

## WHAT DO STUDENTS THINK ABOUT CRIME, CRIMINALITY AND CRIMINOLOGY, AND DO THEIR PERCEPTIONS CHANGE OVER TIME?

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### ABSTRACT

*This article serves two purposes. Firstly, the authors reflect on 24 articles that were published in the journal Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology, during the period 1989 to 2019 with reference to research that used university students as study populations. Secondly, the results of a longitudinal survey involving 50 students that had registered for undergraduate Criminology modules is presented. The 24 articles demonstrate a rich variety of research themes with some having clear origins in prevailing debates of national interest at the time they were published. The articles broadly covered students' views, their behaviour and matters related to teaching and learning in Criminology. The longitudinal results suggest that students enter institutions of higher education with preconceived notions of crime and criminality which are in likelihood a reflection of broader public opinion. Nevertheless, some perceptions showed statistically significant shifts between their first year and third year of undergraduate studying. Although the authors would like to claim that these shifts resulted from exposure to Criminology modules, the influence of other academic modules and non-academic sources of information cannot be ignored. Additionally, the way in which students study (notably whether deep or surface learning takes place) and the teaching and learning resources that universities invest in this regard, may well impact on students' perceptions about crime and criminality. The authors recommend inter-institutional research similar to the extensive publications about students' views, learning experiences and expectations of Criminology as published in an early edition of the Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology.*

**Keywords:** *Research using university students as study populations; views on crime and criminality.*

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### INTRODUCTION

Students are synonymous with Institutions of Higher Education (IHE). Whether they study at undergraduate or postgraduate level, students rely on lecturers and the teaching and learning infrastructure of Institutions of Higher Education to advance their education and, ultimately, work opportunities. Transitioning from secondary school to Higher Education (HE) requires adjustment to new learning environments, especially in terms of self-sufficiency and responsibility (Brinkworth, McCann, Matthews & Nordstrom, 2008: 168). At the same time, students bring into the learning environment their own subjective beliefs and differential views that have been shaped by their socio-cultural upbringing and backgrounds (Steyn, Booyens, Foster & Ehlers, 2012: 35). Some students enter Higher Education with grounded views containing their own perceptions, stereotypes, pre-conceived ideas and attitudes about the world they live in (Evans, 2007: 24). Still, Institutions of Higher Education have the potential to mould and influence how students think about the world (Schauber, Hecht, Nouns, Kuhlmeier & Dettmer, 2015: 1035).

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Higher Education encompasses all learning programmes that lead to qualifications that satisfy the requirements of the Higher Education Qualifications Framework (Higher Education Act, 101 of 1997, as amended). Higher Education in South Africa realigned with the transformation agenda of South Africa since the early 1990s (Council on Higher Education, 2007: 1). In congruence with the vision of a developmental state, a central impetus to Higher Education became not only to develop individuals' intellectual abilities, but to also provide students with the necessary tools for self-fulfilment and life changes and meet society's social and developmental needs. Higher Education aims to equip individuals in a way that they can contribute to society and enter the labour market whilst contributing to the growth and wealth of the economy. In addition, Higher Education sets out to provide socialisation of citizens who are enlightened and critical thinkers with an introspective capacity of creating active citizens whilst distributing old and new knowledge through research, teaching and learning (Department of Education, 1997: 4; Winston-Proctor, 2018: 243).

Prior to the achievement of democracy in South Africa, Institutions of Higher Education favoured narrow-mindedness in terms of academics reproducing old knowledge instead of producing new critical knowledge (Department of Education, 1997: 5). Fundamental changes in Higher Education has led to an increase in the number of students as well as the diversity of students who have varied learning needs and styles (Alauddin, Ashman, Nghiem & Lovell, 2017: 18; Van Schalkwyk, Bitzer & Van der Walt, 2010: 194). Learning strategies, which amount to the way in which students learn, is broadly divided into deep and surface learning (Baeten, Dochy & Struyven, 2012: 4; Vermunt & Donche, 2017: 271). Deep learning is an inclination to understand what is being learned. With deep learning, different ideas are related to each other, conclusions are drawn, and coherent arguments are made while being inquisitive about the subject matter (Howard & Davies, 2013: 771; Baeten et al, 2012: 4; Donche, Maeyer, Coertjens, Van Daal & Van Petegan, 2013: 239). Deep learning allows students to focus on themes and principles inherent in the subject matter in order to create meaning (Asikainen & Gijbels, 2017: 207; Baeten, Dochy, Struyven, Parmentier & Vanderbruggen, 2015: 46). A central feature of deep learning is actively engaging students in the learning process by means of technology such as interactive windows<sup>1</sup> and learning communities (Huxham, 2005; Tinto, 2003). In terms of engaging students, research has shown that students recall and remember information that they discussed in class more easily than information that was merely relayed to them (Hermann, 2013: 175). Surface learning on the other hand is more easily attained. It is unreflective and based on conditioning, repetition and an inclination to memorise (Asikainen, Lindblom-Ylänne, Vanthournout & Coertjens, 2014: 24). Students who adopt a surface approach to learning reproduce what they are taught in class without necessarily understanding what they have learned since the strategy relies merely on remembering information (Asikainen et al, 2014: 24; Howard & Davies, 2013: 771; Donche et al, 2013: 239). It is important to note that the two learning strategies are not used exclusively as students can adopt both deep and surface approaches to learning at different times (Fourie, 2003: 123). The way students study, the demands of curricula and the learning environment may well influence whether deep or surface learning takes place.

