seemed to summarise the general conclusions of the respondents:

“My partner and I are able to talk a lot better because I can talk things out better than I used to. It's a real help talking in a group - it makes it easier talking at home.”

8.2.8 Effect of being a parent on offending levels

Murray, Riki, Darren, Bruce, and Chris all have children and with the exception of Murray stated that without a doubt being a parent has had an effect on their level of offending. It is noted that they all had children at the time of their current offending. Murray said:

“Having children has no effect cos if I want to do something I will do it.”

On the other hand, Chris, who had not long been out of jail and had already stated that his custodial sentence had a significant effect on him, said quite convincingly:

“ I don’t want to lose any more time with my son. If I am in prison I can’t look after him if he is in trouble and that.”

Neil and Chris were both expectant fathers. Neil said:

“Once I knew it was coming my level of offending dropped - I don’t want to miss out on the baby growing up.”

8.2.9 Family of origin and level of closeness

With the exception of Neil and Shane all the respondents, when describing the family they were brought up in on the Likert scale, identified ‘not close’ as being appropriate. In some cases, especially, with Murray, Bruce and Darren, the parental abuse had been significant. Three of the respondents including Shane described either one or both parents as alcoholic. Some of the comments offered:

“My family was as dysfunctional as you can get. As a mother I think she was the lowest form of life but she was my mother and that is about it. She was violent, abusive . Oh it was dreadful, dreadful.”

“To Dad I was someone he made and owns”.

“My father is a b..... He blames my mother for my offending and assaults her.”

“I used to get hidings at 11 p.m. every night. I would wait for my father to come home and give me a hiding”.

“ I didn't have a childhood.”

8.2.10 Level of support from family members

Most respondents report that they have received minimal or no support from the members of the family they were brought up in. As Riki comments:

“Probably the fact that they just don't say anything - you know, just not caring, Mum doesn't care, Dad doesn't even know that I am disqualified. I get far more support from the people in the house I live in than from my own family.”

Bruce's comments suggest a sense of hopelessness:

“Every time I reoffend Dad disowns me. He tells me to f--k off when I go over to his place. Even when I am not offending my old man keeps saying I'll do it again anyway.”

However Neil had a different experience:

“My Dad did the DOT programme a while ago now so he understands what it is like not to have a driver's licence. My family have all supported

me at times but the most important support has been from my Dad when he paid for my restricted licence after I had finished the course.”

8.2.11 Changes in how respondents relate to family

In an endeavour to identify links (if any) with the changes the respondents had made to their thinking around DWD offending and changes that may have been made to how they now relate to their family members, respondents were asked if they could identify any changes.

Megan had started to see her father in a different light:

“Well I look at Dad now and think what an idiot, I didn’t want to see that about Dad before. It’s because the change is in me. I know I can’t drive - it is that simple. Only a year now before I can go for my licence - I used to say ‘another year’.”

Chris had also started to view his father differently:

“I started to see that the old man was helping me out in his own way”

Shane had an interesting comment to make:

“I usually talk to Dad when things were getting really bad. I haven’t been able to do that lately cos I haven’t had anything seriously going wrong with me lately.”

8.2.12 Changes to respondents’ own parenting

As a consequence of their experiences, without exception the respondents identified significant differences in the way they are parenting their child/ren or would if they had child/ren. Common themes emerged from

the responses and suggested that the fundamental differences related to the use of more effective communication replacing physical and mental abuse and more time being spent with children instead of what had appeared on occasions to be parental neglect of the children. Darren explains the changes he has made:

"I don't overstep the power boundaries."

Murray indicates that he has stopped an intergenerational cycle of abusive behaviour:

"I've never been violent to my kids. I don't abuse them as I was when I was growing up. I don't abuse them and I am here for them. You have a choice. I never had a childhood."

8.2.13 Peers

Without exception, each respondent acknowledged the significant level of interaction among group members and the positive way they related to each other. As previously noted this bond extended to socialising outside of the group. Chris summed up the situation in this way:

"I have been with other groups before but I mean this was more of a friendly group - more social than anything else. We all sort of got on really well. This group was longer than the others so we got to know each other better."

8.2.14 Friends

Megan, Murray, Neil, Darren, Bruce and Chris all strongly agree that friends had hindered them in the past in terms of stopping reoffending. They all described how they had moved on from certain friendships and were more selective about who they spent time with. Riki differentiated

between friendships and describes why it is so difficult to give up his friends who are still offending:

“Apart from the people I live with and the DOT people, there is a group of friends who don’t care. Oh well it is just y’know, we have been friends for a while - you can’t just give them up. The hardest part of it is saying ‘no’ to your mates.”

However, Riki also acknowledges that he has made some changes in his thinking :

“I don’t see these friends as much and most of the time when I go around there I am not in the car anyway so they can’t ask me to drive them places. My girlfriend usually drives me there but I deliberately plan not to take the car round to them so I am not talked into driving them places.”

Darren, Shane and Neil also spent time with friends who were offending. Megan said that more often than not she changes her mind after talking to her friends, whereas Murray, Darren, Riki, Shane, Chris stated that once they had made up their minds their friends could not talk them out of it.

Neil’s response reveals his raised self-awareness:

“I used to more often than not change my mind over matters after talking to my friends but now usually once I have made up my mind, my friends can’t talk me out of it.”

8.2.15 Changes in regard to friendships

Megan, Murray, Nathan and Chris realised that they had to stop spending time with friends who were hindering their decision to stop driving while disqualified. Megan comments:

“About three weeks into the course I wiped some of my friends. I realised that they were just using me and I knew I had to break the cycle. I assess my friends now. If they ask me to drive I know they are not my friends. I can say no to friends now. Hard the first time - I didn't believe I could do it but it does get easier.”

Murray also had started to assess his friendships and to weigh up whether maintaining these friendships was useful or not:

“When someone asks you to drive, they are solely out there for themselves. They don't give a damn about you or the consequences for you.”

At 21 years old, Nathan illustrates some self learning by his comments:

“In the last year I have been sort of cutting down on the people who are not respecting me or anything like that. I could see that they were not helping me at all. The last time I said 'yes' to them over driving them places was the first week of the course. I still have one friend who is driving while disqualified but I have broken away from the others now and have just cut off those who are a bad influence. I realised they were just using me anyway.”

Bruce had reassessed friendships also:

“I have just stopped a whole heap of friendships which were a bad influence on me, sort of thing and that's one reason why I have started new friendships with people on the course cos they know where I am at and what stages I was with my driving and life and other things like that.”

Chris had made some significant changes in his thinking around former friendships:

“Passed all my friends over, I didn't want to be with them anymore.”

When asked whether he had changed towards his friends since making a decision to stop driving while disqualified, Bruce responded:

“I used to make it my problem when friends wanted a ride and that is how I got caught. Now I tell them I can’t because it is not my problem.”

Darren, also, was quite clear about the changes he has made:

“I can take or leave a lot of my friends now. Before the course I stuck with them. I would have gone along with them, gone with the flow.”

8.2.16 Employment

Everyone but Megan had experienced paid employment at some time in their life. Neil and Chris had worked on a casual basis at times while attending the DOT course. Chris continued with this employment after the course was completed. Neil had a job offer he was considering and Shane, Brian and Darren obtained work at the completion of the course. Shane had been unemployed for three years and according to Bruce he had not been employed for six or seven years. Riki had had employment prior to the course starting and Megan and Murray were both sickness beneficiaries.

8.2.17 Changes in offending when employed

Most respondents agreed that when they were employed, they offended less often. Riki summed it up in this way:

“I offended heaps less when I was employed as I was not stuck at home, bored”.

Chris also identified the link between feelings, thinking and behaviour:

“I am less likely to offend while I am working as I am a lot happier and I have got my mind occupied and my body occupied.”

Most respondents agreed that in terms of their decision not to drive while disqualified they did not consider their employees and workmates to be part of their support network.

Darren explained why this was so in his particular situation:

“I unload the boats down at the wharf and as long as I am doing that my boss doesn’t care about how I get there to do it just that I do it. If I can’t do it he would get someone else.”

However, Chris’s experience was different:

“My employer would always come and pick me up from home and take me to work. He even took me to the Maintenance session as he said that if I went by bus that would be the whole day out and if he took me it would only mean a few hours off work.”

8.2.18 Use of alcohol

As mentioned earlier, Megan, Murray, Riki, Brian and Shane all describe one of their parents as being an alcoholic. Megan, Darren and Shane acknowledged they had problems with their use of alcohol.

As noted in the previous chapter, I administered the Alcohol Use Disorder Identification Test (AUDIT) to each participant who responded in the affirmative to the alcohol screening test in the interview schedule. As also acknowledged earlier, I administered this psychometric tool without prior Human Ethics Committee approval and without initially gaining participants’ consent.

Megan, Darren and Shane responded to the question format of AUDIT. Their individual scores positively related to the alcohol dependence scores of the tool

8.2.19 Alcohol use and its effect

Megan, Darren and Shane strongly agreed that it was difficult when they had been drinking to keep to their decision not to drive. Chris credits his reduction in drinking to a binge episode half-way through the course. His comments reflect his raised self-awareness and the extent of his motivation not to drive illegally:

“It’s easier for me to drive when I have been drinking. That is one of the reasons why I have given up drinking. I know what I get like.”

According to Shane, he and his parents attribute his drinking to his offending:

“Mum and Dad are not impressed with my offending but know it’s just the alcohol. Having access to a car when I am drunk is the most significant factor which keeps me at risk because when I am drinking, I think ‘who cares’.”

Darren also says that his greatest risk to reoffending is his use of alcohol:

“Being drunk puts the PIG (problem of immediate gratification) right back on my shoulders.”

8.2.20 Changes in alcohol use

Megan, Darren, Shane, Chris all acknowledge changes in their use of alcohol over recent months.

Bruce recognises the reason for his levels of drinking in the past and the significance of his sobriety:

“ I used to drink every day for four years and I stopped drinking at the start of the year. I have been sober for four or five months. Stress was a lot to do with why I drunk and I have put in a lot of stress during the course but I am coming out on top.”

Chris comments on his changes:

“I have not drunk alcohol for two months since half way through the course. If I think I have got my priorities sorted out and my life under control, I might have a quiet beer now and then.”

However, as noted earlier Megan had started drinking again after five months of abstinence and since she made a decision to not drive while disqualified.

8.2.21 Drug use

As noted in the previous chapter, I administered the Drug Abuse Screening Test (DAST) to all participants who responded in the affirmative to the screening question on drug use in the interview schedule. As also acknowledged earlier, I administered this psychometric tool without prior Human Ethics Committee approval and without initially obtaining participants' consent. With the exception of Murray, all respondents responded in the affirmative to the screening question on drug use in the Drug Abuse Screening Test (DAST).

8.2.22 Changes in drug use

Murray had stopped using drugs prior to his decision to stop driving while disqualified. He outlined the changes he had made:

“I smoked dope every day for sixteen years. Stopped at the same time as I stopped the alcohol, three years and nine months ago. Gave up a long time before the driving.”

The other seven respondents had all taken some steps to reduce their use of cannabis while on the course. Darren describes the effect of his drug use on his decision to complete the DOT programme:

“Over a month I have six or seven joints a day. Sometimes I might have none and other days I might have more than seven. What I have really practised is that there’s a time and place not to do it, d’ya know what I mean?”

When he was asked to identify specific changes he had made in his drug use since attending the DOT course, he explained:

“This is really different from before DOT. If there was a joint going round even if I had an appointment at the lawyers or something, I would take it. Whereas now I think about it and I think I will get in the b----y s---t and then worry about it later”.

Bruce also talked about the changes he had made in his use of cannabis in terms of planning his day:

“I have been using cannabis on a daily basis for nine or ten years. I don’t do pot to get stoned as a sociable thing. I mainly do it for pain relief. Had to reduce the cannabis use during the day to be in the group. Had to plan my day depending on whether I was in the group or not.”

8.2.23 Effect of drug use on decision not to drive

None of the respondents who smoke cannabis said it had affected their decision not to drive while disqualified. Darren explained:

“It is different to alcohol because when I smoke dope I get paranoid about driving.”

8.2.24 Gambling

Megan was the only respondent affected by gambling. She identified a link between stopping driving and gambling:

“When I stopped driving I increased my gambling. It’s like I have swapped one addiction for another.”

8. 2.25 Lifestyle Balance

8.2.26 Daily routine

From the responses, there was a significant difference between weekdays and weekends in terms of daily routine. This was particularly so in Chris’s situation because he was in paid employment during the week and a care-giver for his son most weekends.

8.2.27 Changes in lifestyle

Some of the respondents had replaced offending behaviour with useful patterns of behaviour. Neil explained how changes he had made meant he had been able to reduce his stress without resorting to illegal driving. In so doing he was able to bring about a more balanced lifestyle:

“When I get stressed I like to go out in the car and think about things. I now grab my dog and take him for a walk. By the time I get back I have calmed down. Life is not so chaotic now.”

8.2.28 Changes in accommodation

Each respondent had moved at least twice over the past year. Riki had moved seven times with the same flatmates. These flatmates included his partner and her mother.

8.2.29 Health

Megan and Murray both reported suffering from clinical depression on occasions. This was confirmed by way of written assessments by their respective medical doctors. These assessments were on their Community Probation Service files.

8.2.30 Effect of depression on driving

Megan sums it up this way:

“When I get depressed I don’t care. F--k the system - who are they to tell me that I can’t drive. You know, I’m not hurting anyone. When I was depressed I would just get into the car and feel the relief and freedom.”

8.2.31 Changes in the reaction to depression

Megan reports that since making her decision not to drive while disqualified, she uses alternative ways of managing her depression such as talking it over with her partner or using a playstation as a distraction.

Murray also uses alternative ways of coping with his depression:

“I used to get drunk and drive - it was my way of getting rid of the aggravation. If I stayed in the situation I would have done something. What I do now is to find a really pleasant thought, like being with my little daughter.”

8.2.32 Financial

All respondents reported that they had insufficient weekly income to provide totally for basic needs. Chris summed up what the group members who were parents felt:

“It is really hard when you have children and you want to give them things and take them places and there is never enough money to go round.”

8.2.33 Factors that help when not wanting to reoffend

When asked to identify the most important factor which helps in the decision to stop reoffending, each respondent referred to either their respective support people or children (or both). Their reason for this was that they did not want to let them down. Bruce commented:

“The most important factor for me is basically everyone’s opinions - those who have supported me anyway. I’ve had enough and thought I’m going to get on with it. The main difference is that I get respect from my friends now. They listen to me, people like my girlfriend.”

In her response, Megan mentions her partner and also refers to how she does not want to let herself down:

“I’ve done well going every day for nine weeks to the course. It means a lot. If I get in the car and drive then I’m not only letting my partner down but I am letting myself down. And it is the first time in my life that I’ve felt really good about something I’m doing. I am so close to getting something back.”

Murray sums up in this way:

“I think of my girlfriend and my daughter. I just want to do things with them that most people do and for me to succeed in my plan I’ve got to, I have to, have my licence. A lot of things hinge on it. My future does actually. I want my independence.”

8.2.34 Maintenance follow-up group When asked to respond to how important they considered an on-going group to be, most respondents strongly agreed the concept of continuing support would be useful for reducing the risk of reoffending.

Murray commented:

“Attending monthly maintenance meetings will be extremely important. Coming out of Hanmer after alcohol rehabilitation was scary for me- you didn’t have that crutch. It is good even to listen to people who have relapsed to see where I don’t want to be. Often it is some minor thing that really sets the whole thing off. Quite small when it started but ends up a very big downhill slide”.

This section concludes the presentation of the data obtained from the group members’ responses. The questions are inherently circumscribed as a result of the use of an interview schedule. Despite this, the rich and useful material collated as an outcome of this method is illustrated by the germane excerpts collaborating the relevance of the data to the research topic.

The key to presenting data collected from the group members (as with the support peoples’ accounts outlined in the following section) is the connection with this data and the material covered in earlier chapters. In an endeavour to provide an amalgamation of related accounts on the research topic, this synthesis appears tenuous at times. However, the first chapters provided a substantial background to the overall understanding of offending behaviour. This in turn facilitates a greater understanding of the discussions to follow.