This article serves two purposes. Firstly, the authors take stock of empirical work published in the journal: *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology*, over the period 1989 to 2019<sup>2</sup>, with regards to research that used university students as study populations. Historical investigations of the present nature offer worthwhile insights into the origins of research, thematic preferences and trends in a journal's publication past (*cf.* Steyn & Klopper, 2015). Secondly, the authors add to the body of knowledge insofar as student research is concerned by presenting results from a longitudinal study regarding students' views and perceptions about crime and criminality. The emphasis of the empirical part of the article is to

not only present descriptive data, but to reflect on shifts regarding the crime-related views and perceptions of students.

## **PUBLICATIONS WITH STUDENTS AS STUDY POPULATIONS**

In the following sections the authors summarise extant work published in the *Acta Criminologica* that made use of students as study populations. A keyword search (“student”) via Sabinet resulted in 24 articles meeting the inclusion criteria of students as study sample and the work being empirical in nature. The 24 articles were classified in four categories, namely student safety and victimisation; students and substance use; students, curricula and learning; and views and perceptions of students. It is noteworthy that, on average, nearly one (0.80) article that used students as study population featured per year over the journal’s 30-year lifespan. The contributing universities and research institutions of the 24 articles were:

- Ten from the University of South Africa (UNISA).
- Seven from the University of Pretoria (UP).
- Two from the Tshwane University of Technology (TUT).
- Two from Border Technikon (BT).
- One from the University of the Free State (UFS).
- One from the University of Cape Town (UCT).
- One from the Human Sciences Research Council (HRSC).

It should be noted that some studies resulted in multiple publications, in which case the publications are summarised for the entire study as opposed to each publication separately. For example, Nuntsu conducted a survey among 111 students regarding drinking and driving behaviour, from which two articles were published. Both articles are summarised together instead of separately. The summaries of the articles present the year, the authors, the aim of the research, sample sizes, key findings and recommendations. The authors fully acknowledge that the authors’ summaries fail to do justice to the full content of each publication and readers are advised to pursue the original works for more detail. Interpretation and analysis of the body of publications feature in the discussion.

### **Student safety and victimisation**

In 2008, Dastile published qualitative results obtained from **ten students who experienced sexual harassment or rape on campus**. Participants identified drinking to the point of intoxication as a contributor to sexual violence and some lamented the absence of appropriate action by campus security following an incident which results in victims questioning whether they should even report cases of sexual assault. Students noted that they were asked for sexual favours before academic or financial support will be provided. Patterns of hierarchical control and dominance, in particular patriarchy, contribute to the vulnerability of female students. Recommendations included a code of ethics for staff members, appropriate disciplinary procedures and educating male students about sexual harassment and rape.

In 2010, Mutongwizo reported on a **survey regarding the feelings of safety of 74 international students**. Respondents – and more so female students – rated South Africa as more unsafe compared to their home countries. More than half of respondents felt most vulnerable at night and female respondents felt that, at that time, the threat of being raped was high. Despite their fear of crime, most students had not fallen victim to crime since they arrived in South Africa and they took various precautionary measures to prevent victimisation. Respondents considered themselves as more vulnerable to crime because they are unfamiliar

with their surroundings, they are being perceived as having money and being naïve, and due to the xenophobic atmosphere in South Africa.

In 2014, Masike and Mofokeng reported on a **survey among 60 randomly selected students regarding their views and experiences about campus safety**. Students generally agreed that security officers do not effectively patrol the campus, but no clear trend was forthcoming on the statement that security officers accept gifts from students in return for favours, or that they search people who enter or leave the residences. Students further noted that security officers do not regularly inspect the boundary fences around residences, and they expressed concern about the lack of CCTV surveillance. Senior students were more likely to report having falling victim to crime on campus. The authors recommended strict access control to residences.

### **Students and substance use**

In 2003, Saffy reported on a **survey among 98 students regarding drinking and driving behaviour**. Most students used cars as their daily mode of transport and, when it happened that they were a passenger driving with someone under the influence of alcohol, the driver was almost exclusively male. Of the male respondents who have driven under the influence of alcohol, most had done so more than five times. Respondents considered driving under the influence of drugs as more serious compared to drunk driving. Nevertheless, it appears that those who have driven with a driver who took drugs did not mind because they were also under the influence of an illegal substance. The author recommended similar research in the general population.

In 2003 and 2004, Nuntsu published the results of a **survey among 111 students regarding drinking and driving behaviour**. Most students used the family car which they drove for less than five hours per week. A small number of respondents acknowledged having driven drunk, although the majority stated that they have been a passenger with someone who drove drunk. Roughly half of the respondents have told someone that they were too drunk to drive and offered to drive instead. Students were less successful in preventing someone to drive under the influence and no gender differences featured in this regard. Of concern was that more than half of respondents reported their last effort to prevent drunk driving in the month preceding the survey. Interventions appeared more successful following a social event at a party or at respondents' own homes, but less successful after having been to a night club. Increased education and awareness about drunk driving has been called for.

In 2005, Phaswana-Mafuya published the results of an evaluation that involved **peer-led drinking and driving prevention among 111 undergraduate university students**. The study built on that of Nuntsu (2003; 2004) and involved a pre-test-post-test comparison group design. Following a series of workshops, the intervention group showed significant positive shifts in drinking and driving attitudes, behavioural intentions and knowledge. Students expressed positive sentiments about the programme. A four-month follow-up measurement found that some positive changes eroded over time, although not to the pre-test levels. Larger, longitudinal research was proposed, in addition to investigating why the programme failed to change some impact and outcome variables.