8.3. Thematic analysis from support people’s data

This section analyses the responses of the ten people identified by the group members as their key support people. As these responses lend support or otherwise to the group members’ responses, both sets of responses are presented sequentially in this chapter. The support people’s

responses were obtained as a result of an interview schedule administered separately to each person. Each interview lasted approximately half an hour in duration. As with the group members' questionnaire, the questions were formulated as an outcome of the group members' responses to the questionnaire administered at an earlier stage of the project. The sub-headings and sub sub-headings in this section depict the essence of the questions asked in the interview. As in the previous section, pseudonyms, namely, Jane, Deanna, Chelsea, Chris, Janis, Angela, Susan, Kay and Tina were used to protect the identities of the group members. For clarity of presentation of the material in this chapter, 'participant' refers to the group member and 'respondent' to the support person.

In presenting the responses of the support people, this section offers a cross-analysis of themes similar to the thematic analysis outlined in the previous section with its focus on the group members. Ely (1996) says that understanding and applying any particular qualitative approach means understanding and applying those analytical procedures congruent with it. In teasing out the essential meaning of the raw data, the process of analysis in this section repeats that applied to the analysis of the data collected from group members. The statements and questions outlined in Interview Schedule Two highlighted explicit and implicit attitudes and understandings of the respondents in their role as support people.

In regard to the presentation of the themes, the actual words of the respondents are used or are drawn out from the data in as close a likeness as possible to the respondents' modes of expression. As units of meanings,

overall the themes are consistently connected to the wider picture of what it meant for the respondents to be in a supportive role.

As noted, a total of ten people, all females, were identified by group members participating in this study, as their main support people. There was no restriction put on the number of people who could be nominated. However, the one stipulation was that each person had to have proved to be an effective source of support for the group member. The length of time the support person had known the participant ranged from 10 months, the period of time that Chelsea had known Neil, to 17 years in Annie's case. The majority of support relationships had been in place for three to four years although Janis and Darren had known each other for approximately nine years.

8.3.1 Relationship between group members and their support people

For Megan, her main supporter is her partner, Jane. Murray included two support people, his daughter Annie and girlfriend, Deanna, who is the mother of his youngest child. Neil's main support is his girlfriend, Chelsea, who was pregnant with their first baby at the time of the interview. Riki considered Chris, the mother of his girlfriend, to be his main support and for Darren, although they are separated, he views his wife, Janis, the mother of his two children, as his key supporter. When nominating a key support person Shane identified his partner, Angela, and Bruce identified his flatmate, Susan and estranged girlfriend, Kay, who is the mother of his son. Chris's main support is his girlfriend, Tina, who is the mother of his son and at the time of the interview was also pregnant with their second child. Except for Kay, who was bemused that Bruce

should consider her to be one of his key support people, the other support people agreed that they were the most appropriate people for the research.

8.3.2 Nature of the role provided

The respondents were able to define their roles in terms of the type of support they were most able to provide. Questions for the Interview Schedule for this group of respondents were developed from material focused on person-environment practice outlined by Tracy and Whittaker (1990) and in their later work on the social ecology of interpersonal helping (Kemp, Whittaker & Tracy, 1997). These writers describe types of support that one person can offer another person.

An interview schedule was developed which was relevant to support people of driver offenders. From the categories listed the respondents selected the most appropriate ones for them individually.

Annie and Janis defined their respective roles in terms of being *emotionally supportive, listening and affirming and being open and available to discuss things at any time*. Tina, Chelsea and Angela saw their roles in terms of *emotional support, ability to listen and being affirming* but differed from Annie and Janis in that they also saw their role as *drivers for the people they were supporting whenever it was necessary*. For Chris and Susan, the role of support person essentially meant that they were *open and available* but also *challenging*. Jane also *provided challenges and made a point that this did not mean that she was critical or kept giving advice*. Jane's perception of her role was that she *drove Megan around* and viewed one of the main functions of her role as *providing emotional support*, as did Kay and Deanna.

8.3.3 Preparedness for role of support person

Most respondents thought they were reasonably well prepared for this role and some viewed it as an extension of their role in their relationship with the participant. Annie, in particular, highlighted this point and also offered an indication of the confidence she felt in her role as support person. She had supported her father while he was receiving treatment for his alcoholism, *“I knew he had done it before so I knew he could do it again and I had supported him that time too”*.

However, some support people also revealed that initially they had not realised that the consequences of driving while disqualified would affect their lives to the extent that it had. Jane has a BA degree and at the time of the interview was enrolled in a post-graduate Social Work degree. Tina had attended a Psychology course. Both support people were able to offer another dimension to their “hands on” support role. As a result of their studies, they had gained theoretical knowledge on problems arising from behaviour change.

Jane summed it up in this way:

“I feel I am well-prepared for the support role as I have learnt knowledge and skills from study in the social work area and have an understanding of behaviour change.”

Jane also had another personal experience relevant to her role which she was willing to discuss:

“I have been through recovery and am aware of the external things which sometimes block progress in behaviour change and this knowledge is really helpful when it comes to supporting someone else going through the same sorts of things.”

Angela had gone to great lengths to prepare for her role as support person:

“ I knew I would have to drive him (Steve) around this time because he had made a decision to stop driving so I had no alternative but to learn to drive. ”

8.3.4 Limits of support offered

Without exception, all the respondents were very clear on what they would not do for the participants. Some responses implied that the respondents had had occasion/s to adhere to these limits in their support role. These limits varied considerably. Nonetheless there was a common thread running through the responses, namely the unwillingness on the part of the respondents to compromise personal standards and integrity. The most common response related to refusing to hand over the car-keys when asked for them by the participant. However, within the parameters of this majority view response there were variations on this theme. These responses ranged from, *“though I would not physically fight him (Bruce) for them (the car keys)”*, to *“I would want to know why he (Chris) wanted them when he had been so sure he did not want to go to prison again. ”*

For Deanna the limit of her support stopped short of collusion:

“I have called the police when I have known he (Murray) was driving. ”

Widening the picture to include a family member, Deanna commented:

“The limit of my support is that I was not prepared to bring our daughter to see him (Murray) if he goes to prison. ”

Janis also would not extend her support to going out to the prison:

"I tell him (Darren) that if he gets pulled up and goes back to jail, I will not contact him. So then he'd lose that contact with me again."

8.3.5 Negative aspects of the support role

All the respondents were able to identify incidents which described the negative aspects of their support role. Once again there was a range of responses and a common thread interwoven through the responses. The most oft-heard remarks suggest that at times some respondents did not feel valued: *"I don't feel he listens to me at times"* and *"sometimes he ignores me when I am giving advice."*

The legal consequences of driving while disqualified appeared to epitomise the most negative aspects of being in a support role. These were clearly outlined by Chelsea:

"Sitting in Court was really hard and one of my worst times. I am pregnant with his (Neil's) baby and I did not know if he was going to prison or not."

Tina recalls her visit to the prison to visit Chris:

"The greatest impact on me was visiting him in jail. I wanted his son to see his father so the effect just wasn't on me but also on our son."

At times, responses suggested feelings of resentment and were expressed quite openly as Chelsea illustrates:

"His (Neil) expectation of me is that I drive him around everywhere".

Continuing this theme, Angela described the effect on her social life as a support person:

“Because I am the one who drives all the time, I have to stay sober at parties. The worst thing of that is that everyone around me is having fun at parties, giggling and everything and I can't have fun like I used to.”

Jane's insightfulness is indicative of the impact that being a support person has on her:

“I would never have put myself forward as a support person. It is only that I am Megan's partner that I am in this position and we support each other. But the whole thing is that you are investing some of yourself when you are a support person.”

8.3.6 Positive aspects of being a support person

In the main, the positive side of being a support person was articulated by the respondents as observing changes in the participants and knowing that they (the respondents) had played a part in the change process. Chelsea's response illustrates the notion that her support has enhanced Neil's sense of self-efficacy:

“The best part of being a support person is that I can make him realise he can get his licence.”

Jane's response also, is indicative of her personal involvement in building Megan's self confidence. She makes the link between her support and Megan's attendance at the course:

“She doubts herself more than I doubt her ability. It's important that you have someone who believes in you to bolster your self-belief. It was a relief when she engaged in the work especially on cognitive distortions. I

could see that as the group progressed she developed confidence that she would get through it."

Five of the respondents are mothers or mother-to-be of the child/ren of the people they support and each of these five people put another perspective on the meaning of their support. Kay typified their responses:

"The best part of supporting him (Brian) is that it is helping our son. It's not good for our son if he (Brian) goes to prison."

8.3.7 The ability of the support person to stop participant from relapsing

Most respondents were able to discuss a situation where they had been instrumental in preventing further offending. Tina's disclosure illustrates the impact this had on her as a support person:

"Once he (Chris) got into the car and I threatened to call the cops. It was the hardest thing I have ever done and it was the threat that stopped him."

Consequential thinking is the strategy Janis uses when stopping Darren from reoffending:

"I have stopped him by just talking to him and drumming it into him that if he drives again he will probably go to jail. If he goes to jail I won't be coming out to see him. I will not contact him and he will lose our contact again."

8.3.8 Changes observed

One of the questions asked relates to the DOT programme and whether the respondents had observed any changes in the participant they supported since attending the course. Without exception, the respondents identified changes which were positive. Most reports were related to

changes in attitude and thinking and being more aware of the consequences of personal actions. Chelsea, Kay and Annie acknowledged positive changes in the way that the participants they had supported communicated since attending the course. Annie summed it up this way:

“I think he (Murray) is a better man since he has been on the course. He can talk to people because he has been in a situation where he has known he is not the only one facing the issues he faces. He was able to talk to the people around this flat which is something he couldn't do before. He relates to people better now. He is more down to earth and doesn't 'blow his top' so much now.”

Kay offered her observations of Bruce's change in behaviour since attending the DOT programme:

“He used to be scared to talk to people and now he is much better at communicating.”

Chris, Deanna and Jane noticed a change in attitude to driving while disqualified. Jane's response captured the essence of what Chris and Deanna observed also:

“She (Megan) is asking me more to take her places. She seems to have a reduced level of frustration and seems to have accepted finally that she can't drive.”

Tina recalled her observations:

“Coming to the support persons' session at the course was a real eye - opener - I could see how much further along the journey he (Chris) was compared with the others in the group.”

Darren's uncharacteristic behaviour as a consequence of attending the DOT programme, was the issue Janis highlighted:

"I have been really surprised that he stuck at it. I could see that he has learnt from the course. He's getting older and wiser. He was telling me something about what he learnt on the course the other day. It seems as if they (course facilitators) have actually got through to him - that he has learnt something from it. He push-biked 60 kilometres out here twice - and that is saying something for him to do that."

Kay focused on Bruce's sobriety. She was also surprised that Bruce had finished the course:

"His attitude is different since he has given up drinking. He is more caring and loving and more like he was when we first met. Although I didn't think he would finish the course as well as he did."

8.3.9 External factors which motivate change

When asked for their observations on what motivated the changes made by the participants, the respondents' replies were varied. Susan thought it was a combination of factors. One of these included attending the DOT course and another was identified as the support he received from the people that he shared his accommodation with:

"He knows that the people in the flat will support him if he is helping himself. He got a lot out of bringing the stuff home from his DOT folder and discussing it with us - quizzes and that. I don't think he will drive because he has something to prove to us."

Tina identified two aspects of Chris's life which had generated the most significant change for him:

"The effect of prison on him was the biggest thing. He didn't like being in there and not seeing his son. His son, too, has played a very important

part in his life - he doesn't want to miss out on any more of his life while his son is growing up."

8.3.10 Key factors for effective support

Without exception, the respondents were able to identify the key factors they offered to help the person they were supporting to maintain their decision not to drive while disqualified. Because these key factors are of intrinsic value to the research each one is acknowledged.

"I have never doubted that she (Megan) would be able to get there. My belief in her is the key thing. I bolster her confidence in herself." (Jane)

"I listen to him (Murray) when he is down." (Annie)

"The key factors I can offer him (Murray) are support and his daughter. He has something to live for when he has his daughter. He has contemplated suicide before." (Deanna)

"Even though it is sometimes really difficult, I am always there for him (Neil) and he knows that." (Chelsea)

"The key thing that I contribute is that I give him (Riki) my time" (Chris)

"I am the only family he (Darren) has got. Probably because he knows I'll be there for him and always have been there for him." (Janis)

"I drive him (Steve) around and I am always there for him." (Angela)

"The key thing I offered him (Bruce) is that I asked him to change." (Kay)

"I listen to him (Bruce) and I believe in him." (Susan)

"The main thing is to just be there for him (Chris) and offering to drive him around. I drove him to the nine-week course practically every day and that was hard as I had to get our son ready as well." (Tina)

8.3.11 Maintenance follow-up group

Most of the respondents, Jane, Annie, Chelsea, Chris, Tina and Susan, strongly agreed a follow up programme would assist the people they

supported in their behaviour change. Deanna added that it would be important that people at the follow-up group were serious about stopping driving so they did not distract others.

Chris qualifies her affirmative response:

“I agree that he (Riki) should attend a follow-up group. It has taken him some time to come to terms with the fact that he can’t drive and the more help he can get the better to keep him on track. I can only do so much.”

8.4 Concluding remarks

These purposeful conversations were directed specifically to gain information on the meaning that both participants, as individuals having made a decision to stop driving while disqualified, and respondents, as the people who supported these individuals in their decision, placed on their experiences.

In the case of the participants, it was hoped that information elicited would help in identifying external factors operating at the time they had produced an intention to change their behaviour. Also, and maybe more importantly, it was hoped the information would help in the understanding of how the internal variables instrumental in the decision to stop driving while disqualified interacted with the external factors which had been identified.

In the case of the research respondents (support people) it was hoped the information elicited would firstly, help obtain a clear understanding of the value (or otherwise) of the way support people supported the offenders in

their decision to stop driving while disqualified. Secondly, if this type of support did appear useful, it seemed important to identify factors which contributed to the effectiveness of support networks.

In striving to come closer to understanding both participants and respondents' perceptions in the area outlined, I gained some valuable insights into how drivers who have made a decision not to drive while disqualified organise their behaviour. I also learned from the respondents how they responded to the way the people they supported organised their behaviour.

Zamble and Quinsey (1997) observe that human behaviour does not occur in isolation but in the context of interaction within a social environment. The data generated by this inquiry suggest this also. The data also imply that non-collusive support offered to offenders, who have made a decision to stop driving while disqualified, is vital in the behaviour change process. The way that internal variables interact with these external factors is demonstrated through the dialogue of the support people. At times, the structured nature of the interview process meant that further in-depth material was not revealed. However the decision to adhere to a predetermined structure rather than one which was shaped in the process was a considered one. Ultimately it was determined by the time available and the nature of the enquiry.

9 Discussion

9.1 Introduction

Ely, Vinz, Downing and Anzul (1997) suggest that when analysing data it is important to sort through the material as a whole for the understanding of the threads and patterns that run throughout. In the last chapter a general statement was made as a result of lifting out the threads and patterns of the responses from the participants in the current study. This chapter knits everything together. It has a more interpretative approach than the previous chapter in an endeavour to make sense of the participants' and respondents' perceptions to draw meaning from the analysis data.

Essentially in the previous chapter, an analysis of the themes was completed. This chapter concentrates on a discussion of the themes that have been derived from the data. The first section will give a summary of the thematic material covered and the second section will integrate both the research participants' (group members) and the research respondents' (support peoples) responses obtained from the interview schedules. Relevant links will then be made between the two elements of discussion.

The aim of the analysis is to discern conceptual similarities and compare and contrast the material available by a reflective process. Ely et al. (1997) point out that it is important at this stage of the analysis to extend levels of thinking so as to analyse and interpret effectively. Certainly, at the heart of qualitative work is the understanding of the meanings of

others. Given this, data have been sifted through in the process of making meaning for this chapter. To do this effectively it was necessary to continually return to the topic of the thesis and to the key questions which are as follows:

- * What external factors contribute to behaviour change?
- * What external factors hinder behaviour change?
- * Why did some external factors contribute usefully and others not?
- * What are the implications for practice?
- * What are the connections between the two?
- * What are the commonalities and differences between the participants?

9.2 Summary of research

Essentially the research is examining recidivist offenders who have made significant internal changes. They have progressed to the point where they are declaring that they have made a decision to stop driving while disqualified. Zamble and Quinsey (1997) explain that recidivism can be seen as a relapse process in which the offender falls back into old habitual behaviour patterns. This definition of recidivism sets the scene for the research.

In examining the process of recidivism, Zamble and Quinsey also look at how serious offenders fail to cope with their environments and the psychological factors that make reoffending more likely. As noted, the current research broadens the analysis to examine these factors.

The current inquiry looks closely at the external factors which help or hinder the serious offender who has made a decision to stop reoffending.

The effect of the internal variables of behaviour change and the interaction of these variables with relevant external factors are also examined. By taking these steps, the investigation consolidates the process of identifying specific external factors which direct either the course of recidivism or the effective management of a decision not to reoffend. As a consequence of this inquiry it is hoped there will be ramifications for professional practice in rehabilitative programmes in the corrections arena.

Part of the research was to gather information from group members of the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme, who are described as recidivist driver offenders. The aim of the research is to understand from the research participants' viewpoint, the difficulties experienced as a consequence of reoffending. Aspects of this inquiry include looking at what motivates behaviour change and identifying external factors which are interacting with the internal changes taking place. The psychological approaches to motivation and self-efficacy referred to in this study, emphasise the internal variables which are operating at the time the individual produces an intention to change their behaviour. This study intends to show how these internal variables interact with identified external factors operating at the same time in influencing behaviour change. It is hoped that the knowledge gained as a consequence of this study will not only assist in a practical sense when predicting recidivism but will also raise professional awareness of best practice when working with offenders.

An integral part of the research was to gather information from the individuals identified by the group members as being key support people.

The rationale for targeting support people had its origin in data collated as a result of a questionnaire administered to the group members. Data have suggested that the research participants placed significant value on this particular group of people in encouraging their personal endeavours to stop driving while disqualified. A general overview of the concept of support is given in this chapter. The discussion is intended to highlight the meaning of support in the context of reoffending.

The programme referred to in the study is described as a therapeutic programme. As noted in an earlier chapter, it has as its goals: to increase people's knowledge of themselves and others, to help clarify the changes they most want to make in their lives and to provide the tools necessary to make these changes. The aims of this group are that participants interact with others in a trusting and accepting environment; that participants are given the opportunity to experiment with different behaviour; that participants receive honest feedback from others concerning the effects of their behaviour. As a consequence it is hoped that they will learn how they appear to others.

Essentially, data generated from the responses of the support people indicate as Zamble and Quinsey (1997) suggest, that human behaviour does not occur in isolation but in the context of interaction within a social environment. Previously, Andrews and Bonta (1994) had made the point that the needs of the offender are not necessarily associated with the probability of recidivism. It is the criminogenic needs or the dynamic attributes of an offender which, when changed, are associated with the probable changes in recidivism. When discussing the findings of the current research there is no argument with this notion. What is being

examined in this section is the way that support systems interact with the changes in the dynamic attributes of the participants who have attended a treatment programme.

9.3 Challenges

Given the number of variables in this study and the variety of domains that are sampled, the challenge has been to fit the pattern of findings into a comprehensive picture. To reduce the complexity of the dataset and for ease of reading, the various variables and domains have been referenced as themes and metathemes. This process has formed the basis of the structure for this chapter also.

Nonetheless at times the themes and metathemes, have been problematic in the contextual sense. It would seem appropriate for a theme to be established if it appeared many times or if the majority of the respondents referred to it. However, at times material noted has significant analytical impact but was only mentioned by one respondent or in only a few responses. Due to the value of including this type of data, a theme was established not only on the volume of appropriate material, but also on the overall contribution that the information could offer the research.

Another challenge was to create a text in which the information from the respondents was loyally represented. In making the analysis more transparent and thereby more credible, there was a heavy reliance on the verbatim text to illustrate themes. The intention was to present in miniature the essence of what each respondent had implied. The challenge that emerged revolved around the written word which did not always

capture the data in exactly the same way as the participants' had expressed themselves.

9.4 Integration of group members and their support peoples' accounts

To strengthen the concluding part of this discussion, both the research participants' (group members) and the research respondents' (support people) sets of data will be integrated. That is because the support people's responses lend support or otherwise to the group members' responses. Data are based on two interview schedules. Firstly, Interview Schedule One, which forms the basis for the participants' interviews and secondly, Interview Schedule Two which in turn forms the basis for the respondents' interviews. As noted, data generated from the analysis are presented thematically, rather than as a case-by-case presentation. In the first instance, the findings derived from data will be discussed in terms of the internal variables of behaviour change, such as motivation, as they relate to the participants attending the DOT programme. Next, findings from data will be discussed in terms of the external factors operating at the time participants have made known their intentions to change their driving behaviour. As previously explained, where it is considered that amalgamating ideas will strengthen the discussion, responses from the participants and those of the respondents will be integrated.

According to Zamble and Quinsey (1997) recidivism is the result of continuous interaction between behaviour propensities and the environment. The risk of a new offence is a dynamic product of this interaction (Zamble & Quinsey, 1997). Given this, the next section will be a discussion which focuses on material obtained from the participants and

respondents when responding to questions relating to behaviour and how changes in behaviour link with external factors. The discussion begins by suggesting there are distinct patterns evident in a process of relapse for drivers who continue to drive while disqualified.

9.4.1 Pathways to offending

Smith (1995) says that crime is a product of choice. Illustrating this perspective on offending, the respondents of the current research indicate that they were aware of why they offended when they drove while disqualified.

There are different reasons and factors involved in the causation of new offences. For the purposes of this study the terminology 'pathway' is used to differentiate between the factors involved in the causation of new offences. One of the pathways to offending is identified in the analysis as a 'sense of entitlement to drive'. Megan, in particular, highlights this when she reports that she would tell herself, "*who are they to tell me I can't drive - I'm not hurting anyone.*" From the responses, this pathway to offending for the participants, appears to be an underlying thread connecting the reasons why they drove illegally.

In the process of identifying the different pathways, and in particular, the sense of entitlement, it has been shown that there are implications for the use of the particular relapse prevention model associated with the DOT programme. From the models of relapse described by Connors, Maisto and Donovan (1996), Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) model is cognitive-behavioural and is based on how an individual perceives his/her ability to cope with a risk situation. As described, the model is therefore based on

self-efficacy and the skill deficits of the offender. It assumes that all offenders follow the same pathway when relapsing.

Although the model identifies relevant issues for driver offenders and provides a convenient framework for conceptualising the most frequently reported relapses and for structuring intervention, the emphasis is on the deficits of the person and negative mood state. However, what has been evidenced in some of the responses, is that antecedents to relapse can also present as positive mood states and social pressures. These findings correspond with the writings of Kadden (1996) in his critique of Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) model.

Taking the theme of mood state and the link with relapse to another level, much of the research on drivers who continue to drive while disqualified (in particular the studies undertaken by Bakker, Ward, Cryer, & Hudson, 1997), has found that some driver offenders drive as a maladaptive way of coping with stress. Inherent factors within the role of support person suggest that many of the ways support people assist participants are instrumental in reducing stress. All of the participants agree that they had difficulty in stopping driving and identified several reasons for this. One of these reasons indicates a compulsion to drive. Whenever it was necessary Jane, Chelsea, Angela and Tina were the drivers for the people they support. It could be argued that this aspect of support is one of the ways that social support serves as a buffer for stress. This conclusion is similar to that offered by Miller, Westerberg, Harris and Tonigan (1996) and Barber and Crisp (1995).

Darren, on the other hand, reported that being with his family meant his driving offending could increase due to the added pressures of family life. This suggests that it would be useful to broaden some of the commonly-held views on antecedents of relapse in regard to driver offenders. In so doing, antecedents could be examined (such as family pressures), which in the past have not had as much emphasis as mood state for example. Having this focus an inquiry could explain how these particular stressors interact with the changes in internal variables to bring about relapse behaviour.

Other findings from this section of analysis again question the appropriateness of the use of Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) relapse model, as a consequence of the variation of participants' pathways into offending. In accord with the conclusions of the research carried out by Ward and Hudson (1998), the current study concludes that Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) model is not sufficiently comprehensive to provide understanding for all pathways into offending.

9.4.2 Difficulties in stopping driving while disqualified

This section is closely associated with the preceding one. All participants reported difficulties in stopping driving while disqualified. They vary in their ability to make sense of why their cycle of offending continued for so long. Nonetheless, their responses suggest that disqualified drivers can be classified into distinct groups. These groups are based on characteristics according to research carried out by Bakker, Ward, Cryer and Hudson (1997b). The classification depends on whether or not the major problem is with alcohol; with consistently driving while disqualified; or with driving the car as a maladaptive way of coping with

problems. Neil specifically identifies his use of his car as a means to reduce his stress and therefore feel in control of his life again. This response highlights the findings of Bakker et al.(1997) and also earlier research by Mirrlees-Black (1994). Megan and Murray attribute their driving offending to their use of alcohol. Another way of viewing this situation is that they were unable to develop an effective coping response to driving illegally. As a result of this, their control over the situation lessened and their desire to use alcohol as an alternative to driving increased.

9.4.3 Compulsion to drive

When specific findings are analysed, the notion of driving being an addictive behaviour is a compelling one. Both Darren and Riki liken not being able to drive to having limbs amputated. Riki claims, "*everything I do has something to do with driving and motor-vehicles*". Both Darren and Riki have driven on many occasions when there was a high level of risk that they would be caught and a severe penalty to contend with if they did get caught. It could be argued that the situations identified, signal chronic relapsing conditions. This would concur with the findings of Bakker, Ward, Cryer and Hudson (1997). It would also accord with their rationale for including Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) model of relapse prevention in the DOT programme as an umbrella framework under which a variety of therapeutic activities could be incorporated.

9.4.4 Motivation

Each respondent has been very clear that he/she has a desire to stop driving until he/she was eligible to obtain his/her driver's licence. As

Chris says, *"I don't want to lose any more time with my son. If I am in prison I can't look after him if he is in trouble"*.

His partner, Tina, lends support to his eagerness to make changes in order to obtain his licence. She indicates that he has made significant changes since his sentence of imprisonment suggesting he is weighing up the costs and benefits in continuing driving while disqualified. This illustrates the findings of Corbet and Simon (1992) based on rational choice theory, which suggest that people who are involved in criminal activities choose to do so or if they choose otherwise it is because they are deterred by the social cost of offending.

9.4.5 Link between family supports and therapy

However, the writings of Smith (1995) suggest that researchers basing their studies on psychological factors commonly do not sufficiently explain the social and environmental effects on behaviour change. This is a significant point when analysing the data produced from the current research. Fifty percent of the respondents (Neil, Riki, Darren and Bruce), acknowledge that their motivation for staying on the course was not so much for themselves, but more because they did not want to let down either family members or their peers. Riki alludes to this when he comments, *"the group helps but if I didn't have my partner, I would be driving every day, my partner cares and knows our situation and what we are trying to do"*. This lends support to similar findings from studies completed by Barber and Crisp (1995) that the association between treatment outcome and social support is almost certainly mutually reinforcing.

9.4.6 Support people as predictors of relapse

Miller and Heather (1998) found in their study that social support resources are effective at predicting relapse. This finding, combined with the high number of support people in this investigation who reported stopping participants from relapsing, highlights the value of support people in regard to relapse. Most of the support people reported resistance from participants. This occurred particularly at times prior to a potential or actual relapse and in response to their advice and challenges which correlates with Miller and Rollnick's (1991) findings showing that denial is a common antecedent factor of relapse.

9.4.7 Motivation to participate in a group examining offending behaviour

Miller and Rollnick (1991) define motivation as being in a state of readiness or having the desire to change offending behaviour. With the exception of Megan and Bruce (their responses will be discussed later in the discussion), the participants involved in the research were in a state of readiness to change their offending behaviour. Laws (1999) points out that Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) relapse model is particularly useful when clients are "ready for action" in terms of the cycle of change as outlined by Miller and Rollnick (1991). The reasons for this are noted in an earlier chapter. At times, this state of readiness is evidenced by a feeling of confidence that the group was going to be beneficial. Murray's commented, "*I knew I would get something out of it*". Murray's comments highlight Miller and Rollnick's (1991) assumption that information about past change attempts can be very helpful in increasing self-efficacy. In his case, Murray knew that he had been able to complete an intensive alcohol rehabilitation programme and as a consequence of that experience he is

able to remain sober. His daughter also provided information which appears instrumental in strengthening her resolve in offering support, "*I knew he had done it before so I knew he could do it again*".

Rutter (1991) suggests that not only experiences but also the timing of experiences are crucial to cultivating self-efficacy and self esteem. This applies in particular to Megan, Neil, Riki and Shane. They stress that the significance of completing a programme of this nature for the first time in their lives. It is noteworthy also that they had wanted to complete the course because they had made a decision to do that. Significantly, Megan revealed a considerable lack of confidence in her own ability to complete a nine week course. Jane's comments confirm this: "*She (Megan) doubts herself more than I doubt her ability.*" However, further comments from Jane suggest that support people can be instrumental in increasing confidence in the people that they are supporting: "*It's important that you have someone who believes in you to bolster your self-belief*".

The fact that Megan, Neil, Riki and Shane completed the course and realised that they had achieved what they had set out to do, illustrates the concept of self efficacy as described by Andrews and Bonta (1994). These particular respondents had all identified occasions when their support people had encouraged them to keep attending the programme.

Neil's partner, Chelsea, affirms that her role as support person includes enhancing Neil's sense of self-efficacy. She is also aware that by helping Neil achieve what he set out to do, that her confidence in her own abilities has been boosted: "*The best part of being a support person is that I can*

make him realise he can get his licence". This statement also indicates that although there are excessive demands on the support person (as Chelsea has suggested in prior statements), there can be 'pay-offs'. At these times motivation for being a support person can also involve weighing up the pros and cons.

Elaborating on this theme, Megan and Bruce both indicate that they had experienced conflicting thoughts prior to commencing the DOT programme. On the one hand, they evidenced a desire to participate in the group in order to get assistance to stop their cycle of driving offending. On the other hand, their fear of "*not fitting in*" had also been experienced with equal force.

Draycott and Dabbs (1998) suggest in their theory of cognitive dissonance, that the effect of experiencing particular attitudes and behaviour can create inconsistency. In Megan's and Bruce's case, this state continued throughout the first few weeks of the course. This is consistent with Draycott and Dabbs's presumptions that although the dissonance state lasts for a few minutes its effects can last for up to two weeks.

9.4.8 Enhancing states of readiness by the support person

As previously noted, the implications for support people at times when a state of cognitive dissonance is observable, are highlighted when respondents report that participants would not listen to any advice. At these times a feeling of helplessness appears to be framed in some of the responses from the support people. This suggests a lack of control in their supportive role. Literature focused on resistance and the offender alludes

to difficulties in support people sustaining their role under these adverse conditions.

The findings of the current research, concur with those of Draycott and Dabbs (1998) and Miller and Rollnick (1991). These findings show that the readiness of the participant to stop driving will follow a path of ambivalence where ‘denial’ and resistance’ are present. During these times, the responses from support people suggest that maintaining their role of ‘keeping the offender on track’ (in other words, enhancing the state of readiness in the offender) is problematic.

9.4.9 Enhancing states of readiness in therapy

Corey and Corey (1997) suggest that one of the basic tenets of effective groupwork is to create a climate of trust and a belief that the programme will work. However, in regard to the programme in this study, a climate of trust took time to develop for a variety of reasons. As a consequence, it also took time before people were willing to take risks and interact in an open and meaningful way. This concurs with the findings from the research carried out on group processes by Corey and Corey.

As Megan’s support person, Jane was able to identify the time when she realised that Megan had begun to respond to the trust that had developed in the group. Jane comments on her relief when she noticed that Megan had “*started to engage in the work*”. The “*relief*” that Jane describes, also highlights the stress that support people can experience in their supporting role.