In 2015, Steyn and Hall published the results of a **survey about the frequency and bio-demographic correlates of substance use among 818 undergraduate students**. The use of alcohol and prescription medication featured pertinently among students, followed by tobacco use. Male respondents were significantly more likely to use alcohol and cannabis compared to their female counterparts, and students from middle- and high-income backgrounds were significantly more likely to use alcohol compared to those from low-income backgrounds. Alcohol use was more pronounced amongst third year students than first year students. Very few students reported using hard drugs and female students were significantly

more likely to use prescription medication. It was recommended that awareness campaigns be targeted toward student populations that demonstrate high risk of substance use.

In 2015, Akanle, Adesina and Adebayo reported on a **qualitative study regarding young undergraduate students and marijuana use at a Nigerian university**. The study found that some students commence smoking marijuana as early as primary school and that students use different names for marijuana in order to avoid social and legal sanctions. Students generally acknowledged that they started using marijuana due to peer influence. Marijuana was reportedly not only smoked, but also used when cooking food and in hot beverages. While students were aware that smoking marijuana is illegal, they were not deterred because legislation was weak and, in their opinion, law enforcers themselves are complicit in its use. The authors called for more research in order to formulate policy regarding the distribution and consumption of marijuana in Nigeria.

In 2017, Masike and Mofokeng published the results of a **survey among 60 students regarding the effects of alcohol and substances on their lives**. Respondents generally agreed that alcohol and drugs are taken into the residences without being detected by the security officers, and that these substances contribute to violent attacks on students. The results further suggest that alcohol and drugs are more readily available in some residences and that some students sell products to fellow students who are more afraid to bring such products into residences. Older students were more likely to agree that some students sell alcohol in residences. Students mostly disagreed with the statements that security officers and people making deliveries at the residences sell alcohol and drugs to students. The authors suggested changing the drinking culture on campus.

### **Students, curricula and learning**

In 1993, Du Preez and Naser published the results of a **survey among 345 students regarding the work options Criminology can facilitate**. Most respondents stated that a degree with Criminology as a major could provide access to certain careers, in particular (and in ranking order) correctional services, law, social work, the police services and education. Most students rejected the statement that education in Criminology is too theoretical and hence of limited practical value. Most respondents agreed that some professions should have a qualification in Criminology as entry requirement. Despite the positive sentiments of students, and mostly based on the views of lecturers who also participated in the survey, the authors concluded that more time is needed before the professionalisation of Criminology can be considered.

In 1993, Cloete, Ladikos and Prinsloo reported on **345 students' views about the content of Criminology modules at various universities**. Nearly half of respondents disagreed with the statement that students do not need training in research methodology and a similar proportion agreed that the syllabi contained limited content on the crime realities of South Africa. The vast majority emphasised the value of Fundamental Criminology in the education of undergraduate students and nearly all underscored the importance of modules on crime causation, crime prevention, crime typologies, the criminal justice system, Penology and the extent, nature and incidence of crime in the curriculum. Nearly half of students agreed that undergraduate students need training in research methodology. Modules focusing on traffic violations and related matters received less support from students. More research on the relevance of Criminology syllabi was suggested.

In 1995, Conradie and Sonnekus published an article about the reasons **why less than half of first-year Criminology students successfully complete their first year**. A total of 791 students participated in the survey and less than half acknowledged that they studied all the relevant material for exams. Themes which lecturers discussed during contact sessions were prioritised and selected from the study guide and material. The authors concluded that students do not correctly prepare for the exams and that first-year students do not know what to expect

from the exams (especially in terms of the academic standard of papers). In addition, students did not appear to understand the purpose of contact sessions and they also did not know how to write an exam. The study highlighted challenges at both the curriculum and teaching levels.

In 2001, De Boer and Van den Berg reported on the **thinking styles of 68 first-year students who were registered for Criminology**, and how such insights can strengthen teaching and learning in the discipline. The Herrmann Brain Dominance Instrument was used to identify thinking styles and the results showed that the students showed a preference for analytical, rational and logical thought processes, in addition to integrated, synthesising, creative and holistic thinking styles. The authors noted that, as elsewhere, classrooms represent hybrid thinking styles and Criminology lecturers ought to employ a variety of teaching methods to facilitate optimal learning.

In 2002, Davis and Klopper published an article on **sensitising fourth-year Criminology students regarding the rights of offenders, the rights of victims and the administration of justice**. The greater part of the article is devoted to the foci of Victimology and Penology, and the opportunities that were created for students to acquire theoretical and practical skills on the rights of offenders and victims. By scrutinising the reports students wrote after their practical training, the authors highlighted the controversial viewpoints students voiced. Some students lamented that – at that time seven years after the achievement of democracy in South Africa – the Bill of Rights goes far in guaranteeing the rights of offenders, yet it remains fairly silent on the rights of victims. In a similar vein, students felt that the criminal justice system and the Constitution were not responsive to the plight of victims.

In 2003, Maree and Ladikos published an article about **20 students' views about the practical relevance of Criminology**. In terms of the study material, some students had difficulties in applying theoretical constructs to scenarios that they were unfamiliar with although the greater proportion considered the material as interesting and manageable. Most students experienced the writing of assignments as challenging and they identified an array of occupations they can pursue with a qualification in Criminology, amongst others in the fields of assessment, victim empowerment and various opportunities in the private sector. The authors recommended more practical application of what students learn, in particular by means of assignments and assessments.

In 2014, Hesselink and Prinsloo reported on the **experiences of honour's students following their volunteering at a correctional centre**, in particular regarding the assessment of offenders and development of sentencing (rehabilitation) plans. Despite some initial challenges in establishing the programme, students developed more than a thousand sentencing plans. Students appreciated the opportunity to link theory to practice, had a deeper understanding of factors that contribute to crime and criminality, and expressed trust in the credibility of Criminology to develop their skills. Students further commented positively on future career prospects following their participation in the programme. The authors concluded that student volunteering could assist correctional services in meeting its mission of rehabilitating offenders.

In 2015, Bezuidenhout and Van Niekerk reported on **43 fourth-year Criminology students' experiences of having engaged in a prison-based community engagement project**. Students initially did not welcome the idea of community outreach and more specifically so in a correctional centre which some (and their parents as well) considered to be an unsafe learning environment. Fortunately, in their report back, most students expressed appreciation for the opportunity since they have been removed from their comfort zones to give back to the community, getting to know offenders and their live stories, and learned to not judge others. The authors recommended that tertiary institutions should consider more community outreach endeavours at correctional centres.

## Views and perceptions of students

In 1989, Nesor reported on a survey among **635 Penology and Police Sciences students regarding their views on the contribution of prisons to crime prevention, effectiveness of punishment and trust in the correctional services**. Nesor pertinently contrasted the results with studies from the USA and noteworthy differences were made, amongst others that South African students had more confidence in the prison system to prevent crime, and they also presented less critical views about potential post-release recidivism. Similar results were found across the two settings about the discretionary release of offenders (i.e., when correctional officials believed the offender will not re-offend). The majority agreed that the focus of correctional incapacitation should be rehabilitation and not punishment.

Following the 1990 moratorium placed on the execution of offenders who received the death penalty, Du Preez, Ladikos and Nesor in 1991 published results from a **survey among 746 students regarding their views on the death penalty**. At that time, most students were in favour of legislative reform insofar as decision-making by one judge only and the automatic right to appeal were concerned. Students were also in favour of a full psychiatric evaluation of accused persons prior to judges considering the death penalty, and the majority supported the appointment of a judicial commission to investigate legal reforms regarding capital punishment in South Africa.

In 2009 and 2010, Van der Westhuizen and Maree reported on the **perceptions of final year education students regarding the nature, extent and impact of violence in schools and communities**. Qualitative data were generated by group discussions during which participants wrote up their answers to open-ended questions. A total of 365 students placed at 24 schools for their practical training took part in the study. The results suggest that the short temperedness of some learners instigates violence and that some secondary school learners, in particular boys, bring weapons to school. The authors concluded that violence in schools fosters fear and aggression, and it has various negative influences on education, including poor trust relations between learners and educators. Stricter policies and school rules were called for.

In 2012, Foster published results from a **survey among 207 undergraduate students about their thoughts on xenophobia**. The sample mainly constituted of Criminology and law students, and the views of local versus foreign students were compared. Significant differences featured in respondents' understanding of definitions of xenophobia, specifically insofar as the concepts: hatred, dislike and distrust were concerned. Students identified the main reasons for xenophobic attacks as poverty and limited work opportunities. In their opinion, young people and community leaders were the main instigators of violence against foreign nationals. Students supported education campaigns to make the public aware of the plight of immigrants.

In 2012, Steyn, Booyens, Foster and Ehlers published the results of a **survey among 867 first-year students who enrolled for Criminology at two South African universities**. The aim of the survey was to gauge students' views on a variety of crime-related topics, ranging from crime prevention to laws and imprisonment. Significant gender differences were noted regarding respondents' views about feeling safe from crime, the use of violence to solve problems, government's ability to address crime, the legalisation of marijuana, and the deterrent value of laws. The authors concluded that undergraduate Criminology curricula must include relevant material to address students' misconceptions about crime and criminality. The survey formed the basis for the longitudinal work reported later in the present article.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The results presented here stem from a larger, longitudinal study regarding undergraduate students who register for Criminology modules. Through longitudinal survey methods, the authors compared the crime-related attitudes and perceptions of students when they commenced their studies, in other words at first-year level in 2010, with their attitudes and perceptions when they have nearly completed the three-year Criminology undergraduate curriculum (2012). The two measurements took the form of group-administered surveys and 50 questionnaires completed at first and third-year level were matched using the student numbers of respondents. The sample coverage, therefore, was 24 percent (in 2012, a total of 208 students were registered for third-year Criminology). The results entail students' attitudes and perceptions on 52 statements which were identified from the content of the twelve Criminology modules (i.e., four modules per undergraduate year). The statements were posed on a five-point scale, ranging from strongly agree (1) to strongly disagree (5), and included a neutral response category (3). Across all 52 statements, Chronbach alpha co-efficients were 0.604 at the first-year, and 0.696 at third-year, measurements.

The data was analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (IBM, 2018). Since none of the variables showed a normal distribution and because random sampling procedures were not followed in the selection of respondents, non-parametric procedures had to be used to determine significant shifts in respondents' crime-related attitudes and perceptions (Field, 2018: 250). The Wilcoxon signed-rank test was opted for since the two data sets originate from the same entities. Effect sizes ( $r$ ) were determined for significant shifts ( $p < 0.05$ ) between the first- and third-year measurements where -0.1 indicates a low, -0.3 represent a medium, and -0.5 denotes a strong effect size (Field, 2018: 297, 303). The results are presented in tables which depict the mean ( $M$ ) as well as  $p$  and  $r$  values.