9.4.10 Responsivity

Prochaska (1999) concludes that to treat people effectively it is not so much particular factors in therapy which are essential but the recognition that the 'grand tie' across treatments suggests there are common pathways to change. He says that this is regardless of how people are treated in therapy. This commonality of matching clients' stages of change with treatment programmes is essential. Apart from the initial hesitancy expressed by Megan and Bruce, the responses from participants offered in terms of readiness to do the course concur with Miller and Rollnick's (1991) description of the cycle of change. Participants had been at a point where they could move into therapy and continue to progress after therapy.

9.4.11 Self-efficacy

In terms of self-efficacy, the responses of Megan, Murray, Neil, Riki, are consistent with the findings of Allsop, Saunders, Phillips and Carr (1997). The responses imply that attendance of the performance-based relapse prevention programme (DOT) strengthened their resolve not to drive. The level of participants' motivation to attend the programme also suggests that they were at the action stage in the cycle of change. Miller and Rollnick (1991) describe this stage as being ready to address offending behaviour. As noted, Laws (1999) suggests that if offenders are at this stage, Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) relapse model can be effective. The reason is that this particular model has a focus on self-efficacy and self-management.

David and Shane could also be placed in this category in terms of self-efficacy. They had stated that attending the course had 'some' 'no effect'

respectively on their decision not to drive. However, when qualifying their statements, David and Shane implied that the programme had reinforced their reasons for not driving. On the other hand, Chris was adamant that going to jail had a greater effect on his decision not to drive illegally than attending the course. Chris added that as a result of attending the group he was able to problem-solve more effectively. In terms of Allsop, et al.'s (1997) findings, this suggests that Chris had gained more control over his decision-making by attending this type of programme.

9.4.12 Cycle of Change

In terms of the stages of change outlined by Miller and Rollnick (1991) (see Chapter Four), all participants' initial responses suggest that they were in the action stage at the commencement of the course. However the hesitancy expressed by Megan and Bruce suggests that they were experiencing a discrepancy between where they were and where they wanted to be in their behaviour change. This would suggest that it was probable that these participants were experiencing a state of cognitive dissonance as described by Draycott and Dabbs (1998). While in this state, both Megan and Bruce were conscious of the reasons why the changes were necessary and the reasons why they did not want to change. So in terms of the writings of Miller and Rollnick (1991), Megan and Bruce would not have been experiencing the levels of self-efficacy experienced by other participants.

Of the eight participants Murray had shown the greatest degree of commitment to the goal of change when stopping both alcohol and drug use. His level of self-efficacy is high in this area of addiction. This is

because he knew he had been able to stop an addictive pattern over a relatively long period of time. All participants presented at some stage of the interview with an ability to describe an incident where they had been able to translate their intention not to drive into action. As a consequence, they had realised that they had experienced a good outcome.

In terms of his drinking and use of drugs, Murray had executed coping responses more readily, with greater intensity and perseverance than other participants. As Laws (1999) claims, this suggests that managing a situation where there is risk of reoffending depends not only on being able to use a coping skill but also that the individual has the motivation to use a coping skill.

According to Zamble and Quinsey (1997), self-efficacy is important as it determines subsequent actions. It can be assumed that everyone experiences problems, including the participants. However, it is the way they cope with problems which differentiates them as recidivist offenders compared to other individuals (Zamble & Quinsey, 1997).

9.4.13 Support provided at different stages of cycle of change

For the purposes of the current study a list of different types of support was provided for the support people. Eighty percent of the respondents, namely, Annie, Janis, Tina, Chelsea and Angela, Jane, Kay and Deanna, identified from the list that their roles as a support person included being emotionally supportive, listening and affirming and being open and available to discuss things at any time. These support roles concur with some of those outlined by Miller and Rollnick (1991) when dealing with the ambivalent offender.

Regarding the changing nature of support roles, Annie acknowledged that she learned to take on and adjust to particular roles in response to her father's (Murray) behaviour. She described how she experienced a personal loss and a feeling of not being needed to the same extent. This was at a time when her father moved out of her flat to become more independent as a consequence of stopping drinking. The situation described lends support to Marlatt's (1991) perspective on the changing roles of support people. He suggests that it is important that support people's roles are redefined and renegotiated in the processes surrounding offending and abstinence of offending behaviours. However, as noted by Annie and alluded to by Jane (when she acknowledges the personal investment involved in being a support person), the impact on the emotional well-being of a support person can be significant.

9.4.14 Experience of being a group member

The consensus of the respondents was that they had a positive experience as group members in the DOT course. In terms of the research carried out by Corey and Corey (1997), this suggests that a sense of community had developed despite initial problems and behaviours which had threatened and interfered with the establishment of a cohesive and productive group. The sense of cohesiveness that prevailed appeared to have resulted from the members' willingness to let others know them in a meaningful way. This is suggestive of the writings of Corey and Corey when they describe the central characteristic of the working stage of the group. It is also evidenced by good attendance and a low drop out rate. These aspects of the course can be an indicator that the group members perceived the group as a means of helping them achieve their goals. It is worthwhile noting

that group cohesion is a complex process which can be studied from several perspectives.

9.4.15 Impact of the DOT programme on decision to stop driving

Megan, Murray, Neil, Riki, and Bruce all referred to the course as having a significant effect on their decision not to drive. Interestingly, they did not extend this to their use of drugs. In fact, Bruce indicated that his drug use had increased with the socialising that he participated in outside of the group sessions. Murray took an opposing view. His resolve to maintain his sobriety was reinforced by the work carried out in the group. In terms of addiction, Marlatt and Gordon's (1995) relapse prevention model could have been instrumental in consolidating Murray's resolve to maintain his sobriety. It is designed for intervention with addictive behaviours and as an integral component of the group made sense of specific patterns of behaviour and the use of effective coping skills.

9.4.16 Family of origin

The backgrounds of the participants were varied in many respects, although some commonalities were evidenced. Specific experiences were not the same but the emotional terrain for some was similar. Eighty percent of the participants had histories of being brought up in homes where abuse and neglect were present. This statistic was not significantly different from that presented in the literature on recidivist offenders (Zamble & Quinsey, 1997).

The current study lends support to the findings of Brown and Caddick (1993) that suggest that conditions of disadvantage lie behind a good deal of offending. Many responses from the participants correlate with the

argument that Brown and Caddick put forward that disadvantage can be as much to do with a socially-created lack of power and choice as with insufficient personal skills.

In adulthood, participants identified repeating patterns which had been part of their own family experience. Most had difficulties with their relationships or earlier relationships with partners and children. Three identified addiction issues of their own. Forming stable relationships with a supportive partner was found useful in preventing the childhood pattern of abuse. This factor has been cited in various studies, in particular, a research carried out by Werner and Smith (1992). This inquiry highlights issues associated with good parenting in adults that were abused as children who do not perpetrate abuse with their own children.

Werner (1995) points out that the belief children can be subject to an abusive background throughout their childhood and adolescence and remain unaffected by it is not supported by research. As adults, all the participants could look back on their family experience and were able to acknowledge the impact poor parenting had on their lives. Each participant identified particular aspects of their childhood they did not want to repeat with their children or future parenting.

It was confirmed in some cases, Bruce in particular, that the parenting skills of the participants did not present as abusive. On this basis, research outcomes could include a suggestion that further research should be carried out into the understanding of the processes by which some individuals can stop intergenerational patterns of abuse. This is seen as crucial to the development of effective prevention and intervention

strategies which could reduce the likelihood of offending. Certainly, it has implications for the social learning theory which Andrews and Bonta (1994) advocate.

Braithwaite's (1989) findings have some significance in regard to the level of risk the majority of participants in the current research were in at the time of their offending. They did not have a strong attachment to both their parents or to their school and not one of the eight participants had high educational and occupational aspirations.

Eight of the participants acknowledged little or no support from their family members. This illustrates the point that Paylor (1992) made when researching support networks for offenders. He found that the important sources of support for offenders are to be found in the wider network of kin and friendship rather than within the conventional 'nuclear' family. This point is further emphasised when Riki indicates that his family members, in particular his parents, did not care about his well-being. He acknowledged that his strongest support came from his partner and her mother.

Paylor's findings could also provide some rationale for why there were no apparent changes in the participants' interaction with their families of origin since making some internal changes. However, Megan's change of perspective on her father correlates with the theory that Winter (1993) puts forward. His research findings show how changes in the cognitive processes can generate changes in how we view our personal history. Megan's frame of reference appears to be defined by her personal history. This provides the basis for the behaviour patterns consistent with her

identity. Megan comes from a family where drinking and driving is acceptable so she viewed participation in such an activity as normal behaviour. After changes in her thinking provided her with an awareness which differed from that of her father, she was able to view his behaviour as unacceptable. This makes sense of Winter's theory, as Megan's cognitive processes were influenced by environmental factors.

The findings, as they relate to Megan, in this instance, also correlate with Zamble and Quinsey's (1997) theory on the criminal recidivist process. These writers submit that a criminal offence does not fall from a discontinuity in the behavioural continuum, but rather it occurs as part of a sequence of behaviours.

9.4.17 Support networks

The nature of social relationships and networks is dynamic. In light of this it is a reflection of the strength of the support networks identified by the research participants that they remained constant throughout the research period. In terms of the length and time each participant and respondent has known each other, the relationships could be described as relatively long-term. According to Tracy and Whittaker (1990), the length of the supportive relationship, combined with the frequency of contact and the type of supportive behaviour exhibited, relates positively to the effectiveness of support. Overall, the responses from both participants and respondents established that the type of support offered corresponded with Tracy and Whittaker's interpretation of effectiveness in terms of social support.

The study that Allsop, Saunders, Phillips and Carr (1997) carried out, concludes that the relapse prevention programme is effective in the short term and that the longer-term impact may require greater focus on the individual's environment. It could be argued that social support networks plays a significant part during this process. The participants varied in their responses when describing their relationships. However there was no doubt that for some, particularly, Megan, their relationships would have more impact long-term on their decision not to drive than the skills and strategies they had learned and practised while attending the DOT programme.

9.4.18 Anti-criminal values

Findings of the current research suggest that non-collusive support is a vital exogenous factor in the behaviour change process when offered to offenders who have made a decision to stop driving while disqualified. The responses of the support people, exemplified by Deanna, "*I have called the police when I have known he (Murray) was driving*", suggest that they have been instrumental in stopping participants reoffending on occasions. The pro-social modelling of the respondents, in particular, Deanna and Tina, who had both rung the police at times when the people they were supporting drove illegally, concurs with several studies. McLaren (1993) identifies pro-social modelling as providing evidence for what works to reduce reoffending.

9.4.19 Friends

Megan, Murray and Chris all refer to the importance of stopping friendships that are not supportive. They indicate that since making a decision not to drive, they do not now mix with friends who are currently

reoffending. This concurs with Sampson and Laub (1993) and Warr (1998) when studying life-course transitions and resistance from crime. Although starting to differentiate between friendships, Riki, Neil, Darren, Riki and Shane say they are mixing with friends who are still offending. This suggests in terms of Warr's study that there is a higher risk of reoffending among the latter group. Furthermore, learning to be positively assertive to friends who were still getting into trouble, is a skill that several participants had difficulty with and needed to acquire before they could stop reoffending. In her study on offenders, Leibrich (1993) also found lack of assertiveness to be problematic among offenders.

Support people were able to identify particular friends of the people whom they supported, who were not helping in the process of behaviour change. Some support people suggested that they saw their role as offering challenges in these situations and were able to distinguish between challenging and destructive criticism. This is the type of differentiation that research has shown to be useful reasoning (Kemp, Whittaker & Tracy, 1997).

Other aspects of the current study are consistent with Leibrich's (1993) study and the investigation that Bottoms (1997) carried out on criminal careers and the element of desistance. One in particular refers to Chris when he claimed he did not have time for his friends who were still offending. The effect of his recent prison sentence, his family, change in drinking patterns and new employment had effectively replaced friendships which he had valued, in the past. As Leibrich (1993) found, if someone is to give up something they need to replace it with something they value at least as much.

To maintain his behaviour change, Chris had been able to make cognitive changes, internalise his desire to stop driving, and use strategies to prioritise what was important for him. This validates Gillis, Belcourt, and Motiuk's (1998) findings that the motivation to disassociate from anti-social behaviour and contacts must be present before cognitive processes can fully develop. Barber and Crisp's (1995) findings are relevant at this point also as they emphasise the value of not only the timeliness of treatment programmes but also the combination of treatment programmes and support systems.

The idea that social support and treatment success are almost mutually reinforcing (Barber & Crisp, 1995) correlates strongly with the findings from the current research. The respondents describe the usefulness of the group and the strength of the social support they received to assist them in their decision to stop driving while disqualified.

9.4.20 Employment

The high unemployment rate of the participants prior to the course commencing, concurs with much of the literature on the prediction of recidivism being consistent with the conclusion that education level and employment stability are predictors of criminality (Andrews & Bonta, 1994; Gill, 1997). The reasons provided by participants explaining why they offend less when they are employed, concur with much of the literature on unemployment and the link with crime. However, the evidence is at best conflicting as to whether employment of offenders leads to a reduction in reoffending (Gill, 1997).

Consistent with the findings of Zamble and Quinsey (1997), all the participants acknowledge financial difficulties (data collated from the questionnaire). This factor, linked with minimal educational qualifications, essentially adds to the lack of employment opportunities which offer payment outside of the minimum pay rate scale.

A significant finding of the current research relates to Steve and Bruce commencing employment on completion of the DOT course after being out of the work-force for three and six years respectively. This phenomenon is consistent with some of the studies carried out on what works in treatment programmes for offenders relating to non-programmatic aspects of intervention (Palmer, 1994). The current research participants' responses acknowledge that employment can be an outcome after successfully completing an intensive therapeutic programmes. This gives weight to Andrews and Bonta's (1994) principle of self-efficacy and the manner in which internal variables can interact with an external factor. The self-belief that they have the ability to carry out what they set out to achieve, provided the group members with the confidence necessary to achieve in other areas in their lives.

The intergenerational unemployment issues impacted on some of the participants. This is consistent with studies carried out by Andrews and Bonta (1994) on unemployment as a predictor of criminality. It suggests that the principles of social learning are operating in these situations. Individuals will attempt to satisfy the norms and expectations of important reference groups.

9.4.21 Alcohol Use

Intergenerational alcohol abuse had an impact on five of the eight participants. This relatively high percentage rate is indicative of what Andrews and Bonta (1994) again define as predictors of criminality. Also consistent with these researchers' findings is the number of participants in the present study that were assessed as dependent on alcohol.

Megan relapsed after five months of sobriety while participating in the group. This situation can be understood in light of the study by Allsop, Saunders, Phillips and Carr (1997). Successfully maintaining her sobriety, was clearly being influenced by being in an environment (the therapeutic group setting) which actively encouraged disclosures. Megan's involvement was over an intensive period of time which contributed to the opportunities in which connections with her past experiences could be made.

9.4.22 Drug use

In regard to the extent of drug use, the findings of the current research bear out the outcomes of the study carried out by Stoduto (1993). With the exception of Murray, who had stopped using drugs for three years, seven participants used cannabis on a regular basis. Participants self-reported on questions regarding their cannabis use. For five of the seven participants who used on a regular basis, the DAST scales indicated that they had reached a level of dependency.

Given that studies on long term cannabis use and chronic use of cannabis, have shown that disruption of short term memory loss and changes in cognitive functioning can occur (Ferguson & Horwood, 1997; Hall &

Solowij, 1998), there are reasons to consider that chronic users of cannabis are not the most appropriate candidates for an intensive therapeutic programme. The implications for practice are evident especially in the area of assessment.

Bruce describes how his drug use has increased since socialising with the group members. This suggests the use of alternative coping strategies which may not be useful or legal. Bruce is unable to utilise legal coping skills in the face of a high risk situation (in terms of his drug use). The result is a decrease in self-efficacy and an increase in the attractiveness of the use of cannabis as a mechanism for coping. This is a classic example for Marlatt's (1991) taxonomy of high risk situations for relapse.