In addition to the survey data that was generated, a group discussion featured with the 2013 Criminology honour's degree students, most of whom clearly recalled having participated in the longitudinal surveys of the previous years. The results were presented to the class and participants were asked for insights regarding the descriptive data and shifts in students' crime-related attitudes and perceptions. The qualitative data was written up as the discussion proceeded and key themes were identified.

The study followed the standard ethical considerations when conducting research with human subjects. Informed consent was obtained, and students were asked not to write their names or any information that could identify them on the questionnaire (apart from their student numbers which were required for matching purposes). They could withdraw from the research at any time without any penalty levied against them. Confidentiality was ensured by only the first author and a data capturer having handled the completed questionnaires. The study received ethical clearance from the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria (letter dated 08 February 2010).

## RESULTS

The average age of respondents was 18.9 years with a range of 18 to 26 years. The bulk ( $n = 43$ ; 86%) were from middle-income backgrounds, with only four (8.0%) from low-income and three (6.0%) from high-income backgrounds.

### **Fear of crime and vulnerability**

Respondents generally felt that crime has increased over the past few years, although this view significantly decreased towards the second measurement (Table 1). Most respondents agreed that citizen's fear of crime is justifiable, and in a similar vein, they tended to not feel safe from

crime. A fair number of respondents appear to be neutral on the statement that gates and fences alienate neighbours from each other.

**Table 1: Fear of crime and vulnerability**

	1 <sup>st</sup> year	3 <sup>rd</sup> year	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
Crime in South Africa has increased over the past few years	1.40	1.92	0.002	-0.30
South Africans' fear of crime is justified	2.00	2.20	0.241	-
The community in which I grew up has good relationships with the police	3.20	2.90	0.045	-0.20
I generally feel safe from crime	3.70	3.34	0.067	-
For some criminals, a cell phone means more than the victim's life	1.62	1.66	0.726	-
Gates and fences alienate neighbours from each other	2.88	2.72	0.401	-

*M*, 1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree

### Causes of and contributors to crime

Having moved from unsure to agree, a meaningful shift featured in respondents' view on the link between poverty and crime, and most disagreed strongly that criminals are born evil (Table 2). Views on choice and crime, as well as on crime as learned behaviour have also significantly shifted towards the second measurement. Respondents generally agreed that dysfunctional family life may fuel criminal behaviour.

**Table 2: Causes of and contributors to crime**

	1 <sup>st</sup> year	3 <sup>rd</sup> year	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
People commit crime because they are poor	3.10	2.66	0.010	-0.25
Criminals are born evil	3.96	4.16	0.219	-
Criminals commit crime out of their own choice	1.82	2.48	0.001	-0.32
Drugs contribute to South Africa's crime situation	1.76	1.72	0.725	-
People from dysfunctional families are more likely to commit crime	2.53	2.56	0.819	-
Children learn criminal behaviour from their friends	2.58	2.08	0.000	-0.37
Where one lives determines the levels of risk to crime	2.22	2.04	0.372	-

*M*, 1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree

### Violence and violent crime

Respondents remained resolute that violent crime originates from a lack of respect for human life, and their views on citizens having become desensitised to violence grew significantly stronger at the second measurement (Table 3). Despite the softening of perceptions that it is in order to sometimes use violence, their views remained in the disagree category. Respondents agreed that the availability of firearms contribute to violence in the country. A significant shift featured (from neutral to agree) that violence stems from South Africa's political past. Negative sentiments prevailed about government's ability to address violent crime.

**Table 3: Violence and violent crime**

	1 <sup>st</sup> year	3 <sup>rd</sup> year	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
Violent crime stems from a lack of respect for human life	1.78	2.00	0.725	-
Violence coincidentally occurs when other crimes are committed	2.54	2.32	0.259	-
South Africans became desensitised to violent crime	2.22	1.86	0.003	-0.29
Violent protest due to poor service delivery is justified	3.58	3.68	0.544	-
Sometimes it is okay to use violence to solve problems	4.40	4.00	0.007	-0.27
The availability of firearms contributes to violence in South Africa	2.26	2.08	0.324	-
Violence depicted in the media stimulates violent behaviour	2.54	2.32	0.225	-
Violence stems from South Africa's political history	3.10	2.38	0.004	-0.29
Government is losing the fight against violent crime	1.96	2.14	0.343	-
<i>M</i> , 1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree				

**Sentencing and punishment**

Respondents agreed that violent criminals should serve time in prison and that the death penalty should be brought back (Table 4). They disagreed that children under seven years of age should be held accountable for their behaviour, but a significant shift featured from agree to unsure regarding the imprisonment of child offenders. Nearing the level of significance, a shift towards the agree category is evident about the use of correctional supervision when sentencing non-violent offenders. Respondents agreed that offenders can be rehabilitated but were unsure about more lenient sentences for women with children.

**Table 4: Sentencing and punishment**

	1 <sup>st</sup> year	3 <sup>rd</sup> year	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
Violent criminals should get life imprisonment without parole	2.04	2.26	0.298	-
The death penalty should be brought back	2.36	2.62	0.238	-
Children under the age of seven should be held responsible for their actions	4.12	4.20	0.605	-
Offenders should pay compensation to their victims	2.28	2.18	0.612	-
Child offenders (13-18) should be imprisoned	2.68	3.18	0.012	-0.25
Non-violent offenders should be sentenced to correctional supervision (no prison)	3.14	2.76	0.066	-
Punishment in relation to crime is fair in South Africa	3.64	3.80	0.299	
Offenders can be rehabilitated	2.70	2.86	0.283	-
Courts should be more lenient toward female offenders with children	3.36	3.48	0.587	-
<i>M</i> , 1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree				

### Laws and law enforcement

Respondents remained unsure whether laws are effectively enforced in South Africa (Table 5). A marginal shift took place from disagree to unsure regarding the legalisation of dagga and a meaningful shift featured regarding the legalisation of commercial sex work although most responses remained in the disagree category.

**Table 5: Laws and law enforcement**

	1 <sup>st</sup> year	3 <sup>rd</sup> year	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
Laws are effectively enforced in South Africa	3.58	3.82	0.133	-
The use of dagga should be legalised	4.18	3.84	0.147	-
Commercial sex work should be legalised	4.60	4.10	0.013	-0.24
Our laws have sufficient value to deter people from committing crime	3.60	3.84	0.094	-

*M*, 1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree

### Prison and imprisonment

Respondents tended to agree that offenders should receive payment for the work they perform in correctional centres and that prisons are “five-star hotels” (Table 6). The same sentiment prevailed regarding medical parole and a significant shift occurred against locking up offenders for 23 hours per day.

**Table 6: Prison and imprisonment**

	1 <sup>st</sup> year	3 <sup>rd</sup> year	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
Offenders should receive money for the work they do in prison	2.50	2.36	0.130	-
Prisons are “five-star hotels”	2.20	2.14	0.619	-
Medical parole should be granted to terminally ill offenders	1.98	1.86	0.343	-
Offenders should be locked up in their cells for 23 hours per day	1.90	2.36	0.012	-0.35
Imprisonment is the best way to deal with criminals in South Africa	1.94	2.16	0.080	-

*M*, 1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree

### The police

Respondents generally felt that the police are corrupt (Table 7). Significant shifts featured in their views that the police should have the right to shoot dangerous criminals and that it is in order to take the law into one’s own hands when the police fail, although both shifts remained in the agree and unsure categories, respectively.

**Table 7: The police**

	1 <sup>st</sup> year	3 <sup>rd</sup> year	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
The police are corrupt	2.44	2.36	0.686	-
The police should have the right to shoot dangerous criminals	2.16	2.66	0.022	-0.22
When the police fail, it is okay to take the law into one's own hands	3.14	3.54	0.042	-0.20
<i>M</i> , 1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree				

**Crime rate and public perceptions**

Respondents' perceptions about the media overemphasising crime in the country and that only some communities complain about crime remained stable over the two measurements (Table 8). A significant shift towards unsure took place regarding the value of crime statistics.

**Table 8: Crime rate and public perceptions**

	1 <sup>st</sup> year	3 <sup>rd</sup> year	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
The media overemphasises crime in South Africa	2.08	2.00	0.869	-
Crime statistics are a good reflection of the crime situation	1.82	2.48	0.000	-0.57
South Africa's crime rate is not that different from other countries	2.60	2.68	0.073	-
Only some communities complain about crime	2.74	2.74	1.000	-
<i>M</i> , 1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree				

**Crime prevention**

Respondents agreed that the family is the most important structure to prevent crime (Table 9). Although a shift featured regarding their perceptions about the effectiveness of crime prevention strategies, it tended more towards neutral. Respondents viewed the community as sufficiently involved in preventing crime and generally agreed that crime can completely be prevented.

**Table 9: Crime prevention**

	1 <sup>st</sup> year	3 <sup>rd</sup> year	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>
The family is the most important social structure to prevent crime	1.56	1.36	0.277	-
Crime prevention strategies in South Africa are effective	2.70	2.50	0.040	-0.26
Crime prevention is largely the task of the police	1.94	2.22	0.058	-
The community is sufficiently involved in preventing crime	2.18	2.18	0.740	-
Schools do enough to teach learners about the consequences of crime	2.16	2.42	0.045	-0.28
Crime can completely be prevented	2.50	2.36	0.563	-
<i>M</i> , 1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree				

### **Insights from the Criminology honour's class**

The group discussion with the 2013 Criminology honour's degree students yielded five themes as to their interpretation of the descriptive data and the statistically significant shifts reported above. Firstly, they distinctly recalled that more time was devoted in class to the discussion of module content during their first year compared to their third year of studying Criminology. Secondly, they related that the scope of work to be studied at first year was substantially less compared to the volume of work in the third-year Criminology modules during which lecturers barely managed to cover the content in the time allocated for contact sessions. Thirdly, they vividly recollected discussions about controversial matters raised in the Criminology curriculum, for example the decriminalisation of commercial sex work. Such debates were reportedly heated with for and against camps trying to convince each other. Fourthly, they complained about the workload demands of the third-year Criminology curriculum. As mentioned, they noted that lecturers hardly completed the third-year content in formal class time and the additional reading work and preparation for application placed exceptional demands on them. Some honour's degree students emphasised that, in their third year, they had to study selectively and relied heavily on previous papers in preparing for the exams. Lastly, the honour's students acknowledged not only having learned how to deal with study pressures, but the value of academic built up since they were, at honour's level, in a far better position to integrate and apply the knowledge they have gained from the Criminology curricula over the years.