Apart from Bruce, who acknowledged his drug use had increased while on the course, and Murray, who had stopped using drugs three years prior to the research, there was no indication that any of the respondents were concerned about their drug use. The respondents had been open and helpful when responding to the questions establishing the frequency of their cannabis use and the number of 'joints' smoked each day. Drug use was normalised to the extent that it appeared that the respondents, with the exception of Murray, thought its use was acceptable. Leibrich (1993) identifies this common view among her research participants. This suggests a widespread acceptance of cannabis among the offender client group.

9.4.23 Lifestyle Balance

The participants' use of time was consistent with Zamble and Quinsey's (1997) survey on recidivists, and related to how they divided up their

leisure time. Participants reported much of their time was spent in casual unstructured socialisation with friends and family. Measures of various behaviours used in this study, such as moving accommodation, also correlated with data in Zamble and Quinsey's research. Each participant in the current research, had moved at least twice over a period of a year and Riki had moved seven times.

9.4.24 Behaviour changes

All the respondents had made changes in their lives but Chris appeared to have made the most significant change. Life seemed to have taken on more value for him. The increase in importance of his family, especially his young son, and being in paid employment, generated a change in inner values for him. Both he and his partner were adamant that it was not the course as much as his term of imprisonment which had been the catalyst for his change. This would suggest that Chris's behaviour change process was triggered by a life event, namely his custodial sentence. This is consistent with studies carried out by Bottoms (1997) on offenders and their reintegration. In an earlier study using a qualitative research approach, Leibrich (1993) makes sense of some of the journeys of self-discovery which were described by the participants in her research.

9.4.25 Maintenance

Most of the participants strongly support the value of a follow-up support group for a variety of reasons. These are consistent with the numerous studies carried out on the effectiveness of follow-up groups (Marlatt, 1998; McGuire, 1996; Palmer, 1994). Given that this support has been shown to build on an interactive system of members helping members, the maintenance phase of the group could be identified as an exogenous

factor which assists in maintaining behaviour change and ultimately reducing reoffending.

9.5 Concluding remarks

Given the number of variables involved in the interview schedules, and the variety of domains they sample, it was a significant endeavour to fit the pattern of results into a comprehensive representation of the relevant issues. The emergent picture is consistent with participants' realities. Both sets of responses support the conclusion that cognitive-behavioural therapy has been demonstrated to be effective with people who continue to drive while disqualified. Also documented are responses which suggest that cognitive-behavioural processes are possibly not the only approaches operating in the DOT programme. This is poignantly illustrated by a group member, "*attending the group meant more to me than anyone will understand*".

Clearly documented throughout this section is the significance of internal variables and their interplay with external factors when offenders are coping with their environment on a daily basis. This set of variables drives the synthesis of material that is developing by integrating the material covered so far. The findings which ensue from this interplay will be outlined in the following chapter.

It is acknowledged that the discussion has centred around a significantly small-scale study. However, the source of strength that support people, particularly those with pro-social attitudes, can provide offenders is undeniable. More importantly, respondents' responses support Miller, Westerberg, Harris and Tonigan's (1996) findings that social support

resources are effective at predicting relapse. Given the predictive usefulness of support people, their potential value as resource services in therapeutic treatment groups is an untapped source and needs to be recognised as such.

10 Conclusions

10.1 Introduction

From the outset it is important to note that the current study is not about stopping reoffending in the pure sense of the term. Rather, it is an inquiry regarding offenders who have made a decision to stop driving while disqualified (DWD). For some, stopping DWD *does* imply that there is no more offending going on in their lives. For others, stopping one offence is a major achievement and a step that is a necessary one to take before stopping further offending in their lives. The idea of risk is an important concept when thinking about why people continue to offend (Leibrich, 1993). In the course of the study, cannabis use was the only offence other than driving offences reported by group members. Their attitude towards cannabis use suggests a normalising factor which correlates with their perception that using cannabis is a low risk offence.

A feature of the study has been the involvement of both group members and their support people. An analysis of both sets of responses indicate many commonalities. Therefore although each group provided different perspectives on related subject matter, there were sufficient commonalities to lend support to the final conclusions.

The use of qualitative methodology provided evidence that driver offenders differ in many environmental aspects of their lives. These external variables include family relationships, peer influences, the use of

support networks to achieve goals, the impact of drugs and alcohol on a decision to stop driving while disqualified and family experiences. Given this, it is not useful to assume that all driver offenders follow the same pathway when relapsing or that they experience similar external factors which help or hinder in their decision to stop reoffending.

In identifying pathways to offending and the internal and environmental factors which impact on both maintenance of behaviour change and relapse, Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) relapse prevention model was examined. This model was used for analysis as it is an integral part of the DOT programme which participants attended.

Findings indicated that research participants used support people as a way of coping when at risk of driving. Further findings suggested that participants were more likely to use this support in high risk situations if they perceived that their support person had been helpful on previous occasions and if they (the participants) had been sufficiently motivated to call on the support provided. Given this, the concepts of self-efficacy and motivation were included in the investigation.

In concluding this section it is important to reiterate the purpose of the current study which is to identify external factors affecting the maintenance of the decision not to drive while disqualified. However, as noted, behaviour is strongly influenced by both responses within the offender and identifiable factors and events in the external environment. So while the intention is to focus on external factors, the internal factors inevitably demand attention in their own right and interact with the external factors. Once this was recognised, the study set out to examine

the internal factors which operate alongside the external factors linked with behaviour change. Whilst the information relating to internal factors is important, a challenge during the research project was to ensure that the frequent attention to internal factors did not overshadow the discussion on external factors. This endeavour has not always been successful.

10.2 Findings

An introductory outline has provided a framework for this next section which highlights the most relevant and therefore significant external factors found in the course of this inquiry. In the first instance, findings relating to specific characteristics of the research participants are outlined as they correlate with those of participants in similar previous research projects.

10.2.1 Characteristics of participants

The research participants' ages range from 20 to 41 years, with the average age of the sample being 26 years old. This range of ages correlates with Horton's (1993) findings while researching characteristics of people who repeatedly drive while disqualified.

Without exception, other distinguishing features representative of this offender group correlate with the characteristics that Horton indicated. These distinguishing features include problematic family relationships. Dodd and Hunter (1992) were also able to identify particular characteristics relating to age and family dysfunction in their study. Their inquiry compares the family relationships of persistent offenders and the family relationships of the general public. The findings of the current study are consistent with those of Dodd and Hunter.

10.2.2. External factors which help/hinder behaviour change

Within the limits of its design, the current study contains several notable findings. In gaining a comprehensive picture of offending and in particular repeat offending, recidivism is viewed as a dynamic psychological process. However, what began to emerge as the study progressed were the many ways that a break in this pattern of reoffending occurred. Some of the influences identified are changes in the external environment. The results of the inquiry show that several exogenous factors can be presented as influential in helping or hindering the decision to stop driving while disqualified.

10.2.2.1 The DOT programme

The Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme has featured throughout the current study. The rationale for this particular programme along with the approaches used have been documented previously, particularly in Chapter Four. Findings of the inquiry indicated that internal variables instrumental in research participants' decisions to stop driving while disqualified were consolidated or reinforced while attending this programme. The levels of motivation and self-efficacy experienced by research participants interacted with external factors (including components of the programme) operating at the same time. Therefore, it can be argued that the effect of internal variables on behaviour interacted with the external variables at a level which influenced the maintenance of change in the external environment.

10.2.2.2 Group cohesion

It is well documented (Corey & Corey, 1997; Brown, 1992) that when group members socialise outside of group sessions, group cohesion can be

increased. Certainly some of the findings of this study correspond with these studies and suggest that the learning in the group was developed further in the informal gatherings. It was also evidenced from the responses of the research participants that such meetings were found to be useful in challenging members to follow through their plans and commitments.

10.2.2.3 Contamination factor linked with group cohesion

However, as well documented as the positive aspects of socialising outside of groups are, counterproductive influences of these informal meetings can also be operating. In relation to this, a finding of the study indicates that some group members increased their normal use of cannabis at these times. In terms of coping strategies, for some group members the coping skill they had used in the past to control their mood state was to drive their car illegally. Using coping strategies in this way was now not an option. However, responses to the current study would suggest the maladaptive pattern of coping continues, particularly with the increased use of drugs. This in turn indicates the availability of behaviours in participants' repertoires concerned and suggests how exogenous factors may influence the breaks in those maladaptive patterns of coping.

10.2.2.4 Employment following correctional intervention

Over a period of six years, anecdotal accounts provided by DOT facilitators have highlighted the number of group members who have obtained employment (often for the first time in many years) on completion of the programme. The usefulness of looking at this phenomenon is acknowledged by Gendreau, Goggin and Gray (1998). They observe that many researchers have revealed that unemployment is

one of the strongest deficits among adult offenders. To a limited degree the findings of the current study lend support to the anecdotal reports from the facilitators. Although the research sample is small, the findings show that a significant number of group members obtained employment following participation on the target course. Added to this, respondents indicated that gaining employment, especially after long periods of unemployment, was instrumental in maintaining their decision to stop driving illegally. Given this, employment is presented as an external factor which can influence the behaviour change process.

10.2.2.5 Support networks

Issues regarding the effectiveness of people in their role as support people will be discussed as they relate to the findings of the current study. Tracy and Whittaker's (1990) study concentrates on the characteristics relating to effective social support. As noted in the previous chapter, these researchers found that the duration of the relationship, the frequency of contact and the type of supportive behaviour exhibited, were significant aspects of social support.

When considering the current study, in most cases the participants had known their support people for some time prior to being on the nine week DOT course. This suggests that an element of trust may have been established prior to the inquiry taking place. In describing the relationships that respondents shared with the people they supported, it was found that they fell into two basic categories. One category was described as close and the other was described as involving a lot of contact.

In regard to the type of support provided, all the support people were able to identify at least one and mostly more than one category of support which they viewed themselves providing as a support person. In their assessment of the effectiveness of that support, three separate categories of assessment were taken into consideration. These categories included providing emotional support with the ability to listen and be affirming, to be open and available to discuss things at any time, and to challenge when appropriate. Essentially, the types of support provided by the support people in the current study are consistent with the types of effective support identified by Tracy and Whittaker (1990) and Kemp, Whittaker and Tracy (1997).

As a result of the current inquiry the value of support systems has emerged as a significant finding. More specifically, it is the positive impact that support people have on offenders who have made a decision to stop driving while disqualified that is significant. It has been clearly shown previously (Zamble & Porporino, 1988; Zamble & Quinsey, 1997) that convicted offenders have poor coping abilities and engender personal problems by their ineffective ways of responding to particular situations. Wilson (1996) and Bakker, Ward, Cryer and Hudson (1997) found that recidivist drivers who continue to drive while disqualified, use driving as a way of coping with problems. Findings from the current study lend support to Wilson, and Bakker et al.'s findings.

Given this, it is of particular interest that the current findings suggest that the more non-colluding and pro-social the support people are, the more effective they appear to be. Findings of the current study lend support to Miller, Westerberg, Harris and Tonigan's (1996) findings that support

people are effective at predicting relapse and challenging offending behaviour.

The purpose of the current study is to identify specific external factors which direct either the course of recidivism or the effective management of a decision not to reoffend. In the process of this inquiry some support people are found to be positively and reliably instrumental in preventing further driving while disqualified offending.

Concluding this section, in accordance with the systematic and consistent approach to the current management of offenders in the Department of Corrections, some of the findings of the current study correlate with a significant number of principles found to be associated with effective correctional intervention. The study focused on high-risk offenders (recidivist DWD offenders) and certain aspects of the offenders' individual functioning and environment. The intention was to establish external factors which either help or hinder the process of reducing reoffending. The most significant observations in the current inquiry suggest that effective programmes, employment and in particular, support networks have contributed to success in reducing reoffending.

10.3 Implications of findings for practice

Traditionally, the role of support person in assisting offenders reduce reoffending has been given very little focus in the Community Probation service. Over the years an individualised treatment approach has been resourced and encouraged. The findings of the current study suggest that resources should not only be made available to the offender, but should also be available to the offenders' key support network.

Even a superficial reading of the literature on changing offending behaviour highlights that understanding the nature of relapse is fundamental to the offenders' support network. There are many ways in which the value of support people can be acknowledged. It is suggested that one approach is to provide training for support people on the models and strategies used in effective intervention. This could be an innovative way of helping to meet Community Corrections' goal of reducing reoffending.

Currently, the drive for 'effectiveness' in correctional programmes is directed by the principles of the current political programme based on business principles of effectiveness, efficiency and accountability. Highly structured programmes making clear and explicit demands and following a logical sequence determined by specific learning goals, are consonant with the 'results ethos' and its emphasis on evaluation. It is submitted that the effectiveness of inherently prescriptive programmes could be amplified by enabling support people to play an integral part in meeting the treatment needs of the offender and the process of bringing about change.

The study shows that exclusive reliance on recidivism as a means of measuring effectiveness, ignores other important indicators of programme success. In Community Corrections it is essential to take into consideration the complexities inherent with intervention relating to offenders. In any evaluation of effective correctional programmes, the multiple features, also termed non-programmatic and programmatic (Palmer, 1992) characteristics, as outlined in this study, should be included.

Historically, the assumption that relapse constitutes a process or chain of behaviour occurring across time, has led to the adoption of relapse prevention models in programmes provided for offenders. Traditionally, Marlatt and Gordon's (1985) model of relapse has been the preferred model of a relapse prevention process because of its focus on self-management techniques and self-efficacy. However, it also emphasises skill deficits which do not take into account the individuals who consciously decide to relapse, for example, those individuals who demonstrate a 'sense of an entitlement' to drive although disqualified. In the current study, Megan provides an example of this when she comments, "*Who are they to tell me not to drive - I am not hurting anyone*".

As a result of the discussion in Chapter Five on Marlatt's model, it is suggested that more in-depth analysis of particular models of relapse prevention be carried out to establish the most appropriate model for recidivist driving offenders. It is suggested that a comprehensive model of the relapse process needs to include a number of pathways, preferably taking into account different types of goals and provide mechanisms to integrate cognitions, affective and behavioural factors (Ward & Hudson, 1998). In light of this, the current study would endorse the continued use of offence patterning (see Introduction) in the DOT programme as an intervention strategy with recidivist drivers.

Similarly, the preferred choice of practice approach is cognitive-behavioural. The key assumption of this method is that offence patterning can be changed through the application of self-management and self-control procedures. A constructivist approach has significant value when

working with clients from diverse ethnic, class and genders as this approach accepts that it is possible to have many different constructions of reality, all equally tenable and worthwhile. It is suggested that in incorporating the principles of this model into Community Corrections' intervention with offenders, put simply, the challenge would lie in finding a suitable balance between facilitators' assumptions, Department's preferred models of practice and the belief systems of clients from diverse backgrounds. The implications for practice would relate to a meta-theory approach (outlined in Chapter Five). This approach advocates a basis for selecting and implementing specific approaches which have been shown to be effective when working with offenders and combining these to strengthen current intervention practices.

10.4 Strengths and limitations

Any research project has inherent strengths and limitation and it is essential that these are identified and acknowledged.

10.4.1 Strengths

The current research explored in some detail the external factors which either assisted or hindered driver offenders after having made a decision to stop driving while disqualified. This is an area which has not been targeted in previous studies or literature. The qualitative and interpretivist methodology utilised in this research, facilitated a reasonably deep exploration of the experiences and perspectives of people who find it difficult to cope with driver disqualification. The findings clearly identified relevant issues which have implications for professional practice.

10.4.1.1 Semi-structured interview

The successful engagement and participation of the research participants is a positive reflection of the overall design and implementation of the research. The high level of interest and commitment to the process also suggests that the experience was meaningful for the participants. In terms of eliciting information relating to support in the context of the current study, there were numerous advantages in using the semi-structured interview. The approach was user-friendly to both the respondent and interviewer due to the high face validity of the instrument. The semi-structured interview facilitated an interactive format to establish rapport and to engage the respondent.

10.4.1.2 Retrospective data

The retrospective information elicited by this approach provided useful historical information. This was able to effectively inform the research. Equally important, the interview allowed support people to discuss events and behaviours which had either not been covered previously by the group members or which supported their responses. However, it was useful to be aware, as Babbie (1995) points out, that retrospective data are subject to distortions stemming from respondents' shifting attribution or impaired recall.