### **DISCUSSION**

Students are not only the future workforce of a country, but they are also future leaders and influencers, and their voices should not be taken for granted. The 1976 Student Uprising, the recent #Rhodesmustfall and subsequent #Feesmustfall and decolonising movements have over the years demonstrated that students are not just passive receivers of information via education, but that they are critical independent thinkers who can mobilise on a large scale for social and political causes. Even within the student population, groups sometimes develop organically to highlight the plight and welfare of students, for example the matter of a rape culture at some IHE. It is, therefore, worthwhile to gauge students' perceptions, views and experiences through empirical investigation. Furthermore, academic research and publications often reflect the *Zeitgeist* of a discipline (Blancher, Bublotz & Soper, 2010: 139). For example, the 1993 third edition of the *Acta Criminologica* was devoted to Criminology as a discipline with articles investigating theoretical perspectives, curricula and syllabi, the role of Criminology in the community, student learning and the professional status of the discipline. Several authors in that edition pointed to the transformation imperatives which dominated debates in the early 1990s. Although not pertinently investigated in the present article, the authors noted a distinct shift in the profile of Criminology students who participated in student surveys. In earlier works, surveys were dominated by white, Afrikaans speaking students while later surveys were more representative of the South African population.

In some cases, published research had a clear origin given prevailing realities of the time. For example, the work by Du Preez et al. (1991) was initiated following the 1990 moratorium on capital punishment and the study found that students generally expressed negative sentiments towards the death penalty. Similarly, four publications featured after the turn of the century about students' drinking and driving behaviour. These studies took queue from government's implementation of a road safety strategy to address the high number of vehicle accidents and related fatality rates. The publications on students' views of xenophobia (Mutongwizo, 2010; Foster, 2012) likewise originated from the 2008 xenophobic attacks that occurred across South Africa. In addition to the empirical insights which these articles offer, it

serves to be mentioned that their literature reviews provide noteworthy insights about the contexts and debates of the time. Furthermore, from the authors' review of publications using students as study populations, it is evident that the publications can be divided along the lines of module content and curricula, student experiences and behaviour, and students' views and perceptions. In the authors' view, these fields broadly capture most, if not all aspects of student life at IHE. It is also noted that some projects resulted in numerous publications in the *Acta Criminologica* which provides a coherent picture of the outcomes and messages of research projects. In addition, some authors had more than one publication on student populations which points to institutional expertise in conducting student surveys, notably at UNISA and UP.

Although some comparative work has been done on students' views and perceptions, for example Nesor (1989), as well as some within-group comparisons, for example Saffy (2003) and Steyn et al. (2012), the bulk of the publications using student samples were mainly descriptive in nature. Publications thus far relied heavily on survey designs, although one would have liked to see more rigorous endeavours such as the pre-post comparison group study by Phaswana-Mafuya (2005). In a similar vein, some surveys made use of a small number of student respondents and none of the publications the authors scrutinised relied on proper randomised sampling procedures. Nevertheless, published work with large sample sizes may nevertheless offer more reliable insights. Three decades ago, Nesor (1989: 25-26) warned against the over-interpretation of survey research findings, that results might be construed as absolute. Student surveys, especially their views and perceptions, often represent public opinion which is by no means static but fluid and open for change. With this in mind, Nesor expressed concern about the value and usefulness of student surveys to influence decision-making and policies. While being mindful of Nesor's valid concerns, the worth of student surveys cannot simply be disregarded, especially insofar as informing teaching and learning is concerned, for example the insights brought about by De Boer and Van den Berg (2001), and Conradie and Sonnekus (1995) regarding Criminology learning outcomes. Similarly, as a distinct subset of South African society there is a need to understand the thinking of university student populations given their stake in the future direction of the country.

The authors now move the focus of the discussion to the empirical part of the article. Characteristic of survey research, the results present more questions than answers and, where possible, the authors attempt to offer tentative explanations by drawing on extant evidence and relevant local literature (amongst others, the 2014 Victims of Crime Survey which is closest to the time of the present longitudinal results). What is clear is that, as the first-year survey shows, students enter Higher Education with preconceived notions about crime and criminality (Steyn et al, 2012: 35). For example, students were initially neutral on the statement that violence has roots in South Africa's political history, yet a statistically significant shift to the agree category was observed in their third year of education (see for example the 1999 work of Hamber on the origins of violence in South Africa).

Official surveys generally demonstrate increases in public views that crime has increased in the past few years (Statistics South Africa, 2014: 2; Statistics South Africa, 2018: 8; Mutongwizo, 2010: 140). However, the panel survey shows that students tended to disagree with these sentiments at third year level possibly due to education on crime trends and the sources of crime statistics. They nevertheless felt that South Africans' fear of crime is justified and that they do not feel safe from crime. The latter is congruent with findings of the 2014 Victims of Crime Survey (VOCS) (Statistics South Africa, 2014: 2). Sadiki, Sinefu and Steyn's (2017) survey on correlates and predictors of risky lifestyle and feelings of safety among undergraduate students reported that most undergraduates felt unsafe when walking in the street and travelling to and from campus.

Students' perceptions and views about the causes of crime display some meaningful shifts, notable regarding poverty, choice and learning of criminal behaviour which may well point to the influence of exposure to Theoretical Criminology in their third year of undergraduate study. Students tended to agree that criminals commit crime out of their own choice and that the death penalty should be brought back. These findings are supported by Maruna and King (2009: 19) who found that students who believed that criminals chose to commit crime out of their own free will were more likely to hold punitive attitudes. Students nevertheless remained resolute about drugs contributing to crime which is supported by the views of 75 percent of households who believed crime was most likely motivated by drug-related needs (Statistics South Africa, 2014: 2).