10.4.1.3 Use of different research methods

Babbie advises that there is always a danger research findings will, at least in part reflect the method of inquiry. The use of different research methods in relation to the questionnaire and in relation to the interviews, was an endeavour to reduce this problem and add strength to the research.

10.4.1.4 At-risk offenders as research participants

It is suggested that a strength of the current study is in the inclusion of some of the most at-risk offenders from the disqualified driver offender population. They had served previous sentences of imprisonment for driving offences and had been sentenced to an intensive treatment programme which was seen as a viable option to imprisonment. In light of this, it could be argued that any links between the findings of the study and ways of reducing reoffending may be relevant to other drivers who have difficulties stopping driving until they are eligible to obtain their driver's licence.

10.4.2 Limitations

Limitations of this study are primarily associated with the use of qualitative methodology. They include the small sample size, the possibility of unreliability of self-report information, and possible researcher bias. Included in this discussion are some of the methods used to overcome or control identified limitations.

10.4.2.1 Sample size

The use of a small and non random sample is a major weakness of this study. Henwood and Pidgeon (1992) say that typically a small number of participants are used in qualitative research. At eight, the size of the current sample is particularly small. However, the reported outcomes require caution in generalisation (despite some agreement with other studies) even to other similar groups of driver offenders. This limits the generalisability of the findings and points to the study being of an exploratory nature.

10.4.2.2 Unreliability

A significant methodological weakness was associated with the inherent limitation of unreliability in self-reported information, and the extent to which the findings relied on this particular method. This problem was addressed to some extent, by the inclusion of face-to-face interviews with the same researcher throughout data collection. Ensuring that the same interview was involved throughout enabled the establishment and maintenance of good rapport with participants. In addition, participants had freely consented to participate in the research and could withdraw at any time without negative repercussions.

10.4.2.3 Bias

Possible researcher bias was also a limitation of this research, especially as the researcher had been part of the programme which the research participants attended since its inception. Also, as Mathewson (1998) says, researcher bias can occur when the working assumptions adopted and interview schedules developed, although giving an essential focus to a study, reflect the theoretical assumptions and biases of the researcher. This may preclude adequate attention to other aspects of participants' experiences.

However, the researcher's experience and knowledge was also seen to be useful when made explicit to the participants and provided a reality base from which to proceed. In addition, several other factors helped in the control of researcher bias. Firstly, face-to-face interviews with both group members and their support people were carried out and collected data transcribed verbatim by a person other than the researcher. Secondly, a

major factor in reducing researcher bias was the consistent and objective supervision administered by the researcher's supervisors.

10.4.2.4 Validity

Finding out about people's attitudes, especially in a highly sensitive area such as offending, is difficult as there is always a possibility that participants will be tempted to give answers which they think make them 'look good' or that do not indicate further offending. The self-report responses were confidential. However, given that support people also provided information, often responses from participants were corroborated. My ability to accurately verify all the information received from the research participants limits what can be inferred from the findings to a degree. Nonetheless, there is sufficient correlation of material from both groups of research participants to strengthen the validity of the findings.

10.4.2.5 Retrospective data

As noted earlier, at times the research had to rely on retrospective data. There are numerous problems inherent in this approach. Responses to several questions in both the questionnaire and the interviews, effectively entailed retrospective self-reports. Participants were asked to reflect on experiences which had not happened recently. The risk is that the information could be limited, selective and/or distorted by participants' memories. The researcher's awareness of possible distortions was important in relation to this issue.

10.4.2.6 Conflict of interest

The potential for conflict of interest was discussed in the application to the Human Ethics Committee (Appendix 1). My dual role as researcher and co-facilitator of the target programme since its inception, could be seen as a conflict of interest. The procedure outlined in the Ethics Committee proposal was adhered to and during the research there were no instances of apparent conflict of interest. Also, the progress of the research was closely monitored in academic supervision.

10.4.2.7 Psychometric testing

A methodological flaw related to the psychometric tests which were used to assess drug and alcohol levels. Specific permission for these particular tests was not obtained from the participants prior to the tests being administered. However, I became aware of the fact that a separate consent form is necessary to meet ethical guidelines of research, after I had interviewed five participants. The correct procedure was then put into place with the permission gained and the signature of each of the participants obtained prior to the interview commencing.

Prior to the interview, all participants had been informed that they could withdraw from the interview at any time and it had been emphasised that there would be no consequential repercussions for doing so.

10.4.2.8 Incorrect numbering sequence

Finally, the numbering sequence of the Questionnaire (Appendix 7) is incorrect as the words, "Question Number 3." had been overlooked.

10.5 Future directions - areas for further research

Any future research identifying external factors in the area of the criminal recidivist process should incorporate the following:

- A larger study investigating the possible interactions of internal factors, group process and external factors to ascertain what factors are most influential in reducing recidivism.
- Evaluation of the internal/external factors operating when individuals obtain employment on completing intensive long-term treatment programmes, after having being unemployed for a significant period of time;
- A more specific analysis targeting linkages between cognitive-behavioural and constructivist models of practice;
- A study on the effects of substance abuse on group members participating in intensive, long term treatment programmes;
- A study identifying contamination factors in a group setting;
- An evaluation of the Driver Offender Treatment programme follow-up course.

10.6 Concluding remarks

The final chapter has captured the essence of the current study by restating the purpose, intention, methodology and issues surrounding the current

investigation. Specific challenges are acknowledged which have evolved in the process of making sense of relevant data in the course of the process of inquiry

In a procedure where the focus is on obtaining data which can be explained and even supported by other investigations, it is useful to point out the strengths and limitations of the current study. These have emerged as an outcome of using qualitative methods and analysis and are fully documented in this chapter. Flaws in the data collection methodology have been identified.

In presenting the context of the current investigation, a comprehensive picture of offenders who have made a decision to stop driving while disqualified has been provided by summarising the major findings of the inquiry. The current investigation has uncovered some significant findings in the specified area of inquiry albeit conclusions drawn are suggestive rather than definitive. Several areas for future research have been identified. Ultimately, the current research has used an approach which has essentially discovered reality through personal experience providing valuable insights into the critical part that external factors play in the process of offending behaviour.

Afterword

11.1 Megan

Megan completed her sentence of Supervision and has decided to continue to attend the follow-up course of the maintenance phase of the DOT programme on a voluntary basis. She is still living with her partner and remains in contact with some of the members of the group. By Megan's own admission she surprised herself that she was able to complete the nine week course with an excellent attendance rate. She acknowledges that she is still at risk of driving but is determined to obtain her licence when she is eligible.

11.2 Murray

Murray has completed his sentence of Supervision and is attending the follow-up course of the maintenance phase of the DOT programme on a voluntary basis. He is now in full employment and has moved into a flat on his own. His application to the Land Transport Department to uplift his indefinite disqualification for driving was granted and he recently obtained his driver's licence. Although he has stopped drinking alcohol for over two years, he acknowledges that his challenge now is to keep his licence. Murray's support people report that they are proud of his progress and are still offering regular support.

11.3 Neil

Since completing the DOT programme, Neil has become a father for the first time. He has completed his sentence of Supervision and is in full

time employment. He is fully employed and although living apart from the mother of his child, he visits regularly and supports his partner with their daughter. His partner reports Neil has obtained his restricted driver's licence and she continues to support him.

11.4 Riki

Riki was charged with Driving While Disqualified soon after the nine week course finished and received a term of imprisonment combined with another term of disqualification. An application for Home Detention was granted. He will continue with the follow-up group of the maintenance phase of the DOT programme. His partner and her family members continue to support him.

11.5 Darren

Darren's sentence of Supervision continues into the year 2000. He is still reporting to his Probation Officer and attends the follow-up course in the Maintenance phase of the DOT programme. He describes himself as being casually employed and acknowledges he is still at risk of driving especially as he has a long disqualification period. He remains friends with his former wife and she continues to support him.

11.6 Shane

Since completing the nine week course, Shane has obtained employment and although initially it was to be only temporary work, he is now fully employed. He had been unemployed for a significant period of time prior to attending the DOT programme. Shane has completed his sentence of Supervision. Although eligible to obtain his driver's licence, at the time of writing up this project he had not undertaken the requirements of the

licence application. His long-term relationship has broken down and he does not now see his estranged partner who was also his support person.

11.7 Bruce

Bruce is in a new relationship and reports he is drinking again after a significant period of abstinence. His drinking is causing problems in his life. He acknowledges he places himself in high risk situations in terms of his driving. He completed his sentence of Supervision at the end of 1999 and failed to attend the follow-up course of the DOT programme. He is employed on a casual basis. Prior to attending the target programme he had been unemployed for over seven years.

11.8 Chris

Chris is a new father and although not living with the mother of his children he is an active father in his children's lives. He is fully employed and remains disqualified until April 2000. Chris considers his partner to be his main support and is more determined than ever that he will not be returning to prison as a result of his reoffending.

It is noted that the up-dated information in this section was obtained from the research participants at the completion of the research project in 1999.

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

APPLICATION TO HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE

NAME: Robyna Smith

STATUS OF APPLICANT: Masterate Student

DEPARTMENT: Social Policy and Social Work

EMPLOYMENT: Probation Officer, Department of Corrections

RESEARCH STATUS: Masters Thesis

FUNDING SOURCE: Chief Executive Scholarship, Department of Corrections

SUPERVISORS: Dr Ruth Anderson, School of Social Policy and Social Work, Massey University, Private Bag 11222, Palmerston North. Phone (06) 3569099.
Annabel Taylor, Department of Social Work, University of Canterbury, Private Bag 4800, Christchurch. Phone (03) 3642498.

TITLE OF THE RESEARCH:
BEHAVIOUR CHANGE: EXTERNAL FACTORS WHICH HELP OR HINDER OFFENDERS WHO WANT TO STOP REOFFENDING.

ATTACHMENTS: Information Sheets, Questionnaire, Consent Forms, Transcriber Contract.

SIGNATURES:

RESEARCHER: _____

SUPERVISORS _____

DATE: _____

1. DESCRIPTION

1.1 Justification

On a community level, driving offending has become a substantial problem for law enforcement and corrections agencies. The public and professional interest with driver offenders has gained momentum in the last decade. The treatment of driver offenders is a growing area of social work and clinical psychological practice. Treatment programmes, particularly those based on cognitive-behavioural approaches are developing and gaining significant recognition as providing effective treatment for offenders. However it is emphasised the treatment is not a "cure" and offenders must continue to apply their learning in maintaining their offence free lifestyle. The question arises, then, as to what external factors help or hinder driver offenders who are genuinely motivated to stop reoffending in this way. This is particularly pertinent in the post intervention phase when the offenders face the challenge of implementing the strategies and skills they have learnt.

On a personal level, I have selected intervention with high risk driver offenders as the practice area for the reasons that follow. Firstly, I have been engaged in direct practice with driver offenders for over five years, providing individual counselling and facilitating change oriented group work. I have become involved in work with driver offenders because my belief is that this type of offending is a social issue and can be treated in a more constructive manner than a term of

imprisonment. Secondly, the nine week course of the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme, which I co-facilitate, has been evaluated by the Department of Corrections Psychological Services and has been shown to be effective in reducing reoffending. It is therefore reported as a viable intervention model for use by Probation Officers. However, the programme is continually evolving to adapt to the ever increasing knowledge gained from this therapeutic alliance between facilitators and driver offenders. It is important for programme efficacy and in maintaining the transparency and integrity of the programme, that these modifications are examined and monitored. Thirdly, the post treatment phase of this programme has not been examined and one might reasonably expect that the most difficult time for behaviour change to be maintained is the period of time after the course is completed. This, from my experience, is especially so if the intervention has been as intensive as that experienced by group members in the nine week DOT course. Fourthly, to date, most research on driver offenders has focused on identifying sub-groups of driver offenders, determining internal factors which assist behaviour change and evaluating programme effectiveness. As noted, the DOT course has been evaluated and its effectiveness in reducing reoffending indicated by previous findings. In effect this means that some positive behaviour change has taken place in group members as a result of attending the DOT programme and at the same time carrying on their daily living in the community. The findings from the evaluation also indicate that a significant number of group members reoffended after completing the

DOT programme. However, little has been done in terms of identifying the external factors which may have assisted or hindered the change in behaviour which is instrumental in reducing reoffending. This information would be useful in developing policies in the Department of Corrections concerned with rehabilitative issues. The result of economic rationalisation and the adoption of monetarist management practice, has meant a separation of policy development from service delivery with the reduction of resources continuing relentlessly. The competition for scarce resources that ensues, can mean that the field of research is narrowed to include only the examination of internal factors that assist in behaviour change and the broader issues of rehabilitation can be ignored.

1.2 Objective:

The most significant issue to be addressed in this research surrounds social work theory and practice and exogenous factors which influence, in a positive and negative sense, the change in behaviour which is instrumental in reducing reoffending. The research will examine the life circumstances of group members who attend a selected DOT course. Some people who are part of group members' support network will also be interviewed. The exogenous factors which are identified as operating while the research participant is attending the DOT programme will be compared with those operating at the post treatment phase of the programme. There will be an integration of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies which will hopefully result in a unified approach. A structured questionnaire will be relied on initially

to obtain quantitative measures for purposes of statistical analysis. This will be followed by qualitative description which will be obtained as a result of in-depth interviews. It is hoped these interviews will give research participants an opportunity to clarify the meaning of issues from their perspectives. This should result in multiple perspectives and diverse material which can identify the scope of issues for the research document and add detail to the quantitative data. These issues could then be coded thematically. It is important at this point to acknowledge that this research does not aim to generate causal explanations of reduction of offending or relapse. Offending behaviour is ultimately the choice of the offender which she/he alone is responsible for. However, as already noted, it may well provide information which could be useful in designing future departmental rehabilitative policies.

1.3. Research Participant selection:

It is proposed to conduct the research at the Community Probation Office located at the Christchurch West Office.

Client Selection.

1) Offenders - the participants of the research will be group members of the nine week DOT course taking place at the time the research will be carried out. A meeting with the researcher and the co-facilitators will be arranged prior to the research commencing to discuss the process of the research and the willingness of the co-facilitators to have the research being carried out during the course they are facilitating. Discussion at this meeting will also focus on the willingness

of the co-facilitators to be allocated the potential participants to their case loads. The existing District practice is that clients are allocated to the facilitators of the programme on the basis of practitioner expertise.

All offenders will be recidivist drivers who have multiple convictions for disqualified driving. Each offender will receive a copy of an information sheet and be invited to participate in the project.

2) Support people, subject to each offender's consent, the people identified by the offenders as their respective support people, will receive a copy of an information sheet inviting participation in the research. Participation will be voluntary and all potential participants will be interviewed by the researcher who will provide further details regarding the research and invite informed written consent from the prospective participant.

1.4. Procedure in which Research Participants will be involved:

The most important data for this research will be information on the experiences, understandings, thoughts and feelings of the participants. In the first week of the DOT group I will give a short presentation on the rationale underpinning the research. I will outline what would be expected of a research participant and encourage group members to become involved. I will make it clear that participation is voluntary.

Those group members willing to be committed to the research will then be invited to sign a consent form and will be given more information about the research. A choice not to participate will not in any way impact upon the availability or quality of services provided to offenders or their support people

In the first quarter of the nine week DOT course, I will give a questionnaire to each research participant. They will be asked to fill out the questionnaire while at the course and the facilitators will be available to assist if there are literacy difficulties. The focus of the questionnaire will be to obtain as much information as possible on exogenous factors which have assisted or hindered any behaviour change which has resulted in reducing reoffending.

The data collated from the questionnaire, will assist in the development of questions to be asked in the in-depth interviews. These will take place in the post treatment phase of the DOT programme. I will invite each research participant to attend an individual interview which it is anticipated could take up to two hours. It is possible that the informants will need to be interviewed more than once. Participants will be interviewed at the Community Probation office where the group is run. These interviews will be audiotaped and will pose questions around the exogenous factors which have promoted or stopped behaviour change since the group has finished. Information will also be derived from the

Department of Corrections files, subject to the consent of participants and the Department of Community Corrections.

The offender's participation in the research will be a separate (but parallel) process to their compliance with any order of the Court.

1.5. Procedures for handling Information and Materials Produced in the course of the research including raw data and final research

Interviews will be audiotaped and transcribed. The classification and analysis will be done by me. It is envisaged that the transcriber chosen to transcribe the transcripts will have some understanding of this client group and will be required to sign a confidentiality agreement in advance of undertaking the transcription. I will also take notes in the interviews. All research data will be held separately from official Department of Corrections' records. Hard copies (records of interviews that I conduct; questionnaires completed by the participants; my notes) will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in my study at home. Word processing will be performed on my personal computer which is not connected to any network.

Following completion of the research project, results will be utilised within the final report in summarised and non-identifiable form.

Transcripts will be kept on floppy disk (two back up copies will be held by me). All computer disks will be held in secure containers. I will keep the research data for five years before destroying it. Any information regarding any participant will not be divulged to any third party without the permission of relevant participants. Copies of the final research report will be provided to Massey University and the Department of Corrections. The participants will be given access to a summary of the report.

2. Ethical Issues

2.1 Access to Participants

As noted, participants will be drawn on a voluntary basis from offenders who are group members of a Community Probation Driver Offender Treatment course. As the researcher, I will gain permission from the co-facilitators to give a presentation about the research to the group.

Group members will be given an Information sheet reiterating the details of the project and written informed consent will be requested from those who indicate an interest. I will advise group members they had the right to decline participation in the research project at any point, without prejudice to receipt of further services to which they are entitled from the Department of Corrections.

Research participants will also be support people of group members if the group members have agreed and the support people have consented. People who indicate an interest will be

invited to be interviewed by me, as the researcher, and I will provide details of the research project and request written informed consent. They will be advised that they can withdraw from the research project at any stage.

No detailed file study of the offenders will be undertaken at this stage. The fact that the participants are on the programme means that they have gone through a thorough assessment process and have met the same criteria necessary to be a research participant. They are recidivist driver offenders who are motivated to make some changes to their pattern of driving offending.

My responsibility as the researcher is to each individual participant. My role will be to ensure that all participants' rights are fully observed and to ensure that participation in the research is not influenced by considerations other than their desire to be involved. The Department of Corrections has an interest in the research as a stakeholder. However this interest is confined to receiving from the researcher and her supervisors, quarterly and six monthly reports on the researcher's progress and receiving a copy of the final research report. The Department will not have access to any other information.

2.2 Informed Consent

The principle of written informed consent can be regarded as essential to ethical decisions. As noted, full information about the research will be conveyed initially by a personal

presentation by the researcher to the group members of the DOT course which will be running at the time the research commences. These group members will be potential research participants. The information given out at this presentation will include: the purpose of the research; the participants' role in it; the protection they would be given regarding anonymity and confidentiality; how the data would be used; their right to decline participation and withdraw without prejudice at any stage; to refuse to answer any questions without prejudice to any future service from the Department of Corrections; to ask any questions at any point in the process, and what they can expect from the researcher. This information will be reiterated in written form and given to the group members. Information and consent forms will be attached.

The group members' consent is necessary for me to have access to their Department of Corrections files and for their support network members to talk confidentially to me about the support they have given the group member. Similarly consent is necessary from support people to participate in the research. It is acknowledged that it was the researcher's responsibility to clarify any questions that arise prior to a participant taking part in the research.

All participation will be on a voluntary basis. Group members will have their written consent forms witnessed by the co-facilitators of the group or a third party of their choice. Their support people also will have their written consent form

witnessed by a third party. The consent of the participants is a necessary requirement before the project could proceed.

2.3 Anonymity and Confidentiality

I will explain the bounds of confidentiality to all participants. Anonymity and confidentiality cannot be guaranteed but I will assure the research participants that the upmost regard for anonymity and confidentiality will be given. This will be important if the information from the interviews is to be given in a frank and honest manner. I will inform the participants that I will not disclose any information they provide without their permission.

The only exception to this will be if they disclose the commission of an offence or threat of harm to any third party or to the participant. I will advise the participants that under such circumstances I will provide information to the probation officer the participant is allocated to. I will inform them that this is also a legal obligation which binds any Probation Officer. Depending on the seriousness of the information, it would be necessary that the case concerned be removed from the project. This limit on confidentiality is included in the information given to potential participants and support persons when I was invite their consent.

All participants will be advised of the procedures for handling information and materials produced in the course of the research which ensures confidentiality. I will explain the procedures to be followed to ensure that participant anonymity

is retained during the research process and in the final research report.

2.4 Potential harm to participants

It will be useful to check out with the participant at the commencement of the interview whether he/she is able to concentrate and to ensure that nothing has happened just prior to being interviewed that could make the interview stressful.

It will also be important to see what level the participant wants the interview to be on. Some will not be able to cope with in-depth interviews in one sitting and will need to be interviewed more than once.

Cultural issues will be kept in mind at all times especially when undertaking in-depth interviews. Awareness of protocol and general differences will be respected. Checking out with participants that I, as the researcher, have "got it right" will be important when respecting this ethical issue. Most of the interviews with group members will be carried out at the Community Probation Office. However some interviews with support people will be carried out in their own homes. In these situations respecting the different ethnic backgrounds and individual protocols of the participant will be vital. I will be prepared to seek advice on these matters if necessary.

Offenders who participated in the research will spend more time in interviews than other offenders who attend the DOT programme. However, I will endeavour to interrupt their daily

routine as little as possible and fitting in with their daily lives will be given paramount consideration. Their involvement is separate to any legal requirements made in terms of a Court order and offenders will not be prosecuted in the event that they fail to participate in the research project and are not subject to any other consequence.

2.5 Potential Harm to the Researcher

The emotional demands of interviewing people in depth may be heightened by the demands of tight time-frames. Added to this, participants in the main will be male and as a female it will be important if I am visiting their homes that support people are aware that this is taking place. To reduce the potential for issues to arise, I make full use of my supervisors for support and my home address and phone number will not be made available to the participants.

Tensions could arise from conflicts of interest between my research role as a Chief Executive scholar and my role as an employee of the Department of Corrections. However, strict adherence to the procedures laid down in my contract should alleviate any problems.

2.6 Potential Harm to the University:

Harm to the University could arise from a participant making some public complaint. To reduce harm in this way, I will communicate honestly and openly with thesis supervisors and if any ethical code or academic requirement is not being

adhered to I will discuss the problems and if necessary withdraw from the project completely.

2.7 Uses of Information

All participants will have access to any personal record compiled as part of the research, including interview notes and questionnaires. They will be provided with a summary of the results of the research and have access to the final report on the research. They will not have any control over information offered by other participants.

Information will be presented in the final research in a non-identifiable form. The final report of this research will be submitted as a thesis for the requirements of a Master of Social Work degree at Massey University. It will also be available within the Community Probation and Psychological Services of the Department of Corrections. The results in summarised form may also be published in The Social Work Review and other appropriate professional and academic publications. Results may also be referred to in presentations at conferences, seminars and lectures.

2.8 Conflict of Interest/Conflict of Roles

There is potential for conflict between my roles as researcher and as Probation Officer with the Department of Corrections. I have co-facilitated the DOT programme and the Maintenance groups for DOT graduates for over five years. To minimise this possible conflict I will not include any offender

with whom I had worked in an official/professional capacity and will not feedback to the Department any identifiable information on former clients. The research will be supervised by the staff of the Massey University Department of Social Policy and Social Work and University of Canterbury Department of Social Work.

The potential for conflict to exist for an offender between their rights as a research participant and their obligations in terms of a Court order, will be reduced by advising them of their rights as a research participant as outlined earlier.

The interests of the Department of Corrections will not inhibit the aims and principles of the project and will not take precedence over the interests of the participants. The Department will be a stakeholder through sponsorship of the researcher and provision of resources to enable the research to be completed.

However, the Department will not have any direct influence in the research design or implementation. Reports will be submitted to the Department on a quarterly and six monthly basis outlining the progress of the researcher and the Department will have access to the final draft of the research report. However both these reports will not contain any identifying information regarding any participant which will prejudice a participant's right to receive fair and impartial treatment from the Community Corrections Service.

The purpose of the research is to look at factors outside of the research participants' involvement with the Department. The research participants, therefore, will be involved in a separate process from those actions involved in the administration of any sentence imposed by the Court.

3. LEGAL CONCERNS:

3.1. LEGISLATION:

3.1.1 Intellectual Property Legislation:

Copyright Act 1994.

Appropriate literature use is sanctioned by Section 43 of this Act which refers to the fair dealing with a work for the purposes of research. I am not anticipating that participants in this project will be owners of copyright works but if this is the case their written consent will be sought for any use I may make of such work.

Copyright of the MSW thesis will belong to the researcher. Any publication which results from work undertaken during the progress of the research will belong to the particular writer responsible and/or the publisher. All sources will be clearly acknowledged.

3.1.2. Human Rights Act 1993:

For many reasons it is difficult to get women on the programme and it is anticipated that only one woman will be

included in the project. This could be interpreted as discrimination on the grounds of gender. The Act though, does not refer to research as a context or form of discrimination.

3.1.3 Privacy Act 1993:

Information principles contained in this Act will be complied with. Information will only be obtained and utilised with the informed consent of participants. In the event of the necessity to notify further offending, or the safety of the participant or the safety of others is at risk, Section 6, Information Principles 11 (e) and (f) sanction disclosure if necessary for maintenance of the law and public or individual safety.

3.1.4 Health and Safety in Employment Act 1991:

As the researcher, I will be employing a transcriber so this particular Act could have implications for the project. It will be necessary to keep within the principles of this Act and ensure the area the person will be working in and the time allowed to carry out the work required, meets the requirement of this Act.

3.1.5 Accident Rehabilitation Compensation Insurance ACT 1992:

There are no apparent implications for the research.

3.1.6 Employment Contracts Act 1991:

As noted I will be employing a transcriber, I will be required to keep within this Act and meet the requirements of a short term contract.

3.2 OTHER LEGAL ISSUES:

There are no identifiable concerns.

4. CULTURAL CONCERNS:

It is acknowledged that a significant number of the participants in this project are Maori. While the DOT programme has not included specific cultural adaptations and non-Maori methodology and theoretical understandings have been utilised, the facilitators have a good understanding of Tikanga Maori. Group members are given opportunities to express themselves in ways that reflect their cultural values. The precedent set in the programme will be adhered to in the research.

As a Probation Officer employed by the Department of Corrections, I am subject to the Department of Corrections Cultural Perspectives policies and have met the selection criteria regarding my ability to work with persons from other cultures. I am a long standing member of the Maori Culture Group in the Christchurch Area.

5. OTHER ETHICAL BODIES RELEVANT TO THIS RESEARCH:

5.1 Ethics Committees

This application is not being submitted to any other ethics committee.

5.2 Professional Codes

I am a member of the New Zealand Association of Social Workers, therefore the research will be subject to this Association's Code of Ethics. As a Probation Officer I am also obliged to a Department of Corrections and Community Probation Code of Ethics. These codes have similar principles in that they emphasise treating clients with respect and sensitivity, confidentiality, client autonomy and responsibility, and the obligation of workers to ensure clients' access to relevant services.

**BEHAVIOUR CHANGE: EXTERNAL FACTORS WHICH HELP
OF HINDER OFFENDERS WHO WANT TO STOP
REOFFENDING**

INFORMATION SHEET FOR GROUP MEMBER

The Researcher: Robyna Smith

Contact: Christchurch West Office
Community Probation Service
PO Box 25-136
Phone (03) 3538420
Fax (03) 3538421

Supervisors: Ruth Anderson
Phone (06) 3569099
Annabel Taylor
Phone (03) 3642498

Who is the Researcher?

My name is Robyna Smith. I am a masterate student at Massey University and have been employed by the Department of Corrections since 1983 and as a Probation Officer since 1990. I have worked with driver offenders both individually and in groups for the past five years and I have been interested in gaining more knowledge about what influences this client group in their behaviour change other than what is learnt from attending the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme. I have been awarded a full time study scholarship from February 1999 to February 2000. This will allow me to complete a thesis for the degree of Master of Social Work and the research forms the basis of this thesis. I am being supervised by Dr Ruth Anderson, School of Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University and Annabel Taylor, lecturer in the Social Work Department at the University of Canterbury. I can be contacted by

telephoning the Community Probation, Christchurch West Office (03) 3538420.

What is the Study About?

The aim of the research is to understand what helps or does not help offenders, who have decided not to offend again. I am interested in identifying external factors, such as having support people to talk to or being employed, which influence offenders in their behaviour change. To help me with this task I am going to focus on the current Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme and invite group members to assist me in this study.

It is hoped that the knowledge gained will be useful in developing a more effective way for Probation Officers to work with offenders. Group members who have stopped reoffending and those who have recently reoffended, but who are trying to change their behaviour, will be included.

I will also talk to people who are helping group members as part of their support network. I am interested in talking to these people about their experience as a support person. However, a group member needs to agree before a support person will be contacted.

The researcher is acting independently and the research process will not be influenced by the Department of Corrections.

What will the Participants have to do?

If you agree to take part in this study while you are on the course, you will be asked to fill out a questionnaire. Once the course is completed I will interview each group member. The interview will take approximately one hour at a time that suits you and the discussion will be around your everyday experiences. These interviews will be audiotaped with your informed consent and can be turned off at any time. I will also be taking notes during the interview. If you agree to participate it will be on the understanding that what you say in the interview is given the upmost confidentiality. The only exception to this principle of confidentiality would be if you talked about committing an offence or if you make any threat to harm anyone else or yourself. In this situation I would have to talk to your Probation Officer.

What can the Participant expect from the Researcher?

If you take part in the study you can expect that any information you provide will be treated with the utmost confidentiality, and that your identity and privacy are protected.

During the interview, you have a right to refuse to answer any particular questions, stop an interview or withdraw from the study at any time without any change to the services currently available to you. Also you can ask any questions about the research that arise during your participation.

The transcriber of the audio tapes will be a research assistant who will sign a confidentiality agreement.

It will not be possible to identify you in any reports that are prepared from the study. However, you may wish to choose another name which can be used in the research. All records will be held separately from the Department of Corrections official files and in secure containers.

You will be given a summary of the findings from this study when it is finished. A copy of the final report will be held in the library at Massey University. A copy will also be provided to the Department of Corrections and be available to staff employed by the department.

Thank you for taking the time to read this.

If you are interested in participating in the research you can either advise one of your co-facilitators or myself, Robyna Smith, who gave you this information sheet by telephoning 353-8420.

**BEHAVIOUR CHANGE: EXTERNAL FACTORS HELP
OR HINDER OFFENDERS WHO WANT TO STOP
REOFFENDING**

GROUP MEMBER CONSENT FORM

Name: _____

I have read the Information Sheet for this research and have had the details of the research explained to me. My questions about the research have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask future questions at any time. I also understand that I am free to withdraw from the research at any time, or to decline to answer any particular questions in the research. I agree to my interview being audiotaped.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that it is confidential as outlined in the Information Sheet.

I agree to the researcher having access to my Community Probation Service file and consulting with the facilitators of the Driver Offender Treatment programme.

I agree to the following people being interviewed regarding their experience of being involved in my support network.

I agree to information that directly relates to me, other than that relating to further offending, contributing to the researcher's thesis findings and any associated publications or presentations, subject to anonymity and confidentiality being maintained when I request this.

I agree to participate in this research under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed _____

Date: _____

**BEHAVIOUR CHANGE: EXTERNAL FACTORS WHICH HELP
OR HINDER OFFENDERS WHO WANT TO STOP
REOFFENDING**

INFORMATION SHEET FOR SUPPORT PEOPLE

The Researcher: Robyna Smith

Contact: Christchurch West Office
Community Probation Service
PO Box 25-136
Phone (03) 3538420
Fax (03) 3538421

Supervisors: Ruth Anderson
Phone (06) 3569099
Annabel Taylor
Phone (03) 3642498

Who is the Researcher?

My name is Robyna Smith. I am a masterate student at Massey University and have been employed by the Department of Corrections since 1983 and as a Probation Officer since 1990. I have worked with driver offenders both individually and in groups for the past five years and have been interested in gaining more knowledge about what influences this client group in their behaviour change other than what is learnt from attending the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme. I have been awarded a full time study scholarship from February 1999 to February 2000. This will allow me to complete a thesis for the degree of Social Work and the research forms the bais of this thesis.