With undergraduate students learning more about crime in South Africa via Criminology modules, it is not surprising that they agreed with the statement about South Africans having become desensitised to violence (*cf.* the results of Burton & Leoschut, 2013: xiii). Although a meaningful shift featured regarding the appropriateness of using violence to solve problems, their views nevertheless remained in the disagree categories. Students appeared pessimistic about government's ability to prevent violence and the use of violence overall and they agreed that violent crimes should get life imprisonment without parole, which again highlights their punitive views. The VOCS shows that more than half (57.4%) of South African households felt that prisoners got parole too easily (Statistics South Africa, 2014: 40) and were generally dissatisfied with the police (Statistics South Africa, 2018: 65).

Contrary to Du Preez, Ladikos and Nesor's (1991) findings of students calling for stricter considerations when deciding on the death penalty, students in the survey tended to approve of capital punishment. Possibly due to exposure to training in sentencing, a favourable shift took place in terms of child imprisonment and non-custodial sentences for non-violent crimes. The latter is in contrast with findings from VOCSs where 75.2 percent of South African households were in favour of imprisonment for non-violent crimes (Statistics SA, 2014: 40). Students remained steadfast that punishment in relation to crime is not fair. Most, however, agreed that offenders can be rehabilitated. Tying in with their views on government's reactions to violent crime, it is not surprising that students felt that laws were ineffective and that laws lack deterrence value. Students' perception softened regarding the legalisation of dagga and commercial sex work and significantly so regarding the latter. This observation speaks directly to the honours students recalling the heated debate on commercial sex work and confirms Hermann's (2013: 175) finding that active discussion facilitates learning.

Considering them as "five-star hotels, it is evident that students are unfamiliar with prison conditions in South Africa. It is noteworthy that they agreed that offenders should receive money for the tasks that they perform while in prison. In addition, students became more lenient towards the statement that offenders should be locked up for 23 hours a day. Students perceived the police as corrupt, a sentiment shared by the general public (Faull, 2011: 1). Although significant shifts featured on the statements that the police should have the right to shoot dangerous criminals and when the police fail it is okay to take the law into one's own hands, these shifts remained in the agree and disagree categories, respectively. Students agreed with the media's sensationalist reporting of crime and there was a statistically significant shift with a strong effect size of them having become more cautious about the value of crime statistics. The authors acknowledge that perceptions and views of the general public, and therefore also students, are shaped by the media and utterances of politicians and public figures. For example, the Minister of Police Bheki Cele's 2009 utterance that the police should shoot to kill may have played a role in students leaning towards agreeing with the statement that police should have the right to shoot dangerous criminals in their first year. However, there was a shift regarding this statement, with third year students displaying neutral sentiments. Uncertainties prevailed regarding whether only some communities complain about crime.

Recognising that crime cannot be completely prevented, students appeared to value the role of socialisation in nurturing law-abiding citizens. This partially corresponds with the findings of the VOCS (Statistics SA, 2014: 2) where households emphasised the role of social development as a strategy to combat crime.

In conclusion, the authors observe that students enter Higher Education with preconceived notions of crime and criminality, which probably reflect the public opinion. The descriptive data suggests that students hold pessimistic and, generally, punitive attitudes towards crime and punishment. Given South Africa's persistently high crime rates, their views are, in all likelihood, warranted and telling of broader society's take on the crime reality. The survey demonstrates that students' perceptions can shift, although in most cases where a significant change occurred, the influence shows a medium effect. Although, the authors would (selfishly) like to claim that shifts in students' views and perceptions about crime and criminality are due to exposure to Criminology modules only, the authors cannot downplay the importance of non-academic sources of information, amongst others the media, high profile criminal cases, and comments by politicians and public intellectuals. In addition, it must be kept in mind that very few students who register for undergraduate Criminology actually pursue a career in this field. The learning topics of Criminology modules might not be of particular interest to many students who are studying towards degrees in Law, Psychology and Social Work. The authors suspect that students' perceptions may not only be influenced by teaching styles and the learning environment, but also whether they employ deep or surface learning strategies. Unfortunately, it appears that workload demands in their third year of study may well compromise the opportunity to utilise deep learning strategies. The authors nevertheless observe that active engagement, in particular through class discussions have good potential to facilitate deeper insights into study themes.

## LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The authors fully acknowledge that the *Acta Criminologica* articles the authors scrutinised are not representative of the research that colleagues have published regarding students' perceptions and behaviour. Similarly, the research sample was small and generalisations across student populations and Institutions of Higher Education should be made with caution. Future research should make use of probability sampling strategies and designs that will allow for more analytical work. Researchers ought to consider qualitative input on survey results. The authors advocate for inter-institutional research, not only on students' views and perceptions about crime and criminality, but also on Criminology teaching and learning similar to the articles published in the 1993 third edition of the *Acta Criminologica*.

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## ENDNOTES

1. Interactive windows is a software tool that facilitates in-class interaction (through handheld devices such as tablets and smartphones) between students and lecturers. The tool is bi-direction in that the lecturer can pose questions to the class (to which they respond) and individual students can communicate with the lecturer with an active communicating chat window (Alkhatib, 2018:33).
2. Note the journal's name changed in 2019 to: *Acta Criminologica: African Journal of Criminology and Victimology*.

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