I am being supervised by Dr Ruth Anderson, School of Social Policy and Social Work at Massey University and Annabel Taylor, lecturer in the Social Work Department at the University of Canterbury.

What is the Study About?

The aim of the study is to understand what helps or does not help offenders who have decided not to offend again. I am interested in identifying external factors which influence offenders in their behaviour change. To help me with this task I am going to focus on the current Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme and will invite group members to assist me in this study.

It is hope that the knowledge gained will be useful in developing a more effective way for Probation Officers to work with offenders. Group members who have stopped reoffending and those who have recently reoffended, but who are trying to change their behaviour, will be included.

Information will also be sought from people like yourselves, who are helping group members as part of their support network. I am interested in talking to you about your experience as a support person. However, a group members needs to agree before you will be contacted.

I am acting independently and the research process will not be influenced by the Department of Corrections.

What will the Support Person have to do:

If you agree to take part in this study you will be invited to meet with me for an interview to discuss your experience as a support person. The interview will take approximately one hour and be held at a time and venue that suits you. With your informed consent the interview will be audiotaped and you have a right at all times to request that all or part of

the interview not be recorded. I will be taking notes at the interview. If you agree to participate it is on the understanding that confidentiality cannot be guaranteed but I will ensure that you have utmost confidentiality and that it will not be possible to identify you in any reports that are prepared from this study. However, you may wish to choose another name which can be used in the research. All records will be held separately from the Department of Corrections official files and in secure containers.

What can the Support Person expect from the Researcher?

If you take part in the study you have the right to ask any further questions about the study that occur to you during your involvement, as well as the right to withdraw at any time, and to refuse to answer any particular questions. You can provide information on the understanding that the researcher will give you the upmost confidentiality. The transcriber of the audio tapes will be a research assistant who will sign a confidentiality agreement.

You will be given acces to the summary of the findings from this study when it is finished. A copy of the final report will be held in the library at Massey University. A copy will also be provided to the Department of Corrections and be available to staff employed by the department.

Thank you for taking the time to read this.

**BEHAVIOUR CHANGE: EXTERNAL FACTORS WHICH HELP
OR HINDER OFFENDERS WHO WANT TO STOP
REOFFENDING**

SUPPORT NETWORK MEMBER CONSENT FORM

Name: _____

I have read the Information Sheet for this research and have had the details of the research explained to me. My questions about the research have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time or to decline to answer any particular question in the research.

I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that it is confidential as outlined in the Information Sheet.

I agree to the group member in the current Driver Offender Treatment programme commenting in her/his interview about my role in the support network.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being audiotaped.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signed _____

Date: _____

**BEHAVIOUR CHANGE: EXTERNAL FACTORS WHICH HELP
OR HINDER OFFENDERS WHO WANT TO STOP
REOFFENDING.**

TRANSCRIBER AGREEMENT

In respect to the confidentiality and anonymity of the participants in this research project and the completion of transcripts, I undertake not to breach the anonymity of the participants in the research nor to breach confidentiality in respect of any information contained in the tapes.

NAME: _____

SIGNATURE: _____

DATE: _____

11 *Have you ever been in paid employment?* Yes No
If you have answered No please move on to Question 15.

12 *Are you currently in paid employment?* Yes No

13 *Being employed has helped me in my decision to stop driving.*

strongly agree **agree** **unsure** **disagree** **strongly disagree**

14 *I consider the people in my work-place to be part of my support network.*

strongly agree **agree** **unsure** **disagree** **strongly disagree**

D In this section I would like to examine some possible factors which could affect your decision to stop reoffending.

From the following list of possible factors please give each one a rating depending on how helpful they have been for you. Please circle the most appropriate number. If one does not apply move on to the next one.

	extremely unhelpful						no effect at all
15 <i>peer pressure</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>use of alcohol</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>use of drugs</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>gambling</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>illiteracy</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>not being healthy</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16 *The money coming in from my wages/benefit is insufficient to live on.*

strongly agree **agree** **unsure** **disagree** **strongly disagree**

17 *I spend time during the week with people who are involved in criminal activity.*

strongly agree **agree** **unsure** **disagree** **strongly disagree**

Maybe you can identify other factors which have impacted on your decision not to reoffend. Please note these and give a rating as well.

	Extremely unhelpful					no effect at all
_____	1	2	3	4	5	6 7

E In this section I want to ask you for a few questions concerning your lifestyle.

18 *What are some of the activities you regularly do that you find positive or pleasant? Please indicate on the following line.*

19 *What are some of the activities you regularly do that you find negative or unpleasant? Please indicate on the following line.*

20 *Before you started the Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) programme did your usual routine during the weekends differ to that of the weekdays?*

Yes No

21 *How many hours do you usually spend sleeping day/night?*

4 or less 4-8 9 or more

22 *Have you changed your place of residence over the past year?*

Yes No

If No go on to Question 24.

23 *How many times have you shifted over the past year?*

once 5 times more than 6 times

Finally I would like to know just a little about you so I can see how different types of people feel about the issues we have been examining.

24 Female [] Male []

25 *How old were you when you left school?*

26 *What was your most significant academic achievement while attending school?*

27 *Have you completed qualifications (academic or trade) since leaving school?*

28 *What was your age at your last birthday?*

29 *What race do you describe yourself as:*

Pakeha	[]
N Z Maori	[]
European	[]
Caucasian	[]
Samoan	[]
other	[]

These are all the questions I have. Thank you very much for participating.

BEHAVIOUR CHANGE: IDENTIFYING EXTERNAL FACTORS WHICH HELP OR HINDER OFFENDERS WHO WANT TO STOP REOFFENDING:

Introduction/ engaging:

Thank you for agreeing to do this interview with me today. I'll explain a few things before we get going. Firstly, what we talk about is confidential. This simply means that I cannot discuss or pass on any information about you to anyone else who is not directly involved in this research. The major limitation to confidentiality is where I have a serious concern either about your safety or the safety of someone else. In this case I 'd want to assess the concern and may then choose to inform someone outside the project. However, I would discuss this with you first.

You can ask questions at any point during or after the interview and at any time you can ask to withdraw from the interview.

I will also briefly explain what we are going to do today. I have questions that I will ask, some of them you will find easy to answer, others you will need to think about. Because we have a lot to get through I will try to make sure we stay on track, so sometimes I might need to stop you and go on to the next question. Each member of the group will be asked the same questions. Please let me know if you do not understand a question and I will ask it another way.

Establishing current functioning

I want to start by checking how things have been going for you over the last few days. Has anything happened in the last few days that you think may impact on how we go today? Some of the common things that I would

be talking about were if you've been, or still are, seriously ill, if you are feeling worn out or overly tired, or if something has happened in your personal life that has made you uncomfortable are if you are feeling sick or finding it difficult to concentrate.

Prior Offending:

The next set of questions are about your prior offending. I am asking these questions to build up a more in depth picture of you as a person.

I am going to ask you now to tell me about your prior offending.

- 2 *Has it been difficult for you to stop reoffending in the past?
1 strongly agree; 2 agree; 3 disagree; 4 strongly disagree.*
- 3 *What has made it so difficult for you to stop reoffending?*

The Driver Offender Treatment (DOT) Programme:

I would like you now to think about the DOT programme and your experience of it.

- 4 *You were a member of a group for nine weeks, what was the most significant part of that experience?*
- 5 *How much effect did the DOT programme have on your decision not to drive while disqualified?
1 a lot; 2 some; 3 none at all.*
- 6 *What was the most useful thing you learnt to help you stop driving while disqualified?*
- 7 *Is this the first time you have completed a programme?*
- 8 *What is it that motivated you to complete the nine weeks course?
From the following statements choose one which best fits your*

situation:

- a) *I did not want to go back to court;*
- b) *I would have felt I had let my partner/family down if I had not attended;*
- c) *I had made a decision to complete the programme;*
- d) *I did not want to let the other group members down;*
- e) *other.*

9 *What is the most significant change (if any) that you have made in your thinking since attending DOT?*

Relationships:

The next set of questions is about relationships. These will include relationships with your partner, child or children, and family.

10 *Are you in a long term relationship and live with your partner? (If not go on to Question 21)*

11 *How would you describe this relationship?
1 very close; 2 close; 3 not close at all.*

12 *Do you experience any difficulties in this relationship?
(If not, go on to Question 14)*

13 *Can I ask you to talk a little about these difficulties?*

14 *Who makes the major decisions in your partnership?*

15 *Who makes the decision about who is going to drive?*

16 *Based on what you have told me what is the main way your partner supports you in your decision not to drive while disqualified?*

17 *If you were not in this relationship what would be different in your life?*

18 *Does being in a relationship affect the frequency of your offending?*

19 *Has your attitude to your partner changed in any way since attending DOT? (If not, go on to Question 25)*

- 20 *In what way have you changed?
(go on to Question 25)*
- 21 *(for participants who are not in a relationship)
Have you ever been in a relationship?*
- 22 *What is the major difference for you not being in a current relationship?*
- 23 *Do you offend more often when you are not in a relationship?
(If not, move on to Question 25)*
- 24 *What is it about not being in a relationship which means you offend more.*
- 25 *Are you a parent? (If not go onto Question 30)*
- 26 *How old is/are your child/ren?*
- 27 *Do/does your child/ren live with you?*
- 28 *Do you think that having a child/ren has helped in your decision to stop driving while disqualified? (If not, go on to Question 30)*
- 29 *Can you tell me in what way having a child/ren has/have helped?*
- 30 *What best describes the family you were brought up in?
1 very close; 2 close; 3 not close at all.*
- 31 *Are there some things that you learnt from your parent/s that you do not want to continue to do in your parenting or if you become a parent? (If not, move on to Question 33)*
- 32 *Can you tell me what these things are?*

- 33 *What do members of your family say about your offending to you?*
- 34 *What is the most supportive thing a member/s of your family says or does that helps you in your decision not to drive while disqualified?*
- 35 *What is the least supportive thing a member/s do or say.*
- 36 *What changes (if any) have you made in how you relate to members of your family since you have made a decision not to reoffend in this way?*
- 37 *Is there anything I have missed out concerning relationships and their significance for you?*

Friends/peers:

The next set of questions is about the people you get around with.

- 38 *My friend/s support me in my decision not to drive while disqualified.*
1 strongly agree; 2 agree; 3 disagree; 4 strongly disagree.
- 39 *What is the most important thing (if anything) that lets you know your friends are being supportive?*
- 40 *What is it they do/say (if anything) that lets you know they are not being supportive?*
- 41 *Which statement best fits your situation.*
a) *More often than not I change my mind after talking with my friends.*
b) *Usually, once I have made up my mind my friends cannot talk me out of it.*
- 42 *Do you mix with people who are currently offending?*
- 43 *What changes (if any) have you noticed in how you relate to your*

friends since you made a decision to stop driving while disqualified?

Employment:

The next set of questions are about your employment history.

44 *Are you in current employment or have you ever been employed?*

45 *When you are employed do you:*
1 offend more frequently; 2 less frequently.

46 *What do you think the reason for this is?*

47 *Do you consider your workmates/ boss are part of your support network?*

48 *What changes (if any) have you made in your attitude to your work since you have made a decision not to drive while disqualified?*

Alcohol and Drugs:

The next set of questions is about your use of alcohol and drugs.

(Screening Question)

49 *Do you use alcohol? (If no move on to Question 52; if yes, administer the AUDIT alcohol screening questionnaire after gaining the consent of the respondent).*

50 *Follow this up with some probe questions: what? when? where? how often? with whom?*

51 *It is difficult to keep to my decision not to drive while disqualified when I have been drinking alcohol?*
1 strongly agree; 2 agree; 3 disagree; 4 strongly disagree.

(Screening Question)

52 *Do you use drugs, other than those required for medical reasons? (If no, move on to Question 56; if yes, administer the DAST drug screening questionnaire after gaining the consent of the respondent)*

53 *Follow this up with some probe questions: What? When? Where? How often? With whom?*

54 *It is difficult to keep to my decision not to drive while disqualified when I have been using drugs.*

1 strongly agree; 2 agree; 3 strongly disagree; 4 disagree.

55 *What changes (if any) have you made in your use of alcohol/drugs, since you made a decision not to drive while disqualified?*

Gambling:

The next set of questions is about gambling.

56 *Have you gambled in the last year? (If not, move on to Question 59)*

57 *If yes, ask the probe questions: What? When? Where? How Often? With Whom?*

58 *In what way (if any) has your decision to stop driving while while disqualified affected your gambling?*

Lifestyle Balance:

The next set of questions are concerned with your lifestyle.

59 *What are some of the activities you regularly undertook during the last 12 months that you enjoyed?*

60 *What are the activities that you regularly undertook, during the last 12 months that you found to be negative or unpleasant?*

Based on what you have told me the parts of your life that you most enjoy are and the parts that you do not enjoy are..... Is there anything that I have missed out?

61 *What do you usually do during each day of the week/weekday?*

62 *Does your normal routine during weekdays differ from that in the weekends?*

63 *Have you been living in the same place over the last 12 months? (If yes go on to Question 65). If not how many times have you moved?*

64 *What are the reasons why you have moved?*

65 *Do you have any health problems? (If not go on to Question 67)*

66 *What impact do these problems have on your decision not to drive while disqualified?*

67 *Apart from not having a licence, what is the most significant factor in in your life which keeps you at risk of reoffending by driving while disqualified?*

68 *Now that you have completed the nine week phase of the DOT programme and you do not have the almost daily reminder not to drive, what helps you the most to reduce your risk.*

69 *How much importance do you place on attending the Maintenance group to help you in your decision to stop driving while disqualified? 1 extremely important; 2 important; 3 not very important.*

70 *What are your reasons for noting your response in this way?*

I have finished the interview now and would just like to check with you how you have found the experience.

Thank you again for giving of your time to answer these questions. Your contribution is very useful to the research.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - SUPPORT NETWORK MEMBER:***Introduction/engaging:***

Thank you for agreeing to do this interview with me today. I'll explain a few things before we get going. Firstly, what we talk about is confidential. This simply means that I cannot discuss or pass on any information about you or (client) to anyone else who is not directly involved in this research.

You can ask questions at any point during or after the interview and at any time you can ask to withdraw from the interview.

The purpose of this interview is twofold. Firstly, I would like to find out about your experience as a support person. Secondly, I would like to hear from you just how important or not important you think support is for people who have made a decision to stop driving while disqualified.

I will briefly explain what we are going to do today. I have questions that I will ask, some of them you will find easy to answer, others you may have to think about. Every support person will be asked the same questions. Please let me know if you do not understand a question and I will ask it another way.

- 1 How long have you known (client)?*
- 2 What is your relationship to (client)?*
- 3 Overall how well prepared are you to take on this role of support person?
1 extremely well prepared; 2 well prepared; 3 not prepared at all.*

4 Support can mean a whole lot of different things to different people. I am going to list a number of different aspects of support. I would like you to tell me which of these you have felt most able to provide:

- a being emotionally supportive, listening, affirming;*
- b driving (client) around when necessary;*
- c being open and available for him/her to discuss things with you at any time;*
- d giving advice or guidance;*
- e picking up times when he/she seems to be at risk of reoffending;*
- f challenging (client).*

5 Can I ask you what have been the limits of your support?

6 What has been your most negative experience of offering your support?

7 What is the best part of offering your support?

8 If (client) wanted the keys to his/her car what would you do?

*9 Have you ever been able to stop (client) from driving while disqualified?
(If not, move on to Question 11)*

10 What did you do that stopped him/her from relapsing?

11 Since (client) has made a decision to stop driving while disqualified have you noticed any changes in the way he/she relates to you?

*12 It is important that he/she attends the DOT maintenance group.
1 strongly agree; 2 agree; 3 disagree; 4 strongly disagree.*

13 What do you consider to be the key thing that you can contribute as a support person?

14 Overall what has had the most impact on you as a support person?

15 Is there anything I have missed out about your experience as a support person?

Thank you again for giving of your time to answer these questions. Your contribution will be very useful to the research project.

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